Each one of us owns a story

Childhood in the Second Intifada:
A Linguistic Analysis of Conflict and Hope

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Abstract

The present research, rooted in the traditions of Social Semiotics (SS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is a linguistic exploration of the ways in which a group of young people from the West Bank construe their experiences living under Israeli military occupation and through their community's second popular uprising for statehood, and their resulting ideologies or world-views. The study analyses the language choices exhibited across 160 texts, written and spoken in English by Palestinian males and females, ages 12 - 18, in the course of the 2002/3 school year in Ramallah, West Bank.

This research utilizes several of the theoretical frameworks put forth by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the Hallidayan branch of linguistics which views language as a system through which humans construe their experience of the world and organize themselves socially. Because the human experience in which this research is situated, or the particular social context, is a world in which colonial oppression meets the uprising of an indigenous population, the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be drawn upon in addition to SFL. The combination of the two theoretical backgrounds facilitates the exploration of the (im)balance of power in the Israel-Palestine conflict as it is perceived by a group of young Palestinian students in the West Bank. This exploration explores how the nature of the powerful is conveyed through the voices of the powerless.

Two linguistic tools of analysis are drawn upon to achieve the aims of the present research. First, a TRANSITIVITY analysis is employed. A powerful tool within the lexicogrammar for exploring how writers create meaning and reflect experience at the level of the clause, the model reveals how the linguistic features of a text encode a particular way of seeing the world. Through the TRANSITIVITY model the world is represented as organized, at the level of the clause, into a finite number of processes, each with accompanying participant roles and a range of types of Circumstances. Second, an APPRAISAL analysis is employed. The appraisal framework facilitates the investigation of the linguistic resources by which the clause becomes a site of exchange, the site where the writer/speaker of the text instantiates ideological positions in relation to the construed experience.

Through its linguistic analysis of the texts and voices of a powerless group, namely Palestinian children, the present research aims at more than a simple revealing of the ways in which the occupying authority maintains power and control over the occupied population. Instead, it reaches further to explore the oppressed's own accounts of their physical, mental and emotional reactions to, and attitudes towards, the oppression. Findings reveal themes of exile, dispossession, fear and suffering, yet they also reveal that the young people's texts develop images of both community and self which have the potential to collapse the barrier-like pre/misconceptions they believe the world holds of them. I argue that the students' discourse should present, for discourse analysts and others in the field of SFL, an opportunity for a positive discourse analysis.

Declaration

"This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any degree, qualification or course".

Dedicated to

David McLaughlin
Fouad Moughrabi
Geoff Thompson

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Introduction

The motivation for the present study lies in my involvement, since 1999, with the Palestinian community in various educational contexts as an English language educator and researcher. After teaching English voluntarily in the refugee camps around Ramallah for a year and a half, I took up permanent residence in the West Bank six months into the Intifada. As my focus shifted from teaching to teacher-training and curriculum evaluation, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with diverse segments of Palestinian society. Living among the Palestinians, I not only formed many close friendships, but also experienced day to day life much the same as they did. For the first two years, I was very aware that Palestinian experiences, the Palestinian version of reality and of the world around them, were not being represented to the world. One incident in particular comes to mind: in the second week of March, 2002, the Israeli military invaded Ramallah, imposing a blanket curfew and cutting off water and electricity supplies to many neighbourhoods for three full days. On the second day, the electricity came back on for three hours, and during that time I was able to watch BBC World hourly coverage. According to their reports, the Israeli military had completely withdrawn from Ramallah. According to my eyes, three Israeli tanks and one APC were parked directly outside my front gate. Had the people in my neighbourhood been asked to participate in the media-making, no doubt the report's content would have been quite different (for an overview of Palestinian representations in the media, see, for example: Sylvan & Toronto, 2004; Nir & Roeh, 1992; Zelizer, Park & Gudelunas, 2002; and Fisk, 2005).

Two weeks later, at the end of March 2002, Ramallah was under invasion again: Operation Defensive Shield, as it was termed by the Israeli military, saw the entire West Bank under siege for six weeks. This event, I would argue, marked a turning point in some (not all) media coverage of the Intifada and, by extension, world public opinion: media representations of Palestinian experience became much more commonplace, and there was a significant increase in the number of articles, books and documentaries describing life on the ground in occupied Palestine. Academics from a range of disciplines began, through endeavours like Media Watch, to draw

attention to the media's one-sided reporting, to speak out against the actions of the Israeli military and to conduct joint research projects with Palestinian educational institutions. One such academic is Ghassan Hage, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, who, representing a change in the types of commentary typical of the time, wrote of the media's continued normalization of violence even while the siege of the West Bank was at its height. I quote at length:

> In the days that followed the Israeli army's reinvasion of the West Bank in March 2002 and the resultant destruction of the embryonic elements of a sovereign Palestinian society, I, like many, sat in my office fuming, emailing depressed friends and colleagues to express our helplessness and despair at the unbelievable injustice of it all. Besides the death and devastation, most depressing perhaps was the mediatic normalisation of the very idea of a nation's military rampaging virtually unopposed – like Genghis Khan in tanks – through another nation's cities and towns, levelling entire streets, destroying houses, libraries and so forth. It was for all of us an absurdly anachronistic form of violence: a medieval mode of warfare outfitted in modern technology. I took it upon myself to send Arab, Jewish and other concerned friends an email trying to think through the nature and ramifications of this violence (Hage, 2003b: 120).

In April 2002, as the Israeli military began to withdraw from the city centres of a few select sites in the West Bank, the international community was inundated with reports by organizations such as the United Nations Development Program, Human Rights Watch and The International Red Cross, documenting the devastation and destruction wreaked on the Palestinian community. A brief survey of the documentation revealed that between March 29th and April 21st, 2002, 220 - 270 Palestinians were killed, with a further 1,447 injured. Six thousand boys and men were detained, often without cause and in very difficult conditions. The number of refugee homes damaged reached 2800, while 800 were completely demolished, leaving over 17,000 people homeless. An estimated US$465 million in damages was sustained, with over US$43 million in Ramallah alone (Hamzeh & May, 2003: 111-116). No facet of Palestinian private or public society was untouched; homes, hospitals, cultural organisations and government offices were vandalized, pillaged and destroyed. The education sector was one of the hardest hit, as Palestinian Ministry of Education statistics suggest: during the invasion, 11,000 classes were missed and 55,000 teaching sessions were lost. Fifty schools were damaged, 11 were totally destroyed, 9 were vandalized, 15 were used as military outposts and 15 were used as mass arrest and detention centres (UN, 30 July 2002, www.un.org/peace/jenin/index.html).

As an educator, I was particularly concerned about the impact these events would have on the psyche of Palestinian children. According to a University of Geneva report, the following statistics describe the violence's impact on Palestinian children: 38.5% affected by shooting, 10.7% affected by violence on TV, 5.8% affected by confinement at home, 20.7% affected by witnessing military operations, 0.7% affected by arrests, round-ups and beatings, 0.2% affected by the death of a relative and 22.1% affected by a combination of the above (University of Geneva, Graduate Institute of Development Studies. *An Overview of Palestinian Public Assessment of its Needs and Conditions Following the Recent Israeli Military Operations in the West Bank, March-April, 2002, Report IV*, April 2002, www.badil.org/Resources/Intifada/IUED/IUED4.pdf.). Given that 50% of the roughly four million West Bank/Gaza Strip population is under the age of 18, these percentages are significant in real terms. The level of emotional damage was presumably high.

There were, prior to Operation Defensive Shield, a number of psychological intervention projects implemented by local NGOs to encourage children to express themselves (e.g. *Eyewitnesses to the Events: Palestinian Children Draw Their Dreams*, sponsored by DIAKONA and NAD, and implemented by the Palestinian National Theatre and The Bethlehem Project). In the immediate aftermath of the invasion however, the urgent needs of disaster relief meant that little systematic research could be undertaken by international academics to investigate the children's own perceptions of their own realities. As an educator living in Palestine, this became my immediate goal. One week after curfew was lifted in Ramallah, in my capacity as researcher in English language education at Al-Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development, I visited the Ramallah Secondary Girls School, a school in the city centre which had sustained considerable damage during the invasion. Having lived through the invasion of Ramallah myself, I was not surprised by the details of what I heard and saw. The young girls expressed raw emotion: fear, anger and despair. They recounted their experiences of nightly bombings, the destruction of their homes, the arrest, detention and murder of their loved ones. The girls repeatedly articulated a deep sense of isolation. They believed that the world had not seen them suffer, had not heard their cries for help, had no knowledge of who they

were and what they were struggling for. They expressed the desire for an opportunity to represent themselves.

This research provides that opportunity, in that its aim is to explore the ways in which a group of West Bank young people represent their experiences living under Israeli military occupation and through their community's second popular uprising for statehood.

Rooted in the traditions of Social Semiotics (SS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this dissertation is a linguistic uncovering of how the experiences, and the resulting ideologies or world-views of these young people, are realised in the linguistic features of their writings. This study examines the language choices exhibited across 160 texts, written and spoken in English by Palestinian males and females, ages 12 - 18, throughout the 2002/3 school year in Ramallah, West Bank.

Drawing on the Hallidayan school of linguistics (1978, 1985), this research utilizes several of the theoretical frameworks put forth by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). As a place from which to begin this research, it can be argued that one of the most crucial elements underpinning SFL is the concept of language as 'social semiotic'. Social here dually denotes the social system, or culture, and the fact that language must be interpreted in relation to its social structure (Halliday, 1978, 1985). Hallidayan linguistics expands upon the idea of semiotics as the general study of signs to define it more broadly as "the study of sign systems...the study of meaning in its most general sense" (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 3-4). Language, as it is viewed through the SFL lens, is an encoding system for meaning, a system through which we as humans construe our experience of the world and organize ourselves socially. Halliday argues for three functions of language: in the first instance, language functions to provide a theory of human experience, to enact personal and social relationships in the second, and, in the third instance, to build sequences of discourse while organizing the continuous discursive flow of events and goings-on. It is primarily with the first two functions, of how language "actively construes human experience" and "enacts human relationships", what are in SFL called the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, that this research will be concerned (Halliday, 1993: 46).

This research, which sets out to deconstruct a group of young students' linguistic representations of experience, is situated within a particular social context, a context in which colonial oppression is met by the uprising of an indigenous population. From this perspective, the context of this research might be described as a site of social struggle, a site where social power relations are imbalanced. Accordingly, this research will, in addition to SFL, also draw heavily upon the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Complementary to Halliday's concept of language as a social semiotic, the concern of CDA (e.g. Fairclough 1989; Wodak 1996) is to push further the analysis of how "texts work within sociocultural practice" (Fairclough, 1995a:7) to examine how texts negotiate sociocultural contradictions and act as sites of social struggle (Kress, 1996). To this end, CDA is largely concerned with exposing "language and attendant semiosis in the service of power" (Martin, 2003: 1). The task of the CD analyst is, therefore, to explore how power structures and inequalities of gender, ethnicity, class etc. are reproduced in discourse.

The context of this research should fit well within the framework of CDA in that one of its aims is to explore the (im)balance of power in the Israel-Palestine conflict as it is perceived by a group of young Palestinian students in the West Bank; in so doing, the nature of the powerful will be conveyed through the voices of the powerless. However, some of the research carried out within a CDA framework, where power structures are dissected for the mere sake of identifying with whom power resides, are increasingly coming under question by those in the field who wonder whether the energies spent by researchers analyzing texts to examine entrenched power hierarchies might be better spent elsewhere. Kress (1996), for example, writes in this vein that "CL or CDA have not offered (productive) accounts of alternative forms of social organization, nor of social subjects, other than by implication" (15-16). In this sense, Martin (2003) argues for analyses which are more oriented to "constructive social action", what he calls CDA irrealis (3). He puts forth Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard's (1996) vision of CDA as an example of what future research might entail:

> Discourse is a major instrument of power and control and Critical Discourse Analysts...feel that it is indeed part of their professional role to investigate, reveal and clarify how power and discriminatory value are inscribed in and mediated through the linguistic system. CDA is essentially political in intent with its practitioners acting upon the world in order to transform it and thereby help create a world where people

> are not discriminated against because of sex, colour, creed, age or social class.
> [Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996: xi, emphasis added in Martin 2003]

In short, what Martin (2003) is proposing is a Positive Discourse Analysis: "heartening accounts of progress" rather than "discouraging analyses of oppression" (5).

Given the political, military and social context of this research (i.e. military occupation), there will inevitably be a great deal of discouraging analysis of oppression. However, it is my informed assumption that this research, through its linguistic deconstruction of the texts and voices of the oppressed themselves, will achieve much more than a simple revealing of the ways in which the occupying authorities maintain power and control over the occupied population. Instead, this research stretches further and explores the oppressed's own accounts of their physical, mental and emotional reactions to, and attitudes towards, the oppression. In so doing, I hope that this research will allow for the social subjects under investigation to "act upon the world" (the reader) and "transform" it (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996: xi) by offering alternative voices having the potential to influence world opinion. This dissertation will undoubtedly reveal narratives of fear, exile and dispossession etc., but will endeavour to highlight the ways in which the students' writings can be seen as constituting a Positive Discourse, the ways in which strength, resilience, love and happiness, for example, are inscribed in the data. In showing how the young people's texts develop images of both community and self which have the potential to collapse the barrier-like pre/misconceptions they believe the world holds of them, I argue that the students' discourse should present, for discourse analysts and others in the field of SFL, a heartening account of progress.

To deconstruct the ways in which representations of the world are imbued in the young people's language choices, two main analytic tools are borrowed from SFL: TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL analyses.

Since the primary goal of this research is to examine how the social reality of a group of young Palestinians from the West Bank is constructed through language, the TRANSITIVITY model seems a useful place from which to begin data analysis. A

powerful tool within the lexicogrammar for exploring how writers create meaning and reflect experience at the level of the clause, the model reveals how the "linguistic structures of a text effectively encode a particular world view" (Simpson, 1993: 104; see also Halliday, 1994; Thompson, 2003; Bloor and Bloor, 1995; Eggins, 1994). The TRANSITIVITY model allows for order to be imposed on "the endless variation and flow of events and goings-on" that is human experience (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:170): through this imposition of order, the world is organized into a finite number of processes, each with accompanying participant roles and a range of types of Circumstances. A close investigation of the types of processes and participants inscribed across a corpus of texts can allow the linguist "to actually say relevant and useful things about what is happening in language" (Ravelli, 2000: 27).

As Chapter Three, Methods, recounts in detail, the TRANSITIVITY analysis begins by identifying the sets of social actors which figure prominently in the "happenings" of the texts. Once the relevant participant groupings for the study are established, it is explored how the young people represent these participants as playing roles of lesser to greater importance in their perceptions of daily reality. Of concern here is the question of active or passive participation: who is acted upon by whom, and in a range of what types of processes? Hasan's Cline of Dynamism (1985) is utilized in an attempt to answer this question. The Cline was developed in order to determine how dynamic or passive a particular TRANSITIVITY participant role is in relation to another. The Cline of Dynamism is a very useful analytic tool for this research as it can help to uncover the balance of power as the young people see it, by revealing the frequency with which certain participant groupings are instantiated across the corpus in the most dynamic, or active, participant roles.

The second main analytic tool employed in this research is that of APPRAISAL analysis. The APPRAISAL framework might be thought of, in addition to complementing a TRANSITIVITY analysis, as picking up where it leaves off: while the TRANSITIVITY analysis can reveal how experience is construed at the level of the clause, the APPRAISAL framework facilitates the investigation of the linguistic resources by which the clause becomes a site of exchange, the site where, when enacting social relationships, "a text/speaker comes to express, negotiate and naturalize particular

inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions" in relation to the construed experience (White, n.d.).

More specifically, APPRAISAL theory (Iedema et al. 1994, Martin 1995a, Martin 1995b, Christie and Martin 1997, Martin 1997, Coffin 1997, Eggins and Slade 1997, White 1998, Martin 2000a, White 2000, Körner 2000, and Hunston and Thompson, 2000) is concerned with the language of evaluation, attitude and emotion; it explores how "attitudes, judgements and emotive responses are explicitly presented in texts and how they may be more indirectly implied, presupposed or assumed" (White, n.d.). The APPRAISAL framework provides, for linguists and others, a functional methodology for "exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships" (White, n.d.). The APPRAISAL framework is adopted in this research to explore the ways in which the young people are attitudinally oriented to the social actors and "happenings" in the world around them. An analysis of the young people's use of evaluative language affords a closer look at how emotions, judgements and valuations (or, more generally, opinions) are negotiated across the corpus, and should also allow for a reflection of the value systems of the children and their community (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 6).

A combined TRANSITIVITY-APPRAISAL analysis should reveal much about how the children's world-view, including how they see both themselves and others participating in the events around them and how they feel about their daily experiences. However, because the data for this research was collected during a time of intense political conflict and daily violence, a time where the battle was as much a linguistic media battle as it was militaristic, a number of predictions based on informed assumptions can be made here about the findings of the study. A brief overview of these predictions follows.

First, it is predicted that the data will primarily construe representations of the young Palestinians' experiences and will convey the attitudes of the participants and the Palestinian community. It is not expected that the experiences and attitudes of any other sets of social actors will be given great emphasis across the corpus. This prediction is not meant, however, to imply that the participants in the study and the

greater Palestinian community will be the only participant grouping arising from the data; indeed, as Chapter Three will confirm, it is predicted that Israel and the Israeli community, as the other party to the conflict, will constitute a significant participant grouping in the data.

Second, given the context of military occupation and grassroots uprising in which the data was gathered, it is predicted that the data will be saturated with construals of a material reality in which war, violence and destruction predominate. Again, given that Israel and the Israeli community is the occupying power in this very real conflict, it is predicted that as a set of social actors, this participant grouping will figure prominently in the most dynamic types of TRANSITIVITY participant roles. Further, it is predicted that the majority of TRANSITIVITY processes in which this participant grouping is involved, will tend to be militaristic in nature.

Following logically from this second prediction is a third prediction that the young people will tend to represent themselves and their community as occupying TRANSITIVITY roles which are generally less dynamic than those occupied by Israel and the Israeli community. It can be added to this third prediction that the young people will, for the most part, also represent themselves in TRANSITIVITY processes which are strikingly different in nature than those engaged in by Israel and the Israeli community. This prediction does not, however, preclude the possibility of the young people representing themselves, at times, as being dynamic participants in TRANSITIVITY roles.

Fourth, it is predicted that, given the fact that the Israel-Palestine conflict is a protracted one spanning generations, there will be a great deal of *us* versus *them* imagery reflected across the corpus through language choices that serve to characterize the out-group (i.e. Israel and the Israeli community) negatively in comparison with the in-group (assumed here to be Palestine and the Palestinian community). It is presumed that a characterization of the out-group will be instantiated through highly evaluative linguistic choices functioning to appraise the out-group negatively.

Fifth, it is predicted that, in juxtaposing the out-group against the in-group, the young people will appraise their own participant group through opposing, positive linguistic evaluations.

It is assumed that a delicate grammatical analysis using the TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL models will confirm or, more surprisingly and infinitely more interestingly from a linguist's point-of-view, refute these predictions.

This dissertation proceeds from here to Chapter Two where the theoretical frameworks underpinning the study, as well as any relevant literature in the field, are reviewed. From there the dissertation proceeds to Chapter Three, Methods, where the study's participants as well as data collection and analysis methods are described in detail. Chapter Four presents and discusses in detail the findings of the TRANSITIVITY analysis, while Chapter Five presents and discusses in detail the findings of the APPRAISAL analysis. Chapter Six, the final chapter, concludes this research by discussing and summarizing issues of importance revealed by both the TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL chapters. Chapter Six concludes with recommendations for further research.

2
Literature Review

2.0 Chapter Overview

The Literature Review is divided into two broad sections, exploring first the main theoretical frameworks and concepts which underpin this study before moving on to describe the analytic frameworks which will be used in the analysis of data. Sections 2.1 to 2.4 begin with a theoretical discussion of two of the fields of enquiry in which this study is located, namely Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, then presents an overview of literature in these areas which focus specifically on children as subjects of research, and finally presents some of the criticisms which have been levelled against the two approaches. Section 2.5 gives an introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics which has its roots in the same semiotic traditions as (Critical) Discourse Analysis, yet allows for methodical and detailed investigations into language which can compensate for some of the weaknesses brought to attention in section 2.4. Sections 2.6 to 2.10 describe some of the macro-concepts which are expected to arise in this study, including brief introductions to theories of the development of national identity in children and youth, social identity and the discursive construction of in- and out-groups. The focus narrows in section 2.12 to describe how the concepts introduced in sections 2.6 to 2.10 apply to the micro-level, meaning the specific context of Palestine and Palestinian children. Sections 2.13 to 2.17 describe the linguistic frameworks which will be used as tools for the analysis of data, beginning with the TRANSITIVITY model and the Cline of Dynamism, then moving on to the Representation of Social Actors and the APPRAISAL framework. The chapter concludes with section 2.18 which describes the usefulness of employing such linguistic tools in the analysis of text.

2.1 Discourse Analysis (DA)

Discourse analysis is a hybrid field of enquiry, springing from a range of disciplines in the human and social sciences. DA as a term does not refer to one discipline, field of research or theoretical framework; instead, it is a term referring to vastly different research activities with varied types of data and tools of analysis (see, for example, Wetherell et al., 2001; Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001). Discourse analysis, because

of its broad applications, might best be described as a *way* of approaching or thinking about a problem (Palmquist, 2006: pgh. 1of 9). As a manner of questioning, DA does not, in itself, "provide tangible answers to questions posed by scientific research" (Palmquist, 2006: pgh. 1of 9). What it does do, though, is "allow access to the ontological and epistemological assumptions behind a particular research project or statement" (Palmquist, 2006: pgh. 1of 9). DA allows the researcher to view the problem from a higher level, and to gain a comprehensive view of the problem and the researcher him/herself in relation to that problem. The 'problem' for discourse analysts, or more precisely the unit of analysis, is the text. Texts, which include representations of reality and even reality itself, are "conditioned by and inscribe themselves within a given discourse" (Palmquist, 2006: pgh. 1of 9). Discourse analysis is then, the analytical reading and interpretation of a text.

Alldred & Burman (2005) write that "discourses are frameworks of meaning produced in language…they not only reflect the social world, but serve to construct it" (178). For the purposes of this research, which is interested in exploring the ways in which Palestinian children reflect and construct reality, discourse analysis will be defined as the close study, or deconstruction, of language in use. Following Stubbs (1983), DA refers to the "linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse" (1). Stubbs (1983) conceptualizes DA as having three primary concerns: a) language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence or utterance; b) interrelationships between language and society; and, c) interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication. Stubbs' definition highlights a perspective of DA (and also of SFL) that language, as a system of choices, is an important means for getting things done (Potter, 2001). Language use, then, is a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1995a: 7; see also Fairclough, 1996: 20-22). The discourse analytic researcher will, therefore, be concerned with investigating what can be and is being done with language; generally speaking, this means that language should be analysed within its *situated* use. DA foregrounds language use as social action, as situated performance, as representative and constitutive of social relationships, identities and, as will be seen in the following section, also power, inequality and social struggle (Wetherell et al., 2001). In viewing language as both construing and constituting reality, DA focuses on language as practice rather than language as structure.

Wetherell et al. (2001) argue that the role of the discourse analyst is to identify patterns in language use and further argue that there are roughly four very broad approaches to discourse analytic research (6-10). The first approach looks at how language use varies in different social situations or environments, and with different users. In this approach, vocabulary, structures and functions may be of most interest to the researcher, as well as broader concepts such as genre or code which characterize the relationship between language and social situation (see, for example, Maybin 2001; Hodge and Kress, 1988). Wetherell et al. suggest that this approach is concerned with "the regularities within an imperfect and unstable system" (2001: 8). In contrast to the first approach, the second approach takes interest in the use of language rather than the language itself; interaction is thus the primary focus. Wetherell et al. (2001) argue that this approach views the language user as constrained by the interactive context of the situation, in the sense that his/her contribution is shaped by what preceded it; this approach has traditionally been of interest for researchers utilising, for example, the tools of conversation analysis. The third approach as described by Wetherell et al. (2001) investigates how lexical items, and also possibly language structures, are related to a particular topic or activity, possibly concentrating on, for example, the ways in which new terms enable people to talk about different things (8). The "constitutive nature of language", they argue, can be clearly seen in this approach because it is not simply a matter of attaching new labels to already existing objects (8). Instead, the language functions to create what it refers to, in the sense that "meanings are created and eroded as part of ongoing social change" (8). This third approach differs from the second in that language use is situated in a particular social/cultural context rather than a particular interaction. The fourth approach outlined by Wetherell et al. (2001) best describes the goal of the research for this dissertation. Here, language patterns are identified with the aim of exploring how they constitute aspects of society and the people within it (9). This approach investigates the social nature of the phenomenon under study, and generally focuses on the issues of power, resistance, contest and struggle (e.g. the language of racism and sexism). Wetherell et al. (2001) suggest that related to such exploration might be the study of how people are classified for official purposes; they refer readers to Rose (1985) who, for example, explores how the early process of widespread schooling in Britain required the creation of new categories of children such as 'feebleminded' or, much later, as 'gifted'. This fourth type of discourse analysis, which sees discourse as "a fluid, shifting medium in which meaning is created and contested", and which sees

the speaker/writer as located within this medium and therefore perpetually struggling to account for his/her social and cultural positioning (Wetherell et al. 2001: 9), is more generally known as Critical Discourse Analysis. A fuller discussion of CDA now follows.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Researchers drawing on DA and CDA generally approach their subject, the text, with the assumption that there is no one true view or interpretation of the world. There is no one, valid meaning; instead, the world is "inherently fragmented and heterogeneous" (Palmquist, 2006: pgh. 2 of 9). All sense making systems or beliefs are only subjective interpretations, interpretations which "are themselves conditioned by their social surroundings and the dominant discourses of the time" (Palmquist, 2006: pgh. 2 of 9). The goal of CDA, and of critical theories in general, is to deconstruct concepts, belief systems and widely held social values and assumptions. What is required of the critical researcher is reflective thought, defined by Dewey (1933) as "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusion to which it tends" (9). Traditional critical theories, from which modern CDA was born, include, as Palmquist (2006: pgh. 7 of 9) outlines: Foucault (e.g.1977, 1980, 1965/1988), who analysed how discourse is used to exercise power, and studied how knowledge is created by society for a variety of purposes; Jameson (e.g. 1992, 2002, 2005), who provided a Marxist analysis of Postmodernism; and Kristeva (e.g. 1980, 1982, 1994) and Cixous (e.g. 1998, 1999, 2006), who interpreted social practice from a feminist perspective. Although this dissertation is informed by these critical theorists, it will more directly draw on the works of the last twenty years, including but not limited to, for example, Fairclough (1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b, 1998), Hodge and Kress (1988), Kress and Hodge (1979) and Kress (1989, 1996).

Critical discourse analysts working from within the traditions of Fairclough, Hodge & Kress, etc., approach language analysis from the perspective that each text

> negotiate[s] the sociocultural contradictions and more loosely differences which are thrown up in social situations, and indeed they constitute a form in which social struggles are acted out (Kress, 1999, cited in Fairclough, 1995a: 7)

Societal contradictions, or differences, tend to be practically realized in the form of hierarchical power relations. Power, and of course also the rejection of power, is produced and reproduced in and by language, as Fairclough (1995) points out: "those

who exercise power through language must constantly be involved in struggle with others to defend (or lose) their position" (35). The interest of the critical discourse analyst lies in how it is that power is invested in language. In exploring such an interest, the researcher looks specifically at how language is invested with meaning, how it is a vehicle for the expression of a society's thoughts and particular ways of seeing.

The ways of seeing, or the 'world-views' that an individual or society hold, can be defined as ideologies. According to Gramsci (1971), ideology is "a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in the manifestations of individual and collective life" (328). However, as de Beaugrande (2006) points out, most talk of language, discourse and ideology has situated ideology not simply as a conception of the world, but squarely within a framework in which the powerful struggle to retain power. de Beaugrande (2006: pgh. 5) cites, for example: Fairclough (1992: 67), who writes that "ideology is significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power"; Wodak (1996: 18), who writes that "ideologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation; and Lemke (1995: 12), who writes that "ideology supports violence and is critically shaped by and in a context of violence [and by] physical pain and social dehumanisation". Such definitions of ideology are useful, particularly within the context of CDA, which sets out to examine discourses which produce and reproduce violent societal power inequalities, but are not wholly appropriate for this research study which explores the alternative discourses of the disempowered. The participants of this study are not disempowered by virtue of the fact alone that they are an occupied people, but more so because of the fact that they are children, a social group wholly unable to influence the ideology-spinning apparatuses of their societies. Of course, the ideologies of the other, the powerful, will likely be identifiable in the children's discourse; but it is necessary here to work with a definition of ideology which allows for the uncovering of the children's conceptions of the world without presuming that their ways of seeing will be dominating, exploitative or violent. I would concur with de Beaugrande's suggestion that it is therefore perhaps more appropriate to work with Mannheim's (1936) non-evaluative concept of ideology, and van Dijk's (1998) proposed alternative definition of ideology, which is: "ideologies may be succinctly

defined as the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group, [allowing] group members to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly" (8, quoted in de Beaugrande, 2006: pgh. 5).

Following van Dijk's (1998) definition of ideology, this study will operate from the idea that ideologies are the assumptions in our world that are not questioned. These unquestioned assumptions, which are manifest in individual and collective life, can be construed through language. Because, as it has been seen, language comprises texts and, ultimately, discourse, all context and discourse models will necessarily be imbued with the speaker/writer's, or culture's, ideologies. Discourses are, consequently, also presented as naturalized and unquestioned; they are taken as representing some sort of fundamental truth or, as Fairclough (1995) notes, 'common sense.' The task of the critical researcher then, is to uncover the ways in which 'common sense' ideologies, or ways of seeing, are embedded in discourse.

Ideologies need to be uncovered because they are implicit and backgrounded in texts; that is, writers tend to encode their ideology in text and discourse without necessarily being aware of it. It is the task of the analyst to bring the writer's ideologies to the surface. In order to identify ideology in discourse, Fairclough suggests that "it may be useful to think of ideologies in terms of content-like entities which are manifested in various formal features" (75). It is through an analysis of these formal features, or mechanics of language, that there can be some understanding of how the language of a text reproduces the particular ideologies inherent to it. Sections 2.13 to 2.17 will introduce the analytic tools which will be utilized to uncover how these Palestinian children have invested their texts with meaning.

2.3 (C)DA: The Child as Subject

Children are very suitable research subjects from the perspective of CDA. Historically, children have been *objects* rather than subjects of study. Traditionally, disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology have situated research on the child within the broad lens of childhood as a developmental stage, where "children are looked at in relation to other children and not as individuals who, just like adults, experience the world" and have ideas and thoughts about, and reactions to, that experience (Greene & Hill, 2005: 1). Rogers et al. (2005) describe how research on children has historically

been confined to two "seriously limited methods" (159). The first is qualitative studies in which "theory drives descriptions of children's lives", while the second is "survey studies where adults are asked about children's lives and the categories of response are constrained" (159). As Rogers et al. point out, "neither approach is conducive to discovering children's perceptions of their own life experiences" (2005: 159). Although within the field of anthropology there has been a long tradition of research into children's reflections of experience, beginning with Mead's (1930/1961) explorations of children's conversations in Samoa and New Guinea and Bühler's (1930) use of teenage girls' diaries to explore the construal of experience, the body of literature has "not been very influential" (Greene & Hill, 2005: 2).

It can be said, then, that children's experience, as it has been represented by children themselves, has remained on the periphery of research interests. Therefore, from the perspective of CDA, an exploration of children's experience is necessarily a study of marginalization, an attempt to bring silenced voices to the fore. Such a research interest follows in the footsteps of feminist and post-colonial theories which have endeavoured to find a central place for women's and indigenous people's accounts of their own life experiences (see, for example, Ardener 1975a and b; Moore, 1998; Henriques, Hollway, Urain, Venn & Walkerdine, 1998; Rose, 1989 and Alanen, 1988). Hill (2005) draws a parallel between research which views children as an oppressed social group and participatory and emancipatory research with poor, marginalized adults (63; see also Hall, 2000 and O'Kane, 2000).

Christensen & Prout (2005) describe a "new sociology of childhood" which looks at children "as making meaning in social life through their interactions with other children as well as with adults" (43). Research of this kind views the child as an "experiencing subject" whose responses to experience are of interest "to themselves, to other children and to adults" (Greene & Hill, 2005: 3). From the perspective of these researchers, children are active social agents, constructing and determining their own lives. The child is not just formed by social life, but is also a social actor, one "whose actions can both shape and change social life" (Christensen & Prout, 2005: 50). This characterization of the child is in contrast to the traditional view of most societies which "value children for their potential and for what they will grow up to be but [devalue

them] in terms of their present perspectives and experiences" (Christensen & Prout, 2005: 50 cited by Greene & Hill, 2005: 3).

In the past, children were not considered suitable research subjects because they have been deemed to be "immature, irrational, incompetent, asocial and acultural" (MacKay, 1973: 27-28). Traditional Western images of the child have tended to depict them as incomplete research subjects, entirely irrational, un-reflexive and not self-controlled (Burman, 1994; see also Moi, 1985 and Walkerdine, 1988). This study, situated as it is within CDA, rejects such views of the child, embracing instead the ideals espoused by the new sociology of childhood. This study views children as being a product of their culture, yet at the same time, in the words of Hastrup (1988), being "a co-writer of reality" (137). Moreover, the child is viewed by this research as both an "interpreter and producer of society and culture" (Christensen & Prout, 2005: 50; see also Casaro, 1992 and 1997). Such a conception of the child is in line with Prout & James (1997), who assert that children should be regarded as both "restricted and encapsulated by social structures, and as persons acting within or towards the structure" (50). The aim of this research, as it is with (C)DA more generally, is to "capture children's lived experiences of the world and the meanings they attach to those experiences from their own perspectives" (Hogan, 1998: 2).

Of interest to this study is research which explores how children utilize language to construe experience. Recently, interest has grown in this area, resulting in studies in children's experience from discourse, narrative and multimodal analytic perspectives (see, for example, Emond, 2005; Westcott & Littleton, 2005; Alldred & Burman, 2005; Engel, 2005; Hennessy & Heary, 2005; and Danaher & Briod, 2005). The present research is not interested in children's experiences generally but is, more specifically, interested in the linguistic construal of children's experiences living in conflict zones and emerging nation states. In particular, it is interested in how language patterns in the children's discourse reveal ideologies regarding issues of national identity and in- and out-groups. Although there are myriad studies focusing on the political socialization of these types of children in broad terms (particularly of Palestinian children, as will be seen in section 2.7 below), there are very few which examine, via linguistic tools of analysis, children's construal of their relationship with their countries, and their experience more generally, in discourse. There have very recently, though, been two

published studies of research on children in conflict zones which, in the words of Veale, "engage children in the analysis and articulation of their perspectives of their lives" (2005: 154-5). Veale (2005) describes participatory research methods, such as art, drama and storytelling, used in Rwanda to give children the opportunity to "reflect on the impact of violence on their social relations within the community" (155). Jones (2004) describes psychological research conducted on war-traumatized children in Bosnia; her findings parallel what has been described above, namely that research on children has tended to focus on child as *object* (e.g. research aimed at securing funding from international donors for programs in Bosnia which would ensure that children did not manifest their trauma in similar ways to what they experienced – bombing, rape, ethnic cleansing etc.), rather than *subject*. Jones' comments on the body of available literature on Bosnian children are very similar to my comments on the body of literature on Palestinian children which will be overviewed in section 2.7 below. In order to highlight the similarities, I quote from Jones at length:

> I came to believe that humanitarian programs and mental health professionals were approaching the subject of war trauma and children from the wrong direction. The largely unquestioned assumption was that large numbers of children would be traumatized – that is, made medically unwell – by war and would need psychological assistance. Such children were identified by means of questionnaires (filled out by their mothers) that established whether they had symptoms…it was assumed that "traumatized" children would manifest their problems in similar ways…Other assumptions were that war was necessarily brutalizing and damaging to children's moral development, and that today's traumatized and untreated children were tomorrow's terrorists…But the majority of the children with whom I worked did not fit this picture…As I explored the academic literature I found much that supported my view. In conflicts studied around the world, 60-80 percent of children showed no psychological ill effects. Furthermore, their well-being was not necessarily related to the amount of violence they had suffered, but it was related to the way they made sense of their experiences, their subjective view of events. However, most of the large body of work exploring the effects of war on children focused on rates of illness and the identification of symptom clusters and "vulnerability" and "protective factors"; *no one appeared to be examining the experience of war from the child's perspective*. For all the children I had encountered, war had been a life-changing event, but it had not necessarily made them ill. If I wanted to understand the true impact of war on childhood, I had to step away from a medical model and the search for psychopathology and start *to listen to children describing their experiences and their own understandings of the ways such experiences had affected them* (2004: 5, emphasis mine).

The most salient point of this section is that a discourse analytic approach to research allows for an exploration of the process of knowledge construction as opposed to knowledge gathering through checklists, surveys, etc. As Flick (2002) argues, the role of the methods in discourse analytic research is "to analyze how people construct knowledge and engage in world-making in their everyday lives" (29). According to Flick (2002), the goal of discourse analysis (and, I add, critical discourse analysis) is, in general, to "engage the research subject in producing representations", or what he calls

"symbolic worlds" (30-37). The goal of this research is to investigate how a group of Palestinian children construe their own symbolic worlds in discourse.

2.4 Some Criticisms of (C)DA

Criticism of (C)DA lies not so much in any inherent shortcomings of the approaches, but rather in the multitude of ways they have been adopted by researchers across the disciplines. A main concern is that (C)DA has been interpreted by some as being an "anything goes" approach, and has lead to research which is not rigorous and contains very little real analysis of discourse. Antaki et al. (2002) state that there is a need to "reiterate and emphasise the analytic basis to discursive studies" (3). They identify six common ways of treating the analysis of text and talk which fall far short of actual discourse analysis in the sense that none of them "actually analyse the data" (1). The six shortcomings are: 1) under-analysis through summary; 2) under-analysis through taking sides; 3) under-analysis through over-quotation or through isolated quotation; 4) the circular identification of discourses and mental constructs; 5) false survey; and 6) analysis that consists of simply spotting features (1). Burman (2003) extends Antaki et al.'s outline of common weaknesses in discursive studies, and adds three more points to the list: 7) under-analysis through uncontested readings; 8) under-analysis through decontextualization; and 9) under-analysis through not having a question. I would argue that one of the ways most of these weaknesses can be avoided is if the discourse analyst undertakes a delicate linguistic analysis of text using a combination of the analytic tools developed by Halliday and colleagues in their systemic functional approach to language. The following section gives a detailed introduction to the main tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics, while sections 2.15 to 2.19 provide details of the tools mentioned in section 2.0.

2.5 A systemic-functional approach to language (SFL)

Ravelli (2000) writes that SFL is distinctive in the sense that its tools of analysis allow the researcher "to actually say relevant and useful things about what is happening in language" (27). Drawing on SFL, discourse analysts will have at their disposal the analytic tools necessary to prevent an under-analysis based solely on the repetition of content themes or the un-critical spotting of interesting features. Systemic Functional Linguistics, born from the rich semiotic and discourse traditions of the early 20th century, focuses on the *how* of language; it looks at the myriad resources inherent to

language which allow it to achieve its communicative intentions. This means that linguists from within the SFL tradition engage in research from the perspective that language is a social semiotic; that is, language is a system for making meanings, a system through which we as humans construe our experience of the world and organize ourselves socially. Based on the pioneering work of Halliday (1967/8, 1973, 1975, 1978, 1979, 1984, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Halliday & Martin, 1981,1993; and Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, 2004), systemic-functional grammar is based on the notion that language functions, in the first instance, to provide a theory of human experience, to enact personal and social relationships in the second, and, in the third instance, to build sequences of discourse while organizing the continuous discursive flow of events and goings-on. Each of these functions constitutes what Halliday has broadly termed the three metafunctions of language: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. In other words, 'the entire architecture of language is arranged along functional lines. Language is as it is because of the functions in which it has evolved in the human species' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 31). At the same time, language is also a system (systemic), in the sense that it is a "network of interlocking options" or "sets of choices of meaning" (Halliday, 1994: xiv; Christie & Unsworth, 2000: 2). Since the language user has at her disposal a 'highly rich resource of options' available for the communication of meaning, every language choice in an utterance or text carries meaning in relation not only to the choices made, but to options that might have been selected, but were not (Oktar, 2001: 322). Each set of options is determined by a particular context, which in turn sparks another set of options, etc. SFL is concerned, then, with the description of meaning potential, with how meaning is construed in particular contexts through a range of linguistic options (Christie & Unsworth, 2000: 2). From an SFL perspective, the linguistic and the social are inseparable; the range of options available to the language user is therefore determined by the particular social context in which she/he is positioned. Indeed, as Lemke has noted, languages are "analytical abstractions from embodied social practices" (Lemke, 1990). Drawing on this, it can be said there are simultaneously two contexts at play: the context of situation, meaning "the immediate situation in which the language is used", and the context of culture, meaning the full range of situational contexts embodied by the particular culture in question (Christie & Unsworth, 2000: 3).

The concept of a context of culture was first developed in earlier work by Halliday (1978) where he writes that language is "one of the semiotic systems that constitute a culture" (2). Language, then, can be considered an encoding system; through language humans reinforce social structures, affirm identities, and "transmit shared systems of values and knowledge" (Halliday, 1978: 2). Language, therefore, cannot be divorced from meaning because language itself is a "linguistically coded type of social act" - it embodies the ideas, norms and traditions of a society (Halliday, 1973: 48). Halliday pushes this further to posit that language is not merely a reflection of social reality; instead societies create their own reality through the language they use. As it has already been stated above that language is an interlocking network of options, human communities create and convey their own meaning through the choices they make from those linguistic options. In this sense, language is necessarily a social and political act. No utterance or statement is ever neutral or devoid of meaning.

Linguistic code (language options) and linguistic behaviour (language choices) are two interlinked components in the processes of construing and representing social reality. The linguistic code, or network of options constituting the language system, is set within a cultural context, while cultural meanings are exchanged through the range of language options available to the speaker. From a Hallidayan perspective, this means:

> context is in this kind of model a construct of cultural meanings, realized functionally in the form of acts of meaning in the various semantic modes, of which language is one. The ongoing processes of linguistic choice, whereby a speaker is selecting within the resources of the linguistic system, are effectively cultural choices, and acts of meaning are cultural acts (Halliday, 1984)

The theory of lexicogrammar, an aspect of the systemic-functional approach, accommodates this understanding of linguistic code, or grammatical form, as a system of choices revealing particular social meanings. Whereas the semantics of a linguistic semiotic system represents the engendering of meaning from the speaker's social environment, the lexicogrammar of the language represents the shift from abstract, cultural meaning into concrete wording.

Ultimately, communication occurs when the semantics of human experience is transformed into words and shared between speaker/listener, writer/reader: this is "the stratum of the lexicogrammar" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 25). Within the rank scale, the clause is the "hub of grammar"; the lexicogrammar therefore takes the clause

as the primary unit of grammatical focus (Ravelli, 2000: 27). This focus on clause as representation is specific to the ideational metafunction of language, in which the speaker's experience of the physical world is construed, along with the inner world of his/her own consciousness. Concentration at the level of the clause allows for both a comprehensive and systematic uncovering of the particular world-view of the text constructor(s). This does not imply, however, that meaning at the larger discoursal level is ignored; indeed, since SFL takes a functional view of language and emphasises the relationship between grammatical structures and social contexts, it is possible for researchers to combine SFL with a more discourse analytic approach to text when attempting to uncover and interpret the "the underlying motivations, intentions and goals of language users along with the attitudes, perceptions and judgments that [influence] them" (Oktar, 2001: 323). Exploring clausal patterns across a corpus of texts will help uncover, in this case in particular, the types of discourses being produced by the children.

This study sets out to determine precisely which 'shared systems of values and knowledge' appear in a particular set of data, and how exactly this meaning is encoded at both the lexico-grammatical (clausal) and discoursal levels. In moving from the micro-level of lexico-grammar to the macro-level of discourse, this study will focus on connected series of utterances, or texts. When analyzing texts for the purpose of discovering how a culture views the world, it is perhaps best to focus the study on only one of the myriad values, and one kind, or grouping, of texts. The grouping of texts, or the type of discourse addressed in this study will be, very broadly speaking, the discourse of the oppressed. More specifically, the study attempts to uncover the particular world-view, the value systems and attitudes, of a group of Palestinian children living under military occupation and through an uprising for independence.

2.6 The Development of National Identity in Children and Youth

Of more immediate relevance to this research is the issue of the development of a nationalist consciousness, or sense of national identity, in children and youth. Coles (1986) argues that a child's relationship with his/her nation is one of the "most profound and complex ties in human experience" (quoted in Nugent, 1994). Indeed, there is no shortage of research into the engendering of nationalist ideals in young people the world over, and one area of extensive research continues to be the political socialization of

young people in conflict zones and emerging nation states. It will become evident from the following section that Palestinian youth figure prominently in this growing field of research. Before providing an overview of Palestinian case studies, a very brief sketch of traditional studies on children and national identity will be given here, beginning with that of Piaget & Weil (1951) which views children's nationalism as a developmental question of cognitive processes. The outcomes of the study suggest that by the age of seven children begin to have an awareness of 'country' as a geographic unit, with their city as part of that larger geographic unit. Coles (1986) adds to this, however, by hypothesizing that the age at which this happens may be even earlier if there is a strong affective attachment to the country brought on by intense conflict involving the child's national or cultural group. Nugent (1994) agrees with this hypothesis as a result of research conducted into the context of Northern Ireland. A brief description of his research, which presents some interesting parallels for this dissertation, will follow shortly.

Affective attachment to the country is seen by Piaget and Weil (1951) as the stage where the child's relationship moves from being based on his/her own egocentric impressions to being based more on collective ideals and objective understanding. At this stage, they argue that the child unquestioningly accepts the view of his/her country from parents and other members of the community. At the final stage of development, Piaget & Weil (1951) claim that maturity and independence is signalled by the child's firm sense of collective ideals accompanied by justifications for his/her individual attachment. It is in this final stage that the child realizes that the country is comprised of different communities, each with values that might be distinct from those of the child's family or community.

Other researchers explore the question of children's development of national identity from different directions, including psychoanalytic and psychodynamic perspectives (see, for example, Roheim, 1947; Feldman, 1959; Jones, 1964; and Erikson, 1968). Research from these perspectives suggests that the mother image underlies and informs feelings for the country or nation, concluding that "the nation is the piece of earth that gave birth to the individual, that comfortably supports, nourishes, and unfailingly responds to the person's needs" (Nugent, 1994: 29). Lakoff & Johnson (2003) write at length about the tendency for the nation to be conceptualized through the metaphor of

mother. However, some researchers from within the feminist tradition, such as Belenky et al. (1988), Chodorow (1977) and Gilligan (1982), are hesitant about these metaphors which, arising from research primarily conducted into male nationalisms, may not reflect the way women conceptualize their relationship with their country[1]. I will explore how the data for this research, collected from both male and female children, does indeed exhibit conceptualizations of the nation as mother.

Arguably the most cited work in the field of children's national identity is Erikson's *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968), in which he argues that the term identity refers to an individual's connection with the unique values resulting from the unique history of his/her people. This connection, which "gives a sense of security, a sense of immediate continuity and kin[ship]", is a "basic element in personality development, working its way into every corner of the child's mind" (Nugent, 1994: 29 and Coles, 1986 quoted in Nugent, 1994: 30). Coles (1986) argues that from a very young age, children begin to display very strong "nationalist sentiments and passions" (60). The nationalist passions result in the child feeling strong urges to make a contribution to his/her society. Similar sentiments of commitment to the development of the nation are expressed by the Palestinian children participating in this study and will be presented in Chapters Four and Five.

The development of a national identity in children can also be viewed as a question of political socialization or, more specifically, of how children acquire their political attitudes (see, for example, Hess & Easton, 1962; Jahoda, 1962; Schwartz, 1975; and Moore, Lane & Wagner, 1985). It is a widely accepted notion that children learn by observing, and then later by modelling, adult (e.g. parents') political attitudes. Easton & Dennis (1965) argue that the ages between 3 and 13 are the most important for political socialization, but Parker & Kaltsounis (1986) argue that most often, usually before the teenage years, children's "feelings about their country are usually positive and established long before they have much understanding of the meaning of the nation as a political entity" (quoted in Nugent, 1994: 30). From a study conducted in eight American cities, Hess & Torney (1970) gather that by the end of elementary school

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[1] For specific readings on how Palestinian women view their national identity and participate in nationalist activities, see, for example, Sharoni, 1994 and 2001; Kanaaneh, 2002; Peteet, 1992; Sabbagh, 1998; Sayigh, 1981, Hiltermann, 1998; Strum, 1998; Kanaana, 1998; Giacaman & Johnson, 1998; and Hasso, 1998.

(maximum age 13), the child's attachment to his/her nation will be highly positive and extremely resistant to change.

Other researchers argue that the construction of a national identity in children is in large part determined by the social and cultural milieu in which the socialization takes place. Nugent (1994) is one such researcher, and has looked extensively at the political socialization of young children in the North of Ireland. A brief sketch of his research will be given here because, since there are certain parallels which one could draw between the contexts of Palestine and Northern Ireland, it is not surprising that his findings reveal themes similar to those uncovered by this study, the results of which will be presented later in Chapters Four and Five.

In Nugent's study, 100 children between the ages of 10 and 14 were asked to write down their thoughts and feelings about their country. The resulting narratives were deconstructed via a content analysis and the data yielded eight main categories into which the children's descriptions fit. Nugent's categories are similar to the concept of the TRANSITIVITY template which, alluded to in the Introduction, will be introduced fully later in Chapter Three. The following eight categories resemble a number of themes appearing across the templates to be discussed in Chapter Four: 1) places – man-made and physical artefacts, including boundaries; 2) physical characteristics – geography, natural resources like rivers, mountains etc.; 3) ecology – natural features regarded from an ecological perspective; 4) fauna and flora; 5) history – events, persons, conditions; 6) culture – customs and traditions, folklore, art, music, etc.; 7) atmosphere – moral or mental environments; and, 8) personality – character of the people in terms of behaviour and personalities. For example, a statement such as *when I think of Ireland, I think of its history of British occupation*, was coded under Category 1 for its reference to man-made boundaries. In other examples, a statement fell under two categories: *There is anything you want to find or buy in Ireland but there once was a war in Ireland before I was born and it was destroyed, I heard that from my grandmother.*

Once the narratives were coded according to the above eight categories, Nugent (1994) examined the statements using Egan's (1977) study in order to determine the level of attachment the children expressed towards their country. The first level is positive-uncritical attachment, where children express their feelings about the country's good

points. There is no awareness of other conceptions of the country. The second level is positive-defensive, where the child's feelings are still uncritically positive, but there is awareness that there are other perceptions of the country and the homeland is compared with other countries and deemed to be much better. The third level is idealized-ambivalent, where the child's feelings about the country take on the character of a moral ideal, and culture and tradition tend to replace the physical descriptions of the country. There is often a commitment expressed to what the country should be or could be, and there is sometimes a rejection of what it is. Finally, the fourth level is integrated-committed, where the child's attachment includes awareness of both the country's good and bad points, but there is a commitment to its development and a sense of personal identity with its future. In this level the child identifies national characteristics with him/herself as an individual.

The results are interesting: Nugent (1994) finds that, generally speaking, the younger the child, the lower their expressions rate on the scale of levels of attachment. For example, the youngest children tend to make generalizations such as *I think Ireland is lovely because there are a lot of lovely places to go*. As the children age, their narratives move up the scale, so that by age 12, for example, there are some more defensive attitudes toward the country: *I think Ireland is a happy place to live in, a friendly place...not like England, you can go out to the country in Ireland, knock on a door and the people will let you in.* By the time a child reaches 14, for example, there is acknowledgement that there are people who hold contrary opinions about the country: *The people from other countries think it is a horrible place to live, they won't even come over on a holiday because they are afraid they will get bombed or shot, but I am glad I live here.* Finally, by the age of 16, there is a clear shift in the type of narratives, with a large increase in the types of abstract conceptualizations of the country: *Ireland is home to be and I am proud to be Irish. When I think of Ireland, I think of an island beside England and I think of its history of British occupation. At that stage, Irish people were made to feel inferior and ashamed of their culture and language.* It is in this fourth level that the most politicized statements can be seen: *When I think of Ireland, I always think of its history and its struggle for freedom against England.* It is also in this fourth level that the highest degree of objectivity and criticism can be seen: *I would not consider Ireland to be in any way superior to other nations. To me it is special but not perfect. I do not feel very personally Irish and I can look at all Irishmen*

as if I were completely uninvolved. Nugent's results are highly informative from the perspective that it is a society that, in perceiving itself to be under occupation, has always had an active and resistant youth population. The categories of narrative and the levels of attachment according to age should make for an interesting comparison with the data introduced later in this dissertation. I will explore to what extent the two sets of data are complementary and in what ways they differ.

2.7 National Identity and Political Socialization: Palestinian Children and Youth

There can be very little doubt that Palestinian children and adolescents living in the occupied Palestinian Territories hold strong national sentiments. The vast body of research on the topic attests to this. A very large majority of these studies focus on the issue from the perspective of political socialization, looking at the ways in which nationalist ideals and values are enacted. It remains a challenge to locate research which explores the broader conceptual themes which constitute Palestinian young people's identification with Palestine in a framework outside of their participation in resistance activities. Chatty (2002), Chatty & Hunt (2005) and Sukarieh (2001) do approach the study of Palestinian children's national identity from a broader perspective, but their research focus differs from this dissertation in that it is on Palestinian children in the Diaspora who live in the refugee camps of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

Most studies into the political socialization of Palestinian young people focus primarily on the direct effects of trauma, concluding that the psychological damage to Palestinian children is bad at best, severe at worst (see, for example, Baker, 1990; Barber 1999; Garbarino & Kostelny, 1996; Punamaki, 1987; Punamaki, Quota & El Sarraj, 1997; and Punamaki & Suleiman, 1990). As was highlighted by the research of Greene and Hill (2005), Rogers et al. (2005) and Jones (2004), these studies have tended to look at children as objects of research, of being in danger of becoming an adult with the potential to perpetrate the types of violence they once experienced themselves. Studies focusing on political socialization and psychological trauma in this limited way might, I argue, be considered as belonging to the category of research which Zureik (2003) identifies as being "interest-laden and funded either by international organizations or donor countries, both of which have a vested interest in gathering such statistics for policy purposes" (154). While such research certainly has its place and obviously has

the potential to bring much needed funds to an economically impoverished community, it does not offer much insight for researchers interested in how Palestinian young people represent and make meaning out of their own experiences.

One main limitation of these studies is that they have not explored the ways in which young Palestinians might be resilient to the effects of political violence. As Cairns (1996) and Punamaki (1996) demonstrate, it is possible that young people can attach psychological meaning to conflict. They argue that the high degree of social integration common to collectivist cultures can function to protect children psychologically. Indeed, as Punamaki et al. (1997) reveal, good parenting functioned as a protective shield for children's psychological healthiness in the Gaza Strip during the first Intifada. What these studies have also not considered is the possibility that a strong ideological commitment can also protect children from the effects of stress. Punamaki (1986), in studying 350 Israeli Jewish pre-adolescents and adolescents, finds that psychological problems were actually higher in children who held low ideological commitments. Research into the Palestinian case has revealed similar findings. Tessler (1994) and Barber (1999) argue that because the Intifada was a very popular social movement, or, in the words of Mazawi (1998), "an environment of total civic dissent", Palestinian children and adolescents were motivated and supported by shared societal perceptions that there was a real need to engage in the conflict. These shared perceptions, they argue, make it possible that exposure to stress and trauma does not automatically mean that the young people will be psychologically damaged. Similarly, Garbarino & Kostelny's (1996) study of 150 adolescents living in the West Bank during the first Intifada suggests that living in a high or low-violence community has no real influence on the behaviours of young people. Mazawi (1998) states that "the assessment of the emotional effects of uprising-related violence on children's and adolescent's citizenship orientations still needs sounder research strategies", but he argues for two realistic possibilities:

> on the one hand, the participation of children and adolescents in the uprising may have enhanced their self-esteem, their sense of political efficacy and their identification with the national collectivity. Yet, on the other hand, it remains rather true that, for these younger generations of Palestinians, the traumatizing effects of such experiences have radically transformed their personality and their perception of social relations (93).

These studies are simultaneously relevant and not-so-relevant to the goals of the research conducted for the present thesis. On the one hand, they are relevant because the children from whom data was collected were born into intense political violence

themselves. It will be revealed that feelings of depression do appear in the corpus, yet it will be shown that embedded in the discourse are expressions of high ideological commitment to the nation and resilience to the traumatic effects of political violence. Although I am not a psychologist and psychological theories do not inform this study, themes of emotional healthiness are clearly identifiable from the young people's language choices.

On the other hand, these studies are not-so-relevant because their methodological approach is very different from that of this study. They rely heavily on the use of surveys and questionnaires, and often involve gathering data about the children's experiences from their mothers or other adults close to them, such as extended family members and teachers. The children themselves were not given many opportunities to express themselves outside the constraints of the questionnaires. Although there is use to such quantitative studies, and the published research is strong and informative, it is an approach directly opposite to that of this study. The absence of research which examines children's construals of their experience living in the occupied Palestinian Territories underscores the need for the present thesis.

There is at least one study though which, in specifically exploring the conceptualization of national identity among Palestinian young people, utilizes both quantitative and qualitative research methods, allowing for the participants to offer less-controlled construals of their experience. Barber (2001) explores political violence, social integration and youth functioning in the self-reports of 6000 young Palestinians at the end of the first Intifada. His data reveals themes similar to those that have been revealed by this study and will be presented in Chapters Four and Five, particularly his key finding that "the youth were driven by informed and advanced levels of awareness and commitment to the broader social goal of relief from the occupation" (260; see also Barber, 1999 and Kuttab, 1988). With regard to the Intifada specifically, the adolescents were "aware of the essentiality of the movement and were willing to contribute and sacrifice for its success" (262). The themes of sacrifice and willingness to contribute to the Intifada are similarly present in the corpus of data collected for this study.

2.8 Social Identity Theory

Complementing the many approaches to the study of nationalism is Tajfel's (1974, 1981, 1982) Social Identity Theory, which recognizes that communities and nations are born from the individual's need to categorize him/herself as part of a group. Tajfel observes that "individuals have a need for a positive social identity, or self conception" (1981: 256). When looking at nations, or groups, he posits that individuals will opt to remain members of groups as long the group contributes to their positive self–identity (1981: 256). A positive self-identity is achieved by comparing one's own group or nation, the in-group, to contrasting out-groups. The in-group will emphasize its own positive qualities while simultaneously minimizing or ignoring its faults. This positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (referred to elsewhere in, for example, van Dijk, 1998b), aids in maintaining the in-group's "positive self-identity, which is necessary for the group's continuing existence" (Billig, 1997: 66). The nation "has to be conceived as an entity with its own identity," and this identity is often juxtaposed against the identities of the out-group, of minorities within the nation, for example, or against other nations (Billig, 1997: 70). The positive construction of the in-group can also be viewed as a community's "vehicle for the expression of national history, the telling of people passing through time – 'our' people, with 'our' ways of life, and 'our' culture" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Theories of national and social identity have been utilized, complemented and extended for years by researchers from countless disciplines. There are at least two areas of applied linguistic research which focus on issues of national and social identity, and are of particular relevance for the present study. The first is the discursive construction of national identities, while the second is the intricate interplay of language, identity and war.

2.9 The Discursive Construction of National Identity

van Dijk's research (1984, 1992, 1995, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d, 1999a, 1999b) has been instrumental in the development of an extensive body of literature which explores the role that political (e.g. parliamentary) discourse on immigration plays in constructing national identities. For van Dijk, the national identity is constructed via the positive conception and representation of the in-group. Much of his

work is framed within the specific context of immigration, and the role that racism plays in defining admissible and inadmissible classes of immigrants. van Dijk argues that racist ideologies appear not just within the framework of immigration policies and procedures, but in all realms of everyday life, including discourses on housing, welfare, work, education, etc. (1998a: 8). Of van Dijk's research, what is most relevant to this dissertation is his idea of how the identities, interests and power of the in-group are produced and reproduced by and through discourse. He argues that discourses which contribute to the construction of national identities will tend to employ linguistic and discursive strategies which emphasize 'our' goodness against the evil or incompetence of the 'other'. In general terms, the 'other' can be expected to lack the in-group's "ideologically self-attributed qualities" (1998a: 9). The 'other' may typically be described as having values and norms different from 'ours' and, further, may be represented as criminal and culturally deviant (1998a: 9).

Wodak's (1995, 1996; Wodak et al., 1999) research in CDA, in the general area of the discursive construction of national identities, but with a specific focus on the contemporary Austrian context, marks an extensive and highly influential contribution to the field (see also Wodak, Nowak, Pelikan, Gruber, de Cillia & Mitten, 1990; Wodak & Matouschek, 1993; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, Liebhart, 1999; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, Liebhart, Hofstätter & Kargl, 1998; and, Wodak, Menz, Mitten & Stern, 1994). Wodak's and her collaborators' research is based on some general assumptions (as is van Dijk's presented above), beginning with the idea that national identities are discursively – that is, through language and other semiotic systems – produced, reproduced, transformed and destroyed (1999: 153). The idea of a national community becomes a reality through "reifying, figurative discourses continually launched by politicians, intellectuals and media people disseminated through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization, etc." (153). Wodak and her collaborators argue, as does van Dijk, that the discursive construction of national identities "always runs hand in hand with the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness" (1999: 153; see also Hall, 1994, 1996; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; and Martin, 1995). This in-group/out-group distinction is well described by Benhabib (1996):

> Since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference. One is a

> Bosnian Serb to the degree to which one is not a Bosnian Moslem or a Croat; one is a Gush Emmunim settler in the West Bank to the extent that one is not a secular Zionist (3).

One further assumption behind Wodak's (and collaborators') research is that "there is no such thing as the one and only national identity" (1999: 154). By this it is meant that identities are discursively constructed according to context, and that identities "are not completely consistent, stable and immutable...to the contrary, they are to be understood as dynamic, fragile, vulnerable and often incoherent" (1999: 154).

Wodak et al. (1999) takes a discourse-historical approach to analyse discourse about nations and national identities. In so doing, it takes into account the historical background in which the discourses are embedded. A number of categories for the analysis of text have been devised, fitting into three broad dimensions: 1) content and topics; 2) strategies; and, 3) linguistic means and forms of realization. Although this dissertation is concerned with the content and topics of the children's discourse, it is most concerned with category three, the linguistic means by which national identities are reproduced in discourse. With regard to the first category, Wodak et. al (1990) identifies five general themes: 1) the idea of an us and a them; 2) the narrative of a collective political history; 3) the discursive construction of a common culture; 4) the discursive construction of a collective present and future; and 5) the discursive construction of a 'national body' (1999: 158). These themes will be searched for in the data analysed in this dissertation.

The third category, linguistic means and forms of realization, looks at lexical units, argumentation schemes and syntactical means which express sameness, difference, etc. (Wodak et al. 1999: 163). What is of primary note in this category, and what will be of importance for this dissertation on Palestinian children, is the use of personal pronouns. According to Wodak et al., 'we' "appears to be of utmost importance in the discourses about nations and national identities" (163). This finding is similar to van Dijk's (1998b; 1999) general finding that it is through the use of pronouns such as 'us' and 'them' that the polarization of in-groups and out-groups is established (7; 14). In Wodak et al. (1990) however, the use of pronouns is investigated more closely, looking at how the 'we' pronoun can be either addressee-inclusive or addressee-exclusive, and can also be either speaker-inclusive or speaker-exclusive (165). In many cases the 'we' categorization remains fairly general, as it cannot always be clearly identified who the

'we' includes. Whether or not the children represent a group identity which may or may not include themselves and the addressee will be a question explored in the present research.

In addition to an exploration of personal pronouns, Wodak et al. (1990) suggests that metonymy, synechdoche and personification are often also strategies employed in the discursive construction of national identities. Metonymy allows the writer "to dissolve individuals, and hence volitions and responsibilities" by, for example, substituting land or country for inhabitants; synechdoche can be thought of as the collective singular, and serves to generalize and essentialize stereotypes applying to a whole group (e.g. the foreigner, the Israeli, the northerner, etc.); while personification serves to humanize non-human entities (165; see also Fairclough, 1995).

van Dijk, Wodak, Fairclough and others also point to the usefulness of examining the use of euphemistic expressions and metaphors. As van Dijk highlights, references to immigrants in political discourse on immigration are often times accompanied by "flow" metaphors, such as seas and waves of immigrants etc. In other discourses which construct national identities, both the in-group, the nation, and the out-group are likely to be represented through the use of certain metaphors. In the case of the nation for example, work by Lakoff & Johnson (2003) shows how the nation is often constructed through the metaphor of mother. It will be important for this study to examine the ideological impact of using such descriptive language.

Although the use of pronouns and other linguistic strategies will be evident to some extent in the texts chosen for this study, it will be useful to examine more generally how exactly the major participants are lexicalized, that is, what terms are used to refer to the participants. It is to this end that van Leeuwen's representation of social actors and the APPRAISAL framework, which will be introduced below in sections 2.16 and 2.17 respectively, will be most useful.

2.10 Studies on the Construction of the In-group and Out-group in Palestinian Discourse

It has not been possible to locate literature devoted to the exploration of how Palestinian children construct both an in-group and an out-group through various linguistic means

such as the ones described above. However, there are myriad studies which explore category one of Wodak et al.'s above description in relation to the constructions of national identity in (adult) discourses on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Sagy, Adwan & Kaplan (2002) and Bowman (1993) provide a very good overview of relevant research (see also, for example, Smooha, 1998; Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998; Gur-Zeev, 1999; Ben-Amos & BethEl, 1999 and Firer & Adwan, 1998). While the present research has been informed by studies which fall into category one of the historical-discursive approach to the construction of national identities, it is most concerned with category three, the particular linguistic means by which national (and other) identities are constructed. Unfortunately, only one such study has been located which explores the Palestinian context; Zupnik (1999) identifies the particular linguistic features, including the use of pronouns, utilized by Palestinian and Israeli adults in dialogue events. The lack of locatable research in this specific area underscores the importance of the research reported in this dissertation.

Zupnik (1999) is situated within the body of literature on conflict talk (e.g. Grimshaw, 1990) and links social-psychological concepts and discourse phenomena by identifying socio-political identity displays in dialogue between West Bank Palestinians and Israeli Jews during the period from the onset of the First Intifada in 1987 to the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993. She focuses on the speakers' use of pronouns, which are generally considered in relevant literature as "the verbal instantiation of aspects of individual and group identity in the categorization of self and others" (471; see also Connor-Linton, 1988; Ur, 1988; Fairclough, 1989; O'Donnel, 1990; Ullah, 1990; Wilson, 1990; Wodak, 1989; van Dijk, 1992; Wodak and Matouschek, 1993; Johnson, 1994; Beattie and Doherty, 1995).

Zupnik's theoretical framework is drawn heavily from aspects of Tajfel's (1974, 1981, 1982, 1986) Social Identity Theory, specifically his work on intergroup conflict and intragroup cohesiveness and concepts of psychological distinctiveness and social mobility. With regard to Palestinian identity, Zupnik hypothesizes that Palestinian contributions to the dialogue will exhibit positive psychological distinctiveness, which, as Tajfel suggests, is characteristic of groups agitating for nationhood. Zupnik also predicts that the personal pronoun will be a site of identity display.

Zupnik (1999) defines the discourse-pragmatic construct of the sociopolitical identity display (SPID) as "the verbal expression of the stance of the speaker relative to one of his or her dominant macro-affiliations, whether as an individual or as a member of a group" (483). Zupnik's categorization of pronoun use differs somewhat from Wodak et al.'s in that she believes the speaker's position/inclusion can identified by the use of first-person singular or plural pronouns (e.g. "I" or "we"). The use of the singular encodes the speaker as an individual member of a particular group, while the plural makes the individual a representative of the entire group. She argues that the sociopolitical affiliations of the speaker can be identified by examining "the semantic content of the predicates to which the pronouns are linked" (483). It is assumed that the choice of pronoun is not made arbitrarily by the speaker, but instead is the "linguistic instantiation of a particular sociopolitical orientation" (495).

Zupnik concludes that Palestinian contributions to the dialogue are motivated by the positive psychological distinctiveness that is characteristic of groups seeking recognition of their legitimate rights as a people. Hence, they express unity, uniqueness and separateness. The majority of Palestinian talk is comprised of intragroup SPID, while very little of their talk is devoted to intergroup SPID. They do express personal SPID, but their contributions are primarily aimed at promoting intragroup unity while avoiding intergroup solidarity. The SPID use in the data demonstrates, Zupnik argues, the way in which language reflects and creates social relations.

2.11 Language, Identity and War

"Who we are, what we say, and when we fight are intimately interwoven" (Nelson, 2002: 3). Exploring the conceptual relationships between language, identity and war, Nelson argues that discourses of war tend to be closely linked to the way nations, communities and peoples identify themselves in relation to others. In highlighting language's role in the perpetuation of violence, he posits that "human conflict begins and ends via talk and text," and that humans "generate, shape, implement, remember and forget violent behaviour" (4).

What relates Nelson's arguments to this study, and also to the field of research on the discursive construction of national identities, is his assertion that in constructing discourses of war, there must first be an enemy – "an *other* who is so foreign and

distant that *who* becomes *it*. *It* can be tortured, maimed, slaughtered; *who* cannot" (8). Of interest to consider when viewing this dissertation in light of Nelson's argument will be, broadly speaking, the questions of whether there can be a distinction made between a discourse of war and a discourse of those living through war.

Nelson extends his argument of the connection between language and conflict to include that between conflict and identity (see also Smith, 1991; Tilly, 1975a and b; and Howard, 1991). He writes that "the struggle for identity lies at the nexus of war and peace," arguing moreover that the propensity for violence is heightened in those individuals or states who are denied recognition, self and agency, leading thus to the conclusion that "endangered identity is the hallmark of war-proneness" (11). Such a conclusion echoes that which Jones (2004) found to be salient in studies into the psychological impact of war on children, namely that victims of violence or victims of statelessness become the next generation of terrorists.[2]

Nelson concludes with a very grave statement, a statement which, if true in all cases, leaves one utterly hopeless: "the test of identity – of one's validity as a member of a group, community or nation – becomes adherence to a language of war that supplants and obliterates a language of peace" (20). Is the children's discourse thus destined to reveal that to assert a Palestinian identity is to simultaneously subjugate peace to a language of war?

2.12 Relevant Research on Palestinian Children Living in the Occupied PalestinianTerritories

Three studies of Palestinian children in particular, each from different disciplines utilizing very different research methodologies, are briefly described here. They have been selected out of the plethora of research into the conflict because they all focus, in some way, on representations (either self-representations or other-representations) of Palestinian children's experience living under occupation and through an uprising[3], while focusing closely on related issues of national identity and in-group vs. out-group

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[2] These are issues which, particularly in the light of the phenomenon of suicide bombing, will need to be explored in my data.

[3] To be distinguished from research studies conducted into refugee Palestinian children's representations of life in Diaspora.

relations. It will be explored how their findings, despite the differences in approach and methods, are similar to the results of this research project. The first study to be presented here is a result of data collected during the first Intifada (1987-1993); the second study consists of data gathered in the years after the first Intifada and leading up to the second Intifada (1993-1999); finally, the third study is comprised of data obtained during the second year of the second Intifada (2001).

The first article (Elbedour, Bastien & Center, 1997), in conducting a visual analysis primarily informed by psychological and social theories of conflict and identity, explores how the Palestinian/Israel conflict conditions and is conditioned by the individual identities of the people invested in it. Following Sherif & Sherif (1953), the study presupposes that people in contexts of communal violence often form their personal and social identities around the conflict. Elbedour et. al's hypothesis is that identity formation is shaped by both inter-group conflict and the in-group's definitions of the out-group developed over the course of the conflict.

The study comprises a visual analysis of a group of Palestinian children's drawings; the authors believe that art is a useful tool in exploring identity because "free form drawings provide the greatest insight into how people see themselves in their social context" (217). Briefly surveying the literature, the researchers conclude that drawings "present interesting and meaningful data relating to questions surrounding the processes of identity formation" (221). Children are often able to draw their experiences in a more meaningful way than they can speak about them; the writers therefore argue that children often use art as a spontaneous medium for self-projection. Furthermore, they argue, as have others, that identities are "projections of the self into a personally salient situation" (Couch, 1986; Mead, 1932, 1934; Stryker, 1987). Therefore the process of drawing, which is symbolically expressive, should prompt children to "project their most salient identities" (221). The writers argue that by analyzing the symbolic content of children's drawings and sorting the drawings into categories, they should be able to gain insight into some of the identity-forming processes of children of war (221).

The study begins with the premise that "Palestinian children from the West Bank and Gaza have developed identity salience around this conflict, and that this aspect of their identity overrides other aspects (such as gender, social class, and personal

individualized aspects) of identity" (221). The study divides identity into a three-level hierarchy: individualized personal identity ('I'); cultural identity ('we'); conflict/political identity ('us-them') (221). Drawings were collected from over 400 children aged 13-17 in three Bedouin schools in Israel, three Palestinian schools in the West Bank and three Palestinian schools in Gaza. Data collection coincidentally coincided with the end of the First Gulf War and the highest level of intensity of the first Intifada (1992). The drawings, according to the writers, "naturally fell into four categories" (223): 1) drawings depicting a personal future ('I' dominant identity); 2) drawings depicting the symbolism of the subject's ethnic group ('we' dominant identity); 3) drawings depicting [first] Intifada related violence or communal strife ('conflict/political' dominant identity); and 4) drawings depicting other themes and scenes.

Results of the study support the hypothesis that "children raised in the settings with the greatest conflict will identify most with the conflict while the children raised in relative peace will depict an individualized personal identity" (224). It is not surprising, given the time period of this study that, overall, very few of the drawings (only 12% of Bedouin, 4% of West Bank and 3% of Gaza drawings) fell into Category 1. A greater percentage of drawings fell into Category 2 (35% Bedouin, 27% West Bank and 19% Gaza), indicating that identification with the ethnic group is central to the children's conceptions of self. The West Bank and Gaza drawings overwhelmingly fell into Category 3 (29% and 59% respectively), while the percentage of Bedouin drawings in this category fell to 7%, the lowest of Bedouin in all categories. The Gaza statistics (most drawings depicted Palestinians in conflict with Israeli soldiers) most clearly support the writers' hypothesis, highlighting a link between the conflict and the children's sense of identity. Category 4, the writers note, contains many drawings of the landscape, indicating that the land is an integral part of the children's identity, as well as several peace-related themes.

The writers conclude that "to the extent that these drawings represent the identity of the artists, the artists on the West Bank and in Gaza represented complete identification with the Palestinian cause and the Intifada" (225). For the three groups involved, expressions of identification with the group as a whole were more prominent than any symbolic expressions of personal identity. For West Bank residents, any expressions of

personal identity more often than not contained images of "their traditional home on stable land" which highlight the magnitude of the conflict (226). Category 3 (conflict/political identity) contained the most drawings, with the children including not only themselves, but Israelis as well. The writers argue that this is because "group identity is much easier to adopt than individual identity. Those from the West Bank and Gaza do not show any uncertainty of identity – they are Palestinians committed to overthrowing and evicting a violent and dangerous oppressor. These drawings are characterized by an extreme present orientation and make no reference to any personal future beyond the conflict" (226). Because the 'we' aspect of identity dominates the children's drawings, the writers generalize that the "greater the external social conflict the greater the tendency to align one's identity with the group" (226).

Returning to their original assertion that identities are conditioned by the conflict, the writers claim that the children's identity is largely defined by the enemy, and that the pictures depicting violent confrontation between Palestinians and Israelis are functioning to differentiate between themselves and the outside enemy, thus showing how boundaries (particularly geographic) are being violated: "The children perceive the enemy as attempting to destroy their people, at least in some way, by taking the land away" (226). The writers argue that a critical component of the 'we' identity of the Palestinians has become the "mortal enemy of Israel" (226). This means that for these children, "the presence of the Israeli army and their continuing violent actions are essential to the maintenance of the children's identities" (226).

The writers note that personal accomplishment or ambition is virtually unrecognized except as it relates to the struggle (e.g. martyrdom). They conclude that this lack of personal identity combined with a group identity that incorporates a "hated enemy" into its definition creates a "situation where the conflict and struggle must tend to become institutionalized and self-perpetuating" (226). In this sense the conflict shapes the identity, but also the identity continues the conflict because group identities are continued in future generations through the stories of the abuse and atrocities of *others* (Stryker, 1987). The writers conclude that the long-term prognosis is not good: "some Palestinians would continue, for generations, to identify themselves through their wounds as a victim, and with vengeance, as aggressor. Even their children will adopt the same victim-aggressor group identity" (227). The writers conclude their article with

the foreboding sense of doom articulated by Rosenblatt (1983) in his writings on children of war: "One morning the streets through which they skitter now will be theirs to command. They will not think what to do, they will already know" (Elbedour et. al, 1997: 229). The identities of these children "are so completely shaped by their community environments that their responses become reflexive, not reflective" (Elbedour et. al, 1997: 229).

The next study (MacMullin & Odeh, 1999), in investigating what is worrying children in the Gaza Strip, reports many findings similar to that of Elbedour et. al, yet differs in that it does not conclude by suggesting that the children's experiences of war and conflict has led to a generalized victim-aggressor group identity which destines the occupation and Intifada into timeless perpetuity. The study consists of a set of semi-structured interviews allowing 194 Gazan refugee children aged 8-14 who live in the Beach Camp to generate lists of their own specific worries. Conclusions are drawn through four stages of the research design: 1) collecting lists of children's worries; 2) constructing a Children's Worry Scale; 3) administering the scale and undertaking a preliminary analysis; and, 4) conducting follow-up focus groups. The research design is similar to that of Elbedour et. al in that the children in both studies were given pencils and blank sheets of papers and were given total freedom to draw and write what they wished. In this regard, the two studies are similar to my own, in that they consist of Palestinian children's own representations of their own daily realities and concerns. The findings of the research reveal these Gazan children have 1061 particular worries, 899 of which can be divided into a total of 42 worry types. Of the 42 worry types, 37 were reported by the children to be recurring within the six months prior to data collection. An examination of these recurring worries reveals that the macro issues of war, conflict, violence, politics etc. identified in Elbedour et al. remain the most salient concerns more than ten years later in 1999, a period which, because of the signing of the Oslo agreements, is regularly (and incorrectly, as much research highlights) referred to as the 'peace' years. The foremost four of the children's worries are: *dirty streets*[4], *Israeli occupation*, *war* and *unemployment in Gaza*. Further down the list, at number seven, is the worry that there is *not enough medicines*, and further still down the list, at numbers 15 and 16 respectively, are *playing in the streets* and *dying or being killed.*

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[4] The Beach Camp is considered to be the worst of the refugee camps in terms of poverty, lack of resources, etc.

MacMullin & Odeh remark that the follow-up focus groups allowed for the children to expand on what they identified as their worries. They note that the "children expressed strongly held views about politics, religion and the conflict with Israel" (65). The politics of occupation and the resulting dream of freedom dominates MacMullin & Ohdeh's data. The researchers conclude that the children's worries are primarily social and group in nature; worries about the individual, including items such as relationships with friends and success at school, figure much less prominently, and do not even appear until number ten on the scale. The children's focus on community concerns above personal concerns is explained by the researchers much differently than by Elbedour et al. Whereas the focus on the well-being of the group, or group identity, is seen by Elbedour et al. as an indicator that the conflict constitutes, and in turn is constituted by, those groups which are involved in it, MacMullin & Odeh interpret the finding as being consistent with "expressions of a traditional, homogenous culture that values the collective above the individual" (67). Moreover, MacMullin and Odeh argue that "when a society has a shared common history of war, forced migration, military occupation, Intifada and ongoing political conflict, as has been the case in Gaza, this sense of collectivism is only strengthened" (67). These findings are important, not only because they are informative for the general types of themes (e.g. war, occupation, Intifada) arising in my data, but also because, in the words of the researchers, they are "a marked contrast with the types of worries reported by children in individualistic cultures such as those in the United States and Australia, in which concerns appear to move from the individual, to the group to the global" (66). The relevance of this statement will become clear in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

The third study, Aqtash, Seif & Seif (2004), differs from the first two in that it does not examine Palestinian children's representations of themselves and their community, but instead investigates media representations of Palestinian children during the second Intifada. It was decided to include the study here for two main reasons: first, because it is one of the only academic journal articles from disciplines other than education and psychology which focus specifically on Palestinian children, issues of representation and the second Intifada (the precise focus of the present research endeavour); and second, since it is situated within the theoretical frameworks of semiotics and multi-modal discourse analysis, it necessarily utilizes analytical tools similar to those of this study (including, for example, close foci on passivized vs. activated social roles and

vocabulary choice). Since the research methods of both this study and my own are quite similar, it will be useful to comment on the findings of both later in the Conclusion chapter, with the particular aim of drawing parallels and contrasts between the ways in which Palestinian children are represented, and the ways they represent themselves.

Upon monitoring five news outlets (NBC, BBC World Service, The Guardian, Aljazeera, The New York Times and The Jerusalem Post) for the six week period between 14 November and 25 December 2001, the general finding of the study is that Palestinian children receive very little media coverage, and rarely figure in the dominant news narrative, despite the privileged position of the Middle East crisis in the international media. Specifically, the researchers conclude that even "when there are references to them, Palestinian children rarely manifest outside the narrative of violence and conflict by which they are very much defined" (384). Upon investigating four areas (language use, image, themes and form), the researchers conclude that Palestinian children are always depicted by the media in relation to the violence – either as perpetrators or victims. Of relevance to this dissertation is the exploration of language use: beginning with lexical choice, nominals such as *stone-throwing youth, violent demonstrators* and *gunmen* dominate representations of Palestinian children as perpetrators of violence, while the nominals *victims* and *wounded* position the children as victims of violence. Moving on to syntax, the researchers find that Palestinian children are twice as likely to be represented in passive constructions where there is no agent (with a quoted example being *Four Palestinians were killed, one of them a 12 year old boy, in clashes*) than in active constructions with an agent. The researchers argue that, through its use of the passive voice, the media sanitizes the horror of violence and death that Palestinian children are subject to.

Aqtash, Seif & Seif (2004) conclude that the media representations of Palestinian children examined are impersonal in nature and do not articulate any individual stories of the children. Moreover, the researchers argue that the media they analysed always and only depicts the children in some kind of relationship with violence: as witnesses to, victims of or perpetrators of:

> ...the language used to define Palestinian children, their behaviour and suffering is framed and filtered through a discourse of conflicts within which the Palestinian child is very firmly fixed. No other kind of reality or alternative life is envisaged for them in the stories

> in which they figure and the dominance and consistency of this discourse give a kind of inevitability to this kind of existence. They are not represented as children first, but rather as Palestinians in a narrative of conflict, and only then as children (398).

It is for this reason that the present dissertation has the potential to make a unique contribution to the body of literature on the Palestinian issue: giving a group of Palestinian children the opportunity to engage in the discursive process of construing their own realities and expressing their own thoughts, feelings and beliefs, will in itself pose a challenge to dominant media (or other) narratives and discourses which position them always and only in relation to the conflict.

The potential of this dissertation to make a unique contribution to literature in the field comes not just from its exploration of individual Palestinian children's voices, but also from its extremely detailed linguistic analysis of data. Although Aqtash, Seif & Seif (2004) approach their data from a discourse analytic perspective, the linguistic analysis is very limited in scope, with the discussion focussing on the two macro-themes victim or perpetrator of violence. Although some idea is given as to how the image of the Palestinian child as victim/perpetrator is linguistically constructed by the media, their argument would arguably have resonated more strongly had it moved beyond the somewhat general and limited observation that media discourse representation of Palestinian children is generally composed of a small number of lexical choices and passivised syntactic constructions. It is here that the analytic tools of SFL, such as the TRANSITIVITY model, would be useful, providing a much more detailed and therefore more fully developed picture of how the media represents Palestinian children, perhaps even going so far as to provide for more nuanced conclusions than simply that the media *always* and *only* represents Palestinian children in relation to violence. This dissertation complements studies on Palestinians, specifically Palestinian children, that have been conducted within disciplines such as communication and media studies or have been situated within semiotic or discourse analytic conceptual frameworks, yet it also reaches beyond these studies to provide a rigorous and extremely delicate and detailed analysis of precisely *how* language is used, not to represent others, but to represent the *self*. This dissertation is the only study to date which undertakes a meticulous Systemic Functional linguistic analysis of Palestinian children's written discourse.

2.13 Analytical Frameworks

The tools of linguistic analysis employed in this study have been selected because they will each contribute to an overall understanding of how the children view the actions, phenomena and social actors which are constituents of the world around them. In specific, the tools will allow for an insight into the ways in which the children represent their experiences of daily life; how they attribute agency to social actors and categorize them more generally; and finally, how they orient themselves attitudinally to their experiences of the world. This section of the chapter will begin with a description of the TRANSITIVITY model, will then move on to outline the Cline of Dynamism and highlight a number of categories which can be used to represent social actors, and will finish with a discussion of APPRAISAL theory.

2.14 TRANSITIVITY: A Model

The TRANSITIVITY model is a powerful tool within the lexicogrammar for exploring how writers create meaning and reflect experience at the level of the clause. Specifically, the model reveals how the "linguistic structures of a text effectively encode a particular world view" (Simpson, 1993: 104; see also Halliday, 1994; Thompson, 2004; Bloor and Bloor, 1995; Eggins, 1993). As already stated, human experience can be said to consist of a "flow of events, or goings-on" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 170). The clause, in addition to being the location of exchange of goods, services and information, serves as a site of reflection and functions to "impose order on the endless variation and flow of events" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 170). Through the system of TRANSITIVITY, the world is organized into a finite number of processes, each with accompanying participant roles and a range of types of circumstances.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) draw a distinction in process types between those that reflect external experiences and those that reflect internal experiences (170). By external is meant our experience of the physical world around us; experience of the events, happenings and goings-on that constitute everyday life. Such experiences are construed by lexical verbs of the **material** process type (e.g. *Palestinians **are throwing** rocks*). By internal is meant our experience of our own inner consciousness, our thoughts, beliefs, dreams and desires, reflecting our perception, emotion and

imagination. Such experiences are construed by lexical verbs of the **mental** process type (e.g. *I **wish** peace in Palestine forever*). In addition to **material** and **mental** processes, which constitute two of the three major processes in the semiotic system of language, there is also a resource which allows for the relation of one type of abstract experience to another: such is the function of the lexical verb in the third major process type, the **relational** process (e.g. *to be a Palestinian **is** to live an experience that is not understood by others*). **Material, mental** and **relational** processes are, as has been seen in the examples in parentheses, denoted by lexical verbs of doing, sensing and being.

There are three minor process types in the TRANSITIVITY system, each located somewhere on the periphery of one of the main process types. First, there is the **behavioural** process, which, located between the boundaries of **material** and **mental** processes, represents the physical enactment of mental states (e.g. *my mother was going to cry when she saw that*). Second, there is the **verbal** process, which, a blend between **mental** and **relational** processes, constitutes "symbolic relationships constructed in human consciousness and enacted in the form of language" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 171) (e.g. *I can tell you a story about the Palestinian suffering*). Third, there is the *existential* process which, situated between the *relational* and *material* processes, characterizes a range of phenomena as simply *existing* (e.g. ***there is** nice flowers in Palestine*). Together, it is argued that these six process types embody the entire range of human experience.

Each process (realised by the main lexical verb) is accompanied by its own set of participants who/which either bring about the unfolding of the event through time, or are affected by it in some way. In **material** processes, there is always an Actor (the entity, stated or implied, animate or inanimate, doing the action) and sometimes a Goal (the entity, stated or implied, animate or inanimate, receiving the action) or a Range (an entity involved in the process but existing independently of it). There is one further participant, which, situated on the periphery of the clause, is of crucial importance, particularly when investigating the discursive construction of power. Thompson (2004) refers to this as a participant in causation, meaning that this particular entity is not a participant in the main process as such, but instead causes the action to come about through another participant (125). In a **material** process, this participant is labelled an

Initiator, as in: *Israelis* [INITIATOR] *stop* [NEGATIVE PROCESS] *us* [ACTOR] *from travelling* [MAIN PROCESS: MATERIAL] *in our country* [CIRCUMSTANCE: LOCATION].

In **mental** processes, there are two participants: the Senser (which is always construed as a conscious, perceiving entity) and the Phenomenon (the entity being perceived, felt, thought about or wanted). There are no restrictions placed on the Phenomenon; it can be constituted from any particular semantic or grammatical category, and its range of possible participants is much broader than in **material** processes. The Phenomenon of the **mental** process can be a thing, an act or a fact (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 203). There are four types of sensing represented by **mental** processes: perceptive (e.g. the boy **saw** the girl), cognitive (e.g. the boy **knows** the girl), desiderative (e.g. the boy **wants** the girl's ice-cream) and emotive (e.g. the boy **likes** the girl) sensing. Sometimes the mental clause can project another clause as a representation of the content of thinking, believing, presuming, etc. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 206). The projected clause is referred to as an idea clause and can usually be distinguished by the fact that they are not able to be made Subject, nor can they be theme-predicated (206). An example of a projected clause within a **mental** process is: ***the Israelis think that curfew is the best way to stop terrorism.***

There are two main types of **relational** processes addressed in this dissertation; those that characterize and those that identify. At a further level of delicacy there is the possessive relational, which is a division of both **attributive** and **identifying relational** processes. Each of these relational processes has a different set of participants. **Attributive relational** processes characterize, denoted by the form 'x is an attribute of y' (e.g. Mohammed **is** a strong boy). In this clause *Mohammed* as participant is the Carrier, while *strong* is the Attribute, a participant which construes a class of things and is usually indefinite (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 219).

Moving on, **identifying relational** processes identify, denoted by the form 'x is the identity of y' (e.g. Mohammed **is** the best student in the class). In this clause 'Mohammed' as participant is the Identified, while 'the best student in the class' is the Identifier. **Identifying relational** clauses can be distinguished from **attributive** ones because they are reversible. It is possible, for example, to say that the best student in the class is Mohammed. It is not usual, in normal unmarked English, to say that a

strong boy is Mohammed. The present research will employ an alternative set of labels for these participants: Token and Value. The Token represents the specific entity that is part of the larger value. For example, in the clause *Palestine is the Holy land*, Palestine is the specific Token of the broader Value of religion.

Finally, **possessive relational** processes express possession, denoted by the form 'x has y' (e.g. Mohammed **has** four brothers). In this clause, Mohammed as participant is the Possessor, while four brothers constitute the Possessed. Typical verbs realizing the process are have, own, belongs, include, involve, contain, consist of, etc.

Moving on to the three minor process types, **behavioural** processes have only one participant, the Behaver, which is the entity doing the behaving. The Behaver, inherently a conscious entity, typically engages in processes like staring, laughing, crying, coughing, waving, etc. (Thompson, 1996: 102). Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) note that **behavioural** processes are the least distinct of all the processes because they lack clearly defined characteristics and are often times very similar to other process types, particularly **mental**, **verbal** and **material** (249). They do, though, offer five general verb classes represented as processes of behaviour: 1) processes of consciousness represented as forms of behaviour (look, watch, stare, listen); 2) verbal processes as forms of behaviour (chatter, grumble, gossip, argue); 3) physiological processes manifesting states of consciousness (cry, laugh, smile, sob, sigh); 4) other physiological processes (breathe, sneeze, cough); and, 5) bodily postures and pastimes (sing, dance, lie down, sit up) (251).

Verbal processes are clauses of saying, covering any symbolic exchange of meaning. Furthermore, they "contribute to the creation of narrative by making it possible to set up dialogic passages" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 252). Dialogue in **verbal** processes is usually realized by the form 'x said, then y said'. The first participant is Sayer, the entity which says things. Verbal processes are quite complex in that they typically contain two clauses, particularly in the case of quoted or reported speech. An example is: Imad **said** he was tired. The reported or quoted clause here functions in much the same way as the projected idea clause does in **mental** processes. There are three possible participants in addition to Sayer. The first is Receiver, which is the one who is being talked to. The second is Verbiage, which is the content of what is being said.

The third is Target, which is the entity about which or to which the Verbiage is being directed. There are five types of saying, as outlined in Halliday & Matthiessen (2004): 1) targeting (praise, insult, blame); 2) talking (speak, talk); 3) neutral quoting (say, tell, go, be like); 4) indicating (report, announce, convince, persuade); and 5) imperating (tell somebody to do something, order, command, threaten).

The final type of process in the TRANSITIVITY model is the **existential** one. This type of clause represents something as either existing or happening. There is just one participant, the Existent. Each clause begins with a marker of existence 'there' plus the verb 'be', as in ***there is*** *nice flowers in Palestine*. This type of process is not very common in discourse, being typically used in narrative, for example, to introduce characters and describe the scene (e.g. It was a very dark night; **there were** thousands of bats flying in the black sky).

In addition to participants, each process can have one or more Circumstances, which, optional to the clause, provide additional circumstantial information related to the main process. There are nine types of Circumstance: extent (duration); location (place); manner (means); cause (reason, purpose, behalf); contingency (condition, default, concession); accompaniment (comitative, additive); role (guise, product); matter (about what); and, angle (source, viewpoint). A few examples follow:

ACTOR	MATERIAL	RANGE	CIRCUMSTANCES: MANNER & PURPOSE
all person in Palestine	climb	hills	in the rain and mud in order to get to school

SENSER	MENTAL	PHENOMENON	CIRCUMSTANCE: LOCATION
I	feel	that I'm a Palestinian	deep in my heart

The six process types are not distributed evenly across discourse; as has been seen with the usefulness of **existential** processes in narrative, each process type may be more or less frequently used in certain genres. **Verbal** processes might more commonly be found in news reporting than academic textbooks, for example. Matthiessen (2006) presents the frequency of the six process types as they appear in a total 6490 clauses across varying text types. The total number of **relational** and **material** processes was virtually identical, with 37.5% and 37.2% respectively. Roughly speaking, together, they account for nearly 75% of all processes in English discourse. This is not

surprising, since as humans we tend to 'be' and 'do' much more than anything else. Humans think as well, but nearly 20% less frequently, with a total of 10.9% of occurrences of processes in the data Matthiessen analysed. Following **mental** is **verbal**, with a total of 8.7% of process types. **Behavioural** processes occur very infrequently in discourse, with a total of 3.4%. The least common type of process in the texts he studied is **existential**, as has already been pointed out. **Existential** processes constitute only 2.4% of the total number of processes. If indeed Matthiessen's findings are indicative of English discourse in general, it is not surprising that the corpus used in this study exhibits a heavy dominance of **relational** and **material** processes, with frequent appearances of **mental** and **verbal** processes, but only a spattering of **behavioural** and **existential** processes.

As has been mentioned a number of times already, the general aim of this research is to explore how a group of young people from the West Bank construe and make sense of their experiences living under occupation and through an uprising for independence. The system of TRANSITIVITY is particularly relevant when undertaking such an exploration because, situated within the ideational metafunction, it can contribute to showing how "language is used to organize, understand and express [people's] perceptions of the world and [their] own consciousness" (Bloor & Bloor, 1995: 9). Employing the theory of TRANSITIVITY in the analysis of data collected for this study is very useful because the model has the resources necessary to construe the whole range of human experience by "referring to entities in the world and the ways in which those entities act on or relate to each other" (Thompson, 1996: 76). A TRANSITIVITY analysis contributes to the uncovering of how the children's language choices encode a particular set of ideologies, a certain view of the world. One main aspect of the children's world-view that the present study is particularly interested in is the way they perceive the balance of power between Palestinian and other social actors. TRANSITIVITY is an appropriate analytic tool for exploring how the children foreground agency in their texts: in providing a detailed description of who does what to whom, an examination of the children's choice of lexical verb and distribution of participant roles will uncover much about how, in the process of discourse construction, they assign a force or agency to particular social actors (Hodge & Kress, 1993). One other useful way to investigate the ways in which agency is foregrounded in the children's texts is to adopt Hasan's (1985) Cline of Dynamism, a theory in which each of the participant

roles in the TRANSITIVITY system is ranked according to the dynamic impact it has on other social actors, or participants in the process.

2.15 Cline of Dynamism

Hasan (1985: 45-47) defines dynamism – or effectuality – as "the quality of being able to affect the world around us, and of bringing change into the surrounding environment" (45). In her discussion of dynamism, she distinguishes between what she calls the –er roles, like Actor, Senser, Behaver, etc., and the –ed roles, like Goal etc. She writes that generally a human carrier of an –er role is more dynamic than a non-human animate, which is in turn more dynamic than an object (45). Hasan (1985: 45) provides the following example to illustrate her point that if the –er role remains constant, its level of dynamism changes depending on the Process/Participant configuration of the clause:

a) Dick sent Tom away.
b) Dick posted the letter.
c) Dick told Tom the news.
d) Dick recognized his friend.
e) Dick ran away.
f) Dick woke up.
g) Dick is happy.

The Cline is an extremely useful tool of analysis because it allows for an understanding of how participants who appear effectual at the outset are in fact not since their actions may affect only objects, or may affect nothing. Therefore, the Cline allows for the positioning of participants according to the degree to which they are able to affect another participant. Despite its usefulness, the Cline has not often been cited in recent research utilizing the TRANSITIVITY model. Two recent references to Hasan's Cline are found in the research of Driscoll (2000) and McLaughlin (2002). Driscoll's study of medical discourse explores the ways in which doctors and patients interact in an ordinary medical situation. In Driscoll's study, the Cline of Dynamism helps to determine which participant maintains most control or authority throughout the visit. McLaughlin's study of Canadian immigration discourse utilizes the concept of Dynamism to gain a greater understanding of Canadian ideologies about immigrants and immigration, and focuses specifically on investigating the impact (or lack of impact) immigrants have on other participants in a selection of twentieth century Canadian immigration white papers, bills and laws.

Figure 2.0 below shows an adapted version of the Cline as conceptualized by Hasan (1985). According to the Cline, the participant role of Actor is the most dynamic, particularly if it acts on an animate goal. Actors which act on either an animate or inanimate Goal are, however, much more dynamic than a participant role which occurs farther down the scale. The first two participant roles, Actor and Sayer, can be defined as directed activity because there is a clear receiver of the material and verbal processes. The participant role of Sayer is much more dynamic than say, Senser, because verbal processes require conscious outward action, whereas the Senser participant internalizes the thought process required of mental processes. Sensers are relatively high on the scale of dynamism because they do act, but in response to a stimulus rather than upon it. Behaver and Carrier are lower on the scale of dynamism because they do not engage in activities which affect other participants. Because Carrier involves states rather than actions, it is necessarily more passive than the Behaver. Goal, Range and Beneficiary are all on the passive end of the scale because they are receivers of actions rather than producers. Finally, the Circumstance is the least dynamic participant because it is neither an actor nor a receiver; it merely provides the background information necessary for other processes and participants to fulfil their roles.

The Cline as it appears below has been adapted for this study to include the participant role of Initiator. Initiator has been placed at the very top of the scale because it is my view that, because the Initiator role causes other participants to bring about processes, it is the most dynamic participant role in the TRANSITIVITY model:

Figure 2.0 Cline of Dynamism

DYNAMIC

- (Initiator)
- (Actor + Animate Goal)
- (Actor + Inanimate Goal)
- (Sayer + Recipient)
- (Sayer + Target)
- (Sayer)
- (Phenomenon + Senser)
- (Senser)
- (Actor – Goal)
- (Behaver)
- (Carrier)
- (Goal/Target)
- (Range)
- (Circumstance)

PASSIVE

Adapted from Hasan, 1985: 46

2.16 The Representation of Social Actors

The ways in which social actors appear in discourse are not limited to their agency alone. There is a range of options for characterizing textual participants apart from their role as dynamic or passive social actors. van Leeuwen's (1995, 1996) work on the representation of social actors looks at the diverse ways in which social actors can be represented in English discourse (1996: 32). This is an important question for CDA, van Leeuwen argues, because "different ways of representing social action encode different interpretations of, and different attitudes to, the social actions represented" (1995: 1). An exploration of how the children represent textual participants will reveal more about the ideologies and attitudes they hold about the social actors in the world around them. Specifically, van Leeuwen's categories will be taken into consideration when exploring how the children construct out-groups, particularly in light of Nelson's (2002) comments about the dehumanized enemy characteristic of the language of war. van Leeuwen's (1996) categories for the representation of social actors follow:

Activation – the social actor is the active and dynamic force in an activity (43)
Passivation – the social actor undergoes the activity, or receives the action (44)
Subjected Passivation – the social actor is treated as an object of exchange; i.e.: the immigrant is allowed to enter the country because s/he will bring a monetary benefit to the nation (44)
Beneficialized Passivation – the social actor benefits, either positively or negatively, from the exchange (44)
Identification/Classification – social actors are "referred to in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people" (54)
Personalization – social actors are portrayed as human beings and are denoted by proper names or nouns (59)
Impersonalization – references to social actors do not include the semantic feature 'human' (59)
Objectivation – the social actor is "represented by means of a reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in." (59)
Assimilation – the social actors are presented in groups, denoted by a "mass noun or noun denoting a group of people" (48 & 49)
Collectivization – social actors are presented as a homogenous group (49)

2.17 The APPRAISAL Model

It has been seen how the TRANSITIVITY model is a useful tool for understanding the world as these Palestinian children see it. A TRANSITIVITY analysis shows what the children see as constituting the actions, thoughts, behaviours, sayings, entities and

general goings-on in the world around them. While the TRANSITIVITY analysis reveals how the children 'tell it like it is', so to speak, it cannot give direct insight into the children's attitudes, opinions and judgements of the world they have construed. The present research is interested not just in what the children depict to be going on in the world around them, but also how they feel about the world as they see it: their attitudes, their opinions and their judgements. The APPRAISAL model provides a methodology for researchers to investigate how "semantic resources [are] used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations" in text (Martin, 2000: 145). The key application of the APPRAISAL model is the exploration of the types of ideologies underlying discourse and the ways they are linguistically embedded in text. An examination of how entities and social actors appearing in the children's texts are appraised or evaluated can reveal their opinions and reflect their personal value system and the value system of their community (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 6). The APPRAISAL model (see, for example, Iedema et al. 1994, Martin 1995a, Martin 1995b, Christie and Martin 1997, Martin 1997, Coffin 1997, Eggins & Slade 1997, White 1998, Martin 2000, Coffin 2000, White 2000, Körner 2000, and Hunston & Thompson 2000), part of the systemic functional approach to language study, is very broadly situated within the extensive tradition of research into the emotions (see, for example, Lutz & Abu-Lughod, 1990) Specifically, APPRAISAL theory examines the linguistic resources by which "a text/speaker comes to express, negotiate and naturalize particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions" (White, n.d.). APPRAISAL theory's interest in the speaker/writer's opinion and the interaction between speaker/writer and hearer/reader converges with the general study of emotion in its socio-cultural context in the sense that "every act of evaluation expresses a communal value-system and every act of evaluation goes towards building up that value-system. This value-system in turn is a component of the ideology which lies behind every text. Thus, identifying what the writer thinks [and feels], reveals the ideology of the society that has produced the text" (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 6).

With discourses which convey emotion (including opinions, attitudes and judgements), the types of ideologies exhibited are often ones which encourage, challenge or negotiate solidarity by establishing, asserting, challenging or reinforcing power and status differences (Lutz and Abu-Lughod, 1990: 14). Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) write that for those people who are relatively powerless in society, "discourses on emotion and

emotional discourses can serve as loci of resistance and idioms of rebellion" (15). An examination of the corpus comprising the present research data will reveal how this group of relatively powerless Palestinian young people go about the linguistic negotiation of a group solidarity and resistance of an oppressive military occupation.

Martin and White (2005) outline a framework for mapping emotions/feelings as they are construed in English text (42). As a system of meanings, this can be referred to as **Attitude,** a sub-system of APPRAISAL defined by White as "those meanings by which texts/speakers attach an inter-subjective value or assessment to participants and processes by reference either to emotional responses or to systems of culturally determined value systems" (White, n.d.). **Attitude** encompasses the three semantic fields traditionally termed emotion, ethics and aesthetics. The sub-system of **Attitude** is comprised of three subcategories which can be mapped onto these traditional terms: Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. Briefly, Affect characterizes phenomena positively or negatively through emotion; Judgement evaluates human behaviour in relation to social norms, in terms of admiration, criticism, praise or condemnation; and Appreciation evaluates objects and products, as well as semiotic and natural phenomena, largely through aesthetic principles. Each of these categories is gradable, meaning that they can be intensified and compared (e.g. very happy, terribly sad).

The first category, Affect, is perhaps the most central to human ways of feeling; Painter (2003) has demonstrated that emotion is an expressive resource that humans embody physiologically from the moment of birth. Affect is concerned with "emotional response and disposition", the realizations of which diversify across a range of grammatical structures including, for example, **mental** processes and **attributive relational** processes of the system of TRANSITIVITY, and ideational metaphors in the form of nouns (Martin & White, 2005: 45). Martin (2000), in defining Affect simply as a "semantic resource for construing emotions", writes that Affect can be understood in terms of quality, process and comment, leading to diverse lexical and grammatical realizations across texts (148).

The table below presents the ways in which Affect can be realized both lexically and grammatically:

TABLE 2.0: GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL REALIZATIONS OF AFFECT

AFFECT as quality		
Describing participants	*A happy boy*	Epithet
Attributed to participants	*The boy was happy*	Attribute
Manner of processes	*The boy played happily*	Circumstance
AFFECT as process		
Affective mental	*The present pleased the boy*	Process
Affective behavioural	*The boy smiled*	Process
AFFECT as comment		
Desiderative	*Happily, he had a long nap*	Modal Adjunct

The following questions can assist researchers in classifying AFFECT (presented in Martin, 2000: 149-151 and developed in Martin & White, 2005: 46-49):

1. Are the feelings popularly construed by the culture as positive or negative?
2. Are the feelings realized as a surge of emotion, some kind of embodied paralinguistic or extra-linguistic manifestation, or more prosodically experienced as a kind of predisposition or ongoing mental state? Grammatically this distinction is constructed as the opposition between behavioural versus mental or relational processes.
3. Are the feelings construed as directed at or reacting to some specific external agency (emotional Trigger in Martin & White, 2005) or as a general ongoing mood or mental state?
4. How are the feelings graded? Towards the lower-valued end of a scale of intensity or towards the higher-valued end, or somewhere in between?
5. Do the feelings involve intention (rather than reaction) with respect to a stimulus that is in the future rather than the present?

The emotions under AFFECT are grouped into four main categories. The first category is comprised of matters of the heart and is referred to as un/happiness (e.g. *I am **not very happy** because of the occupation*). The second category, in/security, is concerned with the person's eco-social well-being (e.g. ***the humiliation**, demolition of our houses, the **depression** of our youth, the killing and **abuse** to everyone*). Dis/satisfaction, which is the third category, is concerned with the pursuit of goals, and is realized in feelings of achievement or frustration (e.g. *I **would like to share my knowledge and education** with all Palestinians because it is an excellent way of improving this country*). The fourth category, dis/inclination, includes fear and desire, and often implicates a Trigger even if this is not made explicit (e.g. *I **was so scary***). Each of the four categories outlined here is gradable in terms of depth of feeling (e.g. a little afraid, afraid, very afraid, absolutely terrified, etc.).

The second sub-system of **Attitude** is Judgement, meaning the "expressions of norms about how people should and should not behave" (Martin, 2000: 155). Judgement can be viewed as "institutionalized feelings which take us out of our everyday

commonsense world into the uncommon sense worlds of shared community values" (Martin & White, 2005: 45). There are two types of judgements, those of social esteem and social sanction. Judgements of esteem include normality (how un/usual someone is – e.g. *we are all **human***), capacity (how capable someone is – e.g. *this kid was **brave** and **responsible***) and tenacity (how resolute someone is – e.g. *we are **still defending** our land and rights*). Judgements of sanction include veracity (how truthful someone is – e.g. *I am **honest***) and propriety (how ethical someone is – e.g. ***innocent** people are killed*) (Martin, 2000: 155-56). Judgements of social esteem tend to be rooted in oral culture, as Eggins & Slade (1997) have demonstrated in their study of chat, gossip, jokes and stories (cited in Martin & White, 2005: 52). Judgements of social sanction tend to be fixed within written language, as is the case with rules, regulations and laws (Martin & White, 2005: 52). The two types of judgement denote shared family and cultural values on the one hand, and shared civic and religious values on the other.

The third category of **Attitude** to be addressed in the present research is Appreciation, what White defines as "the system by which evaluations are made of products and processes" (White, n.d.). Appreciation, which can be either negative or positive, evaluates natural and manufactured objects, texts and abstract concepts such as plans and policies. Martin (2000) breaks Appreciation down into three categories: **reaction, composition** and **valuation. Reaction** "has to do with the degree to which the text/process in question captures our attention and the emotional impact it has on us" (e.g. *Palestine is a **beautiful** country*) (Martin, 2000: 160). **Composition** has to do "with our perceptions of proportionality and detail in a text/process" (e.g. *fighting us with tanks, M16 and all other **powerful** weapons*) (Martin, 2000: 160). **Valuation** has to do with "our assessment of the social significance of the text/process" (e.g. *they live **a life of luxury***) (Martin, 2000: 160). Painter (2003) argues that the learning of what is appreciated (both positively and negatively) by a culture begins at home in the very first stages of linguistic development.

Affect and Judgement are the most relevant categories for the present study. For the analysis of Judgement in particular, an exploration of the ways in which the attitude is expressed will be important because a distinction can be made between value judgements which are explicitly inscribed in discourse and those which are not. White writes that inexplicit judgements might be "evoked or implied by what can be termed

'tokens' of judgement" (White, n.d.). In Martin & White (2005: 61) these tokens are called indirect realizations of Judgement, which White argues are triggered by "superficially neutral, ideational meanings which nevertheless have the capacity in the culture to evoke judgemental responses" (White, n.d.). A statement such as ***the terrorist Israelis distorted the truth***, for example, exhibits an explicitly inscribed negative value Judgement of the Israelis as terrorist liars. Other statements, such as *Israelis invade our town* and *Israelis are going to take advantage from the war*, for example, do not include examples of inscribed **Attitude**. Instead, *invade* and *take advantage* can be seen as tokens of evoked Judgement because, from the young Palestinian writer's point of view, Israelis involved in these processes can only be a negative thing. There is nothing fundamentally negatively judgemental, however, about the lexical items themselves; indeed, they can be used by different communities in different contexts to construe a range of meanings. The distinction made here between explicit (inscribed) and indirect (evoked) Judgement is an important one because they mark two different ways of naturalizing a certain reading position. Inscribed evaluation establishes the point from which readers interpret text; it directs their "evaluation of non-attitudinal ideational material" within the same scope (Martin & White, 2005: 67). The inscribed APPRAISAL of Israelis as terrorists, for example, helps to position the reader's reading of a text so that virtually all Israeli actions and behaviours are considered negative, even if they are not explicitly inscribed in the language choices as such. Chapter 3, Methods, will describe how the analysis of inscribed and evoked APPRAISAL was handled.

2.18 Applying Linguistic Tools of Analysis to Text

The variety of tools for linguistic analysis of discourse introduced in this section are tools which can provide (critical) discourse analysts with the resources necessary to conduct analyses which go beyond mere paraphrasing. The application of these tools to text can contribute to identifying the specific ways in which general themes or, more specifically, ideologies are encoded in discourse via particular language choices. The types of linguistic analyses presented here can help bring researchers' critical attention to recurring language patterns; patterns which, being found across a range of texts within a corpus, can reveal a great deal about how the individuals or community which have produced the texts, view the world around them. In short, it is through the use of tools such as the ones described here that the researcher can indeed say something useful about what is going on in language.

Turning now to Chapter 3, Methods, a complete picture will be given of where data was collected, how it was collected and how the tools of analysis were applied to the corpus data.

3
Methods

3.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter will begin with a brief discussion of the methodological and ethical issues raised by research with children. It will then continue with an introduction to the case study of the Ramallah Friends Boys School (RFBS) before proceeding with an overview of the data collection procedures and the selection of texts for the corpus. The chapter will conclude with a detailed account of the methods by which the TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL analyses were conducted, including a description of how any problems which were encountered in the data analysis were resolved.

3.1 Methodological and Ethical Considerations

The increased research interest in children's experience described in section 2.3 has led to much thought about developing child-centred research methods (Davie, 1993; Davie, Upton & Varma, 1996). Greene & Hill (2005) outline a number of methods for conducting research with children, all of which are often utilized by (C)DA and SFL approaches to data collection, including, for example: observation, group or individual interviews, creative writing, storytelling, drawing, elicited self-reports, spontaneous narratives and the use of material or visual prompts. In broad terms, they suggest an ethnographic approach which combines participant observation, key informant interviews, informal group discussions and creative exercises. Social scientists have argued that there is no need for a specific set of methods to research children's experience (e.g. Christenson & James, 2000), but there remains a number of issues which might be kept in mind when conducting research with children. One important issue arises when the participants range in age; the importance of collecting data from children in developmentally appropriate ways has, therefore, been stressed repeatedly in the literature (see, for example, Hogan, 2005; Tudge & Hogan, 2005; Hill, 2005 and Dunn, 2005).

A second, and indeed more pressing, issue regards the ethical implications of the researcher-subject relationship when the researcher is an adult and the subject is a child. Hill (2005) explores this subject at length, noting that the "main relevant difference between children and adults is with respect to power" (63). He argues that

adults are traditionally ascribed power over children, making it impossible, in certain situations, for children to "dissent, disagree or say things which they fear may be unacceptable" (63). In order to not place undue stress on the child, s/he is not to be pressured into taking part in any research activity which has not been clearly explained to them in simple language they can understand (63). Furthermore, the researcher should adopt an interpersonal style and select a research setting which will "reduce and not reinforce children's inhibitions and desire to please" (63). For example, the researcher might use simplified language and sit in a position and at a level comfortable for the child (Alderson, 1995). Alderson (1995) sets forth a comprehensive framework for conducting ethical research with children which incorporates the rights of self-determination, privacy, dignity, anonymity, confidentiality, fair treatment and protection from discomfort and harm. In order not to infringe upon the rights of the children who participated in this study, I made efforts to ensure: that the children had opportunities to be active participants in the research; that they had the choice to consent or refuse to participate; that data was collected in a non-stressful manner; and that, despite the children wanting to be identified for the world to put names to their stories, their privacy was respected and confidentiality ensured.

A third issue, one which is of lesser concern for this research dissertation, is raised in Greene & Hill (2005): how does one tell the difference between a child's recounting of an experience which actually happened to him/her and telling an imaginative tale (10)? They answer their own question, stating that whether 'truthfulness' matters or not will be determined by the research question (10). As regards this research project, as a researcher I did not set out to compare the young people's accounts of experience with 'factual' records of reality as perceived by their parents, their teachers, the media or the military. I set out to explore how the children see the world around them and their place in it.

3.2 The Ramallah Friends Boys School: A Case Study

Research for this study was carried out during the 2002-2003 school year in the West Bank at the Ramallah Friends (Secondary) Boys School (RFBS). Nestled in an oasis of garden calm behind the ever-crowded and chaotic fruit and vegetable market and taxi/bus station, the RFBS has provided Palestinian children with top-quality

education for generations. The RFBS is one in a network of schools worldwide that has been founded for the purpose of offering young people a rigorous academic program which follows the principles of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). According to its website, the RFBS administration, staff and students consider their school unique, for four main reasons. First, and perhaps most broadly, the liberal Quaker philosophy and modern approaches to education equip graduates with "the skills of mind and spirit that prepare them to step into adult life with confidence" (www.palfriends.org accessed 15.8.05). Second, it is the only school in Palestine to offer, alongside the Palestinian curriculum, the International Baccalaureate (IB) option, a programme which has led to a number of students embarking on university studies abroad, often with significant financial aid. Third, the school's educational philosophy is one of inclusion, realized by a Special Needs program which, allowing children with various special needs to be part of the mainstream school system while receiving integrated special education services, is the first such initiative in Palestine. Fourth, ICT education begins in kindergarten, with students in the 7th - 12th grades having school based e-mail accounts to be used for communication with teachers. According to the RFBS website, these email accounts "have proved very beneficial, particularly at times of Israeli military incursions and curfews" (www.palfriends.org accessed 15.8.05).

The RFBS is varied in nature; it is a co-educational institution with a mix of both Christian and Muslim students, and has a diverse student population in the sense that although most children were raised in Ramallah and its surrounding villages, many are the children of Diaspora Palestinians (North American, European, Arab, etc.) who, believing a just settlement was imminent, returned to the West Bank after the signing of The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West-Bank and Gaza Strip in 1995. This has resulted in a situation in which, while Arabic is the native language of the majority, there are many native English speakers as well. Students of all ages have a high level of English language competency; all research could therefore be conducted in English.

Details of the biographic data of RFBS students are included in the appendices.

3.3 Preparations for Data Collection – Establishing Trust

In July of 2002, I made contact with the gatekeeper (Mahmoud Amra), the principal of the RFBS, to explain the nature of my research project and to request permission to use the school as a case study. Having a long history of foreign teachers, researchers and visitors in the school's midst, the principal was immediately agreeable and offered to help me in any way possible. I gave him a consent form which clearly outlined the nature of my observation activities and also stressed that classroom observation in no way implied, on my part, an evaluation of teacher performance. He agreed with everything outlined on the form, distributed it and explained it, and asked for it to be signed and returned to me if participation was agreed upon. No teachers or administrative staff chose not to participate.

Data collection was scheduled to begin on the first day of school, September 2002. The start of the 2002/03 school year came, however, at the heels of the deadliest cycle of violence between Israel and Palestine in the Second Intifada. Israel's Operation Defensive Shield, recalled among Palestinians as the *ishteeyah,* or invasion, saw the West Bank under siege for nearly six weeks in March and April 2002, and under continuous curfew, sometimes 24 hours a day, other times from 6pm until 6am, throughout the remaining spring and summer months. With 11,000 classes missed and 55, 000 teaching sessions lost during the invasion alone, the atmosphere leading up to the new school year was apprehensive and tense. Schools throughout the West Bank that had the capacity to prepare self-study kits for use at home while under curfew did so, and teachers and students with Internet access developed a plan of action for home study, providing, of course, that electricity and telephone lines remained intact. Indeed, as many had predicted, the lengthy set of Jewish holidays, Sukkot, Rosh HaShanna and Yom Kippur, saw the entire month of September, the first month of the academic year, lost to a continuous curfew imposed across the West Bank.

In October, once the academic year was officially able to begin, data collection was, for the most part, a relatively smooth process, with great efforts on the part of the school principal, teachers and staff to facilitate my research. I began by making my presence felt in the school in as non-threatening a manner as possible. Before entering any classrooms or making contact with any teachers on an individual level, I

positioned myself in the library three days a week, making contacts with staff, teachers and students who came in and out during the day. I drank coffee with the teachers and staff in the staffroom during recess breaks and lunch, and I also monitored the playground with teachers during recess and in the morning before school began. This allowed teachers, and of course also students, the opportunity to feel more comfortable around me, to ask questions about why I was there at the school and in Palestine more generally. It also gave us the opportunity to build a relationship of trust, a relationship which was crucial in a politically charged environment where the locals were highly suspicious of foreigners' opinions and allegiances. During this time I kept extensive field notes, documenting the development of this relationship and noting anything I thought might prove useful later on.

Once my presence was accepted in the school, I began collecting data. Data collection began in November with a series of classroom observations where I sat unobtrusively in the back of the class, videotaping eight lessons a day, three days a week, taking field notes of the children's interaction and body language in case it might somehow be useful later on. I attended as many different curriculum subjects as possible (literature, religious studies, geography, science, etc). Despite having developed a relationship, the teachers were, as I had expected, slightly wary in the beginning, still concerned that I was observing classes not to learn more about the children's perceptions of life under occupation and during the Intifada, but to evaluate their performance as educators in the classroom. In a matter of weeks, I gained their trust and developed a very close working relationship with all of the teachers, and even developed long-lasting friendships with a handful of teachers and their spouses and children. Over time, and given the society's positive attitude toward teachers, I also forged close relationships with a number of the students and their families. I believe that these confidence building measures went a long way in creating an environment where all people in the school felt comfortable construing their experiences of daily life.

3.4 Collected Data which Was Not Used in the Present Research

As mentioned, in the first weeks of data collection, much of my spoken data was in the form of classroom observations. However, due to the time constraints placed on

teachers because of the curfews enforced by Israeli military authorities during the entire month of September 2002, the classes whizzed through the curriculum content with no time for discussion or personal response. Unfortunately, the kind of teacher-student and student-student dialogue I was hoping for did not arise. Further to this, I had the distinct feeling that, although I had gained a significant degree of trust, my presence in the classroom left teachers reticent to discuss issues with their students that, from my perspective were crucial to my research, but from theirs, were controversial and potentially dangerous (I refer here to nearly all mention of the students' feelings about the Intifada, their experiences of violence, and their attitudes about Israelis). For this reason, combined with the logistical restraint that I did not have the resources necessary to ensure that the translations I had from Arabic into English were accurate, I have chosen not to use the classroom observations as data for this dissertation, but have instead kept them aside for future SFL research into the Palestinian context.

In order to collect more data, focus groups were conducted in small groups of 5-6 students each in grades 11 and 12. As the facilitator, I asked just one question: what does it mean to be Palestinian? The students then were free to discuss the issue for 45 minutes. Although the data exhibited some interesting themes, there was throughout the groups an imbalance of participation; as is common with this type of data collection method, not all participants contributed and some groups ended up with just one student speaking for the 45 minutes. I also sensed that some students did not wish to air their opinions, and I am assuming this might have been because what they had to say differed from the stronger voices in the group. Because the purpose of the research was to hear as many voices as possible in a relatively natural, uninfluenced context, I decided not to include the focus group data in the corpus for analysis. Instead, this spoken data can be used in future research.

I had also conducted a series of teacher and staff interviews, asking questions about their impressions of how the Intifada has impacted the children. However, because this study is specifically interested in how the children themselves represent their experiences, I chose not to include these adult interviews in the corpus.

3.5 Collected Data which Was Used in the Present Research

The data collected and included in the corpus for this research is mainly in the form of free-writing activities in English, initiated either by myself or by the teachers as part of creative writing or art classes. There is a wide range of writing samples included in the corpus, from classroom speeches on the topic of *who am I* to essays on *the impact of globalisation on the world* and *what it now means to be Palestinian.* In addition, a large portion of the data is in the form of pen-pal letters written by the students to children their same age and grade level in Canada. The activity was designed with an authentic communicative purpose in mind, and the children's letters were posted to Canada; yet, not all Canadian children responded to their Palestinian pen-pal. This was perhaps due to a combination of reasons, including the fact that the Palestinian children do not have postal addresses and they do not all have email access.

The Palestinian children enquired everyday if a letter arrived for them from Canada and seemed generally excited at the prospect of communicating with someone abroad. One male student in grade 9 even approached me and thanked me for giving the class an activity in which they could express themselves. He then added that it was the first time anyone had asked them to talk freely about themselves.

In cooperation with the Art teacher, the youngest children in the school (grade 7 aged 11-12) were given a free period in to draw, paint and colour whatever they wanted. I selected this type of activity because the children of that age had generally lower English proficiency and I did not want them to feel nervous or pressured into writing about their experiences when they were just only learning to write in English. However, in an attempt to minimize the total amount of data, it was decided not to embark upon a multi-modal analysis using pictorial data. Each student was instead interviewed about his/her drawing; I simply asked the children, one by one, to tell me what they had drawn. There were three children who did not want to be interviewed, so they were not forced to. There were other children who had a very hard time expressing themselves in English, so any one-word answers such as *tree*, *house*, etc. were not included in the corpus. The interviews of the 60 students were kept and included in the corpus for this research, therefore adding a spoken language component to the corpus.

In summary, the corpus for the TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL analyses includes only the data (160 texts in total) in which students had the opportunity to express themselves, written or orally, without being interrupted by other students or teachers. Although there are always outside influences in any writer's text, these texts are, as much as they can be, individual representations of experience.

3.6 Methods of Analysis

This chapter will now continue with a brief overview of some methods of analysis which might have been employed in this study but, for various reasons, were not, and will then explain the methods of data analysis utilized in this research.

3.7 Methods of Analysis which Were Not Used in the Present Research

In addition to TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL analyses, there were at least three frameworks for analysing data which were considered at the outset of this study: Conversation Analysis, Narrative Analysis and Corpus Analysis. The potential usefulness of each framework, and also the reasons why they were not drawn upon in the present research, will be discussed briefly in this section.

Conversation Analysis provides a methodology for studying naturally occurring conversation, or talk in interaction. Originally developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, and expanded upon greatly in recent years by anthropologists, linguists, sociologists and others, research in the area has focussed on a broad range of aspects of conversation, including, for example: turn taking organization; sequence organization; adjacency pairs; action formation and repair (see, for example: Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1995; Hutchby & Woofitt, 1988 and Psathas, 1995). Although an interesting method of analysis, it was not the goal of the present research to study the features of naturally occurring conversation. The majority of the spoken data collected for the present research were, for reasons already explained in section 3.4, not included in the corpus. This method of analysis would have been utilized had the focus of the research been more on how the children convey their experiences through dialogue with the researcher, or with a group of Israeli children of similar age (e.g. conflict talk and turn-taking as outlined in Chapter 2 section 2.10).

The second type of analysis considered for this research was Narrative Analysis. Considering the aim of this study, which is to explore how a group of young people from the West Bank construe their life experiences, it seemed that a narrative inquiry, which is "a way of understanding experience", would be a particularly valid and useful framework (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000: 20). Kohler Riessman's (1993) description of the purpose of narrative analysis as a methodological approach parallels the main research aims of this study: according to Kohler Riessman, narrative analysis explores how "respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives" (1993: 2). However, the methodological approach itself, as outlined by Kohler Riessman, highlights how the focus is primarily on "investigat[ing] the story itself" rather than on recurring themes in the construal of experience: "the approach examines the informant's story and analyses how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of authenticity" (1993: 1 and 2). The main reason why this methodological framework was not applied to the data set collected for this study is because although the texts do exhibit elements of narrative and the children do tell some stories in their writings, strictly speaking, the corpus is not comprised of narratives as they are traditionally defined. A second reason why the method was not selected for this study is because the overall research aim was to look at how, generally, the young people construe their experiences living under occupation and through the second Intifada, not how their stories are told in a particular way, thus reflecting particular representations of experience (Kohler Riessman, 1993: 2).

The third approach considered was that of Corpus Analysis (e.g. Stubbs, 1996, 1997, 2001; Scott, 1997, 2004; Scott & Tribble, 2006). Stubbs (2001) explores how a corpus approach can be taken to study words and word combinations and to investigate how certain word combinations embody cultural knowledge. Corpus Analysis is a useful methodological framework for exploring language patterns, for investigating how words are used and what they mean. Of particular interest in relation to the goals of the present research would be the way in which Corpus Analysis can facilitate an exploration of how words typically co-occur (by way of a concordance) across the corpus and the cultural meaning such combinations hold (e.g. what lexical items co-occur with Israel/Israelis and Palestine/Palestinians). A further area of interest for this research would be an exploration of the keywords of the

children's texts. Keywords are words which occur in a text or across a corpus with a high or low frequency which, when compared with some kind of measure (e.g. the BNC), is statistically significant. The exploration of keywords could provide an interesting insight into how the children view the world around them because keywords can be, and often are, culturally significant words (e.g. Williams, 1976). Indeed, after reading a number of works describing the corpus approach to linguistic analysis, it seemed that utilizing this type of analysis would yield quite interesting results. I conducted a number of pilot analyses using Wordsmith Tools (1999, 2004) but, after a number of failed attempts at running the software properly, I decided against using Corpus Analysis as a main methodological framework for the present research. It is, however, an area which I would like to explore more fully in future extensions of this study.

In the end, it was decided that two methodological frameworks would be adopted from the SFL tradition: TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL analyses. As described in Chapter two, sections 2.13 and 2.18, these frameworks were adopted because they can contribute to identifying the specific ways in which general themes and ideologies are encoded in discourse via particular grammatical and lexical choices. This chapter will now proceed with a detailed description of how each of the two analyses was conducted on the corpus.

3.8 TRANSITIVITY Analysis – Participant Groupings

Before conducting linguistic analyses of the texts that constitute the corpus of this research, it was first necessary to derive participant groupings (sets of social actors) appearing consistently across the data in order to have a basis from which to discuss the TRANSITIVITY analysis. An informed guess was first made about the kinds of entities that could be found forming significant groupings in the data; naturally, it was presumed that entities with a semantic relation to *Palestine* and *Israel* would prove to be two of a number of potential groupings. It was also presumed that, a) given the political context in which the data was gathered and the resulting diplomatic envoys that visited the region in attempts to secure a ceasefire, and b) the impending war on Iraq and the attention it was receiving by the media, references to the United States and the West in general might also be plentiful enough to constitute a participant

grouping. Finally, given that this region is known as the Holy Land, it was presumed that there would be a participant grouping comprised of religious entities.

After devising a list of potential participant groupings, the texts were checked provisionally to see if these groupings did in fact occur. Checking the texts provisionally allowed for other possible groupings to emerge which, in turn, could be checked against informed intuitions about the groups that were most likely to be significant in cultural terms. This cross-checking ensured that any missing groups, such as those that were predicted to occur but did not, were identified. It also ensured that any groupings represented by the texts which were not originally predicted, were also identified and considered.

Since this study attempts to uncover how a group of young Palestinian students in the West Bank construe and evaluate their experiences of the world, particularly experiences living under occupation and through the Second Intifada, it was evident from the start that Palestinians and Palestine should constitute one grouping. Group P therefore is comprised of entities that have a direct semantic relationship to either the people or the land of Palestine. As predicted, entities which are semantically related to the people and the nation of Israel, the other party to the conflict, also constitute a participant grouping, labelled here as Group I.

At this stage I considered whether group P and I should each be subdivided into two types of entities (people/animate and land/inanimate); but often times there is a strong relationship in the representation of the two entities, whereby *Israel* is used as a collective noun to refer to the actions taken by its government, military or people. Similarly, Palestinians are often collectively referred to as *Palestine*. Because the land and the people often appear across the data to be used interchangeably, it was decided to group them together.

When grouping the entities together, Group P (entities related to Palestinians and Palestine) was relatively straightforward to categorize. Group I, in contrast, posed several challenges because there appears to be a general overlap or 'fuzziness' in the way the different entities are conceptualised by the children. For example, whereas in Group P the entities are simply *I, we, us, Palestine, Palestinians*, etc., the entities in

Group I might be interpreted by a non-Palestinian as logically belonging in separate categories: *they, Jews, Israelis,* and *soldiers*. The children often use these terms interchangeably, or combined as in *Jewish soldiers* or *Israeli soldiers* or *Jewish Israelis*. Furthermore, it is at times unclear to whom the general term *they* (which occurs most often, with 211 instances) refers: it could be *Jews, Israelis, soldiers*, or all three at the same time, as 71 instances of Group I denoted in a military context reveal (*Israeli soldiers, Jewish militias, Israeli army*). It was therefore decided to leave all of these entities under the heading Group I and, as far as possible, to organize the entities together for easy viewing in the appendices.

These two groups, P and I, proved to be the largest participant groupings in the data, as there were hundreds of entities containing some type of direct semantic relationship to the super ordinate term. However, other significant sub-groupings emerged from the analysis within the overall categories. Therefore I labelled people and land as Groups P1 and I1 and established further subcategories of participant groupings as follows:

P2 and I2 (Palestinian and Israeli non-human entities):
P2 as a subcategory is comprised of entities which are neither people nor land, but are the physical structures (houses, roads, gardens, etc.) and systems (economic, education, political etc.) which characterize the land as a nation. In the case of Group I2, the entities referred to are also non-human, but differ vastly from P2 in that they are comprised entirely of military apparatus, such as bullets, tanks, F-16s, checkpoints, curfew, etc. Subcategory 2 is the largest of all P and I subcategories.

P3 and I3 (Palestinian and Israeli actions):
This subcategory is comprised of any physical actions (process realized by nominalisation) taken by either Groups P or I.

P4 and I4 (Palestinian and Israeli abstractions):
This subcategory is quite broad and includes a number of different entities including, for example, hopes and dreams, human rights and freedoms, peace and justice, truth and reality.

P5 and I5 (Palestinian and Israeli culture, traditions and national symbols):
This subcategory includes references to things such as flags, traditional costume and dance, traditional celebrations and cuisine.

The next participant grouping that at first appeared relevant to the study was Palestinian and Israeli political figures, initially brought together under Group PF. However, after tallying the total occurrences, there were actually only a handful of

instances, all of which referred to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and none to any Palestinian political figures. The occurrences included ten Actors and one Sayer, to the exclusion of all other process/participant types. As a result, this participant grouping was deleted and clauses referring to Ariel Sharon were included in Group I1.

As was predicted based on a general intuition of the types of entities reasonably expected to occur across the texts, what is labelled here as Group W, for the world, consists of all entities outside of the immediate conflict. Examples of Group W's entities are: *America, the world, Britain,* and *you*, implying the reader of the texts.

Again, as was predicted based on a general intuition of the types of entities reasonably expected to occur across the texts, there is a participant grouping, labelled Group R, which is composed of references to religion and religious entities. Entities of Group R can be specific references to religious sites such as Al-Aqsa Mosque or the Holy Sepulchre Church, or to religious figures or prophets such as Mohammed, Jesus and Moses.

The final participant grouping is Group S, which contains all references to the Intifada, or *the situation*, as it is generally referred to, as a participant.

Although these participant groupings generally presented themselves quite obviously from the initial reflection on cultural tendencies and from the texts themselves, assigning each participant to a grouping was not a simple task. Many clausal participants could have fallen into one or two groupings; for example, in the **relational** clause *we are both wrong*, the *we* as Carrier refers to both Groups P1 and I1, and was thus classified accordingly. For this reason, and as can be seen in the appendices, a number of clauses appear twice in the TRANSITIVITY concordances. In other instances, it was difficult to determine the clausal participant, particularly in Group W where the writers refer to the outside world: the clausal participant is often *you*, as in the reader, but there are also cases where the *you* is not clearly the reader, but instead is a projection of the writer's actions and thoughts onto the reader. An example of this is text [9A(5)] where the *you* actually means the self: *you have to pass one or more checkpoints, you won't pass if the Israeli soldier's mood wasn't good, you see no one, you can't go out even no markets are open because of the Israeli army*

spread among the city. It was decided to keep these clauses in Group W, but to recognize that they were functioning differently and to discuss them separately from instances where the nominal group *you* clearly implies the reader.

Once it was decided how each textual participant was going to be coded (i.e. placed in a participant grouping), a TRANSITIVITY analysis was conducted in order to identify which types of roles were assigned by the children to each participant grouping.

3.9 The TRANSITIVITY Analysis

A TRANSITIVITY analysis was employed in order to identify the process types and participant roles existent in the children's construal of the world around them. Initially, the TRANSITIVITY analysis was intended not for each text in its entirety, but for only the clauses that exhibited one of the above-described participant groupings. It soon became apparent, however, that nearly every clause of each text contained one of the participant groupings. Therefore, a TRANSITIVITY analysis was ultimately conducted on each text in its entirety.

To begin with, each constituent of the clause was assigned a label depending on its function as either clausal process or participant. Processes, which, put simply, are realised by the verbs in the clause, can be classified according to the six main types mentioned in Chapter Two, section 2.14: **material, relational, mental, verbal, behavioural** and **existential.** As will be elaborated on in depth in the following chapter, a brief look at the TRANSITIVITY analysis reveals that each participant grouping is engaged in relatively the same types of processes, but to a much greater or lesser extent comparatively.

It should be noted that the TRANSITIVITY analysis conducted in this research is extremely delicate, in that it takes into consideration multiple layers of meaning as expressed by both the main clause and any embedded clauses as well. This means an entity that is one participant at the first level of analysis may quite possibly become another at the second level. For example, text [9C(6)]:

they	are resisting	the occupation that is illegal according to the United Nations		
ACTOR	MATERIAL	GOAL		
		CARRIER	REL	ATTRIBUTE

At the first level, *the occupation* is Goal in a **material** process. At the second level, however, this same Goal becomes Carrier in a **relational** process. For the purposes of analysis, the multiple levels are not indicated to the reader in the appendices, but each TRANSITIVITY label is included in the final corpus statistics, even if it means that a single participant is counted twice or thrice.

Once each clausal constituent was assigned a TRANSITIVITY label, it was necessary to calculate the frequency with which each participant grouping appeared in each participant role. In order to draw conclusions about ideologies prevailing across the children's texts, it was necessary to determine first, for example, the number of times Group P1 occurs as Actor (dynamic) in a **material** process, as opposed to Goal (less dynamic). To this end, a TRANSITIVITY concordance was created for each participant grouping.

3.10 The TRANSITIVITY Concordance

The purpose of the TRANSITIVITY concordance was to illustrate the frequency with which each participant grouping appeared in each participant role in each process type across the corpus. The concordance created for this research compiled all of the entities in the texts and organized them according to the way they appeared in the data. A concordance allowed, for example, all clauses containing Group P1 as Actor or Group I1 as Senser to be grouped together and calculated. As a result, the number of times that group P1 occurred as Actor, for example, could be compared with the overall number of Actors in the texts and could then be presented in terms of overall percentages. Moreover, the concordance allowed for comparison of participant groupings across the corpus, and for discussion of levels of dynamism of each set of social actors. Through comparison and discussion of the numbers, a picture of the ideologies, cultural values and attitudes held by the children could be developed.

Tables included in the following chapter illustrate the total number of times each participant grouping appears in each participant role. As has already been mentioned, some entities received more than one TRANSITIVITY label because there are multiple levels of analysis. Consequently, one entity may be counted twice in the calculations. Similarly, one TRANSITIVITY label might contain more than one participant grouping;

in such cases, it has been counted twice, as belonging to each participant grouping. All of these cases are reflected in the total numbers.

3.11 The TRANSITIVITY Template

Once it was determined how many times each participant grouping appeared in each TRANSITIVITY role, there were a number of choices which could have been made about how to proceed with analysis. At first it seemed logical to present the data beginning with how each participant grouping appeared in each participant role. However, after proceeding in this manner it quickly became evident that the examples were just too numerous to handle without some kind of clear organizing system. Consequently, it was decided to organize the data using the TRANSITIVITY template, a system which allows for the capturing of broad conceptual themes occurring repeatedly throughout the data. In this way, it is easier to see who acts upon whom in what types of processes, from both a lexicogrammatical and a semantic point of view. Take, for example, the following template:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP P1 [ANIMATE GOAL]

This simple construction allows for the categorization of data according to three points of discussion: 1) the general participant grouping which is doing the process, with a sub discussion of the types of individuals who comprise the grouping; 2) the type of process in broad terms, whether it is positive or negative, and the lexical variations of shared semantics; and 3) the general participant grouping which receives the happening, with a sub discussion of the types of individuals who comprise the grouping. The TRANSITIVITY template therefore allowed for an exploration of broad themes occurring repeatedly across this corpus of data. .

3.12 Problems Encountered during the TRANSITIVITY Analysis

Halliday (1994) has argued that "all the categories employed must be clearly "there" in the grammar of the language", yet TRANSITIVITY analysis continues to be problematic in practice because, as Thompson (2005 and 2006) suggests, "the grammatical criteria by which one process type can be differentiated from another are not always precisely definable, and purely semantic criteria may be implicitly or explicitly drawn on" (see also O'Donnell 2005). This section describes some of the problems encountered when conducting the TRANSITIVITY analysis, including troubles

stemming from English being the participants' second language, and troubles with verbs that have proven difficult to categorize.

Despite the potential for fuzzy areas of meaning, on the part of the children or the TRANSITIVITY framework itself, there were actually only a few minor problems encountered conducting the TRANSITIVITY analysis. The majority of these problems related to the children being non-native speakers of English. One particular trouble area relates to **relational** clauses and the verb 'to be' in the present tense. The verb 'to be' is not used in the present tense in colloquial Arabic; consequently, a number of the clauses are missing a process. In such cases, the process has been inserted in [square brackets] to make it easier for the reader to identify.

A second language-related problem is one of vocabulary, in that there are a number of words that do not translate well from Arabic into English. In addition, there are a number of single lexical items that serve to identity two different real-world entities that, in English, are identified by two different lexical items. An example of this is the Arabic *al-balad* which, in the colloquial language, is often used to mean both city and country. For this reason, we can see that the children refer to *all the Palestinian countries* when they mean *cities*. In cases such as these where the choice of lexical item does not impede overall understanding, it has been left as is. In other cases where the word choice makes meaning unclear, I have used my knowledge of Arabic and the style of communication of the children to include in square brackets my informed guess of what it is they are trying to communicate.

A third challenge is that the children tend to identify a participant then continue clause after clause to describe **material** processes with extensive circumstantial details. The result was often a half-page-long run-on sentence in which it was not always clear if the named participant remained the participant throughout the whole text. In such cases, if it could be safely determined from context who the participant was, it has been inserted in square brackets into the concordance tables.

A further problem, related closely to the problem of run-on sentences above, is that the children sometimes have trouble expressing complex ideas clearly. As a result, there are sometimes inexplicit clausal participants at the second and third levels of

analysis: *I am willing to die for the sake of liberating Palestine and declare it a free country with Jerusalem as its capital.* Within the Circumstance here, it is unclear precisely who the Actor/Sayer is who is doing the *liberating/declaring*. It might possibly be the child, the *I* of the first clause, who is engaging in the processes. However, for the purposes of tallying, the TRANSITIVITY analysis in ambiguous cases such as this has been left at the first level of delicacy and is taken more to mean *I am willing to die so that Palestine can be liberated* [by someone] *and be declared* [by someone] *a free country*. The trouble of inexplicit participants also often occurs in Circumstances of manner: *Millions of people died to free their land from occupation.* The second level of analysis could be taken here as *people free their land from occupation*, but it is only clear from the original statement that freedom is the reason for the deaths, not the outcome of the deaths. Again, in cases such as this, analysis has been left at the first level of delicacy.

Continuing with the issue of inexplicit clausal participants, there is a tendency within the data to have implicit yet un-stated Initiators. The children often write statements such as *we are prevented from our simplest rights* in which the social actors of Group I1 are presumably the Initiator. In such cases, the clauses have been included in the TRANSITIVITY concordance for Initiator as a participant role, but the Initiator has been left unidentified.

Not often, but indeed on a few occasions, the children's choice of wording in English makes the intended meaning ambiguous. For example, *the people in Palestine can't live the life they deserve to love*. Here, it would make more sense if the child actually means *deserve to live*, but as the grammar represents it, *they* constitutes the Senser, so analysis has been conducted here as a **mental** process at the second level: *they deserve to love life*. *Deserve* would normally be considered a **relational** process, but it is acting here more as an interpersonal modifier and consequently has not been included in the TRANSITIVITY analysis.

None of these language related issues pose any genuine challenge to the analysis of data; the system of TRANSITIVITY as it has been developed for the grammar of English is easily mapped onto other languages, as the resources human languages have developed to express processes of thinking, feeling, identifying, etc. are more or less

consistent. Indeed, Halliday's system of TRANSITIVITY was originally conceptualised through research on both English and Chinese grammars.

In addition to the above difficulties, three main challenges were faced when coding the data, challenges which stem from the TRANSITIVITY model itself, and from the general fuzziness of categories. The first coding challenge was encountered in clauses such as the following: *they all managed to get a university degree* [9CI(6)] and *I seek to achieve professionalism in film production and directing* [9CI9()]. These clauses, which have more than one verb, make it difficult to determine the main process. Within the SFL Functional Grammar framework, such clauses are considered "hypotactic verbal group complexes" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 497). The first verb, which may be finite or non-finite, carries the mood of the clause and is not semantically dominate. It is the second verb in the complex, which is always non-finite, that "realizes the process type of the clause" (498). Therefore, in the two example clauses above, it is the second verb (*get* and *achieve*) which constitutes the material process. With the exception of some **mental** processes, as will be discussed in more detail below, the second verb in the hypotactic verbal group complexes was coded as the main process.

With regard to **mental** processes, verbs such as 'want' would normally be considered as modality, while the following verb would be coded as the main process. However, throughout the corpus I chose instead to code 'want' as the main process and label everything following as Phenomenon/projection. I made this decision because I was specifically interested in learning what it is the children want/wish/desire for themselves, their community and their country.

A second coding challenge relates to the general fuzziness of categories, something which is a common problem for researchers in the field: Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note that systemic categories should be thought of as fuzzy sets rather than crisp ones (Matthiessen, 1995). For processes that appeared to be a blend of two (for example the verb 'to live' could be interpreted as either a **relational** process denoting a state of existence or a **material** process), a choice was made between the two and adhered to consistently throughout the analysis. In the case of the verb 'to live', for example, it was decided to code it as a **material** process consistently across the

corpus. There were also cases that were borderline between two types of processes and could be coded in one of two ways. For example, *our country don't accept occupation* could be interpreted as being right on the line between **mental** and **material** processes. In the Palestinian context, the issue is complicated by the fact that the mental non-acceptance, or rejection, of occupation is currently being actualised materially through an uprising, the Second Intifada. In cases such as these, however, it was decided that the emphasis was more on the **mental** aspect of the process and was thus coded accordingly.

Once I had made my coding decisions and had completed the analysis of data, my dissertation supervisor, who is an established authority in Functional Grammar in general and in the TRANSITIVITY model in particular, double-checked my analysis for accuracy and consistency. I then made modifications according to his feedback and suggestions.

One final challenge in conducting the TRANSITIVITY analysis arose because of the decision to analyse data to the most delicate level. Many of the embedded clauses, when taken out of context of the complete sentence and analysed, held a meaning different from the one presumably intended by the writers. These clauses are in fact projected clauses and will be highlighted in the discussion of the following chapter to bring awareness to the fact that the grammar of the clause is not expressing its intended meaning. The following example illustrates the most common cases of this type:

they	believe	we	are	terrorists
SENSER	MENTAL	PHENOMENON		
		CARRIER	REL	ATTRIBUTE

Within the Phenomenon of the clause, there is an embedded **attributive relational** clause: *we are terrorists*. The children, though, are not representing themselves as terrorists even though the grammar portrays it this way. These embedded clauses, which are actually projecting a report of what the children think people in the outside world think of them, are discussed in detail in Chapter four, particularly section 4.3.c.

3.13 The APPRAISAL Analysis

The highly charged political environment of military occupation and uprising for independence in which the data was collected has led to the production of highly evaluative texts, both inscribed and evoked. The APPRAISAL analysis conducted here has been done with the intention of complementing this study's painstakingly detailed TRANSITIVITY analysis, the results of which will be discussed in the following chapter. An APPRAISAL analysis conducted to the same level of delicacy as the TRANSITIVITY analysis is regrettably beyond the scope of the current research endeavour. It has therefore been decided to not only limit the APPRAISAL analysis to an exploration of the entities that have been explicitly evaluated by the children, but to also limit the analysis to just one aspect of APPRAISAL, that of **Attitude.**

As with the TRANSITIVITY analysis, each text in its entirety was subjected to a search for inscribed attitudinal APPRAISAL. Each text was read and re-read, and statements containing instances of inscribed **Attitude** (Appreciation, Affect, Judgement) were extracted and compiled into a series of tables which have been included in the appendices. The tables include note of any inscribed **Attitude**, as well as Amplification where it appears.

Each instantiation of **Attitude** has been further labelled according to the subcategories introduced in Martin (2000). That is: instances of Affect have been classified as un/happiness, in/security or dis/satisfaction; instances of Judgement have been classified as esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) or sanction (veracity, propriety) and instances of Appreciation have been classified as reaction, composition or valuation

3.14 Problems Encountered during the APPRAISAL Analysis

Few, if any, significant challenges were met when conducting the APPRAISAL analysis. This was perhaps primarily due to the fact that while conducting the detailed TRANSITIVITY analysis, I had the opportunity to prepare myself for the APPRAISAL analysis by becoming familiar with the data and making notes beforehand. A second factor facilitating smooth analysis was the fact that the children tended to inscribe their APPRAISAL through simple lexical items, primarily adjectives. A great deal of the data, as will be presented and discussed in Chapter Five, consists of easy to

analyse phrases such as: *Palestine is beautiful* and *I am proud to be a Palestinian.* A third factor was the fact that the categories of attitudinal APPRAISAL are generally less fuzzy than those of TRANSITIVITY, and have clearly stated criteria for labelling (Appreciation = products and processes, Affect = emotion, Judgement = human behaviour).

The challenge posed by the APPRAISAL analysis was trying to decide which instances of APPRAISAL were inscribed and which were evoked. There were cases of lexical items which, from the young people's point of view, could only be interpreted as being highly evaluative, and it was therefore initially thought that they should be included as examples of inscribed APPRAISAL. One such lexical item is *occupation*. It did not seem likely that the term could ever be used in a positive sense by Palestinians, but the term itself could be used in different contexts by different people for very different purposes. For example, extremist Jewish settlers have accused the Palestinians of occupying the ancient Jewish homeland. Lukin (in personal conversation regarding her research into media coverage of the occupation of Iraq) raises the interesting point that the term might not even be evaluative; instead its power comes from the fact that it encodes the action as effective in terms of agency. Lexical items like *occupation* draw on the speaker's own interpretation of what is socially allowed and what is disallowed; in this sense it would be a token of evaluation.

Indeed, virtually every clause in the corpus evokes some kind of evaluation. A thorough exploration of all evoked tokens would be much too time consuming and detailed for this project, especially in light of the detailed grammatical analysis already conducted via the TRANSITIVITY analysis. Therefore, the decision was made to approach the APPRAISAL analysis as much as possible from the perspective of only inscribed evaluative language choices. However, I erred on the side of inclusivity when deciding whether APPRAISAL was inscribed: sometimes lexical items were included if they were presented in a context which can be regarded as inscribing evaluation.

Having described how data was collected and analysed, this dissertation will now proceed to present and discuss the results of both the TRANSITIVITY and APPRAISAL analyses.

4
TRANSITIVITY Analysis

4.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter will present, in detail, the findings of the TRANSITIVITY analysis conducted on the corpus. The majority of this chapter will be dedicated to the presentation of the three major process types, **material, relational** and **mental,** as they occur more frequently across the data than the three minor types. The chapter will continue with a presentation of **verbal** processes, and will then conclude with a brief presentation of **existential** and **behavioural** processes, processes which occur very infrequently compared with the others. It is important to briefly mention here that within each TRANSITIVITY process, only the main participant role will be discussed (e.g. Actor and Goal for **material** processes). This decision was taken because the full range of participant roles (e.g. Range, Beneficiary, etc.) is not filled by each participant grouping. Also, when they do occur, they do not occur frequently enough to warrant discussion.

The analysis of data will be presented, as was described in Chapter 3, by TRANSITIVITY pattern, or template. This presentational approach will facilitate a later discussion of themes, or particular world-views, prevalent across the children's discourse. For this reason, TRANSITIVITY templates will only be written about in depth in this chapter if they are constituted by at least five clauses from the corpus' data. The exception to this will be patterns that are of interest precisely because they tend not to occur; that is, the absence of a particular linguistic representation (TRANSITIVITY choice) bears significance when viewed in light of the main patterns in the corpus.

This chapter will present each of the participant groupings as they appear in the participant roles accompanying each TRANSITIVITY process. The presentation of data will begin with Groups I1 (Israel and Israelis) (and sub-groups) and P1 (Palestine and Palestinians) (and sub-groups) as they are the main participant groupings arising from the data. The presentation will then proceed with Groups R (religion and religious entities), S (the situation) and W (the world), each of which is noticeably less frequently occurring social actors than participant sub-groups of I1 and P1.

Turning now to the presentation of **material** processes, the chapter will proceed from here with a presentation of Initiator, the most dynamic participant role in the TRANSITIVITY system.

4.1 Material Processes - The Outer World of Physical Happenings

4.1.1. Participant Role: Initiator

The role of Initiator has been counted separately from other participants in **material** processes because it is the most dynamic role in the TRANSITIVITY system, operating throughout the texts with a relative degree of power not enjoyed by other textual participants. The participants acted upon by the Initiator have not been included in the total count of TRANSITIVITY roles (e.g. Actor, Senser, etc.) because they are not engaging of their own free will in the clause's process. The table below provides a sketch of who is represented (with what frequency) by the children as participants in causation.

TABLE 4.1: PARTICIPANT ROLE - INITIATOR

	INITIATOR		*INITIATOR*		*INITIATOR*
GROUP I	49 (59.7%)	**GROUP P**	10 (12.2%)	**GROUP R**	1 (1.2%)
GROUP I2	11 (13.4%)	**GROUP P2**	0	**GROUP S**	0
GROUP I3	0	**GROUP P3**	3 (3.7%)	**GROUP W**	5 (6.1%)
GROUP I4	0	**GROUP P4**	0		
GROUP I5	0	**GROUP P5**	3 (3.7%)		

4.1.1.a Group I1 as Initiator

As the table above illustrates, the most dynamic participant role in the TRANSITIVITY system is occupied by Group I1 a total of 49 times across the corpus, nearly 60% of total occurrences of Initiator in the corpus and almost five times more than Group P1. Comparing how groups I1 and P1 are represented in the same TRANSITIVITY role, the corpus illustrates that the two function as Initiator in very different contexts. Group I1 appears to have two fundamental tasks as Initiator: to prevent and to enforce. Fulfilling such tasks, Group I1 is consistently positioned by the children in the following TRANSITIVITY template:

I1 [INITIATOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + P1 [ACTOR] + MATERIAL PROCESS

The negative **material** processes engaged in by the Initiator tend to be denoted by lexical verbs like *stop*, *force*, *make*, *not allow*, *prevent*, *delay*, *prohibit*, *forbid*, etc.

On the whole, when I1 is situated as Initiator, the children are depicting a world in which P1 should perhaps more aptly be labelled as non-Actors. Group P1, as Actors in these clauses, is being prevented from undertaking actions routine to daily life in general, such as travel (between cities, to work, etc.) and study, and to Palestinian cultural life in specific, as in prayer in Jerusalem or Bethlehem, visiting family in other cities, etc.: *they forbid students from near villages to learn* [9A(17)], *the Israeli prohibit the people under 35 years old from travelling* [9A(15)] and *Christians are prevented from reaching the Nativity Church* [9A(9)]. In several clauses, I1's representation as Initiator is one in which I1's soldiers abuse their position of power, causing humiliation and even death: *Israeli soldiers forced him to take off all his clothes* [9B(15)], *the soldier kept her waiting until she died with her birth* [9B(19)] and *he will be forced to stand hours on the checkpoint* [9A(4)].

In addition to the clauses falling under this TRANSITIVITY template, there are also some clauses where Group I1 is Initiator which, although not numbering enough to constitute a template, express themes which will come across more clearly later in the presentation of data section, particularly when Group I1 is Actor on Group P1, when Group P1 as Actor engages in acts of resistance and/or defence and when Group P1 is presented in **possessive relational** clauses as not possessing their human rights and freedoms. Examples are: *they made many people homeless and poor* [9B(20)], *forces us to defend our land even if we don't have weapons* [9C(2)] and *the Israeli soldiers on our backs not letting adolescents have freedom* [9C(5)].

4.1.1.b Group I2 as Initiator

Group I2 is the second most frequently occurring Initiator, with a total of 11 instantiations across the corpus. The general pattern in which these participants occur is represented by the following template:

I2 (CURFEW/CHECKPOINTS) [INITIATOR] + VERB OF PROHIBITION [MATERIAL PROCESS] + P1 [ACTOR] + TRAVEL, VISIT, PROVIDE, ETC. [MATERIAL PROCESS] +/- GOAL +/- CIRCUMSTANCE

In this template, the Goal and Circumstance are optional clausal elements. The themes expressed by this template are consistent with section 4.1.b above where Group I1 is Initiator: here, Group I1's military infrastructure prevents Group P1 from travelling to school, work and hospitals and also from participating in activities important to children, such as play: *this curfew prevent us from going to our schools and jobs*

[9C(20)] and *the child should be prevented by an almost unbroken curfew from play with friends* [9A(2)]. One clause falling under this template echoes what has already been mentioned above, and what will be reinforced in the following sections, about Group P1 as Actors in processes of resistance/defence: *the Israeli checkpoints drives them to make bombs out from their bodies* [9A(1)].

4.1.1.c Group P1 as Initiator

Moving on to the clauses in which Group P1 fills the role of Initiator, it is notable that the context is often in direct opposition to that of Groups I1 and I2, and can be represented by:

P1 [INITIATOR] + UNFULFILLED MATERIAL PROCESS + I1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + P1 [ANIMATE GOAL]

Unable to prevent, force or enforce, the children explicitly represent themselves as not being Initiators of material processes: this is a role which is denied them (as opposed to being a role which simply is not relevant to them). Here, the main process is often preceded by a negative modal of ability, as in: *we can't stop them from attacking us* [7B(3)]. Although the grammatical choice is framed here as an Initiator, P1 is actually only Goal, since the Initiator role is negated, thus reinforcing the image of being unable to effect forces that act on them.

P1 is sometimes instantiated as a capable clausal Initiator; however, this occurs when the main process is **mental** and not **material** as in the template above:

P1 [INITIATOR] + MENTAL PROCESS + P1 [SENSER] + [PHENOMENON]

For example, *being Palestinian* is a constituent of P1 that initiates in the sense that it has a certain cognitive impact on the individual. Here, the children represent themselves directly as Sensers in a process of learning sparked by their nationality: *being a Palestinian taught me a lot* [9CI(4)] and *being a Palestinian teaches me about being under occupation and how people help each other* [7A(10)]. Palestinian nationality, as portrayed by the children, functions as a teacher and, in a greater sense, as a model for self-reflection and personality development: *it taught me to be patient, committed and dedicated to whatever I do* [9CI(4)]. This echoes findings by McLaughlin (2006) in which several children metaphorically represent Palestine as a mother because *she created my personality and my thoughts*.

4.1.1.d Group W as Initiator

The five clauses in which Group W appears as Initiator do not fall under one TRANSITIVITY template, nor do the nominal groups denoting Group W form one unit. However, these clauses are similar to each other in the sense that, like I1 as Initiator, Group W is portrayed by the children in a negative light, as the following examples illustrate: *the globalisation let the destruction increase* [9C(21)], *America is helping Israel to do all these stuff* [7BI(2)] and *international silence cause us to suffer* [9A(7)]. In short, the outside world is construed as similar to I1, the out-group rather than P1, the in-group.

4.1.2 Participant Roles: Actor and Goal

The table below displays the number of times each participant grouping appears as Actor in the corpus. The table differentiates between the types of Goal acted upon by the Actors.

TABLE 4.2: PARTICIPANT ROLES - ACTOR AND GOAL

ACTOR	*TOTAL*	*ANIMATE GOAL*	*INANIMATE GOAL*	*NO GOAL*	*GROUP*	*GOAL*
GROUP I1	335 (33%)	118	177	40	GROUP I1	20 (3.7%)
GROUP I2	48 (4.7%)	9	21	18	GROUP I2	42 (7.7%)
GROUP I3	4 (0.39%)	-	2	2	GROUP I3	19 (3.5%)
GROUP I4	2 (0.19%)	-	-	2	GROUP I4	1 (0.2%)
GROUP I5	0	-	-	-	GROUP I5	1 (0.2%)
GROUP P1	526 (51.1%)	36	210	280	GROUP P1	343 (63.3%)
GROUP P2	3 (0.29%)	-	-	3	GROUP P2	38 (7.0%)
GROUP P3	0	-	-	-	GROUP P3	12 (2.2%)
GROUP P4	0	-	-	-	GROUP P4	22 (4.1%)
GROUP P5	0	-	-	-	GROUP P5	10 (1.8%)
GROUP R	14 (1.4%)	6	-	8	GROUP R	20 (3.7%)
GROUP S	17 (1.7%)	1	-	16	GROUP S	7 (1.3%)
GROUP W	80 (7.8%)	28	32	20	GROUP W	7 (1.3%)
TOTAL	1029 (100%)	198	442	389	TOTAL	542 (100%)

The TRANSITIVITY patterns in the children's writings, illustrated by the figures in the table above, again suggest a view of the world where agency is foregrounded primarily through Israeli social actors. A cursory glance at the figures above illustrates that, although there are more overall occurrences of Group P1 filling the role of Actor, the children's language choices represent it as being far less dynamic than Group I1 is. The most significant contrast can be seen in the difference between Actors acting on animate Goals and Actors appearing in a clause with no second participant: whilst Group P1 acts on an animate Goal only 36 times across the corpus, Group I1 acts 118 times; almost inversely, Group P1 appears in clauses with no

second participant 280 times, while Group I1 is represented in this kind of role a mere 40 times across the corpus. Continuing with this pattern of Israeli agency, it can be seen that while Group I1 appears as Goal only 20 times across the corpus, Group P1, or Palestinians, is represented as being impacted by **material** processes 343 times across the corpus. An in-depth exploration of the types of TRANSITIVITY patterns each group is represented in will lend to a deeper understanding of what this general disparity in agency means in practical terms to the children. Most of the clauses construing **material** processes contain two of the participant groupings, e.g. Group I1 acts on Group P1 or vice versa. Separating the two groups into their roles as Actor and Goal would inevitably result in duplication; consequently, the numbers reflected in the table above will not be presented in terms of each participant role, but rather will be presented through TRANSITIVITY patterns, or templates. In this way, the total numbers will be viewed through the lens of who acts on whom in what types of processes rather than a straightforward description of, for example, Group P1 as Goal.

4.1.2.a Group I1 as Actor on Group P1 and sub-groups

Group I1 is instantiated as Actor in **material** processes 335 times across the corpus. Of these 335 instances, Group I1 acts on animate Goals 118 times (35.22%), on inanimate Goals 177 (52.84%) times and on no Goal 40 times (11.94%).

Beginning with the most dynamic of Actor types, Group I1 acts on animate Goals in the following typical TRANSITIVITY pattern:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP P1 [ANIMATE GOAL]

Within this TRANSITIVITY pattern, the **material** process is clustered into just a small number of verbal groups, with each lexical verb in the group carrying similar semantic meanings. Group I1 is often represented by the children as participants in violent **material** processes, with the lexical verb *kill* occurring most frequently (43 times, or 37.39% of all instances in which Group I1 acts on an animate Goal).

In clauses where the main lexical process is *kill*, the Goal is denoted by a number of different nominals: some are impersonal and distancing numbers, ranging from *6*, *7*, *9*, to *many*, *hundreds* and *thousands*, while others are personal and specific in reference, as in *little children, me, a lot of unguilty people children and adults, their families, the people who go to pray, Mohammed and the ambulance man that tried to*

save him, all children and mothers of Palestine, Mohammed Al-Durra and *another innocent women and children.* Within this same verbal group, the lexical verb *murder*, which is semantically related to *kill* constitutes the **material** process twice: *an Israeli soldier based on the military settlement around Ramallah city murdered a lady, their mother in cold blood* and *they have again started murdering innocent people of which a large percentage are women and children.*

A second verbal group in this TRANSITIVITY pattern consists of processes that can be thought of as being one step down the scale of violence from *kill* and *murder*, in the sense that they can be the act required to fulfil the killing or murdering, yet may not always result in death. The reference here is to the lexical verb *shoot*, as in: *a soldier is shooting our Palestinian boys* [7A(16)] and *they were shooting everyone everywhere* [9B(4)]. Other verbs are similarly violent in nature, but without the intermediary of a gun: *people get beated by the Israeli soldiers sometimes for no reason* [9A(13)], *the Israelis hit him* [7A(4)] and *they torture them* [9B(5)].

One final grouping of verbs is those the children have chosen to represent the routine activities of Israeli's military occupation. Here there are verbs such as *arrest* or *take*, *catch, transfer, check, stop, turn back, search for* and *capture.* The first three occur most frequently, as in *the soldiers will take many people to prison without no reason* [9B(9)] and *they arrest many small guys without any guilt* [9A(14)]. Once arrested, there is reference to violence, for example: *they beat them in Israeli prisons* [9A(14)] and *they don't feed them* [9A(14)]. In other examples the children depict Group I1 restricting or, as in several clauses, prohibiting movement: *they stop me sometimes* [7A(4)] and *they turn you back* [9B(11)]. Under this group of lexical verbs, Group I1 is occasionally represented in the **material** process of transferring the Palestinians out of their homeland: *the Israelis emigrates my Mom and Dad* [7B(14)], *the Israelis are going to transfer us into Jordan, and throw us out* [7BI(5)] and *the Israeli military forces started to devastate the people soon from their homes, their land, and from the country that they belong to* [9A(14)]. A number of the lexical verbs in this group depict also the psychological aspects of Group I1's routine occupation activities, particularly the processes of *humiliating*, *stopping*, *turning back* and *terrifying*, as in *the soldiers terrify children* [9C(23)].

Continuing with Group I1 as Actor, there are 177 instances where Group I1 acts on inanimate Goals. Here, because the Goals are inanimate, there are no processes of *killing* or *murdering*, but instead there are two sets of processes, one set including the lexical verbs *entering*, *occupying, taking* and *stealing* and the second set including negative processes of destruction such as *breaking*, *destroying*, *bombing*, *cutting*, and *stealing*.

The first set of processes in which Group I1 acts on inanimate Goals refers to Palestinian land, cities, towns, villages and individual houses, as in:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + OCCUPYING, ETC. [MATERIAL PROCESS] + GROUP P1 [INANIMATE GOAL]

The appendices contain the full list of clauses, but typical examples are as follows: *Israel, the Jews' nation came and occupied our land Palestine* [9C(4)] and *the Jews took the Mediterranean Sea* [7BI(7)].

Continuing with this same TRANSITIVITY template, an aspect of *occupying* is the process of *entering* (as part of a military invasion or with the intent to occupy), an activity in which the children regularly represent Group I1 as participants: *they incursion the Palestinian cities for months* [9A(14)], *the Israelis get in Ramallah whenever they want* [9B(14)] and *the Jewish enter my village everyday* [9A(16)].

The second set of processes can be encapsulated in the following TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP P2 [INANIMATE GOAL]

In this pattern, processes of destruction constitute a general theme, particularly when the inanimate Goal is represented as Palestinian houses or apartment buildings. There are, for example, utterances such as the following: *they are ruining our houses, they destroy our houses* and *they killed our house.* When Group P2 refers to Palestinians' personal possessions, there is a range of negative **material** processes: *some Israeli soldiers confiscate other people's belongings* [9A(13)], and *they steal some important things in the house sometimes* [9B(14)]. Public buildings are also targets of Group I1's destructive practices: *my school was bombed by the Israelis last year* [9C(11)], *they were going to hit a police station near my school exactly* [9C(11)] and *Israeli soldiers occupied Yasser Arafat's compound with tanks and jeeps and other weapons*

[7B(5)]. Water and electric systems are also targets of Israeli action: *Israelis powered down the electricity and cut off the water connections* [9B(20)].

Moving forward in the presentation of Group I1 as Actor on inanimate Goals, there is one clause in which Group P4, Palestinian abstractions, is instantiated as Goal. This instance is represented by the following TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP P4 [INANIMATE GOAL]

This clause reads: *they disturb our rights to live freely, right of liberty and our right of education* [9C(24)]. There is a noticeable absence across the data of Group P4 as Goal when Group I1 is Actor, an absence which will become even more striking when juxtaposed against the clauses that typically appear throughout the following sections. In the presentation of Group P1 in **relational** and **mental** processes below, it will be seen how the children construe themselves as a social group that does not possess, and therefore needs, wants and desires, fundamental rights and freedoms; it might therefore be expected that the children would grammatically represent their rights and freedoms, as presented in this section, as a Goal being denied by a particular set of social actors. As the sole clause belonging to this template demonstrates, this assumption is not supported grammatically by the data.

Finally, Group I1 acts on Group P5, Palestinian culture and traditions, but not enough times to justify a TRANSITIVITY template of its own. However, it is important to mention that the lexical verb denoting the process in both clauses is *steal,* a verb that has already been seen in the preceding discussion in relation to Palestinian land: *the Jewish people stole our culture* [9A(16)] and *they are also working on stealing our culture* [9A(17)].

Due to the volume of data introduced here, it may be useful, before moving forward in the presentation of Group I1 as Actor, to provide a general summary of the many processes in which Group I1 acts on Group P1 and its sub-groups. In general, it can be observed that processes of destruction constitute a general theme: Palestinian homes, streets, buildings and water connections are *destroyed*; olive trees and flowers are *cut*; personal belongings are *broken, stolen* or *confiscated*; houses are *bombed*; electricity is *cut-off*; tourist sites are *demolished*; Palestinian cities are *attacked* and towns and villages are *invaded.* And finally, just as the people themselves are

checked in the routine measures of the occupation, so are Palestinian things: *they check our bags* [7A(4)] and *they search and ruin the house* [9A(4)].

4.1.2.b Group I1 as Actor on Group I1 and sub-groups

Group I1 acts on its own inanimate entities, particularly when installing and utilizing its own military infrastructure:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + [MATERIAL PROCESS] + GROUP I2 [INANIMATE GOAL]

In a number of instances, for example, curfew is the Goal in the following processes: *put, impose, make, give* and *lift*. In contrast to these clauses in which curfew is *imposed*, there is one clause in which the children refer to Group I1's lifting of the curfew: *they open the fence when they want us to eat* [9C(22)]. In other clauses, checkpoints are the Goal: *the terrorists put checkpoints* [9B(13)]. In other clauses, Group I1 makes and uses its own weapons: *the Israeli soldiers will make weapons to kill the Palestinians* [9C(21)] and *even sometimes they throw tear gas bombs at checkpoints* [9B(22)]. One final clause points to what would become, less than a year after data collection, the largest obstacle to any kind of just settlement between the two parties: *they start building the wall* [11IB(7)].

With regard to the remaining sub-groups of I1, Group 11 acts only on Group I3, and only one time, and therefore does not warrant discussion here.

4.1.2.c Group I1 as Actor on Groups R, S and W

There are few instances in which participant groupings other than P1, I1 and their sub-groups are inanimate Goals when Group I1 is Actor. Groups S and W do not appear, and Group R appears only twice. One of these instances resonates a theme that has already been expressed, the theme of theft: *they took the religious rocks* [9B(1)]. The child writes this clause in the context of *they built a synagogue in Israel* [9B(1)].

In light of the fact that these three participant groupings occur so infrequently, it should be emphasized here that the children primarily construe Group I1 as Actor in **material** processes which impact themselves and their community. This contributes to the overall picture developed that Group I1 is a very dynamic social actor when viewed in relation to its actions on Group P1 and sub-groups.

4.1.2.d Group I1 as Actor without Goal

Moving on to the least dynamic type of Actor, Group I1 is instantiated as Actor in processes that have no Goal 40 times across the corpus. Many of these clauses contain processes of movement, of *coming* and *going,* with the role of Circumstance of location filled most often by Palestine (Group P1):

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + [MATERIAL PROCESS] + CIRCUMSTANCE

The clauses are divided into two types, those which depict Jewish immigration to Israel/Palestine and those which depict Group I1's occupation and invasion of Palestinian areas: 1) *Jews people came from all over the world including Canada* [9A(14)], *they came here like beggars* [9A(14)] and *the Israelis came here before 1948 with the help and support of Great Britain* [9B(20)] and 2) *tanks and soldiers come to the Palestine* [7C(13)] and *the Israeli army came to her house, actually an apartment building* [7C(22)].

In other examples falling under this template, the processes are not of coming and going, but instead there is a repetition of the processes seen in the preceding sections (where Group I1 acts on Group P1) such as *shooting, killing, fighting* and *humiliating,* but are here construed without a Goal: *they fight with the Palestinian* [7A(3)], *they begin to shoot everywhere so the innocent people die* [9A(12)] and *they shoot, kill and humiliate with no sense of mercy* [9C(13)]. As these examples show, there is often in fact an implied Goal, Group P1.

What can be concluded from the presentation of the data above is that, regardless of the type of Goal (animate or inanimate) or participant grouping which fulfils the role, Group I1 is generally represented by the children as acting in **material** processes denoted by a very limited number of lexical verbs, most of which are destructive or generally negative in nature.

4.1.2.e Group I2 as Actor

Group I2, Israeli non-human entities primarily comprised of military infrastructure, appears as Actor in **material** processes 45 times across the data, with 9 clauses containing an animate Goal, 21 clauses containing an inanimate Goal and 18 clauses containing no Goal, but instead often a Circumstance comprised by Group P1 and its sub-groups. This participant group is comprised of five main groups of entities, all of

which are military in nature: weapons and artillery, including bullets; tanks; checkpoints; aircraft including F-16 and Apache helicopter gun ships; and, curfew.

Group I2, Israeli non-human entities like military infrastructure, typically appears in the following TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP I2 [ACTOR] + [NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS] +/- GROUP P/P2 [GOAL] +/- CIRCUMSTANCE

The P2 Goals are quite similar to the ones in the clauses in section 4.1.2.d above where Group I1 is Actor, in that here I2 *bombs houses* or *destroys cars*, etc. In the clauses in this section I2 tends to act more on Palestinian systems: *the constant curfew affects our economy and education* [9C(23)], *the checkpoint effect the delay the process of scholastic year* [9A(12)] and *curfews and checkpoints are destroying our lives and economy* [9C(8)]. Group I2 also acts negatively on the physical infrastructure of Palestinian medical, educational and security systems: *the tank shot the ambulance* [9B(19)], *our school was hit by Israeli rockets* [9B(20)] and *an F-16 bombed a police station about 400 metres away from our house* [9B(18)].

There appear to be two main groupings here. The first is weaponry which, composed of guns, tanks and aircraft, typically act on concrete entities. The second is administrative entities which, composed of checkpoints, curfew, etc., act on more abstract entities. For example, the first group is generally involved in **material** processes of *breaking, entering* and *crashing.* In some instances, the bullet *kills*, while in others, it *barely misses: the bullet came into my room without me fighting anyone* [9B(4)], *the tank shot the ambulance* [9B(19)] and *flying bullets just barely miss my brother's head* [9CI(3)]. In all but one of these examples Groups P1 and P2 are the Goals of I2's actions.

The second grouping, checkpoints, curfew, etc., occurs less frequently than artillery/weapons and tanks, but is still significant. The checkpoint is participant in processes of division, delay and perturbing: *the city and its villages are divided into sections by many checkpoints that has at least one tank on it and many soldiers on it waiting for someone to suffer* [9B(2)], *the checkpoint delay the process of scholastic year* [9A(12)] and *curfew exposes our life to danger* [9A(12)]. In these instances, it is, again, the land, people and systems of Palestine that are the Goals.

4.1.2.f Group P1 as Actor on Group I1 and sub-groups

In shifting now to an exploration of Palestinian agency, it will be found that the children do not represent Group P1 as being forceful social actors, at least not in terms of their impact on Group I1 and sub-groups as Goal. Of the 36 cases where Group P1 acts on an animate Goal, only ten are Goals other than themselves, with nine of those ten clauses containing Group I1. Five of these cases are represented by the TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP I1 [GOAL]

Each case has a lexical verb related semantically to the actions of war, such as *fighting*, *attacking*, *shooting* and *killing*: *they are fighting the enemy with stones and guns* [7B(15)], *the martyrs are killing the reserve army, the people that are living a land that is nor for them* [9C(2)] and *the Palestinians are attacking the soldiers in rocks because they are destroying Palestine* [7A(16)]. The last two examples hint at the next TRANSITIVITY template because they supply details about the type of person who is member of Group I1 (*living a land that is not for them*) and offer a justification of their actions (*because they are destroying Palestine*). The remaining clauses, encompassed by an overall umbrella of acts of resistance, can be represented by the following TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + VERB OF RESISTANCE [MATERIAL PROCESS] + GROUP I1 [GOAL]

Examples are: *we Palestinians to overcome the Israelis, these Palestinians are still resisting the Israeli soldiers* [9C(21)] and *we resist the same occupier* [9C(6)].

What is interesting about the clauses falling under these two templates is that when a Circumstance is provided, it is either one of reason or accompaniment, or both. In these Circumstances, the idea of the Palestinian as Actor engaged in acts of resistance against Group I1 as Goal is reinforced: *we kill them for two reasons* [9B(17)], and *in rocks...because they are destroying Palestine* [7A(16)]. What is striking about these Circumstances is that the children supply reasons, or justifications, for their group's actions. The converse, with Group I1 typically acting on P1 and sub-groups, is not typically given any justification. Similar sentiments are expressed in the following clause, which offers negation as a clear linguistic sign of justification for violence: *we as Palestinians do not hurt people just to have a good time* [7B(6)].

The examples discussed here greatly contribute to the children's overall representation of their world as being one in which there are enormously asymmetrical power relations; Group I1 appears as Goal very infrequently across the data when compared with Groups P1 and P2 as Goal. What this might illustrate is that, for the children, Group I1 consists of entities that are generally unable to be acted upon, and even if they are, only in a very limited number of ways; yet, it is perhaps worth nothing that these limited ways are nevertheless essentially the same (e.g. violent) as when I1 acts on P1, just much less frequently and obviously with very different types of weapons.

4.1.2.g Group P1 as Actor on Group I2

Group P1 becomes remarkably less dynamic when looking at the **material** processes involving an inanimate Goal. Of 210 instances, Group P1 occasionally acts in processes where Group I2 is participant, but in diametrically opposed contexts to those when Group I1 acts on I2 in the participant role of Goal. While Group I1 mainly installs and operates its military infrastructure, the processes Group P1 is involved in are ones of coping with and resisting the infrastructure. This TRANSITIVITY template of this section captures how Group P1 copes with, or resists checkpoints:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + MATERIAL PROCESS (INCLUDING VERBS OF RESISTANCE) + CHECKPOINT (GROUP I2) [GOAL/RANGE]

Most of these clauses represent Group P1 in processes such as: *(not) passing, (not) going through, standing, scrambling*, etc. For example: *all person in Palestine scramble over barriers* [9A(2)] and *people of Palestine still standing against all above mentioned weapons, the trouble checkpoints, crazy closures* [7B(15)]. The children's language choices, particularly clauses that position checkpoints as a Range, represent the dominating existence of Israeli military infrastructure; regardless of whether the Palestinians pass or do not pass, the checkpoint stands. Of the clauses that represent Group P1 as Actor on Group I2, only one can be considered as actually agentive: *Palestinians are attacking the Israeli tank* [7C(11)].

Continuing with the presentation of Group P1 as Actor on inanimate Goals, Group P1 also acts on its own non-human entities, Group P2. As will be seen from the clauses falling under this TRANSITIVITY template,

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + [MATERIAL PROCESS] + GROUP P2 [GOAL]

Group P1 acts on its own non-human entities in contexts completely different than the ones presented above where Group I1 acts on Group P2. Generally speaking, the **material** processes in this template often use the negated form of the verb, highlighting how Palestinians are prevented from doing things. One student writes that *the boy goes to buy bread because the cars are not allowed to pass* [9B(19)] while another writes that *we couldn't bring food because supermarkets were closed* [9B(20)]. In both cases, overall authority rests with Group I2, as can be inferred from the Circumstances here where checkpoints and curfews enforce the action or inaction. This suggests that even when the children construe themselves grammatically as having some kind of agency, their ability to act is typically influenced or controlled by an external force, namely the political context, the military orders of Group I1 or the military infrastructure comprising Group I2.

The question regarding the extent to which the agency attributed grammatically to Group P1 by the children is actually agentive is raised again when Group P2 is denoted by lexical items of personal possessions. In two examples, the Palestinians protect or take their belongings with them, while in one other example they are forced to leave them behind: *they took all their important stuff* [7B(2)], *they put her precious things like her wedding dress and china plates and all of her other stuff with her mother that didn't evacuate* [7B(2)] and *they leaving all their belongings behind* [9CI(6)]. The references here are to the exile and dispossession of the Palestinian people during the 1948 war which led to the creation of the State of Israel. On the one hand, the children express notions of being in control of their belongings, yet on the other hand, the resulting dispossession is largely attributed to outside forces. These clauses, like the ones in the paragraph above, grammatically represent Group P1 as Actors in **material** processes, but although there is agency, the actions of the group are largely in response to the greater political context. Within these clauses where Group P1 is Actor, one of the most dynamic participants in the TRANSITIVITY system, it is interesting to consider whether Group P1 is acting proactively, or reactively. I would argue that, as the examples highlighted so far indicate, Palestinian agency, as the children represent it, generally comes as a reaction to the agency of other social actors, particularly Actors from Groups I1 and I2.

The children represent themselves as social actors who have an effect on the second clausal participant when they position themselves with a Goal that is constituted by a reference to the weapons of Group P2. These weapons are almost consistently stones and rocks, and the children represent Group P1 through the nominal group Palestinian(s), but also, and perhaps more tellingly, through a nominal group comprised by a lexical item denoting children. In a situation where Group P1 appears to have little real agency (as the data has demonstrated), perhaps these nominal groups indicate that the children are trying to write themselves into the resistance, so to speak, as an attempt to assert some kind of control over their present and their future. As the corpus indicates, there are several examples in which children throw stones at Groups I1 and I2, as the following TRANSITIVITY template illustrates:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + THROW/CARRY [MATERIAL PROCESS] + STONES/ROCKS (GROUP P2) [GOAL] +/- GROUP I1/I2 [CIRCUMSTANCE]

In this template, the Circumstance containing reference to Groups I1 and I2 is an optional element, but occurs more frequently than not, as the following clauses demonstrate: *some kids my age throw rocks when they see Israeli military vehicle* [7B(6)], *the Palestinian is throwing rocks on him* [soldier] [7A(2)] and *Palestinians throwing stones on the Israeli army* [9A(11)].

Moving on to the next TRANSITIVITY template, where Group P1 is Actor on an inanimate Goal, the **material** processes and the Goals constitute various aspects of the education process:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + [MATERIAL PROCESS] + ASPECT OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS [GOAL]

In the clauses falling under this TRANSITIVITY template, the children appear to value education highly, an assumption drawn from the clauses where the children represent education as something they are deprived of: *all of these students can lose these lessons because the checkpoints are closed* [9B(9)], *some children can't even finish school because of a lot of different reasons of the occupation* [9A(3)] and *I will lose so many 12 grade classes which effect my grades on report card* [11IB(7)]. Each of these clauses hints at the external political situation that threatens their achievement of an education; accordingly, many of the children make it a point to highlight the accomplishment of achieving an education and express future intentions to achieve an education. Some examples are: *they all managed to get a university degree* [9CI(6)] and *I seek to achieve professionalism in film production and directing* [9CI(9)]. This

recognition of the importance of education to Palestinians will be raised again where Group P1 is Senser in **mental** processes.

4.1.2.h Group P1 as Actor without Goal

Group P1 acts in **material** clauses with no Goal a total of 280 times across the corpus. There are three main themes resounding through these 280 clauses, the first of which is conveyed through processes relating in some way to what will be termed here as existence; the second of which is movement, denoted lexically by verbs such as *come*, *go* and *go back*; and the third of which is the situation, conveyed through clauses which are semantically related in some way to the occupation and its attendant circumstances, such as curfew, etc. Something notable about these clauses is that, in the absence of a Goal, the majority include a Circumstance that firmly situates the clauses within the contexts that are expressed by the children in other TRANSITIVITY choices, as will be seen in the paragraphs which follow.

Beginning with the first theme, Group P1 is often represented in **material** clauses where the lexical verb is *live*. The majority of these clauses contain Palestine or a Palestinian city as the Circumstance of place; this is likely a result of the fact that a large part of the corpus is comprised of pen pal letters, a genre in which it is characteristic to inform the reader of where the writer lives. However, the verb *live* takes on a different meaning when the Circumstance shifts to one of reason: *I live for Palestine* [7C(18)]. This clause, when coupled with clauses which exhibit a Circumstance of manner, as in *I am living under bad conditions* [9C(24)], begins to reflect the larger political and ideological frameworks from which the children are writing. The political context in which the children are writing becomes even more apparent in clauses where the verb *live* is preceded by some kind of quantifier which hints at survival, as in *I am struggling to live free in my land* [9A(1)] and *I am still living today* [9A(6)].

The political situation also permeates the clauses which express movement as a theme. Here, the majority of the clauses construe Group P1's inability to move/travel to a Circumstance of place which is generally denoted by *school* or a religious structure like *Al-Aqsa*. In other clauses, the Circumstance of reason similarly frames the inability to travel in the context of the occupation: *I couldn't go to see my family*

because the roads were closed [9A(3)]. This theme, expressing the denial of Group P1's right to freedom of movement, affects the three aspects of daily Palestinian life which are regularly construed by the children as being impacted negatively in some way: education, religious worship and family and social relationships.

There are many clauses which point directly to the theme of the occupation, each realized by a different verb. For example, there are numerous references to being trapped in the house under curfew, or being imprisoned, as in: *people stay in their homes for three or more days without lifting curfew* [9C(23)] and *my Dad stayed in prison for many years* [9A(14)]. In other clauses, the phenomenon of house searches by Group I1 is construed: *they get from their houses at 5am* [9A(2)]. Checkpoints also occur in the role of Circumstance, as in *all person in Palestine scramble over barriers* [9A(2)]. In other clauses, routine actions such as sleeping are similarly marred by Circumstances denoting the occupation: *I sleep when I feel scared* [7A(3)] and *we sleep in the sound of fire* [9A(8)].

One verb which stands out clearly in these clauses where the occupation constitutes a theme, is *suffer*. The children's use of this verb hints at a particular attitudinal orientation toward the occupation: in general, there is not a great sense of positivity construed by the children, as illustrated by clauses like: *we as Palestinians suffer when ordering pizza* [9A(10)] and *I am suffering like the whole Palestinian people* [9CI(2)].

Borne of this suffering from the occupation is a sub-theme of existence, expressed through the positive will to struggle and survive. These clauses are thematically related to those where the children represent themselves as Actors in clauses of resistance/defence with an accompanying Goal comprised by rocks and stones. In the clauses where there is no Goal, the theme of battle is still conveyed, using verbs such as *struggle, fight* and *defend.* The theme of resistance is also conveyed as an attitude or mental state. Examples are: *we will never give up* [9C(16)], *we won't give in and surrender* [9CI(2)] and *we won't sit as if our hopes are destroyed in this life* [9A(16)].

Ending this section from the point at which it started, the theme of living, of existence, there are a number of clauses in which the children represent the opposite

of *live* through the use of the verb *die*. In some of these clauses, Group P1 is construed as already being dead, with either no cause attributed, or as a result of the occupation or the Intifada, as might be expected. Examples are: *he died yesterday* [9A(6)], *innocent people die* [9A(12)], *millions of people died to free their land from occupation* [9C(18)] and *our martyrs didn't and don't die for nothing* [9C(16)]. In two clauses where the verb *die* constitutes the **material** process, the children are representing a willingness to die for ideological reasons, as in: *many people are ready to die for its freedom* [9C(16)], *I am willing to die for the sake of liberating Palestine and declare it a free country with Jerusalem as its capital* [9CI(8)]. This type of death, a martyrdom, is expressed by one child as an honourable death: *the martyrs died with honour* [9C(16)].

Although this section primarily reflects the children's depiction of a world in which they are social actors in **material** processes which are generally negative in nature, and in which they are not impacting any other social actor, there are a limited number of clauses which represent the children in normal activities or hobbies, such as: *I am surfing on water in the USA* [7BI(7)], *we hang out with friends* [9C(26)] and *I am involved in some folklore dances* [9B(6)]. It is important to note however, that these clauses do not occur frequently enough to constitute a TRANSITIVITY template. In addition, it is important to highlight that often routine activities such as hobbies or sports are presented by the children, through a negated process, as not being participated in: *I can't swim in the Mediterranean Sea* [7BI(7)].

4.1.2.i Group P1 as Actor and Group P3 (Palestinian actions) as Goal

Group P3, Palestinian actions, appears as Goal 12 times across the corpus in **material** processes conducted by Group P1:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP P3 [GOAL]

In three of these instances, the participant role of Goal is realized through Group P's acts of resistance to Israeli military occupation. In a fourth instance, the clause contains a blank space where the Goal should be, presumably because the child was not able to express the term s/he wanted in English. It is clear from the context of this clause however, that the Goal is also an action which is resistive in nature: *the Palestinian make a ____from their anger* [9C(21)]. In another example, the child does not make it clear what type of action is being taken, but the decisiveness with

which the clause is written hints that the actions referred to are also ones of resistance: *we Palestinians take our own actions* [9C(24)]. There are only two types of acts of resistance explicitly identified in the clauses: stone throwing and suicide operations. One child writes that *I do that* [throw rocks] *if there is a soldier near my home* [7A(2)], while the other two children make reference to suicide bombs: *we make suicide operations* [9A(14)] and *the Palestinians carry out suicidal attacks because they are defending their homeland* [9C(8)]. What is worth mentioning here is that these are the only two references to suicide bombing in the corpus that are neither reported in a projected clause nor negated in **relational** clauses.

It is interesting to observe that Palestinian actions (Group P3) are primarily engaged in by Palestinians as a collective group, realized through the pronoun *we* or nominals such as *the Palestinians* and *we Palestinians.* This perhaps suggests that the children perceive a great deal of cohesiveness within the community: the tension between inaction and action, expressed respectively through external constraints and acts of resistance, requires the cooperation of the society as a whole. There is no situation depicted by the children in which some groups of Palestinians, particularly these students of the Ramallah Friends Boys School (RFBS), have different daily realities than others; indeed, the only reference to the individual *I* is the child's personal contribution to the resistance in [7A(2)] above.

4.1.2.j Group R (religion and religious entities) as Actor

Group R appears in the participant role of Actor 14 times across the corpus. Within these 14 instances, *God* takes the role most frequently. Six times *God* is Actor in the following TRANSITIVITY template:

GOD [ACTOR] + CREATE [MATERIAL PROCESS] + GROUP P1 [GOAL]

Examples of this template, where Group R acts on an animate Goal, are: *God created us to enjoy our lives* [9A(4)], *God created I to live on this earth and worship him* [9CI(6)] and *God made me a Palestinian when I was born here* [11IB(8)].

The rest of the clauses in which Group R is participant focus more on the description of Palestine as the Holy Land, as a land of the prophets. This description can be represented by:

PROPHET [ACTOR] + COME/GO [MATERIAL PROCESS] + CIRCUMSTANCE

Examples are: *Moses came to Palestine* [7B(1)], *Jesus went to the skies* [7C(21)] and *Mohammed came to Palestine* [7B(1)].

Group P1, Palestine, often appears in a Circumstance of location from which the major monotheistic religions came, represented by:

RELIGION [ACTOR] + GENESIS [MATERIAL PROCESS] – GOAL + CIRCUMSTANCE (LOCATION/TIME)

Examples are: *Christianity began in Palestine many years ago* [9C(3)] and *the three main religions of the world came from Palestine* [9C(1)].

In one final example, the three religions constitute the Actor in the process of *living*, but what is important here is the circumstance of manner: *we [the three religions] live like one hand* [9A(1)]. This shows a great sense of not only tolerance, but comfort of place, security and belonging of the religions to the land. This sense of the three religions laying claim to the same land and living together peacefully is a theme which comes out very clearly in the presentation of **relational** processes in section 4.2 below.

4.1.2.k Group R (religion and religious entities) as Goal

Group R appears much more frequently across the data as Goal than Actor, totalling 20 times. Religious entities are usually Goal when Group I1 is Actor in negative **material** processes, as in this TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP I1 [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + GROUP R [GOAL]

Examples of clauses falling under this template are: *they destroyed both Mosque and Church* [9B(1)] and *the terrorists attack these places such as the Nativity Church* [9B(13)]. The appearance of these types of clauses is not surprising given that religious structures have been the scenes of some of the worst violations, violence and destruction throughout the second Intifada. Denoting the importance of the two most symbolic sites of Palestinian religion, culture and tradition, the children refer regularly to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's guarded visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif on September 28th, 2000 and the 2002 siege of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem.

Indeed, Al-Aqsa Mosque on Al-Haram Al-Sharif appears as Goal 9 times, nearly half of all occurrences of Group R as Goal. As the third most holy site in Islam, Al-Aqsa is the symbolic locus of Palestinian political demands: East Jerusalem as the capital

of the Palestinian state, with freedom of travel for religious worship. Al-Aqsa Mosque is the birthplace of the Intifada – a major religious, cultural and intensely political symbol. It is therefore important to pay close attention to how the children represent such a potent symbol across the corpus. The main TRANSITIVITY template containing Al-Aqsa as Goal positions a small sub-group of Group I1 as Actor – Ariel Sharon:

SHARON [ACTOR] + NEGATIVE MATERIAL PROCESS + AL-AQSA [GOAL]

Example clauses are: *Sharon entered Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem with no care about the feelings of the Islamic society* [9B(3)] and *Sharon the Prime Minister of Israel desecrated Al-Aqsa Mosque with 3000 soldiers guarding him* [9B(7)].

Finally, the theme of discontinued celebrations and traditions is introduced here, expressed by:

GROUP P1 [ACTOR] + (-) CELEBRATE [MATERIAL PROCESS] + RELIGIOUS FESTIVITIES [GOAL]

Examples are: *Bethlehem people didn't celebrate Christmas in churches* [9B(15)] and *we used to celebrate all religious and tradition festivals on a very nice way* [9B(12)]. Culturally speaking, these clauses construe not just the lamenting of lost religious traditions, but convey a greater threat to the cohesion of the society. This inability to celebrate, to engage together in joyous acts of cultural and religious heritage is a theme repeated across the data, particularly when viewed in conjunction with clauses expressing Group P1's travel prohibition imposed by Groups I1 and I2.

4.1.2.l Group S (the situation) as Actor

Group S appears as Actor in **material** processes 17 times across the corpus. Group S as Actor participates in processes of *starting*, *beginning* or *happening*; these processes do not include a Goal, but are sometimes accompanied by Circumstances of either location or time. The following TRANSITIVITY template represents these clauses:

GROUP S [ACTOR] + GENESIS [MATERIAL PROCESS] +/- CIRCUMSTANCE

Examples are: *the fire of the war came* [9A(8)], *the Intifada started* [9B(14)], *it was 1948 when the war started* [7B(2)] and *this situation has been going on from three year* [9A(11)]. In one further example, the Circumstance is one of reason: *the Intifada started when Sharon enter Al-Aqsa Mosque* [9A(11)]. This last example follows clearly from the examples above in section 4.1.2.k where Sharon (Group I1)

is depicted by the children as entering Al-Haram Al-Sharif and infringing upon Palestinian claims of sovereignty.

4.1.2.m Group S (the situation) as Goal

Group S appears as Goal 7 times in the data. In one example, Sharon, as member of Group I1, *started the Intifada* [9B(3)], while in another example it is Group P1 which *started this Intifada by throwing stones on the Israeli army* [9A(11)]. In two instances, the war is the Goal of Palestinian (Group P1) suffering: *the Palestinians suffered several wars among the years* [9C(13)] and *the newly born Palestinian state (with an area about one third of the original Palestine) is still suffering war with the Israelis for independence* [9C(13)].

4.1.2.n Group W (the outside world) as Actor

As the third most frequent Actor in the corpus, Group W is instantiated by the children as Actor 80 times across the corpus, 28 of which act on an animate Goal, 32 on an inanimate Goal and 20 on no Goal. To reiterate briefly the description of this participant grouping, the social actors constituting Group W are primarily denoted by nominals referring to the reader, children in the rest of the world, Americans, British and a generalized and impersonal *them*. Since the clauses falling under this participant grouping are quite varied in nature and do not fall neatly under TRANSITIVITY templates, the focus will be on the three main themes running through the 80 clauses.

The most frequently occurring pattern when Group W is Actor includes the nominal *you* as Actor. Presumably, the *you* is intended by the children to be the readers of the pen-pal letters, the Canadian children. There is no TRANSITIVITY template, as such, which can encompass these clauses because the types of verbs filling the **material** processes are quite diverse. However, each of the 17 clauses containing *you* as Actor expresses a theme which has already been introduced in the processes including other participant groupings, particularly Group P1. These clauses generally echo themes relating to the living conditions experienced under occupation and during the second Intifada: general themes relate to the checkpoints, as in *you have to pass one or more checkpoints, it may take hours to pass if the Israeli soldiers mood wasn't good* [9A(5)]; or curfew, as in *you ever slept out of your house because Israeli imposed*

curfew suddenly while you were hanging out with your friends [9A(6)]; or suffering, as in *you will face suffering* [9C(18)]; or loss, of land, homes and lives, as in *you will leave everything at the moment* [9A(5)], *you wanted to see your home after 50 years* [9A(5)] and *you ever lost your friend because of war* [9A(6)]. It may be that the purpose of these clauses is to write the reader into the children's experiences and, in so doing, foster empathy and understanding within the reader regarding the children's situation. The *you*, although grammatically represented as Group W, actually functions to superimpose the children's experiences onto others who, the children believe, have never experienced such things.

A second main theme running through the data when Group W is Actor is very similar to the primary theme of clauses in which Group I1 is Actor: destruction. In these clauses, the Actors are involved in negative **material** processes that echo the routine actions of the occupation conveyed by the children in most of what has been written above. For example, there are clauses describing theft: *someone steals your land* [9C(7)] and *someone is taking your life* [9A(5)]. In other examples, *kill* constitutes the **material** process: *they started killing your people* [9A(5)]. In a very general statement, one child writes: *someone controls you* [9C(7)]. Two things are happening in these clauses. First, the Actor is unidentified, denoted by *someone* and *they*. Second, the Goal contains the nominal *you*. At the most obvious level, the children are speaking of a situation in general terms which allows the reader to imagine such actions, yet on a more meaningful level, the children are actually representing their own experiences, as it is quite possibly understood from the context of their lives that the unidentified Actor is actually Group I1 while the *you* as Goal more accurately reflects Group P1.

In a few instances, the negative **material** processes are carried out by known Actors, but in these clauses, the processes are sometimes extended to include Goals other than Group W (*you*) and, by proxy, Group P1. First, America is instantiated as Actor in clauses that generally contain Group I1 as a Goal, but by extension have an impact on Group P1: *America is giving money to Israel* [7BI(3)], *America support Israel* [9CI(4)], *the American government still support the Israeli army* [9A(11)], *the American government is increasing our suffering* [9A(7)] and *the Apache helicopters*

and F-16 jets and all the bombs and bullets terrorizing me, my family, my friends are American [9CI(3)].

When America is Actor, the Goal, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, sometimes extends to include social actors previously not mentioned in the corpus. Specifically, the children describe the war on Iraq which was, at the time of data collection in late autumn 2002, looming. The children express a knowledge of the nature of war: *people live a worse life than ours in Iraq and Afghanistan* [11IB(6)], *America is going to kill lots of people in Iraq* [7BI3)], *America could just take Saddam alone* [7BI(3)] and *America could not get the Iraqi people* (meaning only Saddam) [7BI(3)].

A third theme running through the data, which is reinforced by the children's assignment of participant roles to Group W, is that, unlike the Palestinians, people live normally in the rest of the world. In these types of clauses, the Actor is denoted by a number of different nominals, including both *you* and *they*. Typical examples of these types of clause are: *they advance in technology* [9A(4)], *all of the kids in the world live their life how they want to live it not like us* [9B(5)], *they can go out anytime they want* [9B(3)] and *you live a nice and funny life* [9A(1)]. The first example clause listed here is an interesting one because instead of focusing on quality of life and freedom of movement, it focuses on something that is the result of education and research, something the children repeatedly express, through various areas of the TRANSITIVITY system, is of crucial importance to the Palestinian struggle. The high value placed on learning is repeated again here.

In addition to the three main themes expressed above, there are two minor themes running through these clauses that should be mentioned briefly because they are echoes of themes already running through the corpus as a whole. The first minor theme is a sense of Palestinians, not just living a life unlike others, but of being unsupported, and sometimes disliked or excluded, by others. This sentiment is expressed through clauses such as: *they don't accept me when I went to any place at the world because I have a Palestinian passport* [11IB(14)], *no one...no one is helping us* [9A(13)] and *nobody from the peaceful country help us* [11IB(15)]. Stemming from this lack of support are two opinions, or small themes; some clauses

express a demand from the international community for assistance, while others express resistance on part of Group P1. Examples of the first are: support *our fight to independence as yours in America, before the Jews of Israel kill all children and mothers of Palestine* [9B(1)], *help us* [9A(14)] and *you need to solve our problem* [9B(1)]. Examples of the second are: *no one will take Palestine away from me whatever it takes* [7B(13)] and *neither the Israelis nor any other country will take Palestine away from me* [7B(13)]. A third example falling under this theme of resistance follows the form of earlier clauses where the experience is superimposed on the reader to encourage the reader's understanding of Palestinian experience: *you suicide blowing up yourself* [9B(4)]. This clause, when viewed contextually, can be seen as one possible answer to the question posed by another child: *how should people react when they are denied their basic rights and freedoms* [9A(6)]?

4.1.2.o Group W (the outside world) as Goal

Group W appears as Goal only 7 times across the corpus. The clauses in this section are very similar to the types of clauses already seen when Group W is Actor (i.e. *someone steals your land*); in these clauses the children tend to represent their own experiences through a grammatical choice denoting the reader, as in *you may be humiliated by the soldiers* [9A(5)]. The relationship between America and Israel is also repeated here: *Israeli are depend on America* [9C(21)].

4.2 Relational Processes – Representations of Being

The following table represents the distribution of **relational** clauses across the corpus:

TABLE 4.3: DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIONAL PROCESSES ACROSS THE CORPUS

PARTICIPANT GROUP	ATTRIBUTIVE PROCESSES	IDENTIFYING PROCESSES	POSSESSIVE PROCESSES	TOTAL
GROUP P1	398 (83.26%)	107 (46.52%)	111 (93.27%)	616 (74.49%)
GROUP I1	43 (8.99%)	19 (8.26%)	8 (6.72%)	70 (8.46%)
GROUP I2	3 (0.63%)	1 (0.43%)	0	4 (0.48%)
GROUP I3	6 (1.26%)	0	0	6 (0.72%)
GROUP R	6 (1.26%)	7 (3.04%)	0	13 (1.57%)
GROUP S	14 (2.93%)	3 (1.30%)	0	17 (2.05%)
GROUP W	8 (1.67%)	3 (1.30%)	0	11 (1.33%)
TOTAL	478 (100%)	230 (100%)	119 (100%)	827 (100%)

Of the 827 **relational** clauses in the corpus, the figures in the table above illustrate how the children are primarily concerned with representing, characterizing and defining themselves; just over 74% of the clauses include Group P1 as a participant.

Considering the frequency with which Group I1 has appeared as participant in other processes, particularly **material** ones, it is significant that Group I1 is a participant in **relational** processes just 8.46% of total occurrences. The contrast in these figures suggest that the children are not primarily concerned with representing the being of Group I1, a group which constitutes a major set of social actors in the world of these children. As the figures above indicate, sub-groups of P1 do not appear in **relational** clauses, while only two sub-groups of I1 appear, both in less than 1% of total occurrences of **relational** clauses. Groups R, S and W do not appear as participants in **relational** processes often, but each group does occur more frequently than Group I1's sub-groups.

4.2.a Group P1 in **attributive relational** clauses

Group P1 appears as Carrier in **relational** processes 398 times across the corpus. In an attempt to manage such a large number, presentation will, when possible, focus on groups conveying similar semantic meanings, either through shared Carrier or through Attribute.

Group P1 as Carrier is assigned a wide range of Attributes, the most frequently occurring of which is a lexical item denoting Palestinian-ness. Across these clauses, there are 75 Attributes containing a direct reference to *Palestinian* (e.g. *I am a Palestinian*). There are also 14 additional Attributes which either contain a direct reference to *Palestinian* and an additional characteristic (e.g. *I am an Arab and a Palestinian*), or refer to *Palestinian* through reference to a Palestinian city or village (e.g. *I am from Kufr Malik*). The most common TRANSITIVITY template for this type of clause is therefore:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + PALESTINIAN (ATTRIBUTE).

There are three types of Attribute in these clauses: nominal, adjectival and circumstantial. In the first type, the clause typically reads *I am a Palestinian* [9B(1)]. In the second type, the clause typically reads *I am Palestinian* [7B(15)], while in the third type the clause typically reads *I am from Palestine* [7A(18)]. These three examples illustrate the most frequent nominal filling the role of Carrier: *I*. Particularly noticeable in these **relational** processes is the frequency with which the children specify themselves as individual members of a class, the class here being Palestinian nationality. It is perhaps an obvious language choice that a person might

characterize him/herself through nationality; the children's representations, however, can be argued as becoming increasingly ideological as the language choices become more marked through the switch in the nominal group constituting Carrier from *I* to *my parents*, *my grandparents*, *my grandfather's grandfather* and *my ancestors* (refer to the appendices for specific examples). The grammatically varied representations of the same semantic concept (Palestinian nationality) across these clauses demonstrate how the children consistently construe themselves, through both time (denoted by the choice of Carrier) and space (denoted by the circumstantial Attribute), as being *Palestinian.*

The children's symbolic representation of the land as belonging to them across time to the present, regardless of the material loss of land since 1948, is reinforced by clauses which, not numerous enough to constitute a second TRANSITIVITY template, still reflect this issue of land ownership and national identity: *I am originally from Ramallah* [9CI(4)] and *they became refugees overnight* [7B(12)]. The first clause reflects a Palestinian's typical response to the question "where are you from?" Because the Palestinians are largely a refugee group, even if they are currently living in either the West Bank or the Gaza Strip, in a refugee camp or not, they will reply with their pre-1948 origin, not the place where they themselves were born. Interestingly, if the question is asked to a Palestinian living in his/her city or village of origin, it is not uncommon to hear, "I am not a refugee. I am originally from…".

The children attribute to themselves a religious identity in addition to a national identity, which is captured by the TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + RELIGION (ATTRIBUTE).

In these 20 Attributes, religion is generally encoded adjectivally, as in *I am Muslim* [9CI(1)] or *I am Christian* [7C(21)]. In most of the clauses the Carrier is the individual nominal *I*, but there are also a few clauses in which the Carrier is constituted by the nominal group *my Dad* or *my parents,* thus representing religious identity as being part of one's identity at birth. In another clause, the child writes that *mostly we Palestinians are Muslims and Christians* [9A(17)]. From this representation of two religious groups existing in Palestine, it would be expected that the corpus contain a number of clauses either describing the relationship between the two or describing the children's perception of the religious group of which s/he is not

a member. This is not the case; there are only two references in all of the **attributive** clauses to some sort of relationship between the two religious groups.

Before moving on to the third TRANSITIVITY template of this section, it is important to explore how the children attribute a religious identity not only to themselves, but to Palestine the land as well. In these clauses, Palestine as Carrier is generally represented as *a Holy Land* [7B(7)] or *a holy land for Islam and Christianity* [9A(9)]. In one clause, the grammar is represented attributively, but the clause functions as if it were a **possessive** clause: *Palestine is for Muslims* [7C(20)]. This last clause constitutes the only example in the **attributive** clauses where there is a hint of tension between the two religious groups. However, given the age of the child (approximately 11 years old), and the general absence of utterances such as this one, it is doubtful that the unstated would read something like: Palestine is not for Christians (or Jews, for that matter). Indeed, in another clause, the child (approximately 14 years old) perhaps articulates more clearly the first child's intended meaning: *Jerusalem is a holy city for all people especially Muslims* [9C(20)]. It is important to mention here that the grammatical analysis at the level of the clause construes national and religious identity as being distinctly separate aspects of the children's self-identity, but an exploration of the children's discourse as a whole, particularly an investigation of the **material** processes where religious entities are subject to I1's destruction, reveals that the religious component of identity is connected to an overall sense of being Palestinian. Not all of the clauses in the corpus separate national and religious identity though; indeed, there are a number of clauses which combine the two, as in *I am an Arabic, Muslim and Palestinian student* [9C(10)].

With regard to the children's attribution of religious identity to themselves and to the land of Palestine, it is important to explore the types of language choices the children have not made. What might be expected to occur across the data, particularly when referring to Jerusalem as Carrier, is a statement reading something like "Jerusalem is not for Jews / Israelis". Since the children often characterize the land as having particular importance for Muslims, and also characterize the land as belonging to Palestinians (an idea which comes through particularly strongly in the next section on **identifying relational** clauses), it could be presumed that such statements would occur frequently. This is not the case; in fact, almost the opposite is true, as there is

only one such clause when Palestine is Carrier: *Palestine is not the real homeland of Israelis* [9C(2)]. This argument also follows for the following section on **identifying relational** clauses where the Value of religion will be seen to consistently include Judaism as one of the three religions laying claim to Jerusalem. What this illustrates is that, in attributing an identity to the Palestinians, the children's grammatical representations are not, as might be expected, explicitly refuting any claims that Group I1 may make to the land in their own discourse. In fact, it can be argued that across the corpus this is a general pattern: the children's representation of key Palestinian political demands and aspects of identity do not come through the negation of Israeli/Jewish identity or connection to the Holy Land.

As mentioned briefly above, the third TRANSITIVITY template in this section construes a relationship between the entities constituting Group P1 and the political context of military occupation and popular uprising, or Intifada. This template, occurring 32 times across the data, is represented by:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + ASPECT OF THE POLITICAL CONTEXT (ATTRIBUTE)

Through this template direct references to the occupation can be seen: *Palestine is a land which is under occupation* [9C(4)] and *here in Palestine all the towns are under Israeli occupation* [9A(6)]. In other examples, the occupation is represented emotionally, as in *Palestine is a country that was humiliated many times* [9B(8)] and *Ramallah is like being in the hell, especially after the wall they start building it* [11IB(7)]. Turning to clauses in which the Carrier is denoted by either *I* or *we*, the children characterize their daily life in relation to the occupation: *I am under apartheid like in South Africa* [9B(1)], *each day we are under curfews* [9C(20)], *I am as all my fellow Palestinians, a prisoner in my own country* [11IB(5)] and *we are in a very hard time in the Intifada* [7C(3)]. These examples, very similar to the others which are listed fully in the appendices, refer to routine practices of the occupation such as curfew and barriers to movement[1]. The last example characterizes the

[1] With an estimated 703 barriers to movement (checkpoints, partial checkpoints, roadblocks, road gates, earth mounds, earth walls, trenches and observation towers) dotted across the West Bank, freedom of movement is denied Palestinians (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Humanitarian Information Centre, July 2004 www.ochaopt.org). In the **attributive relational** clauses, specific cities and villages, such as Jerusalem and Ramallah, often appear in the role of Carrier. The Attributes of these clauses tend to be a description in terms of distance, in kilometres, from other cities in Palestine: *Jerusalem is 16km away from Ramallah, a 15 minute drive by car* [9B(21)]. These clauses, illustrating the close geographical proximity of all areas in Palestine, strengthen the impact of information conveyed in the **material** clauses, specifically that relating to how Palestinians are

Intifada as *a very hard time*, the definition of which can perhaps be seen in the more detailed descriptions of other clauses: *for a couple of years my life or all the Palestinian lives is turning to horror, killing, bombing, shooting, running away and curfew* [9B(18)] and *I am one of the people who got a bullet into my room that crashed my mirror* [9B(4)]. When describing these war-like conditions, one student situates herself in defeat: *I am on the weaker side of a lost battle, an unfair war* [11IB(3)]. Characterizations of the self in this situation are represented by the following clauses: *I am not free* [7C(18)] and *I am not alive* [7C(18)].

The children do not represent themselves as being particularly pleased about living under occupation, but they do characterize living in Palestine and being Palestinian positively. The next TRANSITIVITY template captures how the children orientate themselves emotionally towards the occupation and their life in Palestine as Palestinians:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + (+/-) EMOTION (ATTRIBUTE) + CAUSE

In this template, occurring 63 times across the data, the cause is an optional clausal element, but it does occur frequently, particularly when the emotion expressed is of a positive nature. The Attributes of negative emotion in these clauses are usually adjectival, ranging in emotion from *not very happy*, to *sad*, to *very sad*, to *scared*. The full range of emotions can be found in the appendices, but typical examples are as follows: *I am not very happy because of the occupation* [7C(16)], *I am so sad because there is Israeli who occupy us* [7B(3)] and *we are afraid from living* [9A(6)]. In ten of these clauses the cause of the negative emotion is expressed, a cause which is in some way connected to the occupation, either through direct reference to it or to aspects of it such as curfew, invasion, etc.

In contrast to this expression of negativity towards the occupation and the general political situation, the children often represent themselves as being happy and proud. These feelings of happiness and pride, although expressed in a diverse number of ways, are consistently caused by some aspect of the children's nationality as Palestinians. Typical examples are as follows: *I am very happy that I am Palestinian*

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prevented from travelling this very short distance. The occupation as a barrier to Palestinian movement is a theme that is being developed and linked across various areas of the TRANSITIVITY model.

[7B(14)], *I am so proud of being Palestinian because of its nice people and beautiful nature* [7B(8)] and *I am proud of my heritage, my customs and my traditions* [9CI(5)].

In a number of clauses, the children's sense of pride and happiness is not straightforwardly attributed to their nationality, in the sense that 'being Palestinian is great', but instead the clauses construe a more complex, self-conscious expression of pride, the genesis of which is being a member of a nation that is in a struggle to free itself from occupation. Specifically connecting being Palestinian with struggle, one child writes that *I am so proud to born and live as a Palestinian who fights for his freedom day and night* [11IB(17)]. In another example, the same child who wrote that she is *on the weaker side of a lost battle*, expresses pride of the very fact that she is the weaker party: *I am proud because I'd rather be oppressed than oppress* [11IB(3)]. In one further example, the positive orientation to being Palestinian is situated within the "fateful triangle" (Chomsky, 1999) of America, Israel and Palestine: *I am glad that I'm not Israeli or American or anything other than Palestinian* [11IB(3)]. Two final examples in this group of clauses are particularly interesting because they involve what might be described as a defiant type of pride. The pride expressed in these two clauses can be viewed in terms of defiance because the children conscientiously choose to be proud, despite an underlying perception that 'Palestinian' is not generally viewed positively by the rest of the world: *I am proud to declare to the whole world that I am proud* [11IB(4)] and *I am proud of being Palestinian no matter how the other look at me* [11IB(14)]. These statements represent a strong sense of self, because it is generally easier to be proud of something that is internationally/unanimously deemed worthy of pride, but it is a great indicator of strength and courage to express pride in something that is not. These clauses interestingly are all uttered by the oldest children in the corpus and this might account for the complexity of their representations.

As the above examples illustrate, the children represent their emotions of pride as explicitly linked to Palestinian nationality. These representations generally occur, however, when the Carrier of the clause is denoted by the nominal *I*. Within the **attributive relational** clauses, being Palestinian constitutes one further Carrier group; a distinction can thus be drawn between how the children characterize being Palestinian on a more symbolic level, and how they characterize their own attitude

toward being Palestinian. As the following TRANSITIVITY template suggests, the attitudes expressed are both positive and negative:

BEING PALESTINIAN (CARRIER) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + (+/-) ADJECTIVE/NOUN (ATTRIBUTE)

Beginning with the positive Attributes, being Palestinian is described adjectivally as *nice* [7A(18)], and nominally as *a special thing* [11IB(9)] and *a very great honourable thing to us Palestinians* [9B(12)]. Turning to the negative Attributes, the children nominally represent being Palestinian as *a real suffering* [11IB(13)] and *a disaster* [11IB(7)]. In other examples, the Attributes become much more reflective, and in some instances, quite poetic: *to be a Palestinian is like being a lonely rose without any water or sunlight* [11IB(13)]. One further clause belonging to this template is a very interesting one because it relates closely to the clauses discussed above in which the children's expressions of pride are situated in defiance to the way in which they believe others perceive them. This particular clause reads: *to be Palestinian is to live an experience that is not understood by others* [11IB(12)].

Part of understanding what 'Palestinian' is, is understanding what 'Palestine' is. The Attributes of Palestine as Carrier represent a range of characterizations, and do not therefore fit neatly into one TRANSITIVITY template. A number of clauses characterize Palestine adjectivally as being *beautiful* [7C(15)] *or the loveliest country in the whole world* [7B(1)] (see appendices for a full listing). Palestine is also described circumstantially in terms of geography, as in *Palestine is in the Middle East* [9C(10)]. In other clauses, Palestine is characterized in terms of its history (*a very old country*), agriculture (*famous in citrus fruits, olives and grapes*) and in terms of peace (*a land of peace*).

Palestine as Carrier is also sometimes characterized in terms of what the land itself means to the children, or to Group P1 as a whole. In these clauses, the children write: *Palestine is a treasure for the Palestinian people* [9B(10)] and *Palestine is very expensive to us as Palestinians* [9B(5)].

There is one Attribute when Palestine is Carrier that stands alone, yet reveals a lot about how Palestine might be viewed by the children in relation to other countries in the world. This clause, when examined in conjunction with the next Carrier nominal group to be explored, *Palestinians/we*, reveals much about the children's sense of

their country, their lives and themselves in relation to what is understood by the children as 'normal'. This clause reads: *Palestine is like all countries in the world* [9B(16)]. The child has not specified how Palestine is like every other country, but this line of thinking comes through many other clauses.

Turning to the next Carrier group, denoted by either *I, Palestinians* or *we*, there are a number of clauses which repeat this idea of being 'like' or 'unlike' others: *I am just an ordinary teenager* [9B(1)], *we are human beings first in need of love, peace and freedom before money and power* [11IB(13)], *we are humans like you* [9B(5)] and *we are kids would like to live like you are* [9B(5)].

The children sometimes represent themselves in an attempt to oppose a labelling of themselves which, presumably coming from the media and also Group I1 as will be seen in section 4.4.b, appears to concern them. There are six clauses which fall under the following template:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + (+/-) RELATIONAL PROCESS + TERRORIST (ATTRIBUTE)

Typical examples of such clauses are as follows: *Palestinians are not terrorists* [9C(25)] and *we are not terrorists* [9B(3)]. However, as the template shows, there are also clauses which read something like *we are terrorists*. In these clauses the children are not representing themselves as terrorists as the grammar suggests; instead, since the TRANSITIVITY analysis was conducted on all embedded clauses, these clauses are actually part of projected clauses where other participant groupings (e.g. I1 and W) think/say that Group P1 is a terrorist group. The discussion of these projected clauses will be held over until sections 4.3.a, 4.3.c, 4.4.b and 4.4.c.

Perhaps in an attempt to negate the claims that Group P1 is a terrorist group, there are a few clauses in which the children present Palestinians in a different light:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + (+) RELATIONAL PROCESS + FREEDOM FIGHTER (ATTRIBUTE)

Examples are: *we are people who are defending our land from Israeli occupation* [9B(2)] and *you are a freedom fighter* [11IB(2)]. This attempt to reject claims that Palestinians are terrorists, accompanied by an assertion by the children that they are freedom fighters, resonates again later in the presentation where Group P1 appears in **identifying relational** clauses.

In one final TRANSITIVITY template, the children represent themselves in **relational** processes containing Attributes that are completely unrelated to Palestine and politics, but instead characterize their personalities and their ambitions for the future. This TRANSITIVITY template reads:

GROUP P1 (CARRIER) + (+) RELATIONAL PROCESS + FUTURE ASPIRATION (ATTRIBUTE)

Falling under this template are clauses that state what the children aspire to in the future: *I want to be a singer* [7BI(1)] and *I would like to be James Bond* [7BI(13)]. In other clauses, the children make statements about their personality: *I am honest* [9CI(2)]. All of these clauses are included in full in the appendices; a glance at the appendices will highlight how infrequently these types of clauses appear across the data. For the most part, the children represent themselves in **relational** clauses that characterize themselves in relationship to Palestine, as in: *without Palestine I am nothing and mean nothing* [11IB(1)].

4.2.b Group P1 (Palestine and Palestinians) in **identifying relational clauses:**

Token/Value Analysis

Token Group 1: Palestine

Within the 107 **identifying relational** clauses in which Group P1 is participant, the nominal Palestine is the most frequently occurring Token. Palestine is a Token of a range of Values, but the majority can be grouped into one, or a combination of, four broad categories, represented by the following TRANSITIVITY templates:

PALESTINE (TOKEN) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + RELIGIOUS ENTITY (VALUE)
PALESTINE (TOKEN) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + MOTHER/CARETAKER (VALUE)
PALESTINE (TOKEN) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + POSSESSION (VALUE)
PALESTINE (TOKEN) + RELATIONAL PROCESS + TIME (VALUE)

Exploring the first TRANSITIVITY template, the religious entity comprising the Value is most often a reference to the Holy Land, as in *Palestine is known as the Holy Land* [9B(12)]. In other instances, the Value Holy Land is expanded to include a reference to the three monotheistic faiths, as in *it is the land that has the three Holy religions* [9A(17)], *Palestine is the cradle of the three religions* [7B(14)] and *Palestine is the holy land that we have Muslim, Christian and Jews religions* [9A(11)]. In other examples, the identification of Palestine with a religious entity of some sort is expanded to include the lexical item peace, a Value which the children appear to associate with religion: *Palestine is the country of peaceful and holy* [11IB(18)] and *Palestine is the holy land, the land of peace, of the three main religions* [9A(11)].

The second TRANSITIVITY template includes a Value which is constituted by either the lexical item *mother*, or by references to caretaking characteristics resembling a mother. For example, *Palestine is our mother* [9A(12)] and *Palestine is the land that gave them food, a place to live in, the courage to defend it from any enemy, the happiness, everything* [9B(10)]. In other examples, the template is actually a combination of this and the first, in the sense that within the Value the identification of Palestine is somehow semantically connected to aspects of both motherhood and religion: *it is my country, my living place, my mother and even my friends, and my holy land where everyone lives for everyone and all live for god* [9A(10)] and *Palestine is my soul, my mother, my country* [9A(7)]. This last example is actually a combination of the first three TRANSITIVITY templates, and illustrates how Palestine is simultaneously represented by the children as a Token of a number of different Values.

The Value of the third template has been labelled a Value of possession because the children often preface the lexical item with a possessive pronoun such as *my* or *our*. In these cases, the lexical item constituting the Value is often country, land or birth country, as in *Palestine is our land* [9A(12)] and *Palestine is my birth country* [11IB(10)]. In other examples, Palestine is *my home* [7B(6)] and *my original country* [7B(11)]. The children's use of the possessive in this template may perhaps be seen as reflecting a possibly unconscious sense of ownership, wherein the land is *ours*, not somebody else's. Indeed, as one child writes: *Palestine was ours for about hundreds of years and probably more* [9C(5)]. The switch from the present simple verb into the past simple, *was*, could situate the children's language use within a context of conflict over land, in that the past tense might imply *it no longer is ours*.

The fourth TRANSITIVITY template exhibits Values of time which are symbolic in meaning: *my land is worth my past, present and future* [9A(5)] and the *land is our past, our present and our future* [9CI(2)]. This continuum of time through the past to the future reinforces the children's representations of the land as belonging to the Palestinians: regardless of the changing of time, the land remains constant. If the land belongs to the people, then the people remain constant too. The children's representation of land (identified by both religion and motherhood), time and

possession suggests a strong sense of identity based on the Values assigned to an entity whose material and symbolic existence are a constant: Palestine.

Within this Token group, it is important to highlight the language choices that the children have not made. Referring to the Value of possession, it is important to highlight that when Palestine is represented as Token, there is not one representation of its non-belonging to Group I1. Palestine, in these clauses, is represented only in relation to Palestinians. This parallels findings in the **attributive relational** clauses where the ascription of a religious identity to the land does not, through the grammar of the clause, explicitly negate Jewish claims to Palestine or Jerusalem.

Token Group 2: War, Suffering, Torture, Terrorism and Pride

These Tokens have been included in one grouping because each is a Token of a single Value: being Palestinian. The TRANSITIVITY template for this group reads:

TO BE A PALESTINIAN / BEING PALESTINIAN (VALUE) + IS / MEANS (RELATIONAL PROCESS) + WAR / TERRORISM / SUFFERING / TORTURE / PRIDE (TOKEN).

The first Token provides an interesting contrast to the ways in which Palestine as Token is valued, primarily by peaceful references to religious entities and motherhood. When the Token is constituted by a lexical item denoting war, the Value is one of nationality, or *being Palestinian.* Palestine the nation is generally identified positively across the corpus, but the switch to nationality brings mixed identifications, the majority of which are represented through negative Tokens like war. For example: *being a Palestinian means living in a war zone* [11IB(11)] and *being Palestinian means war because I've lived through nothing but this* [11IB(16)]. Suffering is also a Token, particularly the kind of suffering which is a direct result of the Israeli military measures imposed during the Intifada: *being Palestinian means suffering because we can't live normally, we can't visit our villages, etc.* [11IB(16)]. In one example, a child writes that *nowadays, being a Palestinian means torture* [11IB(5)]. The sentential context of this clause does not make the specific kind of torture clear, but presumably the child is referring to both the physical and mental torture of a life lived in war-like conditions. Interestingly, when the Token is constituted by a reference to terrorism, the identification process becomes what the Value is not: *to be a Palestinian doesn't mean that you are a terrorist who blow up himself* [11IB(2)]. However, when describing how the world views Palestine, another

child writes that *to be a Palestinian means a terrorist* [11IB(3)]. In a third example, terrorism as a Token remains, but the Value shifts slightly to being a Muslim (one aspect of being Palestinian for Muslim Palestinians): *being Muslim does not mean I am terrorist* [9CI(1)]. Being Palestinian is not always a Value of a negative Token. For example, the lexical item pride appears often as a Token, as in: *being a Palestinian is something great to be proud of* [11Ib(2)], *being Palestinian is something I'm proud of* [11IB(8)] and *Palestinian means to be strong, to be proud of yourself and to be educated* [7A(7)].

Token Group 3: Resistance

The third Token group consists of lexical items that denote acts of resistance to occupation. Each of these Tokens has been assigned the Value of Palestinian nationality: *to be a Palestinian mean that you're a freedom fighter whom is living under tyrant and occupation* [11Ib(2)], *to be a Palestinian means to fight for freedom, to stand for your rights, and to have dignity and feel it when you stand with a stone in front of weapons and tanks when you're only six years old* [11IB(2)] and *the most important reason behind my love to my country is that we resist the same occupier and believe in the same case* [9C(6)]. This TRANSITIVITY template is an important one because it represents a positive opposition to instances where being Palestinian means war; the children, while representing themselves as victims of war, simultaneously represent part of their identity as being freedom-fighters. In this sense, the positive identifications tend to come as a response to the negative ones.

Token Group 4: Palestinian cities

Only two Palestinian cities appear in the **identifying** clauses, Ramallah and Jerusalem. Ramallah seems an obvious choice since it is the city in which research was conducted. Ramallah is Valued by the child in terms of its beauty: *Ramallah was one of the most beautiful cities in Palestine* [9B(19)]. This clause is one of only a very few in which the **relational** process appears in the past simple tense, and this type of clause, as has already been stated, can be seen as situating its content within the political context of conflict. What is unstated in the clause, yet sounds through very clearly, is that as a result of damage done (as seen in the **material** processes engaged in by Groups I1 and I2) in the Intifada, the Value is being framed in terms of what was rather than what is.

Jerusalem as a choice however, potentially has ideological connotations, particularly when viewed in light of the Value assigned to it: *Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine* [9C(10)]. Considering the significance of Jerusalem to the Palestinians, and the fact that its recognition as the capital of Palestine is one of their fundamental political demands, it is interesting that this type of clause appears only once across the **identifying** clauses in the corpus. However, it is important to repeat here that the children were not given parameters for their writing; had they been asked specifically about Jerusalem, the city may have appeared more frequently in the data.

The remaining clauses are difficult to categorize because they do not fall neatly into one of the four Token groups described above. There are, however, some broad trends emerging through these remaining clauses. First, it can be seen that the children construe their relationship with Palestine as an all-encompassing aspect of their lives: *me as a Palestinian living in Palestine, Palestine means to me everything* [9A(10)] and *the relationship between me and Palestine is the same relation between the fish and the water* [11IB(1)]. Second, there is a sense conveyed, again, that being Palestinian means to be different: *to be a Palestinian means to have a sort of feelings that no one else has* [11IB(12)] and *to be Palestinian means to be unique* [11IB(12)]. Third, there is a connection made between being Palestinian and heroicism: *being a Palestinian means to me to be a hero* [11IB(15)] and *being Palestinian symbolizes the strength of a hero and the heart of a little child* [9CI(10)]. This third trend seems to echo the images of survival despite occupation and resistance to occupation that have resounded across the corpus, particularly as seen in sections 4.1.2.g and 4.1.2.h. Finally, there are clauses which appear to function to convey the children's sense of identity as necessarily embodying Palestinian-ness: *a Palestinian, that is who I am* [9B(20)] and *the Palestinians are my people* [7B(12)].

4.2.c Group P1 (Palestine and Palestinians) in **possessive relational** processes

Group P1 is instantiated in the role of Possessor 111 times across the corpus. Within these 111 instances, the Possessed entity of the clause can be categorized into eight main groupings, with each grouping constituting one TRANSITIVITY template. Individual clauses not falling under one of the eight categories will not be presented here, but can be seen in the appendices.

The first TRANSITIVITY template occurs 21 times, making it the most frequent in this section. The Possessed entity in these clauses is either a direct reference to one or more aspects of the occupation, or is a result of the occupation and political situation. This template is as follows:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + OCCUPATION/RESULT OF OCCUPATION [POSSESSED]

Examples of clauses falling under this template are: *in Palestine we have another country that has been forced on us "Israel"* [9B(22)], *most of the time we have curfews 24 hours a day* [9C(11)] and *I've had flying bullets crash through my bedroom window* [9CI(3)]. In addition to this construal of the physical aspects of occupation imposed on Group P1 by Group I1, this template also expresses 1) the result, for Group P1, of such Possessed entities and 2) the children's representation of Group P1's attitudinal orientation towards the Possessed entities. Relating to the first, one child refers to death: *this dear friend had the honour of becoming a martyr* [9A(17)]. Relating to the second, there are a number of clauses within this template that construe the children's perception of how Group P1 feels about the context of conflict in which they live: *Palestine has many people ready to die for its freedom* [9C(16)] and *our country have a nation that don't accept occupation* [9C(21)]. In two clauses, the children represent the Possessed entity as an explanation for suicide attacks[2] carried out by Group P1 against Group I1: *90% of these people* (meaning the suicide bombers) *had a relative or more killed by Israeli soldiers or a relative in prison* [9B(22)] and *the people who make the suicidal attacks have nothing to lose* [9C(25)]. In one final clause a great sense of exasperation and frustration with the entire situation is expressed: *we've had enough of it last year* [9C(14)].

The second TRANSITIVITY template in this section contains a Possessed entity that is composed of references to weapons/artillery:

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[2] The term suicide attack, used here to denote the action of using one's body as a weapon, is a site of ideological contest. Suicide attack, suicide bomb and suicide bombers are terms used by Israel, the media and the West, and are generally viewed as acts of terrorism. In Palestine, the Arabic term 'martyr operation' is applied to the same action and is generally viewed as an act of resistance against Israeli occupation. It is interesting to note that across the data, the few times that these attacks are mentioned, when it is in reference to how others perceive Group P1, it is always in conjunction with the English, or Western, term 'suicide' , but when the children talk about the topic themselves, they employ the term 'matryr'. For further reading on the topic of Palestinians and the phenomenon of suicide bombing see, for example: Andoni, 1997; Hage, 2003; Khashan, 2003 and Graham, 2002.

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + (-/+) RELATIONAL PROCESS + WEAPONS/ARTILLERY [POSSESSED]

The most common type of clause falling under this template is one in which the child expresses Group P1 as not being in possession of weapons. Typical examples are: *we Palestinians don't have even light artilleries to be terrorists* [9C(17)] and *we don't have any guns, tanks, helicopters, or anything that they have* [9C(23)]. In this second clause, 'they' refers to Group I1: as will be seen in the following section where Group I1 is Possessor, the most frequent TRANSITIVITY template is one in which Group I1 possesses weapons and other artillery. In these clauses the children represent themselves as not having the automated weapons that Group I1 has, but in other clauses they represent themselves as possessing a different type of weapon: *they have rocks* [7A(20)], *we only have stones* [7C(21)] and *all the means we have education, stones and sometimes using guns* [9A(1)]. The clauses illustrating this template reinforce the imagery appearing throughout the **material** processes in which Group P1 consists of Davids with stones in hand resisting a heavily armed Goliath, Group I1.

The third TRANSITIVITY template in this section contains, as its Possessed entity, references to rights and freedoms. The nine clauses falling under this template are often framed by the use of the verb in the negative, as in 'do not have'. The rights and freedoms expressed by the children are generally linked, explicitly or implicitly, to their experiences as an oppressed group living under military occupation. This TRANSITIVITY template is:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + (+/-) RELATIONAL PROCESS + RIGHTS [POSSESSED]

In some of the clauses, the (un)Possessed entity is human rights: *we have no human rights* [7B(4)] and *we as students don't have our human rights like you* [9C(9)]. In one clause, the Possessed divides the general term human rights into its component rights: *we don't have our rights, the right to live, the right to play, eat, study, without any war* [9C(16)]. In other clauses, freedom represents the (un)Possessed entity: *we don't have that freedom* [9B(3)] and *we don't have freedom from the Jews* [7A(1)]. In contrast to these clauses, there are two in which the children grammatically represent themselves as actually possessing one right: *we have the right to live in our land or not* [9A(9)] and *I have the right to live in it* [7B(7)]. The grammars of these clauses

represent this right using the verb in the positive, but in reality, this is an unrealised symbolic right, particularly for the Palestinian refugees[3] as Possessor.

In articulating their right to live in the land of Palestine, the children could have grammatically represented Group I1 as not having this right, as in 'Israelis do not have the right to live on our land' or 'Israelis do not have the right to live in Palestine'. As the presentation of Group I1 below will illustrate, this type of grammatical construction does not occur when Group I1 is Possessor. This is very similar to what has already been raised in this section on **relational** processes, namely that the children do not express their ownership of the land or the religious identity of the land through any grammatical negation of Group I1. Again, the children are representing issues of importance to them through their own social actors; their language choices do not evidence an assertion of identity at the expense of other participant groupings.

The children's tragic representation of themselves as not possessing their guaranteed rights and freedoms is offset by seven clauses which portray the children as having many hopes, dreams and ambitions. These clauses constitute the fourth TRANSITIVITY template of this section:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + HOPES/DREAMS/AMBITIONS [POSSESSED]

Some clauses convey the children's possession of hopes, dreams and ambitions in general: *I have a lot of hopes* [9CI(1)] and *as a 14 year old teenager I have many hopes, dreams and ambitions* [9CI(5)]. In other clauses, the hope is identified more specifically, as in *Palestinians have ambitions to live peacefully in their own land* [9C(15)]. One particularly poignant clause situates the Possessed entity within the context of the general situation in which the children live, and emphasizes the children's own awareness of their resilience: *we still have the strength to dream, to imagine, to create* [9CI(10)].

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[3] In June 2004, there were 4,186,711 Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA (the United Nations Refugee Works Agency), 1,226,213 of whom are living in refugee camps across WBGS, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. This figure represents a 2.6% increase in total number of registered refugees from the previous year, 2003. The number of unregistered Palestinian refugees is estimated to be 1.5 million, bringing the total number of Palestinian refugees to around 5.7 million. Sources: *UNRWA in Figures*, UNRWA Headquarters, 2004 and PLO Negotiations Affairs Department, *Fact Sheet on Palestinian Refugees*, May 2003.

The remaining TRANSITIVITY templates in this section represent Group P1 as Possessors of entities which are not related to the political situation, but instead characterize the religious nature of Palestine, the geography and agriculture of Palestine, Palestinian culture and traditions and, finally, aspects of the children's lives which are normal and not related to violence and politics.

The next TRANSITIVITY template reads:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + ENTITY OF RELIGION [POSSESSED]

The ten clauses falling under this template are very similar to the **attributive relational** clauses described above, particularly when the Possessed is a house of God: *Palestine has many historical places like Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that are in Jerusalem* [9C(10)]. Under this TRANSITIVITY template falls two clauses referring to the three religions: *the Holy Land has the three religions* [9A(1)] and *Palestine has the three religions* [9B(12)]. Again, these clauses repeat what has already been seen above. Two further clauses falling under this template express the possession of a belief in God, something which, although presumably included in the meaning of statements such as *I am Muslim* and *I am Christian*, has not yet been explicitly expressed in the grammar of the clause: *we still have our belief in God* [9C(13)], *we have God* [9C(23)] and *the only thing we do is have faith* [9B(1)].

Clauses describing the geography and agriculture of Palestine are very few; occurring only seven times, the TRANSITIVITY template can be expressed in this way:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + GEOGRAPHY/AGRICULTURE [POSSESSED]

The clauses appearing here are very general in nature, as in: *Palestine has four seasons* [9C(17)] and *Palestine has many olive trees, and many nice mountains and hills* [9C(12)]. There is one clause in this group which, framed by a negated verb, relates the Possessed entity to the political situation, particularly as viewed by a West Bank child: *I have no sea to go to* [7BI(7)]. Approximately 60km from Ramallah, most of these children have never seen the Mediterranean Sea.

Palestinian culture and traditions constitute one further grouping of Possessed entities, represented by the TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + PALESTINIAN CULTURE/TRADITIONS [POSSESSED]

There are only five clauses falling under this template, typical examples of which are: *we have special food for special times* [9B(2)] and *we also have a traditional dance called 'dabkeh'* [9B(2)].

In the final TRANSITIVITY template where Group P1 is Possessor, the Possessed entity is something which expresses, as one child writes, the fact that *we try to have a normal life as much as we can* [9C(26)]. This TRANSITIVITY template reads:

GROUP P1 [POSSESSOR] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + NORMALCY [POSSESSED]

Many of these 11 clauses describe the children's hobbies, interests and extra-curricular activities: *I also have interest in movies and especially Egyptian* [9CI(9)], *we have movies, shopping centres, parties, etc.* [9C(17)] and *I have a small cat* [7C(7)]. It is significant that these types of 'normal' activities occur so infrequently; this infrequency reinforces the general picture being developed across the corpus (e.g. section 4.1.2.h) that the violence of the occupation is the aspect of the children's lives with which they are most concerned.

4.2.d Group I1 (Israel and Israelis) in **attributive relational** processes

Group I1 appears as participant in **relational** processes only 43 times across the corpus, 16 of which are as Carrier in **attributive relational** processes. The most frequently occurring Attribute of this group is one that refers to either Group I1's immigration to Palestine at the turn of the century, or to its current occupation by force of Palestinian land. The TRANSITIVITY template conveying these Attributes is:

GROUP I1 [CARRIER] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + EXISTENCE IN PALESTINE [ATTRIBUTE]

Typical clauses falling under this template are: *the Zionist Jews or Israelis as they are more commonly known have been in Palestine since the early 1900s* [9C(19)] and *the settlers are on the mountain* [7C(11)].

Unlike Group P2 which appears frequently in clauses that have an Attribute of religion, Group I1 appears in only one such clause: *Jews is a religion* [9C(4)]. It is interesting that Group I1 is represented in this way only once because as the previous discussion shows, Palestine as participant in **relational** processes is often described as being the home of the three religions. In those clauses Group I1 is included as part of the general Holy Land, but when Group I1 becomes the Carrier, they are not. For instance, there are no statements such as 'Jewish is a religion in Palestine". It seems

then, that Jewish is an Attribute of Palestine, but Palestine is not an Attribute of Group I1.

Attributes of (+/-) beauty appear only three times, constituting the following TRANSITIVITY template:

GROUP I1 [CARRIER] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + (+/-) BEAUTY [ATTRIBUTE]

Examples are: *Israel is not beautiful* [7C(15)] and *with the Israelis here nothing stays beautiful* [9B(19)]. The examples here are important because, although they appear only three times, they contrast with the greater frequency with which Palestine is characterized as beautiful. A simple opposition between the two participant groupings is being created by the inclusion of this template.

Just as rights and freedoms constitute one type of Attribute in the TRANSITIVITY templates where Group P1 is Carrier, there is one clause falling under this template when Group I1 is Carrier:

GROUP I1 [CARRIER] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + RIGHTS/FREEDOMS [ATTRIBUTE]

In this clause, the child's choice of nominal group constituting the Carrier places Group I1 in opposition to the above representations of Group P1: *they kids are free* [7BI(10)]. It is interesting that this template does not occur more frequently across the data. As it has been seen, the children represented themselves as not being free and not having freedom. Although not all of the clauses directly implicated Group I1 as being the deniers of their freedom, it was implied. Yet, when Group I1 becomes the focus of the clause, it is not grammatically represented as having freedom the same number of times that Group P1 is represented as not having freedom. In this sense, there is no simple and direct opposition being established the way there was in the preceding template with beauty as Attribute. This reinforces the argument repeatedly being made that the young people seem primarily concerned with representing their own reality as they perceive it. The **material** clauses have shown that Group I1 and sub-groups engage in actions which affect Group P1 a great deal; the children tend to represent Group I1 only as it comes in contact with Group P1. The children rarely construe Group I1 as an independent set of entities with a reality very different from that of Group P1.

The final TRANSITIVITY template of this section includes an Attribute of personal character:

GROUP I1 [CARRIER] + RELATIONAL PROCESS + PERSONAL CHARACTER [ATTRIBUTE]

There are two clauses falling under this template: *most of them are bad* [7C(15)] and *the Israeli soldier's mood wasn't good* [9A(5)]. That these types of characterizations occur only twice is, again, of interest in relation to what has just been argued, namely that Group I1 is rarely construed apart from its direct militaristic relationship with Group P1. This template highlights how personal characterizations of Group I1 rarely occur. Instead, as has been seen, the group is typically characterized and identified via **material** processes which situate it in relation to the political and military context of occupation of Palestinian land. This suggests that the conflict is not an interpersonal one, but instead the children represent it as being about Palestinian claims to the land. The children's language choices do not exhibit any kind of real preoccupation with describing or discrediting the character of Group I1. This might have to do with the fact that the children do not have any life experience on which to base a characterization; although the two participant groupings are neighbours, Group P1 has always been prevented, most forcibly during the Oslo years where the concept of separation took real root and these children were born, from travel to areas within the borders of Group I1's domain. These children's life experience has largely been limited to encountering Group I1 in an occupying role. Given this experience, it is not surprising that there is no characterization of Group I1 on a human, interpersonal level, but it is perhaps more surprising that there is also not any characterization by the children of Group I1 as non-human, something generally quite typical in discourse of the us-them variety as Wodak, 1996, 1999 and van Dijk, 1998a, for example, have shown.

4.2.e Group I1 (Israel and Israelis) in **identifying relational** processes

Of the 19 clauses in this section, the general theme is that Group I1 is the terrorist group. Whether I1 is Token or Value of terrorism, the children's conception of the group is clear: *the Israelis are the terrorists* [9B(2)] and *they are terrorists for killing people and occupying their land* [9C(7)]. It is notable that this second example includes a justification for identifying Group I1 as the terrorist; the terrorist label stems from Group I1's actions as occupiers, thus situating the use of the term terrorism within the context of military state terrorism. In other clauses, the Token is

a nominal group representing Group I1 in its military role, as in *the terrorist is the soldiers with weapons and armour* [9B(19)] and *the terrorist is the soldier who kept her waiting until she died with her birth* [9B(19)].

Another theme is developed by situating Group I1 as both Value and Token, thus identifying the Jewish people in terms of Israel and vice versa: *Jews are mostly Israelis* [9A(17)], *Palestine's newest occupation is the Zionist Jews, or Israelis as they are more commonly known* [9C(19)] and *Israel is the Jew's nation who came and occupied our land Palestine* [9C(4)]. It seems consistent across the data that, despite varying grammatical representations, the identification of Group I1 is in terms of the occupation of Palestine; the examples here reinforce the ideas expressed in the presentation of **attributive relational** processes above in which many of the clauses characterize Group I1 through Attributes denoting the occupation.

The remaining clauses in this section are one-offs which cannot be combined under one TRANSITIVITY template as such, yet there is an element underlying each of the clauses which situates them in relation to the broad themes, of Group I1 equals terrorist and Group I1 equals occupation, raised already in this section. This thematic element is the occupation in general, and its specific aspects in particular. One such aspect is framed in terms of Group P1's resistance: *the only resistance they had* [VALUE] *were* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *Palestinian civilians armed with simple hunting rifles and Ottoman era manual handguns* [TOKEN] [(C(19)]. In another clause the child writes of Group I1's military actions during the second Intifada: *their justification* [VALUE] *is* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *destroying terrorism* [TOKEN] [9A(6)]. In a further clause, the Value as Identifier looks at Group I1's actions as indicative of its overarching goals: *lack of education* [TOKEN] *is* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *one of the Israelis' goals* [VALUE] [9C(24)]. It is clear from the sentential context of this clause that the child is referring to a *Palestinian* lack of education, but it is not clear how this conclusion has been drawn: perhaps the child is thinking of the days of curfew which left schools and universities closed; the checkpoints which make schools and universities virtually impossible to reach; the numbers of young people held under administrative detention, unable to attend school or university, etc. This clause is also of particular interest when juxtaposed against the preceding example in which *destroying terrorism* is Group I1's justification. The use of the words justification

and goals here imply that the children have an awareness, although not explicitly articulated here, of the political conflict's underlying ideologies: a clash of two national wills within a colonialist context. This awareness can be highlighted by one additional clause: *the only important thing for them* [VALUE] *was* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *their interests* [TOKEN] [9A(14)].

In the final clause of these **identifying relational** processes, the child positions Group I1 in relation to the greater power relations currently at play in the Middle East: *Israel* [VALUE] *equals* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *America* [TOKEN] [7BI(12)].

4.2.f Group I1 (Israel and Israelis) in **possessive relational** processes

There are two themes emerging in this section. The first places Groups I1 and P1 in direct contrast to each other in terms of military might. Here, Group I1 is construed as possessing that which P1 does not have, weapons and artillery: *Israel have weapons* [7B(3)], *they have guns, tank, helicopters, or anything* [9C(23)] and *Israel has thorns which injure people* [7C(15)].

The second theme also places the two groups in opposition, in terms of rights. Section 4.2.c showed how the young people construe themselves as *not having* rights. Here, it might be expected that Group I1 would be represented oppositely, as *having* rights. However, this is not the case. Instead, there is an interesting grammatical representation here where Group I1's possession of rights is actually construed through the negated verb, just as Group P1's lack of rights was construed through the negated verb: *they haven't got the right to do this* [7C(14)] and *they haven't got the right to do anything to us* [7C(14)]. This choice of negated verb, instead of, for example, writing 'they have the right to play' etc., reinforces what has been developed elsewhere in the children's language choices (e.g. section 4.2.d), namely the idea that the children do not generally construe Group I1 apart from their relationship (e.g. acting upon) to Group P1.

4.2.g Group I2 (Israeli non-human entities) in **relational** processes

Group I2 appears very infrequently in **relational** processes, reinforcing the point that the children tend to construe what Group I1 and sub-groups *do* rather than who/what they *are*. There are three clauses where Group I2 is Carrier, an example of which is:

checkpoints are the process of forbidding us to see our relatives that live in other near cities which are at the most 5km away [9A(17)]. There is only one clause in the corpus where Group I2 appears in the participant role of Identified, and it is very similar to [9A(17)] above: *a checkpoint in Palestine* [VALUE] *means* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *a place you cannot pass through without a permit from the Israeli government* [TOKEN] [9B(21)]. It is useful to highlight that in both of these examples, although the grammar of the clause exhibits a **relational** process, the Attribute and the Token both imply a direct material impact on Group P1: the prohibition of Palestinian movement. So, although the clauses are describing and defining what checkpoints *are*, they are described and defined only in their capacity to *do* something to Group P1. These examples again reinforce the argument that Group I1 and sub-groups are primarily construed in their relationship (usually negative in nature) with Group P1.

4.2.h Group I3 (Israel actions) in **relational** processes

There are six instances across the corpus where Group I3 appears as Carrier in **attributive relational** processes. All clauses can be found in the appendices, but the primary Attributes are ones of fear and humiliation, as the following examples illustrate: *the Israeli soldiers search the house was the most scary night in my life* [9B(3)] and *the idea of stopping on a checkpoint in your own nation is just humiliating* [9B(21)].

4.2.i Group R (religion and religious entities) in **attributive relational** processes

Group R appears as Carrier in **attributive** processes six times across the corpus, four of which describe the beauty, historicity and location of holy sites in Palestine: Typical examples of this theme are: *the Nativity Church is a very lovely place for Christians* [9A(9)], *Al-Aqsa in an old mosque* [7C(20)] and *most of the holy places for Muslims, Christians and Jews are located in Palestine* [7B(9)]. In contrast to these pleasant clauses, there is one example of Group R as Carrier which situates the holy sites within the context of the current political situation through an Attribute of destruction: *the mosque is destroyed* [7C(14)].

4.2.j Group R (religion and religious entities) in **identifying relational** clauses

Group R occurs as Identified in **identifying relational** processes seven times across the data, with one instance in which Group R is simultaneously Identified and Identifier. These examples are very different in nature from Group R as Carrier; whereas with Carrier the focus is on holy sites, with Identified the focus is on the core Values of religious traditions and the effect they have on the members of Group P1. For example, while there are simple identifying statements such as *Islam is our religion* [7C(11)], the children also conceptualize religion as a Value on a deeper level through a number of Tokens: *religion means love and peace and sharing everything, money and even homes sometimes, food and land* [7C(23)]. Narrowing the focus down to Islam, the children describe what it means to be Muslim in two different ways: *to be Muslim means that I am from Palestine* [7C(20)] and *being Muslim means freedom* [7C(12)]. For the first child, Palestinian identity is tied closely to Islam. A similar sentiment is expressed by [7C(23)]: *the mosque is my life*. Being Muslim, and also religion generally, is a Value held by the children, realized grammatically through Tokens of freedom, love, peace and Palestine. Group R is expressed only once as a Token: *Al-Aqsa is an example for me* [7B(1)], showing the role that religion plays in the children's sense of how they might conduct their lives.

It is interesting to note that the children's conceptions of a religious identity are expressed primarily through the clauses in which Group P1, the people and land of Palestine, is a participant. The fact that there are only 13 **relational** clauses, none of which are possessive, when Group R is participant suggests that the children are not defining what religion is, what Islam is or what Christianity is in essence, but instead are applying the identity to themselves without much thinking about what it means. This might be because they are children, or because the way in which the study was set up did not facilitate the collection of such data.

4.2.k Group S (the situation) in **attributive relational** processes

Group S occurs as Carrier 14 times across the data. Many of the clauses characterize Group S using a negative adjective situated on a scale ranging from *unstable*, to *not good*, to *bad*, to *worse*. One child writes that the war is not just physical, but is also *mental* [11IB(11)]. However, one child, despite the difficulties of the situation, evaluates the Intifada (Carrier) as *worth it* [9A(5)].

4.2.l Group S (the situation) in **identifying relational** processes

Group S occurs as Value/Identified in **identifying relational** processes three times. Each of the three clauses displays a very different Token of the Value of war. As Token, the children are concerned not only with identifying what the war means in physical terms but also what it means on a greater ideological level: *war* [VALUE] *means* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *all towns under curfew, no schools, shooting at all sides, no social or economic life, and many people dies, etc.* [TOKEN] [9A(6)] and *it* [VALUE] *means* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *our lives, our freedom and our identity* [TOKEN] [11IB(7)]. The last example is not entirely clear from context; perhaps the child is suggesting that the war embodies their lives in the sense that the lack of freedom as a result of the war has become a major aspect of their sense of identity; indeed this is how Nelson (2002) and Elbedour et al. (1997) might interpret it. In the third instance, the child writes that *this war* [VALUE] *is* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *what we got* [TOKEN] [9A(12)]. What the child got stands in contrast to the peace the children want which is expressed grammatically as Phenomenon of **desiderative mental** processes, as will be seen in the section below on **mental** processes.

4.2.m Group W (the outside world) in **relational** processes

Group W does not appear often in **relational** processes, but the eleven instances where it does are generally concerned with representing what the children believe are others' (America, Britain, the media, etc.) perceptions or misconceptions of them: *what you see on TV is lies* [9B(17)], *what they see on TV is nothing compared to what there is* [7C(22)] and *most people in America and Britain are against us* [9C(6)]. The children also represent their own view of Group W: *you can be fair* [9B(4)], *the American government who can stop this bad situation is still silent* [9A(11)] and *you are wrong* [9C(1)].

In addition to expressing how they believe others think, the children express their perceptions of how people in the rest of the world live; one perception is in direct opposition to how they represent their own lives, while the other portrays Group W as not much unlike themselves: *all people in the world are free to do whatever they want* [9B(3)] and *you are a human who lives and struggles in this tough world* [9A(1)].

One interesting aspect of these clauses is that the children write using the nominal *you*, but it appears that they are superimposing their own experiences onto the reader, the children from other parts of the world: *your town is always under curfew* [9A(6)], *the only thing that you are going to think about* [VALUE] *is* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *that you want to die and follow them because you lost all kinds of hope* [TOKEN] [9B(4)], *seeing your brother shot in front of your eyes* [TOKEN] *is* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *something will effect you for your whole life* [VALUE] [9B(22)] and *if you visit, the first thing you see* [TOKEN] *is* [RELATIONAL PROCESS] *the checkpoint, or in other word the welcome point* [VALUE] [11IB(18)].

4.3 Mental Processes - The Inner World of Consciousness

Table 4.4 below shows the distribution of **mental** processes across the corpus.

TABLE 4.4: DISTRIBUTION OF MENTAL PROCESSES ACROSS THE CORPUS

	SENSER	*COGNITIVE*	*PERCEPTIVE*	*DESIDERATIVE*	*EMOTIVE*
GROUP I	20 (3.40%)	11 (4.58%)	1 (0.84%)	7 (5.15%)	1 (1.08%)
GROUP P	425 (72.3%)	122 (50.8%)	91 (76.5%)	123 (90.4%)	89 (95.7%)
GROUP W	143 (24.3%)	107 (44.6%)	27 (22.7%)	6 (4.41%)	3 (3.22%)
TOTAL	**588 (100%)**	240 (100%)	119 (100%)	136 (100%)	93 (100%)

4.3.a Group I1 (Israel and Israelis) as Senser

Appearing least frequently of all participant groupings involved in **mental** clauses, Group I1 is instantiated as Senser 20 times across the corpus, in 11 **cognitive**, 7 **desiderative**, 1 **perceptive** and 1 **emotive mental** process(es). These 20 clauses are strongly connected, thematically, to the other areas of the TRANSITIVITY system where Group I1 is participant. For example, a number of the elements which follow **mental** processes, which may be the Phenomenon or a projected clause, contain references to actions that Group I1 carried out when Actor and is now thinking about or desiring, as Senser. Each of these actions is negative in nature and, in general, they are actions which impact or affect another participant grouping, usually Group P1. Similarly, projected clauses where Group I1 is Senser refer to, for example, house searches, curfew, checkpoints and killing, can be seen in the following clauses: *the Israelis think that curfew is the best way to stop terrorism* [9CI(9)] and *Israel want to kill the people who pray* [7C(1)].

Other clauses relate to the theme Palestinian equals terrorist, which is refuted by the children in the **relational** processes above, but reinforced as will be seen when Group W is Senser below: *Israeli soldiers suspecting that he had bombs attached to him* [9B(15)] and *Israeli people think that terrorist is to love our land and to do suicide operations then we are proud to be terrorism* [9A(1)].

In addition to clauses which express what the children believe Group I1 thinks of them, there are also **cognitive** clauses in which the children represent Group I1 as knowing and aware social actors in the processes of both immigration and occupation: *they knew that a nation lived here* [9A(14)] and *they knew that we've been living here for many centuries and that we didn't have another place to go* [9A(14)]. However, when the impact of the immigration/occupation or other actions becomes the issue, Group I1 is construed as an unaware social actor, denoted by the negated process: *they didn't even think of us* [9A(14)], they *didn't think if it was a child, old man, a woman* [9A(14)]. Perhaps this is so for these children because, as one child writes: *they only think for* (of) *themselves* [9A(14)].

The other clauses relate to themes expressed by the children in the sections where Group P1 is participant, namely resistance and education. Here, Group I1 is construed by the children as squashing the resistance and setting up checkpoints and imposing curfew in an attempt to disrupt the educational system (or to achieve *one of their goals* as was previously stated when Group I1 was represented as Initiator): *they don't want us to defend our country even with stones* [9C(24)] and *they want us to be illiterate* [9C(24)]. It is interesting that negation, as seen here and in the immediately preceding and following paragraphs, seems to affect the patterns with **mental** processes more than with other process types. The negation may be of the process, as in *didn't think* and *don't want*; or it may be in the projected clause, as in *illiterate*.

Finally, a disturbing **desiderative** process: *Israelis don't want peace* [9B(22)]. It is interesting to note that in general, Group I1 rarely appears in clauses which contain the lexical item peace. This is in contrast to Group P1 which, as will be highlighted in the following section, is Senser in Phenomena which often include peace.

4.3.b Group P1 as Senser

Of the three participant groupings that appear in the role of Senser, Group P1 occurs most frequently, with 425 occurrences, or 80.6% of all instantiations of Senser in the corpus. Of these 425 clauses, 122 are **cognitive**, 91 are **perceptive**, 123 are **desiderative** and 89 are **emotive mental** processes.

The **cognitive, perceptive** and **emotive** types of sensing done by Group P1 represent, not surprisingly given the material circumstances under which the children live, a consciousness to some extent engrossed by the children's experiences of physical violence. The **mental** processes of cognition often depict the children's general sense of uncertainty, an uncertainty which is, in many examples, attributed directly or by implication to the social actors of Groups I1 and I2: *I wondering if I was going to make it to school or if there would be checkpoints* [9B(2)] and *I sleep wondering now every night if I'm going to wake up the next morning* [9B(15)]. These feelings of uncertainty seem the logical conclusion of the types of Phenomena that the children perceive, Phenomena characterized by the things, acts and facts of the situation in which they are currently living. Therefore, one theme running through these **mental** clauses describes life under occupation and through the Intifada, and echoes sentiments expressed by the children in other areas of the TRANSITIVITY system, particularly the **material** processes already presented above. Such clauses fall under the following template:

GROUP P1 (SENSER) + PERCEPTIVE MENTAL PROCESS + ASPECT OF THE SITUATION (PHENOMENON)

Typical clauses highlighting this theme are: *I saw a bullet on my bed* [9B(18)] and *I can see my people dying and their houses are destroyed without doing anything* [9A(12)].

In other instantiations of the **mental** process of **perception**, the children's texts exhibit a range of emotions, some in response to what they, as Sensers, have perceived:

GROUP P1 (SENSER) + VERB 'FEEL' (PERCEPTIVE MENTAL PROCESS) + -/+EMOTION

Normally, cases of emotion are generally categorized as **relational** processes with Attribute because a Phenomenon must be a nominal group. However, these cases are grammatically hybrid in that they have a clearly mental semantic element. It was decided to include them here rather than under **relational** because of their clear

encoding in terms of emotional response rather than simple relation. Typical examples are included in the table below:

TABLE 4.5: EXAMPLES OF PERCEPTIVE MENTAL PROCESSES CONSTRUING EMOTION

SENSER	*MENTAL PROCESS*	*+/- PHENOMENON/PROJECTION/EMOTION*
I	feel	scared sometimes when the Israelis come
I	feel	bad, so bad
I	feel	very sad
I	feel	a bit sad and very much angry
person	feel	depressed and sad
I	don't feel	anything when I see the tank
I	feel	fine at the checkpoint
I	feel	strong
I	feel	proud to be part of the undying resistance and the people who love their land

As the emotions expressed in the table above shift from fear, sadness and anger to numbness, and then to strength and pride, glimmers of power and resilience can be seen: the children represent their material world as being near totally destroyed, yet while their emotions and psychology have undoubtedly been damaged, the **mental** processes in the corpus do not suggest that their inner world has been destroyed as well.

The last example above conveys a sense of pride about being part of the *undying resistance*, yet the children make efforts to ensure that the reader distinguishes this resistance from terrorism. As was seen in the **relational** clauses where Group P1 was participant, the children write that they *are not terrorists*, and in the clauses which will be seen below, the children express beliefs that Group W perceives Group P1 as terrorists. As a result, this definition of the self by negation, by *not* being something, is seen repeated here in the **mental** clauses: *I don't know what you think about the Palestinians, but what I want you to know is that we are not terrorists as we are called* [9B(2)] and *I don't want to be misjudged* [9C(1)]. The repetition of this theme suggests that the children are concerned about others' opinions of them.

Consequently, the young people express hopes that the communication between them can influence Group W's opinions: *I hope that from this letter you will know right from wrong, who is terrorist and who is not* [9C(24)]. The children's attempt to clarify the *facts* for the reader will become clearer in the section on Group W as Senser below. It will be seen that on the one hand the children express a sense of defiance through the clauses denoting resistance, yet on the other hand there is a sense

of vulnerability conveyed when expressing how they believe they are perceived by the international community.

Positioned somewhere in the middle between these opposing images of strength and vulnerability are the children's depictions of emotional healthiness and stability. Turning to **emotive mental** processes, the children represent themselves as being not unlike children living in a war-free zone. The template

GROUP P1 (SENSER) + LIKE/LOVE/HATE (MENTAL PROCESS) + EVERYDAY ENTITY (PHENOMENON/PROJECTION)

is very similar to that of **material** processes in section 4.1.2.h, and captures a sense of the children having very normal interests and hobbies, ranging from sports to social issues (within the Palestinian community):

TABLE 4.6: EXAMPLES OF MENTAL PROCESS CONSTRUING NORMALCY

SENSER	*MENTAL PROCESS*	*PHENOMENON*
I	like	vacations
I	like	to play ballet
I	like	very much drawing
I	love	honesty
I	love	education
I	love	collecting flowers
I	love	things like the moon and stars and music and the rain
I	love	swimming and shopping very much
I	really love	reading, drawing, painting, singing, dancing and of course browsing the internet
I	hate	the computer and the sport
I	hate	the idea of making the man the only important thing in our life

In addition to the affinity they express for normal activities, there is also a great deal of positive emotion conveyed for Palestine. A second common template for emotive **mental** processes is

GROUP P1 (SENSER) + VERB (+) OF EMOTION (MENTAL PROCESS) + ENTITY/STATE WITH A SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP TO PALESTINE (PHENOMENON/PROJECTION)

In examples following this TRANSITIVITY pattern, the children's writings illustrate a deep emotional attachment to their land, people and culture: *I love to be Palestinian, to talk, to live, to cry, to eat, to sleep, to feel as a Palestinian* [7B(1)] and *we enjoy our culture* [9A(10)]. The children's emotional attachments will inevitably nurture certain desires; since the children express a love of Palestine, their **desiderative mental** processes correspondingly will be seen to be constituted by entities denoting Palestinian land and culture, all in reference to a hope for peace or, as one child writes: *I wish this nightmare will end one day* [9C(23)].

Generally speaking, the Phenomena/projections of the **desiderative mental** processes are characterized by references to a future life of peace and normalcy. The entities or propositions constituting the Phenomena/projections suggest that the children view peace and normality both through the broad lens of universal human rights, and through the specific political demands of the Palestinians, including an end to Israeli occupation, the dismantling of illegal Israeli settlements and the recognition of East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state. The children's desire for peace is embodied simply, and perhaps most elegantly, in the statement of one grade 9 student: *I did never wanted war*. Looking at one final TRANSITIVITY template,

GROUP P1 (SENSER) + WANT/HOPE/WISH/DREAM (DESIDERATIVE MENTAL PROCESS) + POSITIVE RESOLUTION (PHENOMENON/PROJECTION),

the table below contains examples which are typical of the children's hopes for their future and echo themes arising in the **relational** clauses of section 4.2.c:

TABLE 4.7: EXAMPLES OF MENTAL PROCESSES CONSTRUING HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

SENSER	*MENTAL PROCESS*	*PHENOMENON/PROJECTION*
I	wish	to live peacefully
everyone	wants	to have their own country free of occupation
we all	need	peace
I	wish	peace in Palestine forever
I	wish	that the Israelis will withdraw from our land, to live in peace like other countries
I	hope	that one day we will gain our liberty and pride and live in a free democratic country
I	always dream	to free Palestine and its capital Jerusalem
I	hope	to have just peace in Palestine and all of the world and to return Jerusalem the capital city of Palestine
we	don't want	to have settlers in our home – just go
I	wish	this nightmare will end one day
we all	wish	everyday of our trembling lives, for a day where we would sleep in complete silence and wake up to find the sun waiting for us to smile, and world waiting for us to make a change

Considering the highly emotive juxtaposition of imagery between, on the one hand, a world of violence brought on by immensely asymmetrical power relations between Israeli and Palestinian social actors and, on the other hand, the dream of a peaceful future life on the land of Palestine, it might be useful to examine if the children's **mental** processes carry a positive orientation not only to the broad concept of peace, but also to the very social actors they represent as being forceful agents in the material processes which have damaged themselves, their community and their country.

Interestingly, Groups I1 and I2 do not figure prominently in the Phenomena when Group P1 is Senser. Occasionally there is reference to one of the groups, as in *we hear the Israeli jeeps going around shouting and saying bad words for the people running away from them* [9B(18)], but for the most part the children's consciousness is not portrayed as being occupied with thoughts of Israel or Israelis. Instead, the children place the emphasis on the self, their own emotions and thoughts, irrespective of a material reality heavily dominated by the power and authority of Group I1. Of the 425 **mental** clauses in which Group P1 is Senser, only five utterances mention Israel or Israelis directly, three in **emotive** and two in **perceptive mental** processes: *I hate the Israel* [7BI(1)], *I hate Israelis* [7C(2)], *I hate them* [7C(6)], *I feel happy when the Israelis are going to Jordan* and *I will feel very happy if I kill them because they killing Palestinians everyday* [7C(6)]. Each of these was uttered by a grade seven child, the youngest children in the corpus, approximately 11 or 12 years of age.

In contrast to these examples, there are utterances in which the children speak positively not of peace in abstract terms, but of a peaceful relationship between the two groups of social actors: *I am able to forgive and forget if they want peace too* [9B(4)] and *I hope that the occupation will be over and to be come between us love and peace because we need freedom* [9C(12)]. In similar examples, it is not clear from context if the nominal group includes Group I1: *I hope peace will cover the world and everybody will get what he want* [9A(12)] and *I have always hoped for peace and security for myself and for all the other young youth in the Middle East* [9CI(5)]. In one final example, we see a child's recognition that between the black and white of war there is a grey area of peace, starting with the relationships between people: *I think and do believe that there is some good people even in what is called Israel and the most powerful nation on earth the USA* [9CI(11)].

4.3.c Group W (the outside world) as Senser

Group W typically occurs as participant in projected propositions which encode often false beliefs about Group P1. Group W is Senser 143 times across the corpus, in 107 **cognitive**, 3 **emotive**, 27 **perceptive** and 6 **desiderative mental** processes. Many patterns or themes appearing here are very similar to those described above in clauses where Group W appeared as Actor in **material** clauses. The majority of the clauses with Group W as Senser were, in their full sentential context, rhetorical addresses to

the reader. For example, in clauses where the TRANSITIVITY analysis reads *Group W thinks/knows, etc. X*, the full context would be *Do you think X*? Accordingly, there is no confirmed data of what this group senses, but instead the data reveals what the children perceive Group W's beliefs to be.

The clauses in this section reproduce a number of themes seen previously in the data, particularly themes resounding through clauses in which Group W appears as Actor. The 143 clauses highlight what the children think Group W already knows, what it does not know and what it should know. However, unlike the **material** clauses where Group W is denoted by a diverse mix of nominal groups, here the position of Senser is almost always filled by *you*. Occasionally, other social actors such as *people all over the world, Israel and American governments* and *Arabs* act as Senser.

One of the main patterns in this section contains projections which highlight Group W's perceptions of Group P1. Specifically, the projections are encoded as **relational** clauses which label Group P1 as terrorists: *you think that we are terrorists* [9C(1)] and *most of the world believe the American propaganda that Palestinians are terrorists* [9C(6)]. There are additional clauses which, not referring to terrorism, still indicate that the children believe that the world, in general, holds very negative opinions of them, as in: *maybe now you realize where I came from you would want to throw this letter in the nearest garbage* [9C(3)]. These clauses follow through with a theme prevalent across the **relational** clauses in section 4.2 where the children repeatedly define themselves as *not being terrorists*. Such clauses become more meaningful when juxtaposed against these clauses where the children express what they believe others think of them. It seems that, since groups often define themselves in relation to an 'other' that they do not want to be like, the children often define themselves across the corpus as *not being* what others assume them to be.

A second pattern prevailing throughout these clauses creates a tension between what is perceived by the world, as possibly a result of media coverage, and the 'truth' as it is lived everyday by the children. There are clauses in which the children write that what Group W knows, thinks or believes, is not based on an accurate understanding of life as it is lived by the children: *you should know what is really happening in Palestine* [9B(7)], *they don't know what is truly happening* [9C(6)] and *during my*

year in the USA while the 2nd Intifada started, nobody there, except a few people like my geography teacher of course, knew much about it, about what's going on out here [9CI(11)]. The children ask the readers not to draw any conclusions based on their limited knowledge: *you have to always listen to both sides before you judge anyone* [9B(4)], *a person can't judge something without knowing fully about it* [9C(1)] and *don't judge us* [9C(1)]. These three patterns, when viewed in combination, suggest a great deal of self-consciousness and great concern on the part of the children about what Group W thinks of them. Perhaps recognizing that the world is bound to make judgements regardless of their pleas, there are clauses which adopt a different tactic and present the idea that if the children tell Group W what the 'truth' is, Group W will soon become empathetic to Group P1's suffering: *you will understand how we feel* [9A(6)] and *you might change your idea about us when you know the facts* [9C(1)].

The most frequently occurring type of projection represents a third pattern in this section, and is comprised of the children's representations of their experiences living under occupation and through the second Intifada. However, because the TRANSITIVITY analysis was carried out on all embedded clauses, what is seen here as projection for Group W as Senser has, for the most part, been described above in the sections where Groups I1 and P1 are participant. Most of the projections in this pattern consist of **material** clauses describing life in detail so that Group W can understand the 'facts' of the children's reality. Examples of projections with **cognitive** clauses where Group W is Senser are: *many families are looking for a piece of bread to feed their kids* [9B(5)], *what torture we get from the Israeli soldiers everyday* [9C(5)], *your brother or your sister shot in front of your eyes* [9B(10)] and *our suffering everyday, the humiliation, demolition of our homes, the depression of our youth, the killing and abuse to anyone, whether the man or the woman, child or adult and the poor Palestinian child that is deprived of everything, while the Israeli child has everything he wishes for* [9C(6)]. This last example encapsulates the types of realities expressed in the remaining Phenomena/projections.

In trying to create a relationship with the reader, the children use the same strategy as was seen when Group W was Actor in **material** processes. There are a number of clauses in which the **mental** process is denoted by verbs such as *imagine*, which functions to put the reader into the children's place: *imagine your life blows up in*

front of your face or fired up in just few minutes, what feeling could you have [9C(18)], *you imagine how people should react when they are denied their basic rights and freedoms* [9A(6)], and *you imagine that if you want to go to your school you have to pass one or more checkpoint, and it may take hours to pass* [9A(5)]. Each of these clauses expresses one of the many themes, like curfews, checkpoints and denial of rights and freedoms, which permeate the majority of the children's other TRANSITIVITY choices. Although these clauses function to align the reader with the writer, there are also attempts to create distance, and to highlight the uniqueness of the Palestinian situation: *no one can ever imagine what Israelis do to us of killing children, women, destroying our house* [9A(3)].

The children's conveyed sense of being in a situation, or living a life, unlike all others is something that has been seen in some of their other language choices, particularly the **relational** processes already presented. In this section, this feeling of being different constitutes a minor theme, as the following clauses illustrate: *a normal teenager enjoys his present* [9A(6)], *a normal teenager remembering his past* [9A(6)] and *other girls enjoy freedom* [7B(4)]. These clauses function to highlight the differences, in life and character, between the two sets of social actors, Groups P1 and W. The data here, however, does not just focus on the differences, but there is also an attempt by the children to show themselves in a way that finds some common ground between the groups of children. Just as the **relational** clauses described above function to characterize Group P1 as simultaneously unlike and like all other children, there are clauses here that achieve the same purpose: *you don't know that we are kids would like to live like you are* [9B(5)] and *you know kids were putting hopes and dreams in their minds and it died with them* [9B(5)].

A minor theme expressed in the clauses where Group W was Actor was that the children are all alone in the world because the world's social actors are not taking action to support them. This theme is repeated here, first through the clauses in the paragraph above where the children construe Group W's children as being very different from themselves, and second through clauses such as the following which convey a sense of being un-witnessed, so to speak: *no one sees their crimes* [9B(17)] and *no one sees us* [9C(4)]. Not all clauses, however, convey this sense of isolation; the children also present some social actors of Group W as potentially caring of, and

empathetic towards, the Palestinians: *someone who cares for us, for our problems in Palestine* [9A(1)], *you can understand what Palestinians go through everyday* [9C(23)] and *the world knows what mercy and freedom are* [9C(13)].

4.4 Verbal Processes – The Symbolic Exchange of Meaning

The table below presents the data for **verbal** processes instantiated across the corpus. As Groups S and R appear fewer than the requisite five occurrences, only Groups I1, P1 and W will be discussed in detail here.

TABLE 4.8: DISTRIBUTION OF VERBAL PROCESSES ACROSS THE CORPUS

	VERBAL PROCESSES	*SAYER + RECEIVER*	*SAYER + TARGET*	*SAYER*
GROUP I1	24 (17.6%)	10 (13.5%)	2 (50.0%)	12 (20.7%)
GROUP P1	90 (66.2%)	59 (43.4%)	1 (25.0%)	30 (51.7%)
GROUP S	1 (0.74%)	1 (1.35%)	-	-
GROUP R	2 (1.47%)	-	-	2 (3.45%)
GROUP W	19 (14.0%)	4 (5.4%)	1 (25.0%)	14 (24.1%)
TOTAL	**136 (100%)**	74 (100%)	4 (100%)	58 (100%)

As the figures illustrate, Group P1 occurs much more frequently in the participant role of Sayer than the other participant groupings, constituting over 66% of all occurrences of Sayer in verbal processes. Adding to this, Group P1 appears in conjunction with a Receiver in well over half of all its occurrences in **verbal** processes, making it the most dynamic participant in this section. Presentation of data will begin below with Group P1, followed by Groups I1 and W.

4.4.a Group P1 as Sayer

Group P1 appears as Sayer in **verbal** processes 90 times across the corpus. Group P1 appears most often as the most dynamic of all three types, for a total of 59 times, or 65.6% of total occurrences. The second type, **verbal** processes which include a Target, occurs only once across the corpus, totalling 1.11% of overall occurrences of Group P1 as Sayer. Finally, the least dynamic of the Sayers, those with no additional participant, appear 30 times across the corpus, or 33.3% of total occurrences. The main nominals constituting Sayer in Group P1 are *I, me* and *we*.

The primary function of the **verbal** clauses in this corpus when Group P1 is Sayer seems to be the provision of a space for the children to express, in a variety of ways with a variety of verbs, their feelings: *we express our feeling and our tragedy and our*

sadness [9C(23)] and *I can express my feelings* [9B(8)]. It is the *tragedy* written above that consumes most of the Verbiages; through the **verbal** processes, the children *tell* the reader, expressed by the nominal group *you*, their stories of life under occupation and during the Intifada. The Verbiages that follow are reminiscent of the Phenomena/projections included in **mental** processes where a main theme, or entity to be sensed, was the *truth* or *facts* of life, as perceived by the children. Similarly, the main goal of the Verbiages in this section appears to be the informing of Group W of what the children are experiencing on a daily basis; this informing appears to stem from the children's view that Group W does not know what is really going on, a perception already addressed at length in the sections above. Although there are a number of different lexical verbs constituting the **verbal** process, the theme encompassing the large majority of the clauses can be expressed by the template

GROUP P1 [SAYER] + VERBAL PROCESS + LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION/DURING INTIFADA [VERBIAGE/CIRCUMSTANCE OF MATTER/PROJECTION].

The most common verb used by the children is *tell*. The following clauses are examples of Verbiages following *tell*: *the truth of Palestine and the truth of the people of Palestine* [9C(16)], *Palestine is a Holy Land and that is why the Israeli soldiers are trying to occupy it* [9C(5)] and *of these things I have seen and tried since two years in my life which no kid of you Americans or from any place in the world has ever seen* [9B(8)].

In other clauses falling under this template, the children's attempts to influence Group W's opinion become more clearly expressed, via the verb *explain*: *I hope to explain to you what is Palestine, what type of people Palestinians are, what encourages us to defend our country, why do we fight to free it* [9C(18)] and *let me explain to you what you see and hear about us isn't always true* [9C(3)]. The processes of both *telling* and *explaining* are of the semiosis-indicating type (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 255) and appear to be serving both as a tool to involve the reader in the text, and to bridge the divide, as it is perceived by the children, in world public opinion. Activity-talking **verbal** clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 255) realized through the verb *talk* are nearly identical to the semiosis-indicating ones: *I will talk a little about it and how the Israeli army kill and attack the Palestinian people and tourist attractions* [9B(13)] and *I want to talk to you about the Israeli killing to us everyday while all the world looking at us on the TV like a football game* [9B(16)]. Although the lexical verbs

denoting the **verbal** processes might vary, the overall message is the same: these Palestinian children have a story of woe to tell, and are seeking a sympathetic audience.

In an attempt to counter world public opinion, one child, using *say* as the process, rejects the misinformed opinion that Palestinians are terrorists: *I'd like to say that we are not terrorists, we are a people of freedom and we are going to defend our land until the last moment* [9C(2)]. In this final example, the theme of terrorism is repeated, or perhaps more accurately, rejected, and the theme of defence/resistance is re-introduced. It is interesting that, in these clauses describing the sufferings of Group P1, the theme of resistance is expressed through the clauses projected by **verbal** processes only twice, something a little bit surprising considering it appeared so frequently in the **material** processes presented in the first section of this chapter.

In a second theme, albeit a minor one, the **verbal** processes function not only as the loci of the children's attempts to voice their own stories, but also as a site of reflection, as evidenced by the instances of *ask* as the process. In these particular instances, it is the child him/herself who is the Receiver in the clause, not the reader, *you*: *almost every single one of us asks himself the question 'who am I'?* [9CI(5)] and *I ask myself how many Martin Luther Kings, Gandhis and Mother Theresas do we need to remind ourselves that we are human beings first in need of love, peace and freedom before money and power* [11IB(13)]. These questions are related to self-identity and, also, the political situation; there seems to be an attempt by the children to find reasons for their suffering. In other examples, the **verbal** process remains *ask*, but the Receiver (either supplied or clear from context) is *you*, the reader, the outside world. In these examples, the children are performing two functions; clarifying how much the reader knows/does not know about their situation through the use of semiosis-indicating clauses, and involving the reader in the text through semiosis-imperating clauses by asking for help in bettering their living conditions: *I want to ask if you know anything that goes on in Palestine* [9C(5)], *we are asking for your support from those ghosts of nightmares* [9C(13)] and *I will ask for help to stop this occupation so the people will come for Palestine and go see the touristic attractions* [9B(13)]. In other cases, God (Group R) is the Receiver when the children ask for help: *we ask God for peace that is badly needed for our land* [9C(1)] and *I ask God to*

protect us, and drive the Israelis away from our country, to live joyfully and safety like all children in the world without explosions, fear, curfews and destruction [9C(10)]. As a final example, one child separates from reasonable and unreasonable requests: *we are not asking for our children more than to give them the right to live peacefully in their land like any other children in the world* [9A(14)]. Requests for help, or calls for action on part of Group W, were also seen in the **material** clauses in section 4.1.2.n where Group W did not often act to help Group P1. Group W was portrayed in **mental** clauses as believing certain falsities about Group P1. Perhaps the children are sending their pleas for help to transform Group W's inaction and misconceptions into support - political, economic or other - for Group P1.

In other examples, the **verbal** process is employed, not to call on the Receiver for understanding, compassion and assistance as in the clauses in the preceding paragraph, but to exhibit strength and determination: *I want to say that even we are going through all this, we will never give up...no one is helping us, no one* [9A(16)] and *I declare to the whole world that I am proud* [11IB(4)]. In a final example, the child uses a strong semiosis-imperating clause to display strength and resilience and a strong sense of self-respect and awareness of rights: *we, the Christians and Muslims demanding that we live in our country in peace* [9C(3)]. These clauses echo the themes of pride, strength and resistance that have been seen already in the presentation of **material, relational** and **mental** processes.

To recap, the Receiver in these **verbal** clauses tend to be the children themselves (Group P1), the reader *you* (Group W), and, less frequently, God (Group R). Who does not appear often as Receiver is Group I1 (only three clauses), and this is notable because it reinforces the power asymmetry that was conveyed throughout the **material** processes. Group P1 did not tend to appear as Actor on Group I1, and here Group P1 rarely speaks to Group I1. There is one direct quoting process that occurs when the child responds to the soldier after being forced to turn back at a checkpoint: *I told him "please, this is only 15 minutes way, the other way is too long, it will need two hours, why do you do that"?* [9B(22)]. This is the only instance in the corpus where these children represent themselves as speaking directly to the soldiers; in the remaining clauses, the children express a desire to resist verbally, but the words remain unsaid: *I would like to say to the soldier I don't want because it's my building*

[7BI(6) note: this is in response to the soldiers forcing the family to leave their home so they could use it as an outpost during the invasion of March 2002] and *I would tell the soldier he's a bad, he's not a people* [7BI(15)]. In this final example, I had asked the child why he could not tell the soldier what he felt, and his reply was: *because he will kill me.*

4.4.b Group I1 as Sayer

Group I1 appears as Sayer 24 times across the corpus: 10 times the clauses contain a Receiver (the most dynamic type of Sayer), 2 times the clauses contain a Target (the second most dynamic type of Sayer) and 12 times the Sayer is instantiated without a second participant (the least dynamic of the three types of Sayer). As will be seen, the **verbal** clauses in which Group I1 is Sayer reflect themes that appear to be resonating consistently across the data.

Tell and *say* are the most common lexical verbs of the verbal group, occurring six and nine times respectively. There is also one instance of each of the following lexical verbs constituting the **verbal** process: *call*, *declare*, *claim*, *accuse*, *threaten*, *lie* and *convince*. The verb *justify* occurs twice when Group I1 is Sayer. As mentioned above, the most dynamic type of Sayer (Sayer plus Receiver) occurs 10 times when Group I1 is Sayer with the following Receivers: *the world* is instantiated as Receiver three times, while in all other instances Group P1 (represented as *me*, *the Palestinians*, *Palestinian children*) is Receiver. There are also clauses which have no Receiver, but it is clear from context that Group P1 is the intended Receiver of the Verbiage/projection, as in [9B(18)]: *Israeli soldier said what are you doing you're not allowed to walk.*

When Group I1 is Sayer, the children represent its entities as giving commands or orders, through reported speech, to Group P1. These commands reflect themes seen earlier in the above sections where Group I1 is Initiator and Actor, and relay, authoritatively, what Group P1 must do and what is not allowed to do. Obligation and prohibition are generally related to movement (or lack thereof), in conjunction with an entity constituting the military infrastructure of Group I2, like curfew or a checkpoint. Examples are: *an Israeli soldier hiding in a tank shouted "the town is under curfew, everybody stay at your houses, anyone who will come out will be shot dead, this is a*

warning for everyone" [9B(22)] and *a huge soldier told me "stop, go away you can't go to Ramallah go from another way"* [9B(22)].

In other instances, the Sayers of Group I1 are involved in processes very much akin to labelling, specifically the labelling of Group P1 as *killers* and *terrorists*, reflected in a TRANSITIVITY theme that will be seen again in the following section where Group W is Sayer:

GROUP I1 [SAYER] + VERBAL PROCESS + PALESTINIAN = TERRORIST [PROJECTION]

Example clauses read: *they tell the world that we kill many Israeli people* [9C(17)] and *they claim that the martyrs are suicide bombers* [9C(2)]. Related to this theme, there are clauses which suggest the children believe Group I1 is labelling them in attempt to manipulate public opinion: *they convinced the world that we are terrorists* [9C(10)] and *the Israeli media lies all over the world* [9B(17)]. A cause and effect relationship can therefore be seen as being set up by the children here between the **verbal** processes where Group I1 is Sayer, and the **mental** processes already presented where Group W was Senser. The child's perception that Israeli media *lies* links together, and rationalizes, the argument already put forth that the children believe that Group W is misinformed about the daily realities of Group P1; misinformation, or as the child writes, *lies*, can be easily corrected, so it is plausible that the children would believe that their supply of the *facts* for the reader would lead to a change in opinion. The children, although expressing vulnerability when describing what others think of them, exhibit a confident rejection of the label *terrorist.*

4.4.c Group W as Sayer

Group W appears as Sayer 19 times across the corpus, with the majority (73.7%) being the least dynamic type, with no second clausal participant. In this section, the entities or propositions constituting the Verbiage or projection are diverse, and there is only one theme running through that numbers the requisite five clauses. This theme, or pattern, is one that has appeared consistently across the data - Palestinian equals terrorist. In these **verbal** processes, the children construe Group W in the process of verbalizing what they believed Group W was thinking of them as Senser in **mental** clauses. These five clauses fall under the template

GROUP W [SAYER] + VERBAL PROCESS + PALESTINIAN = TERRORIST [VERBIAGE/PROJECTION]

Example clauses are: *you and your government still calling us as terrorist people* [9A(1)] and *they say we are suiciders* [9B(22)].

4.5 Behavioural Processes – Physiological Manifestations of Psychological States

As the figures in the table below indicate, the **behavioural** process is the least frequently occurring across the corpus, with only Groups P1, I1 and W occurring in the participant role of Behaver. Presumably, the role of Behaver is only filled by these participant groupings because the Behaver must be an animate entity.

TABLE 4.8: DISTRIBUTION OF BEHAVIOURAL PROCESSES ACROSS THE CORPUS

PARTICIPANT GROUPING	*BEHAVER*
GROUP P1	**15 (62.5%)**
GROUP I1	**2 (8.33%)**
GROUP W	**7 (29.2%)**
TOTAL	**24 (100%)**

4.5.a Group P1 as Behaver

Group P1 is instantiated as Behaver more than any other participant grouping, with 15 occurrences across the corpus. There are two themes running through these 15 clauses, although only one theme amounts to the requisite five clauses. This pattern is constituted by the **behavioural** process *cry*, as in: *her little children started crying* [9B(1)], *my mother was going to cry when she saw that* [7C(3)] and *many people crying* [9C(16)]. Not all five processes are accompanied by a Range, but presumably the crying is a physiological response to the witnessing of traumatic events, or to the frustration felt by the overall situation of limitations the children have conveyed across their grammatical choices in other areas of the TRANSITIVITY system.

4.5.b Group W as Behaver

Group W appears as Behaver seven times across the corpus. Six of the processes are constituted by the lexical verb *look*, while one is constituted by the lexical verb *watch*. Each of the seven clauses conveys a theme that is prevalent across the clauses in which Group W is participant: the children tend to convey Group W as relatively inactive social actors who *look* and *think* rather than *do*. Example clauses are: *the world is just looking without doing anything* [9C(16)], *the world is looking and ignoring* [9C(16)] and *all of the Arab world watching the destruction* [9C(21)].

4.6 Existential Processes – Representations of Existence

There are 95 instantiations of **existential** processes across the corpus. These processes appear to provide a mini-replica of the world the children have already construed through various other areas of the TRANSITIVITY system. Specifically, what this means is that each of the participant groupings appear in these processes, and many of the themes, particularly those developed through the **material** clauses and **relational** clauses of sections 4.1 and 4.2, resonate through these **existential** processes as well.

For example, Groups I1 and I2 appear as the Existent 31 times across the corpus. The clauses containing these two participant groupings are very familiar: *there are Israeli soldiers on our front door* [9B(3)] and *there is occupation, siege, curfew, killing innocent people and little kids, pregnant women, blood spilling, ruins, devastated structures, smoke covering my city* [9C(22)]. When I2 is the Existent, the clause is generally depicting a curfew or checkpoint preventing Group P1 from travelling and visiting family: *there is checkpoints don't agree to let them pass through to see their relatives and work* [9B(14)]. Most of the **existential** clauses, sometimes including Groups I1 and I2 and sometimes not, can be seen as an overall depiction of a bad situation (Group S): *there was many problems happening* [9B(14)] and *there is a bad situation* [9A(15)].

When Group P1 appears as Existent, the themes of death and suffering are prominent: *there are dead people* [7A(20)] and *there is 50,000 not in a bad life and 3 million in a bad life* [9B(17)]. There are also clauses which, not directly mentioning Group P1, evoke images of the people themselves: *there is blood everywhere* [9C(18)] and *there is blood* [7A(20)].

The **existential** processes also exhibit a theme that is prominent across the data: Palestinians are not terrorists (e.g. section 4.2.a). Here, however, a few additional elements are introduced, in particular the contest over the lexical item 'terrorist' which will be explored more fully in Chapter 5, section 5.2.e. Here, the children reject the term 'terrorist', choosing instead to represent Group P1 as martyrs: *there was martyrs over two thousand fifty* [9B(7)]. There is also an indirect reference here to the suicide bombers, although interestingly, the term 'suicide bomber' is not

chosen: *there was absolutely nothing attached to him* [9B(15)]. This clause evokes images, conveyed through **material** processes, of Group P1 being checked by Group I1's soldiers at checkpoints. As has been seen, and as will be raised again in Chapter 5, the children make a clear distinction between terrorism and freedom-fighting, but this distinction is generally only made within the context of Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation. There is one **existential** clause here, though, which attempts to demarcate Palestinian martyrs/suicide bombers from other acts of martyrdom/terrorism: *there is a huge difference between the martyrs who killed themselves for their country and the suicide bombers of September 11th* [9C(22)]. This clause is a complex one because it encompasses a number of themes already revealed by the data and points to further areas of interest which will be addressed in the next chapter. This clause can perhaps be seen in light of the discussion raised in section 4.3.c where the children reflect an awareness that the outside world generally holds negative opinions of them. This clause fits in with a trend which will be discussed further in Chapter 5, specifically that in trying to counter this negative image of themselves as terrorists, the children offer the occupation as justification for their group's actions, never mentioning the violence and the deaths of civilians that result. This is quite true of this clause as well: the martyr does not act out of nowhere, but acts for his country; the martyr is represented as killing himself, not others; and there is a lexical distinction between 'martyr' used to describe Group P1, and 'suicide bomber' used to describe others. This reflects a very real awareness of the multitude of factors which are at play in the power struggle for Palestine.

4.7 Chapter Summary

As has been mentioned, **existential** processes are a common feature of narrative texts where a description of place, time, context, etc. is of paramount importance. If these **existential** clauses were to represent the whole story of the children's lives, indeed the reading would be something akin to war à la Oliver Stone. Undeniably, the children's linguistic choices as revealed by this TRANSITIVITY analysis do depict a very grim material reality of occupation, destruction, violence, death and illegality. In short, the children paint a very clear picture of man's inhumanity to man. Although the distribution of process types across the corpus suggest that the occupation and the Intifada are aspects of the children's lives dominating all others, it would be misleading, especially in light of the mental agency exhibited in section 4.3.b, to

suggest that there are no glimmers of hope shining through the smoke covering Palestinian cities. Chapter 6 will focus specifically on the ways in which this corpus might be seen as also constituting a positive discourse.

The next chapter will present and discuss the findings of the APPRAISAL analysis.

5
APPRAISAL Analysis

5.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter will present, in detail, the findings of the APPRAISAL analysis conducted on the corpus. It will focus on the children's use of inscribed APPRAISAL as a tool for evaluating the entities that constitute their social world. The discussion will include the three major categories of **Attitude**, beginning with Appreciation, moving on to Affect and concluding with Judgement. Finally, there will be a brief discussion of the ways in which the inscribed **Attitude** evokes or provokes a number of tokens of other types of evaluation which, while only indirectly realised, have the capacity to trigger, within the community in which the texts were produced, highly emotional responses.

The analysis of data will be presented using the same participant groupings introduced in the preceding chapter, with one minor adjustment: Groups I1 (Israel and Israelis) and P1 (Palestine and Palestinians) will be presented and discussed jointly with their sub-groups, not individually as in the TRANSITIVITY analysis. This decision was taken because there are few total instances of inscribed APPRAISAL involving the subgroups. Groups R (religion and religious entities), S (the situation) and W (the outside world) will be discussed in turn. The general guidelines outlined for presentation of data in Chapter 4 remain the same in this chapter; data will only be discussed if there are more than five occurrences of a given type of attitudinal APPRAISAL across the corpus. The exception to this, as was also the case in the preceding chapter, will be patterns that are of interest precisely because they tend not to occur; that is, the absence of a particular linguistic representation (appraised entity) bears significance when viewed in light of the main patterns in the corpus.

This chapter will present each of the participant groupings as they appeared in the participant roles accompanying each TRANSITIVITY process in Chapter 4. The presentation of data will begin with Groups I1 (and, as noted, sub-groups) and P1 (and, as noted, sub-groups) as they are the main participant groupings arising from the data. The presentation will then proceed with Groups R, S and W, each of which occur as appraised entities much less frequently than participant Groups I1 and P1.

The table below presents the total numbers of occurrences of inscribed APPRAISAL for each of the participant groupings. Appendix Group 3 includes the full context of each instance of APPRAISAL.

TABLE 5.0: DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIBED ATTITUDE ACROSS THE CORPUS

ATTITUDE	+/-	I1 and sub-groups	P1 and sub-groups	R	S	W	Total (100%)
APPRECIATION	Positive	2 (3.0%)	53 (82%)	5 (7.6%)	2 (3.0%)	3 (4.6%)	**65**
	Negative	21 (27%)	44 (57%)	0 (0.0%)	9 (12%)	3 (3.8%)	**77**
AFFECT	Positive	2 (3.5%)	49 (88%)	3 (5.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (3.5%)	**56**
	Negative	12 (14%)	73 (84%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (2%)	**87**
JUDGEMENT	Positive	3 (2.4%)	115 (94%)	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.8%)	2 (1.6%)	**122**
	Negative	48 (52%)	34 (38%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (8.0%)	**90**
		88 (18%)	**368 (74%)**	**9 (1.8%)**	**12(2.4%)**	**20 (4.0%)**	**497**

As the figures in the table above indicate, Group P1 is by far the most frequently appraised participant grouping. With approximately 74% of total occurrences of inscribed APPRAISAL, the children are primarily passing judgement on and responding affectually to the participants and processes of their own community. There is a very large gap between total occurrences of APPRAISAL of Group P1 and Group I1. This in itself is a significant, and surprising, finding, since it was predicted that Group I1 and its subgroups would figure as prominently in the inscribed APPRAISAL analysis as they did in the TRANSITIVITY analysis. The numbers for Groups R, S and W are consistent with the findings of the previous analysis; they are very small participant groupings and therefore do not constitute a large percentage of total inscribed APPRAISAL.

5.1 Inscribed APPRAISAL of Group I1 and Subgroups

Group I1 and its subgroups is the second most frequently occurring set of entities that are subject to inscribed APPRAISAL across the corpus, totalling 18% of all instantiations. This percentage, although the second highest, is significantly lower than Group P1 (and subgroups) which holds 74% of total occurrences of inscribed evaluative language choices.

5.1.a Positive and negative APPRAISAL

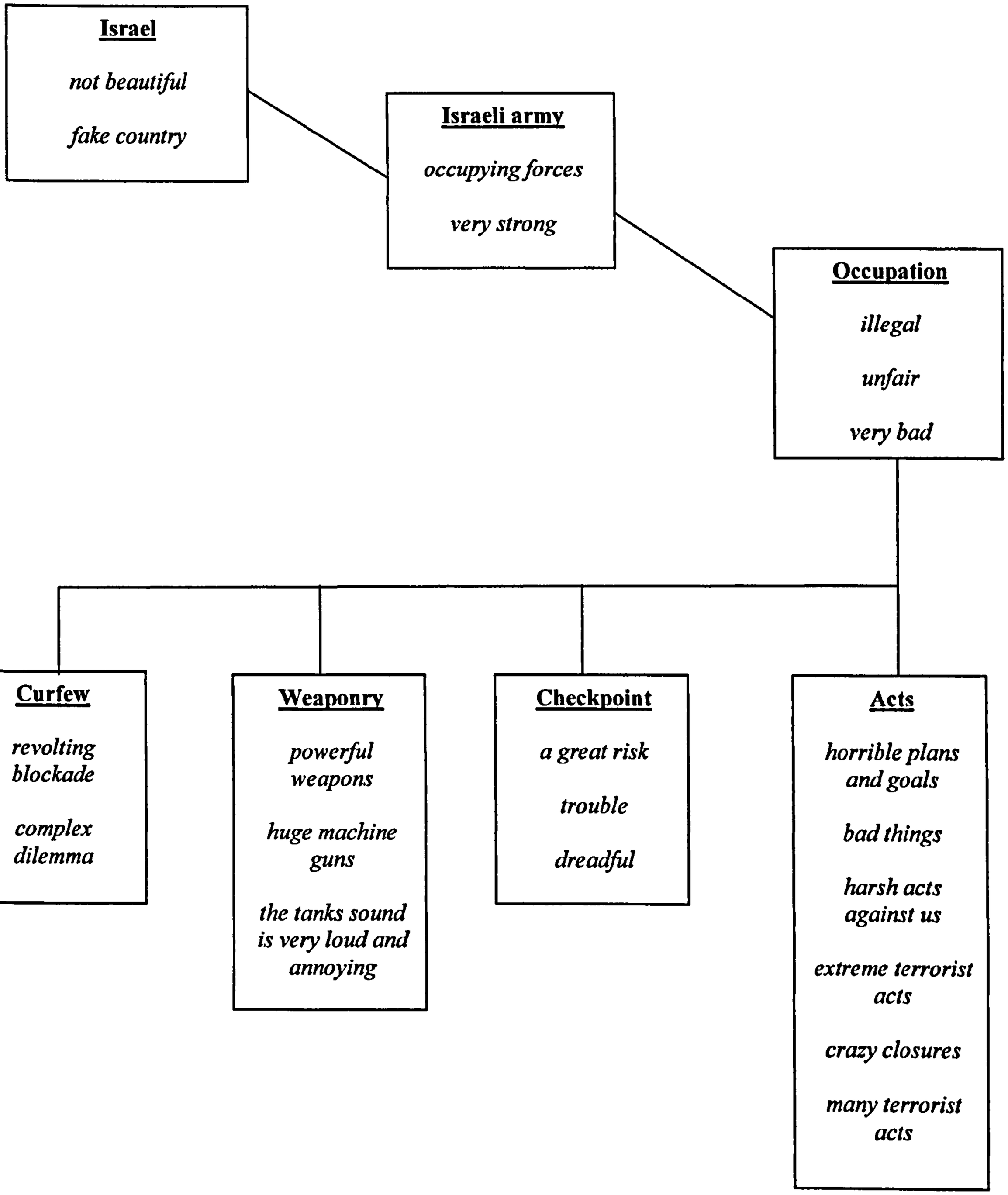
As the figures in the table above show, the entities of Group I1 and its sub-groups are not appraised positively enough times to justify discussion of any of the three categories. Given the results of the TRANSITIVITY analysis presented in the previous

chapter, where Group I1 and its subgroups tended to act in processes of damage and destruction, the lack of positive inscribed APPRAISAL is not unexpected. In contrast, what might be expected to occur is just the opposite: when looking back at the types of processes Group I1 appeared in as Initiator and Actor, it might be a reasonable expectation that the language choices surrounding Group I1 and its subgroups are highly evaluative, but negative in nature. However, as will be discussed in the following presentation of findings, the total number of instances of inscribed APPRAISAL, particularly negative evaluations of an appraised entity, is low considering the frequency with which the participant group appeared as a social actor in the preceding chapter.

5.1.b Negative Appreciation of Group I1 and Subgroups

The number of total instances of inscribed Appreciation (negative) is 21, clustered around seven appraised entities. The chart below depicts the entities and the ways in which the children have appraised them. The appraised entities in the chart have been organized in the way that they have because there is a clear link between each entity: the Israeli army is a component of Israel the state; the Israeli army implements the occupation; and, the occupation consists of certain acts which are carried out using weapons and administrative measures such as checkpoints and curfews.

FIGURE 5.0 INSCRIBED APPRECIATION (NEGATIVE): GROUP 11 AND SUBGROUPS



The figure above highlights how the types of entities which are appraised by the children are also entities which appeared as social actors in the TRANSITIVITY analysis. What is surprising is that, despite the fact that Israel, the Israeli army and the occupation are represented by the children as regularly acting upon Group P1, they are described in a relatively mild manner considering the context of violence and turmoil in which the data was gathered, a violence and turmoil which, as the TRANSITIVITY analysis suggests, is perceived by the children as largely being perpetrated by Group I1 and its subgroups. Israel itself is only appreciated explicitly twice, once as ***not beautiful,*** when presumably in any other similar context, one might have reasonably expected to see an array of negative adjectives, perhaps including lexical items such as nasty, barbaric, inhumane, cruel, etc. These kinds of evaluative words would not be surprising when viewed in conjunction with the types of actions which were seen in the material processes of the TRANSITIVITY analysis, specifically home demolitions, bombing buildings and killing people. Arguably, language choices such as cruel or barbaric may not actually be part of the children's English language lexicon, yet it is still significant that the evaluation ***not beautiful*** occurs only once across the corpus. It is important to reiterate here that the texts were produced by the children in a spontaneous, non-directed manner. Had the children been asked directly to write about what has been termed here Group I1 and its subgroups, there may, or indeed may not have been, significantly more instances of evaluative language relating to these entities.

The weaponry, checkpoints and curfews which are appraised entities in this section and which constitute a very large participant grouping (I2) for the TRANSITIVITY analysis, have been depicted in the figure above as being sub-entities of the occupation. Similar to the discussion above, these entities, which were portrayed as wreaking havoc on the Palestinian community in the preceding chapter, are subject to inscribed APPRAISAL a total of only eight times. This is a low frequency when juxtaposed against the dominant role Israeli non-human entities played in the preceding chapter. This low frequency may be offset, however, by the instantiations of evoked tokens of APPRAISAL to be presented in section 5.4.

5.1.c Negative Affect of Group I1 and Subgroups

There are 12 instances of inscribed Affect (negative) of Group I1 and its subgroups across the corpus. The pattern which stands out most prominently in this section is one in which, of these 12 instances, the majority are not technically negative Affect, but could more appropriately be described as instances of non-Affect, as the following example illustrates: *the soldier told me "shut up and go, **why should I care if you suffer on the way? This is you not me**"* [9B(22)]. The entities of this group are appraised by the children as not having any emotions at all, and the inscribed Affect in six of these cases also function as a token of Judgement, as has been highlighted in the appendices. In these cases, the children represent Group I1 as having no emotion when carrying out acts of violence against Group P1: *they shoot, kill and humiliate **with no sense of mercy*** [9C(13)] and *everyday the Israeli soldier kill at least 6-7 ones **in cold blood*** [9B(17)].

In another example, the children do characterise Group I1 using inscribed negative Affect: *an Israeli teacher says **I hate you** to the Palestinian child* [7C(6)]. It is significant that the language choice in the example cited here occurs only once across the corpus; Group I1 is not typically represented, or appraised, by the children as being hateful, loathing or as feeling any other equally negative emotion. Indeed, the children do not describe or characterize Group I1 extensively through either Appreciation or Affect, something which reinforces the findings of the TRANSITIVITY analysis where, in sections 4.2.d, 4.2.g and 4.3.a, for example, it was revealed that Group I1 and its subgroups were represented more often in **material** processes as either Initiator or Actor than in **relational** processes which serve to characterize and define sets of social actors or **mental** processes which can convey emotion. In this sense, rather than focusing on representing Group I1's 'being', the TRANSITIVITY analysis revealed the children's tendency to represent Group I1 and its subgroups as entities in 'action', specifically destruction. As will be seen in the next section, the representation of Group I1 in **material** processes is complemented by the APPRAISAL analysis where Group I1 is most frequently evaluated in terms of Judgement of human actions and behaviours.

5.1.d Negative Judgement of Group I1 and Subgroups

Group I1 and its subgroups is, of all three types of **Attitude**, most frequently appraised through Judgement, with a total of 48 inscribed instances. Following Martin & Rose's (2003: 28-30) division of character Judgement into personal and moral aspects, the data in the APPRAISAL appendices indicate that across the corpus, the children are concerned not so much with making evaluative statements about individuals and individual characteristics of Group I1 and its subgroups but, rather, tend to apply moral Judgement, most often of a condemnatory nature[1], to the group's character/disposition and behaviour. The Judgement in the children's texts exhibits the types of Judgement outlined in White (2000), namely moral/immoral, legal/illegal, socially acceptable/unacceptable, laudable/deplorable and normal/abnormal. However, as has already been noted in section 5.1.a, it is the second language item in the set of opposites above, the negative adjective not the positive one, which is instantiated 48 times across the corpus.

One common Judgement in this section is of the subcategory sanction/propriety (Martin, 2000), and refers to Group I1 as terrorists (nominals), or as committing terrorist acts (attributes and epithets). There are 12 instances of this type of APPRAISAL, including examples such as *the **terrorist** Israelis* [9C(10)] and *the Israelis are the **terrorists*** [9B(2)]. In other examples, the instances of inscribed APPRAISAL include a reason why the evaluation of terrorist has been made: *they are **terrorists** for killing people and occupying our land* [9C(7)]. The connection the children make between occupation (and its administrative measures) and terrorism is revealed in other instantiations as well: *the **terrorists** put the checkpoints* [9B(13)] and *the **terrorist** Israelis came and occupied our country under their tanks* [9C(10)]. The representation of Group I1 as terrorist was introduced in section 4.2.e of the TRANSITIVITY analysis where Group I1 was instantiated as either Token or Value in **identifying relational** clauses. However the main focus in the preceding section was on process, as opposed to participant, thus allowing for a closer look now at how Chapter 4's actions have perpetrators who, as seen here, are being evaluated as going against the children's perceived set of social norms. The children's use of APPRAISAL

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[1] As will be discussed in section 5.2.f, there is an important difference between negative Judgement of the 'condemnation' type, vs. the 'pity' type. The 'pity' type is included by Martin (2000) simply as Normality, but the present research requires a greater distinction between the two.

here functions to judge Group I1 and its subgroups as abnormal: installing checkpoints and occupying nations are not actions taken by normal people, but are deplorable acts carried out by terrorists.

The next direct, negative characterization of Group I1 through inscribed Judgement comes through the lexical item *bad*, but occurs only once: ***most of them are bad*** [7C(15)]. As will become apparent as the presentation unfolds, the children have largely judged (appraised) Group I1 based on its social actor's actions, and not on its essence, its character and emotions. This reinforces the point already raised in section 4.2.d that the children, when depicting Group I1 and its subgroups in horrendous acts of violence and destruction, might have been expected to apply very negative, perhaps even dehumanizing labels to the group. Such representations were not identified in the **relational** processes of the TRANSITIVITY analysis, nor have they been found here. Exploring further the instances of inscribed Judgement (negative), the corpus reveals just one other example: ***the enemy is fighting us with tanks, M16 and all other powerful weapons*** [7B(15)]. It is significant that in a context of war, a war which is described by the children using lexical items of violence, destruction, killing, and sometimes of massacre and transfer, there are only two types of inscribed Judgement used as terminology to refer to Group I1, and only one instance characterizing them as a group: ***terrorist*** and ***the enemy***, and ***bad***. What are not seen are explicitly dehumanizing words reminiscent of other conflicts around the world, for example the Rwandan genocide where the Tutsis were regularly referred to as cockroaches, etc. (Dallaire, 2003; Gourevitch, 2004). Granted, the children here typically represent themselves as victims, and victims tend not to refer to their victimizers as dirty insects to be crushed; however, it is still significant that linguistic choices which might have been made (e.g. animals, barbarians, etc.), have not.

It may be useful, instead of strictly looking at APPRAISAL here, to explore how van Leeuwen's categories for the representation of social actors might be applied to the ways the children have construed the participants of Group I1. The children tend to denote the group through lexical items like: *they, Israelis, Israeli army, the Jews, the terrorists* and *the enemy*. These terms seem to present the social actors as a homogenous group and can therefore be seen as collectivization. At the same time, however, *they, Israelis* and *the Jews* might be regarded as assimilation because the

group is here denoted by a mass noun. *The terrorists*, which also refers to the group via a mass noun, might be seen as a blend of both impersonalization and objectivation. It could possibly be argued that the word *terrorist*, although referring to a human, does not necessarily include the semantic feature human since a person is often thought of as being inhumane if he/she carries out terrorist atrocities. The group is simultaneously subject to objectivation because the term *terrorist* closely associates the groups with the kinds of activities that they are represented as being engaged in (e.g. the **material** processes of section 4.1.2.a). *The enemy* might also be seen as falling under the category of objectivation since, presumably, people only become enemies once 'they' have done something 'we' dislike. Indeed, from the types of processes the children construe Group I1 as acting in, the lexical choice of *enemy* seems a likely one. The children's linguistic impersonalization of Group I1 may have less to do with their perceptions of the group and more to do with what was raised in Chapter Four, section 4.2.d, namely that Palestinian children, including those who have been participants in this study, have had little opportunity, if any, to interact with Group I1 on a person-to-person level. Consequently, the real-life experiences the children have had (where Group I1 is indeed just that, a group; a group that is Israeli, is Jewish and is present in the Palestinian Territories wearing military uniforms, holding military weapons and carrying out military or war-like actions) are generally limited to the experiences depicted by the children in the TRANSITIVITY analysis.

A seventh nominal choice marks the only instance of personalization (the characterization of a social actor as human being through proper nouns and common names) of Group I1 in the corpus: Ariel Sharon. It is interesting that the sole personalization of this group is of a political figure; the only personal relationship, so to speak, the children might have with him, is through media representation or through interaction with the Israeli soldiers he commands.

The ways in which Group I1's social actors have been represented by the children can also be examined from Nelson's (2002) perspective on language, identity and war (see section 2.11). He argues that the enemy in a discourse of war is usually an 'other' who is perceived as an 'it', an 'it' that can be "tortured, maimed, slaughtered" (8). As it has been seen, the children tend toward collectivized and assimilated representations of Group I1. When individuals are perceived only in terms of their

belonging to a group, such as in the choice of the lexical items *the Jews* and *the Israelis*, for example, the human element begins to be lost. In this sense, one might describe the children's representations as moving in the general direction of dehumanization. However, since only two of six of these impersonalizations actually do dehumanize, it does not seem that the children's discourse linguistically exhibits the construction of an out-group on which violent acts can be exacted without conscience.

Moving back to APPRAISAL, the generalized social actors of Group I1 (*they, Israelis, Jews, terrorists*, etc.) are appraised, not so much through who or what they are, but through negative Judgement of their actions. There is explicit evaluation here of the actions that were described in the preceding chapter as being routine to Group I1's administration of the military occupation of the Palestinian Territories. To avoid unnecessary repetition of what has already been presented and discussed at length in Chapter Four, a few examples of Judgement are given here, while the full list of instances of inscribed Judgement (negative) can be found in the appendices: *the Palestinian people suffered and are still suffering from Israeli occupation and from **massacres** executed against our people* [7B(9)], *they are **ruining** our houses* [7C(14)], *they **torture** them* [9B(5)] and *no one sees their **crimes*** [9B(17)]. The judgements made here are consistent with the types of actions and language choices that have appeared elsewhere across the corpus and which were prominent in the TRANSITIVITY analysis. It is useful to highlight explicitly here that the appraised entity is the action and not the disposition of the perpetrator. That is, the corpus' inscribed Judgement does not include appraised nominals such as torturer, criminal or massacrer.

There are two other aspects of the inscribed Judgement in this section which reinforce issues raised previously in Chapter 4. The first relates to an action taken by Group I1 which has an affective effect on Group P1 and was instantiated across the grammar through **relational** and **mental** clauses where Group P1 was participant. This reference is to the verb *humiliate*, as seen in the following examples: *they shoot, kill and **humiliate** with no sense of mercy* [9C(13)] and *you may be **humiliated** by the soldiers* [9A(5)]. The second relates to the presentation of Group W as Senser in section 4.3.c where the group was portrayed by the children as believing the lies of

Group I1: *the **terrorist** Israelis **distorted** the truth* [9C(10)], *Israeli media **lies** all over the world* [9B(17)] and *the world are **deceived** from the Israeli media* [9B(17)].

To conclude this section, it is perhaps worth reiterating that the inscribed Judgement found in the corpus is within the context of behaviours and actions associated with Group I1 in its power as a military force. There is a total absence of Judgement of the dispositions and behaviours of Group I1 towards its own society. That is, there is no Judgement of Group I1's own social system or social behaviours, of the ways in which, for example, Group I1 practices or celebrates its religion (reinforcing what was discussed in section 4.2.a where Judaism is represented in the corpus as an accepted religion in the land), raises its children, cares for its elderly or sets standards of justice for its own people, etc. The Judgement is based entirely on the group's actions which impact Group P1, actions which are represented as routine to the occupation. There is an absence of inscribed APPRAISAL which might indicate, on the part of the children, a general loathing, or hatred of, Group I1 outside its role as occupier.

5.2 Inscribed APPRAISAL of Group P1 and Subgroups

According to the figures in table 5.0, the entities of Group P1 and its subgroups are appraised more frequently than any other across the corpus.

5.2.a Positive and negative APPRAISAL

The most striking pattern in the APPRAISAL of Group P1 (and subgroups) is that, in each category of **Attitude**, its entities are evaluated positively more than 80% of total positive instantiations, with positive Judgement of Group P1 being the single most frequent type of inscribed APPRAISAL across the corpus, totalling 94% of total occurrences of positive Judgement.

5.2.b Positive Appreciation of Group P1 and Subgroups

Within the 53 instantiations of positive Appreciation in this section, there are three main appraised entities, each of which is evaluated using themes that are reminiscent of the TRANSITIVITY templates exhibited in Chapter 4. The three appraised entities are: 1) Palestine (including two Palestinian cities as the appraised entity); 2) Palestinian nationality; and, 3) life (referred to by the children also as living conditions, the situation, etc.). Because the majority of the data presented here has

already been discussed at length in the section on **relational** clauses in the preceding chapter, points of interest will not be repeated here. The brief presentation of Appreciation will begin with the first entity, Palestine.

Palestine is appreciated by the children largely in terms of its beauty and history. Exploring the first theme, beauty, Palestine (or cities in Palestine) is appreciated by the following lexical choices:

*I live in a **nice city** called Ramallah with my family* [9B(3)]

*Palestine is a **good country*** [7C(15)]

*Palestine is **one of the most attractive Mediterranean countries** with historic and geographic importance* [9C(13)]

*Palestine is **a beautiful land*** [9C(12)]

*Palestine is **the loveliest country** in the whole world* [7B(1)]

The appendices contain all of the instantiations belonging to this theme; however, those that have not been included as examples here all include the lexical item ***beautiful***. The evaluation applied by the children in these examples can be considered as constituting a cline, or a scale, of beauty.

The second theme running through the Appreciation of Palestine has been categorized here as history, and includes references to the ancient nature of the country, particularly its identification across successive generations as the Holy Land. The lexical choices expressing this theme are more diverse than the set of examples included above, and cannot be regarded as constituting a cline, or seen as a range of lexical choices sharpening or softening the same semantics. Typical examples are as follows:

- *Palestine is **a very interesting place*** [7B(14)]
- *Palestine is **a very old country*** [9C(1)]
- *Palestine is **a very important, rich, beautiful country*** [9C(2)]
- *Palestine is **a holy land*** [7B(7)]
- *Palestine is **the cradle of the three religions*** [7B(14)]
- *Palestine is **the holy land, the land of peace, the land of the three religions*** [9A(11)]
- *Palestine is **the country of peaceful and holy*** [11IB(18)]
- *Palestine is **supposedly the land of peace, love***, not war and bloodshed [9C(25)]

The main idea expressed in this category is that Palestine is the Holy Land, and a relationship is established here between *holy* and its realization in *peace* and *love*. The final example, where the amplification *supposedly* functions, through focus, to soften, or 'turn down' the evaluation, is an interesting one in terms of the segue it provides into the discussion of negative Appreciation. The discussion of this will take place in section 5.2.d below.

The Appreciation in this section makes a shift from Palestine being evaluated in terms of its beauty and ancientry, to a deeper APPRAISAL of its worth as it is defined by the children:

- *Palestine is a treasure for the Palestinian people* [9B(10)]
- *Palestine is very expensive to us as Palestinians* [9B(5)]
- *my land is worth my past, present and future* [9A(5)]
- *Palestine is very special* [9A(9)]
- *Palestine is famous in citrus fruits, olives and grapes* [9C(10)]

Moving on to the second appraised entity, Palestinian nationality, all appraisals follow:

- *to be a Palestinian is God's will* [11IB(8)]
- *to be a Palestinian means to be unique* [11IB(12)]
- *being Palestinian means to be strong, to be proud of yourself, to be educated* [7A(7)]
- *being a Palestinian is a responsibility* that one can't underestimate [11IB(4)]
- *being Palestinian is an adventure* [11IB(4)]
- *to me as a Palestinian living in Palestine, Palestine means to me everything* [9A(10)]

Again, since these examples have already been discussed at length in the sections on **attributive** and **identifying relational** clauses in Chapter 4, they will not be discussed further here. Instead, it is of more immediate concern to note that the significance of these appraisals will be underscored when juxtaposed in the following section against the instances of negative Appreciation of the same entity, and the root cause of the negativity identified.

The final appraised entity in this section is life, or the daily experiences as perceived by the children.

- *life is precious* [9CI(6)]
- *I live life in Ramallah with my family in a simple way* [9B(2)]
- *I am living in a bliss compared to other people throughout Palestine* [9B(22)]
- *we as Palestinians live a beautiful life before the Israelis came 1948 to make people immigrate as from our cities* [9A(8)]
- *our life was a good life before the fight between us Palestinians and Israelis started, even though we never lived a normal life* [9A(17)]

The final three examples above have one thing in common: they all contain tokens of evoked APPRAISAL of the political situation. For example, *compared to other people throughout Palestine* appears, on the surface, to be a neutral statement; yet it undoubtedly carries deep meaning and clear imagery for the child who wrote it. In these examples, I would argue that the evoked APPRAISAL clouds the nature of the inscribed Appreciation, making the overall positive nature of the example slightly less strong. In the following section, where inscribed instances of negative Appreciation will be presented, it will be seen how tokens of evoked APPRAISAL contribute to the attitudinal meaning behind many of the clauses seen in this section and introduced in the next.

5.2.c Negative Appreciation of Group P1 and Subgroups

The inscribed Appreciation in this section appraises a slightly greater number of entities than the above section, but for ease of direct comparison, and because a few of the entities appear in very small numbers (less than five instantiations) only the main appraised entities of Palestine, Palestinian nationality and life (the situation) will be explored here.

Compared with the total instances of inscribed positive Appreciation of Palestine, there is a notable absence of negative APPRAISAL of the same entity. All examples follow:

- *Palestine is the land of ongoing war* [9C(19)]
- *Palestine is my occupied country* [9B(20)]

- *Palestine later became land of wars and occupation* [9C(13)]
- *Ramallah is a closed city from all the entrance* [11IB(7)]
- *Palestine, the Holy Land is waiting to get freedom* [9C(1)]

The inscribed evaluative language choices in these examples can be seen as expressing directly what the tokens of evoked APPRAISAL were meant to imply above. The suggestion that any positive evaluations are indeed shadowed by negativity, as it is experienced under occupation and in the Intifada, is supported by the use of the lexical item *supposedly* above. Here, what *supposedly* really means, is that the Holy Land is not, in actuality, the land of love and peace.

The children have appraised Palestine negatively only in terms of its position as a land under occupation, a land which is perpetually at conflict. Negative Appreciation of any aspects intrinsic to the character of Palestine does not appear. For example, there are no instances of evaluative language choices such as the land is ugly or Palestine is worthless. Such APPRAISAL would probably not be likely to occur frequently in any context where a person is appraising his/her own country, but it is significant that all negative Appreciation seen here is only in terms of being under occupation. It is perhaps also important to draw explicit attention to the fact that Israel, like Palestine, was not an entity subjected to intense and frequent negative Appreciation (only two instantiations). Instead, Israel and Palestine as entities are appreciated negatively in much the same way: while Palestine is evaluated in terms of the occupation, negative Appreciation of Group I1 is not focused on Israel directly, but as Figure 5.0 illustrates, centres instead on the administrative measures and the weapons of Israeli occupation.

Moving on to the next appraised entity in this section, Palestinian nationality is appreciated negatively about as frequently as Palestine the nation, and again the negative APPRAISAL stems explicitly from the war-like situation in which the children live:

- *being Palestinian means living in a war zone* [11IB(11)]
- *being Palestinian means war because I've lived through nothing but this* [11IB(16)]
- *nowadays being Palestinian means torture* [11IB(5)]
- *being Palestinian means to be misunderstood* [11IB(3)]
- *in this time and situation being a Palestinian is a disaster* [11IB(7)]

Finally, life or the situation as appraised entity receives the highest frequency of instantiations of negative Appreciation. As can be seen from the list of typical examples below, it is the occupation, the conflict, the dire daily living conditions already described in Chapter 4 that are the root cause of the negative **Attitude** inscribed here. Many of the lexical choices can be placed on a cline beginning with 'not pleasant' and increasing in intensity to 'terrorism and poverty' in very much the same way Group S will be seen to be evaluated in section 5.3.b. Typical examples constituting the cline follow, while the full list of instantiations can be found in the appendices:

we don't live a ***pleasingly*** *life these days* [9B(12)]
In Ramallah, ***life isn't a peaceful place*** [9C(14)]
our lives are ***not safe*** [9C(3)]
life is ***not easy*** [9CI(6)]
we have a ***hard*** *life* [9C(26)]
we live a ***very hard*** *life with the Intifada, with very much casualties and killing* [9C(23)]
it is ***so difficult*** *to live in war everyday* [11IB(17)]
Palestinians people are live ***in a bad life*** [9B(17)]
we are living a ***miserable*** *life* [9B(7)]
we live ***a life of terrorism and poverty*** [9C(13)]

The appraisals made by the children here, ranging in scale from both soft to sharper evaluations, might be seen as slightly understating the case, particularly when viewed next to the types of destructive actions representing a world view dominated by violence and war which were reported in the TRANSITIVITY analysis. By this statement, I refer to the fact that evaluations on the stronger end of the cline, those that evaluate life as *miserable* and *a life of terrorism*, are the only two instantiations of such intensity (the other cases in the appendices are similar to those at the top of the cline above). The majority of the APPRAISAL here, although of course still negative and therefore able to create solidarity within the community and evoke empathy from the readers, is generally less strongly evaluative, particularly in cases where the APPRAISAL is instantiated using negation (*isn't a peaceful place*, *not easy*, etc.). This trend could also be seen in the discussion above where Palestinian nationality was appraised negatively. The majority of the cases equate Palestinian nationality to

conditions of war, but there are just two cases of very intense evaluation, instantiated in the lexical items *torture* and *disaster*.

To summarize this section, the children's Appreciation of Group P1 and subgroups reveals a tension between positive and negative evaluation of the entities they have chosen to represent the world around them. Some of the positive Appreciation contains tokens of evoked negative Appreciation, therefore slightly softening the overall positivity of the corpus. Yet on the other hand, negative Appreciation is not as strong as perhaps it might be, with the majority of evaluative lexical choices clustering around the weak end of the cline. This tension between positive and negative, a tension which also functions to balance the Appreciation (the number of positive and negative occurrences for this category are closer together than for the other two), will be explored further in the following section in which the attitudinal category of Affect will be presented and discussed.

5.2.d Positive Affect of Group P1 and Subgroups

There are 49 instances of positive Affect for this participant grouping. There are four primary emotions repeated across the data. The four main types of Affect used by the children are: pride, happiness, love and hope. Typical examples are included in Table 5.1 below:

TABLE 5.1: EXAMPLES OF INSCRIBED POSITIVE AFFECT FOR GROUP P1 AND SUBGROUPS

TYPE OF AFFECT	EXAMPLE FROM CORPUS
PRIDE	*I am proud that I am Palestinian* [7B(9)]
	I am very proud of my nation [9CI(5)]
	I am proud of my heritage, my customs and my traditions [9CI(5)]
	I am so proud to born and live as a Palestinian who fights for his freedom day and night [11IB(17)]
	I am proud of being Palestinian, no matter how the other kids look at me [11IB(14)]
HAPPINESS	*I am happy to be Palestinian* [7A(9)]
	I am a happy person [9CI(4)]
	I am happy for everything that God gives me or does for me [11IB(8)]
LOVE	*we are struggling here to have our freedom because we love it* [9A(1)]
	if Israeli people think that terrorist is to love our land and to do suicide operations then we are proud to be terrorism [9A(1)]
	the martyrs will stay in our hearts until the last day of our life [9C(16)]
HOPE	*I have so many hopes I can't count them*[9CI(1)]

As the examples in the table above suggest, pride is the type of Affect which occurs most frequently in this section. There are 31 explicit appraisals of pride, 29 of which are in relation to the appraised entity *I*. All of the examples of pride are instantiated within the context of Palestinian nationality: the children's pride is not expressed in other ways perhaps common to the language of childhood, as in: I am proud of myself for getting good grades, I am proud because I am a great football player or I am proud because I am a good son/daughter.

The final two examples raise themes, through evoked APPRAISAL, that have already been discussed in the TRANSITIVITY chapter. With the first of the two examples, the child's pride stems from his/her self-conception as a freedom fighter, which in turn evokes images of the occupation, or 'the situation' as it is regularly referred to. This pride in nationality then, can be argued to be partially stemming from the negative Appreciation that was presented above. It is the difficult living conditions, combined with the fact that being Palestinian means, among other things, war and torture, that contributes to the children's pride of place. The very last example above echoes the general theme of self-consciousness raised in Chapter Four where, in a number of clauses, a real concern was expressed by the children for the way in which the world, Group W, views, or indeed judges, Group P1.

Happiness as a type of Affect occurs only the three times displayed in Table 5.1 above. As the first example shows, happiness is, as pride, connected by the children with Palestinian nationality. There is also a reference to the religious identity of the children, as expressed by the third example. The second example, focusing on the general affectual disposition of the child, is the only one of its kind. When compared to the number of occurrences of pride in the corpus, happiness is notably absent. It seems that the children's experiences as Palestinians might contribute to a sense of pride, but they do not contribute to an overall well-being in terms of joy and, as will be seen next, love or other positive emotion.

With the third type of Affect, love, there are also only three occurrences as exhibited in the table above. Each example holds a different appraised entity, beginning with freedom, moving to Palestine and ending with the martyrs. The connection between the three appraised entities is an interesting one, reflecting a general theme exhibited

across the corpus and discussed in the TRANSITIVITY analysis, namely that freedom is what Group P1 is fighting for because it is what has been denied the land, and it is the martyrs who are fighting for its liberation.

The fourth type of Affect, hope, is seen explicitly referred to just once here, but is consistent with the findings of section 4.3.b of the TRANSITIVITY analysis where the **mental** clauses suggested that, despite the power imbalance between the two sets of social actors, the children represent themselves as having great hopes and dreams for the future.

In summary, the vast majority of cases of inscribed positive APPRAISAL are in reference to the children's individual pride of Palestinian nationality and are rarely instantiated in relation to any other appraised entity.

5.2.d Negative Affect of Group P1 and Subgroups

Across the corpus, negative Affect is instantiated through four main emotions: sadness, suffering, fear and humiliation. In addition, there are a small number of instantiations of anger and hatred.

Beginning with the first group, sadness, the children express this emotion through a varied range of lexical choices, ranging in intensity from *not enjoying* at the low end, to *depression* at the high end:

- we are ***not enjoying*** our life [9A(4)]
- we teenagers are ***deprived of enjoying life*** we supposed to live [9A(7)]
- Palestine is a place where people ***cannot enjoy*** their lives [9A(4)]
- the Israeli occupation is forcing us ***to forget our celebrations*** [9B(12)]
- it makes me ***sad*** to know that ***we can't even celebrate*** [7C(22)]
- I am ***not happy*** because of the occupation [7C(10)]
- we ***erased all the happiness*** that we live in before from our life [9B(10)]
- I am ***not very happy*** because of the occupation [7C(16)]
- I am ***so sad*** because there is Israeli who occupy us [7B(3)]
- our ***suffering*** everyday, ***the humiliation***, demolition of our homes, ***the depression*** of our youth, the killing and abuse to anyone, whether the man or the woman, child or adult and the poor Palestinian child that is deprived of everything, while the Israeli child has everything he wishes for [9C(6)]

What is of note in these examples is that virtually every instantiation, whether it be a direct reference as in *I am not happy*, or a less direct claim, as in *we can't even celebrate*, attributes a cause of the sadness using evoked tokens of APPRAISAL, often Judgement as can be seen through lexical choices preceding the negative Affect, as in *we are **deprived of*** and ***forcing us to forget***. In the first case, the entity doing the depriving is not explicitly mentioned, whereas in the second case it is the Israeli occupation that is doing the forcing. In fact, many of the cases in the corpus (see appendices) in which sadness is the negative Affect, directly attribute Israeli occupation (or the situation, etc.) as the cause of the children's lack of happiness. In the final example given on the cline above, although the Israeli occupation is not evoked as the root of the depression, the juxtaposition of the Palestinian child's reality with the presumed reality of the Israeli child seems to reflect a view on the writer's part that Group I1 is involved somehow. Indeed, among the other instantiations here where there is no mention of the cause of sadness, the clauses seem designed to evoke a particular response to the unhappiness emanating from the situation, the occupation.

At the risk of appearing repetitive, it is important to mention again that all occurrences of sadness that have a cause mentioned are attributed to the Israeli occupation. There are no cases across the corpus where a child has said, for example, I am sad because my dog has died, or I am unhappy because my father won't buy me a new bicycle. The kind of sadness or unhappiness that might be more likely to arise in a child's life, such as conflict between friends, family or difficulties at school, is not instantiated in this corpus.

Of all cases of negative Affect, suffering is the emotion which is instantiated most frequently in this section. With 32 instances of suffering, the children are reinforcing the general picture that has been developed across the corpus, namely that suffering at the hands of the occupation is an aspect of their lives overshadowing all others.

Again in this section, the occupation is frequently referred to explicitly as the root of the inscribed negative Affect: *we are **suffering** of this wild occupation on our land* [9CI(2)]. In other examples, the occupation is the implied cause of suffering, particularly as it effects P1's travel: *most of the students in my class **suffer** everyday in the road of coming to school* [9A(11)] and *Palestinians are going through the **suffering** everyday in the morning while going to school and work and in the*

afternoon while returning from school and work [9B(2)]. There also clauses which include a direct reference to the occupation, specifically its administrative measures, as the cause of P1's suffering: *I **suffer** everyday on the checkpoints* [11IB(7)]. In other instances, the inscribed negative Affect echoes themes that have already surfaced across the corpus, not just in relation to prohibition of movement, but to religious freedoms as well: *we are people who **suffer** to go pray in their holy land* [9B(6)]. Finally, the theme of terrorism, the question of who is the terrorist, is re-introduced here: *in order to be a Palestinian these days you have **to suffer** from extreme terrorist attacks done by Israeli soldiers and Israeli terrorists* [11IB(5)].

In other examples, the suffering is not attributed to any cause, although again, overall the clauses do seem designed to reflect a sense that the occupation is the underlying cause. For example, the suffering is sometimes placed within the context of everyday activities which, for people not living under occupation, should be easy to conduct: *we as Palestinians **suffer** living everyday in simple things we do* [9A(10)], *we Palestinians **suffer** from lack of education* [9C(24)] and *we as Palestinians **suffer** ordering pizza* [9A(10)]. The images created here are akin to what was seen in the TRANSITIVITY analysis: closures, curfews, etc. In summary, then, what can be seen here is a range of types of suffering that either directly implicate or at least evoke Israeli occupation as root cause. There is a complete absence of the types of utterances that might be heard in a more normal, everyday context, such as: I suffer from allergies or I am suffering because my grandma died yesterday.

Just as the occupation is often represented as the cause of P1's suffering, it is also sometimes represented, either by implication or by evocation, as the root of P1's fears. The children represent themselves and their community as being afraid of a range of things, as the following examples illustrate: *we are **afraid** from leaving our homes* [9A(6)] and *we are **afraid** from living* [9A(6)]. In other examples, the reason why the children are afraid of leaving their homes or are afraid of living is included. In these cases, it is always an aspect of Group I1's occupation that is the root cause of fear:

- *we are even **afraid** of going to a cinema and watching a movie in case a curfew was imposed or something happened that would prevent this person from going home safely* [9B(6)]
- *It* [Israelis entering with tanks] *was **scary*** [9B(4)]
- *I **was so scared** when the Israeli army reoccupied Ramallah* [7B(4)]
- *It* [when the Israeli soldiers searched the house] *was **the most scary night in my life*** [9B(3)]
- *the soldiers **terrify** children* [9C(23)]

The lexical choices range on a scale of intensity from afraid to terrified and, similar to all of the negative APPRAISAL seen so far in this section, cause of the Affect is attributed to Group I1 and its subgroups. The corpus does not contain references by the children to fear in relation to childhood or other everyday fear, such as, I am afraid of the dark, or perhaps a phobia, as in I am afraid of dogs.

The final main category of negative Affect is humiliation, examples of which are, like most instantiations of fear and suffering, attributed to either the occupation or social actors of Group I1 and subgroups. Some examples are: *the idea of stopping on a checkpoint in your own nation is **just humiliating*** [9B(21)] and *we had **suffered humiliation** and bloodshed in our homeland, land of religions and peace* [9C(13)].

In the next two smaller categories of anger and hatred, it is of significance that these emotions do not, in fact, occur very frequently. Anger appears only three times in this section, each with a different appraised entity. One entity is Palestinian nationality, the second the Palestinian people, and the third the sunshine: *being Palestinian means courage, patience, **angry*** [9B(9)], *the people **rage** with their weapons and chaos* [9C(22)] and *the sunshine is **angry** because of the Israelis* [7BI(19)]. It is only in the third example that a direct reference to anger at Group I1 is made, yet as this example illustrates, the children have not chosen to represent themselves as the entity holding the anger. Instead, it is the sun. In the other two cases, the anger and the rage are not explicitly directed towards Group I1 and its subgroups, nor do the children position themselves, as individuals, as the appraised entity, as in: I am angry at the Israelis for occupying my land. In this section, there is no inscribed APPRAISAL through which

the children express any anger towards the set of social actors they represent as responsible for their sadness, suffering, fear and humiliation.

Moving on to the final category of negative Affect, hatred, there are only four instantiations of this emotion, three of which have already been discussed in section 4.3.b. The first example is one of a very few clauses in the corpus which are personal in nature and do not attribute the negative Affect to any external cause: *I am the kind of person who **hates** routine* [9CI(9)]. The other three refer to hatred of the out-group, Group I1: *I **hate** the Israel* [7BI(1)], *I **hate** Israelis* [7C(2)] and *I **hate** them* [7C(6)]. It is significant that the lexical item *hate*, which is a very strong choice in everyday English (along with loathe, detest, abhor, etc.), co-occurs so infrequently with a reference to the occupation or Group I1 and its subgroups. As was seen above with anger, the children here rarely represent themselves as the appraised entity in the process of hating Israel, Israelis or Israeli soldiers. Perhaps even more significant is the absence of statements combining hatred with lexical choices already made elsewhere across the corpus, as in: I hate the terrorists who make terrorist acts against us.

In summary, the inscribed negative Affect presented in this section concentrates solely on how the children perceive themselves and their community to be affected emotionally by things that are happening to them or happening in the world around them. The children represent themselves as having an emotional response (typically to the actions of Group I1 and subgroups), rather than simply being emotional people.

5.2.e Positive Judgement of Group P1 and Subgroups

As indicated by the figures in table 5.0, positive Judgement is the most frequently occurring category of APPRAISAL when Group P1 and its subgroups constitute the appraised entity. In total, there are 115 instances of positive Judgement, equalling 94% of all occurrences of inscribed positive Judgement in the corpus.

The first type of Judgement that will be discussed here is in reference to the repeatedly appearing characterization of people and actions as terrorist/terrorism. It is in this section that the clearest polarization in the corpus between us and them (van Dijk, 1998a; Wodak, 1995, 1996; Wodak et al. 1999) can be seen. It has already been

seen in the negative Judgement of Group I1 and its subgroups that the children have the perception that *they are the terrorists*. Such a statement would indicate that there is a perception likewise held that *we are not the terrorists*. The question raised in the corpus is not one of defining terrorism, or determining whether or not it exists in this context, but instead, the question is raised by the children only to clarify whose disposition/behaviour is of a terrorist nature. Indeed, the children appraise themselves and Group P1 as not being the ones who are the terrorists: ***we are not the terrorist one*** [9B(10)] and ***we're not terrorists*** [9A(3)]. These clauses, where the 'being terrorist' is negated, reflect the children's awareness of the view of the outside world, namely that Group P1 is a terrorist group (see section 4.3.c).

The application of the term terrorist to the Palestinians marks a site of major lexical contest. The children never refer to themselves and Group P1 as terrorists. Instead, they choose to present themselves as freedom fighters. In so doing the children represent themselves as engaging in the act of freeing, or liberating the land. These processes are judged positively, as the following examples indicate:

- *I am a Palestinian girl, which makes me so proud to be one of the people who **fight for their freedom and the freedom of their country*** [9CI(8)]
- ***we are ready to lose our hearts for our independence on our own land, leaving the sun** to rise again and the birds to sing* [9C(13)]
- ***a Palestinian fights for his freedom day and night*** [11IB(7)]
- ***every single vein in our body strives for freedom*** [9CI(10)]

The examples included here, along with the remaining instances included in the appendices, depict a tenacious community, one which views its mission as freeing the land. Whereas there were 11 instances of negated statements such as *we are not terrorists*, the picture of the community as freedom fighters or, in a similar vein, as engaging in the behaviours of defending, protecting and resisting, is developed over 38 instantiations in this section. Some of these instantiations include reference to the members of Group P1 who have died engaging in such actions, a fuller discussion of which will appear shortly. It appears that there is an opposition being established in the children's discourse: very simply put, the children are conveying 'terrorist' as negative, in contrast to 'freedom fighter' and 'martyr' as positive. This opposition is

crucial for the Palestinians who, knowing the outside world criticizes them, have to ensure that their actions are seen, if not positively, at least as justified.

The act of freedom-fighting, and also actions of defence, protection and resistance, no doubt require violence to be carried out. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the children reflect an awareness that the world holds a generally negative view of Palestinian violence, especially some factions' tactic of suicide bombing. In relation to any violent acts of Group P1, including suicide bombing, is the question of how the children go about justifying the unjustifiable. When it comes to killing, especially of non-combatants, the Palestinians are in a difficult position because they do not have the weight of statehood on their side. For example, when governments carry out 'targeted killings', there is virtually always 'collateral damage' (i.e. civilians). Compare this with the Palestinians for example who, in the absence of an autonomous state and government, carry out 'terrorist attacks[2]' against 'innocent civilians[3]' for 'no conceivable earthly purpose[4]'. One way the children try to counter this view is to provide the purpose by framing any violence as strictly a reaction to their occupation by Group I1 and subgroups: *we are **struggling against occupation*** [7B(7)], *these Palestinians are still **resisting** the Israeli soldiers* [9C(21)] and *they are **defending their homeland** from the Israeli occupation* [9C(8)].

Another strategy the children use to counter claims that they are terrorists is, when justifying their group's action, to invoke the condemnation of Group I1's occupation by other parties, specifically that entity which is theoretically above all governments – the UN: *they **are resisting the occupation that is illegal** according to the United Nations* [9C(6)]. The language of law used here echoes themes expressed in Chapter Four, particularly sections 4.2.c, 4.2.d and 4.2.f, where the children support their case via the language of international human rights, highlighting how they do not possess their guaranteed rights and freedoms.

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[2] EU press release, June 2, 2001 in response to the suicide bombing at the Dolphin Disco in Tel Aviv on June 1, 2001.
[3] White House press release, June 1, 2001 in response to the same incident.
[4] U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, State Department press release, June 2, 2001 in response to the same incident.

When positively appraising their groups' actions as freedom-fighting, or, in other words, when attempting to justify them, the children have a tendency to make very non-specific language choices regarding the representation of violence. When the children construe Group P1 as defending their homeland or resisting the occupation, the APPRAISAL analysis does not reveal the specific tactics by which freedom is sought the way the TRANSITIVITY analysis did (e.g. attacking, shooting, throwing stones). This lack of specificity tends to be a common feature of the language used to describe war: armies tend towards, for example, 'incursions', 'operations' and other vaguely defined actions (for more on how military actions are represented by governments and media see, for example, Manning, 2003, 2004; Fisk, 2005; Lukin2005a,b,c; Butt, Lukin & Matthiessen, 2004). The children, who have neither a state nor an army, do not have these language choices at their disposal; there seems to be only two options – to describe the ghastly details, or to remain silent. Apart from the two direct, and also non-graphic, references to suicide bombing described in section 4.1.2.i, the children have largely remained silent.

Another site of lexical contest is between the terms terrorist and martyr (for a very detailed analysis of the linguistic contest over terrorist, freedom-fighter and martyr, see Fisk, 2005). The term *shaheed*, Arabic for *martyr*, is used by Palestinians to refer to any death caused by, or connected in any way to, Group I1's military occupation of Palestinian land. Much has been written about what has been called the Palestinian culture of martyrdom. Debate on the subject ranges from academics like Burdman (2003) who writes that the Palestinian Authority indoctrinates its young people into an ideology of self-sacrifice, to Wallace (2003) who explores the possibility that Palestinian martyrdom is a politicization of religion resulting from years of life under a violent occupation regime.[5] The subject of Palestinian martyrdom is an important one, if not least because of the fact that Palestinian children are direct witnesses to martyrdom in some form every day: either directly through the loss of a friend or loved one, or indirectly, through funeral processions and martyr-posters commemoratively posted on every shop front and street post in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

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[5] For further reading on the topic of Palestinian martyrs, see, for example: Hatina, 2005 and 2006; Abdel-Khalek, 2004; Evans, 1999 and Dabbagh, 2005.

Despite the prominence of the martyr figure in Palestinian daily life, the children do not approach the matter squarely in their discourse. In fact, there is what could be described as a general cloudiness, or vague language, when representing the martyrs, much the same as there was surrounding the representation of violence via the contested terms terrorist and freedom-fighter. What is not cloudy, though, is the children's attitude about the martyrs. Group P1's martyrs are appraised positively, via inscribed Judgement including the actual lexical item *martyr*, eight times across the corpus. The term refers to Palestinians who are now dead, and no distinction is made between the martyrdom of bystanders, those engaged in non-violent resistance, or those carrying out suicide bombs. Some of the instantiations include the martyr's action, as in: ***martyrs died defending their land*** [9C(16)]. Others focus more on the moral disposition of the martyr figure, as in ***the martyrs are true people*** [9C(16)], while still others emphasize the religious nature of martyrdom: ***our martyrs fight for Palestine with their soul*** [9C(16)]. The inscribed positive Judgement of martyrs points to the general high esteem in which they are held: ***the martyrs died with honour*** [9C(16)].

Just as the specific nature of the violent acts was clouded by the children's language choices, so is the depiction of their own willingness to self-sacrifice: ***I am willing to die for the sake of liberating Palestine and declare it a free country with Jerusalem as its capital*** [9CI(8)]. It is interesting that when referring to themselves, the children have not chosen the lexical item martyr, nor have they made it clear whether or not their preparedness to die means, for example, being shot by stray bullets while walking home from school, or if it suggests a preparedness to engage in direct resistance, either non-violent in the form of protests for example, or violent in the form of attacking Israeli soldiers at a checkpoint or becoming a suicide bomber. In fact, the willingness to die is not even always presented through a direct reference to death, as the following example shows: ***we are ready to lose our hearts for our independence on our own land,*** *leaving the sun to rise again and the birds to sing* [9C(13)]. This poetic description of self-sacrifice avoids the painful issue of death and violence altogether. In fact, for the most part, the topic of martyrdom is presented as being rather removed from the children themselves. Use of a nominal group in the third person suggests that the children themselves, although positively judging the phenomenon of martyrdom, are not lining up to take their turn: *he or she who cares*

about his land ***should sacrifice his soul on it*** [9B(5)]. It has been clearly instantiated across the corpus that the children care very much about their land. It is interesting, however, that this example says that *he or she* should martyr him/herself for Palestine. The data does not contain clauses which illustrate that the children have come to the conclusion that if somebody who cares about his land should sacrifice himself for it, and they themselves care about their land, then they should sacrifice themselves for Palestine. Sometimes the readiness to die is presented by use of a very vague nominal and clearly does not include the children themselves: *many people* ***are ready to die for its freedom*** [9C(16)]. In other clauses the nominal is more specific, as in *we* ***have to sacrifice our lives*** [9B(10)]. However, as Wodak et.al (1999) have pointed out, it is often difficult to discern when the 'we' is speaker-inclusive and when it is speaker-exclusive. What can be said for certain, however, is there is a notable lack of explicit appraisals in the corpus in which the children positively view themselves as future martyrs for their country.

In addition to being freedom-fighters and martyrs, the children inscribe positive Judgement of Group P1 as people who are undeserving victims of pain or suffering, and are *innocent* in their behaviour. Examples follow: *they have again started murdering* ***innocent*** *people* [9C(19)], *they kill* ***innocent kids*** [9B(5)] and *a bullet also broke the skull of that* ***innocent*** *mother* [9B(1)]. These judgements, which represent Group P1 as having done nothing to deserve death, depict an image of victim-hood, an image reinforced by the findings of the TRANSITIVITY analysis where Group P1 was largely acted upon rather than acting upon others.

However, in opposition to the dominant picture the children have painted of themselves and members of their community as victims, they do exhibit a more robust attitude through positive judgements of tenacity: *we* ***won't give in and surrender*** [9CI(2)], *we* ***will get back our land*** *no matter what happen* [9C(23)] and *we will* ***defend*** *it no matter how much people die* [9C(23)]. Such a tenacious attitude was also visible in Chapter 4 (e.g. section 4.1.2.h) where the children, despite the physical helplessness they represent, convey a sense of mental agency through their will to resist at all costs.

The instances of inscribed positive Judgement in this section appear to be functioning not only to distinguish between terrorists/terrorism and innocent freedom-fighters and martyrs, but might also be seen as an attempt to reach out to the reader, to develop a personal picture of a people who are largely depersonalized by the Israeli and international media, and in so doing, provoke a writer/reader relationship of shared empathy. The inscribed Judgement of this type echoes much of what was discussed in section 4.2.c in which the children attempted to represent themselves in terms of normality, as being much like children all over the world. The following is a typical example of how the children assert a shared humanity through inscribed positive Judgement of themselves: *we are **humans like you*** [9B(5)]. Related to this claim of humanity is a claim of normality: *Palestinians is a **normal** human being* [11IB(7)]. This appraisal of Group P1 as human can perhaps also been seen as related to clauses which claim that *we are not terrorists*, in the sense that it is not normal to be a terrorist.

Moving on, there are instances of inscribed Judgement which appraise the children themselves as individual characters, rather than as members of a group fighting for independence and liberation. Courage is one characteristic that appears in the data, presumably a result of growing up in a hostile context in which qualities like courage, strength and defiance are more salient. An example follows: *this kid was **brave and responsible*** [9B(1)]. The child referred to in this statement is a martyr, a young boy described elsewhere in the data as being shot by Group I1's soldiers while buying bread for his family when curfew was lifted for a short period. Such a statement supports the previous instances of Judgement of Group P1 as innocent.

The remaining inscribed positive Judgement of the personal admiration type is very individual in nature, according to each child's personality. All examples are included in the appendices, but two follow here: *I am **honest*** [9CI(2)] and *I found myself **enthusiastic, active, sociable and free*** [9CI(9)].

It is important to recall here that Group I1 is not appraised by the children in this same way; there is no admiration of Group I1's social actors on an individual level. A picture is not developed for the reader of who Group I1's social actors are; what kind of people they are. They are neither judged as humans like in the above examples, nor

as the opposite, inhuman. However, in the general statement *we are all **human*** [9A(12)] it is possible, and indeed likely, that the *we* refers to all of humankind, including both Groups I1 and W.

The last aspect of inscribed positive Judgement to be discussed in this section is of Palestinian nationality as appraised entity. In these five examples, the Judgement actually functions as a token of Appreciation of being Palestinian. These five instantiations of inscribed APPRAISAL reflect the two themes of *not being a terrorist* and *being a freedom fighter* that have appeared consistently in the results of the APPRAISAL analysis, and across the corpus in general. What is newly raised here, is the Judgement that having Palestinian nationality leads one to heroism: *being Palestinian symbolizes **the strength of a hero and the heart of a little child*** [9CI(10)] and *being Palestinian means to me **to be a hero*** [11IB(15)].

All of the themes reflected so far through instantiations of inscribed APPRAISAL of Group P1 can be seen as developing an image of a people, a picture which is to a large extent consciously, and often explicitly, designed by the children to contradict the prevailing view from the outside world that Palestinian equals terrorist: the image is of an innocent people who, having suffered fear and insecurity wrought by years of war, occupation and violence, muster the courage to fight for liberation, a fight oftentimes ending in martyrdom, and always deemed heroic.

5.2.f Negative Judgement of Group P1 and Subgroups

There are 34 instantiations of inscribed negative Judgement of Group P1 and its subgroups, a number significantly lower than that for positive Judgement. This low frequency is perhaps not surprising when viewed in the context of the positive portrayal of Group P1 as innocent and heroic freedom fighters. Three of the 34 instantiations are of the personal criticism type, but, since they number fewer than five occurrences, they will not be discussed here.

The inscribed negative Judgement in this section functions primarily to pity Group P1 for living in difficult conditions, rather than to condemn them as is often the case with Judgement. The majority of the instantiations of Judgement are quite similar to what was presented in section 5.2.a on Appreciation above. For example, there are cases of

the children judging themselves and Group P1 to be not free. This lack of freedom is represented through a number of different lexical choices, as the examples below illustrate:

- *I am not free* [7C(10)]
- *the Palestinian are in a cage* [7BI(10)]
- *an occupying forces would not let the land owning civilians to walk in the homeland freely* [9B(21)]
- *I am, as all my fellow Palestinians, a prisoner in my own country* [11IB(5)]
- *I am under apartheid like in South Africa* [9B(1)]

Group P1 is not free because it lives under occupation in war-like conditions. A description of these conditions, again akin to those seen in the section on Appreciation, judges the children as living in war, under curfew, etc. Examples follow:

- *we are in a very hard time in the Intifada* [7C(3)]
- *we are always under war* [9A(6)]
- *we were not ready for this curfew* [9B(7)]
- *we lived under curfews, killing, damaging, and long tragedies since 54 years* [9C(2)]
- *we as a Palestine's are born in abuse life and killed way* [9A(8)]

These statements trigger, or provoke, Judgement of a non-stated set of social actors. There is an agent imposing curfew and abusing Group P1, however the children have not, in these instances, explicitly mentioned Group I1. In other instances, however, the children have included Group I1 and therefore have evoked judgement of Israel and its occupation. For example: *I show you how are Palestinians lived and how we are molested from Israeli government and their soldiers* [9B(17)] and *the Israeli soldiers not letting adolescents have freedom* [9C(5)].

In other examples of inscribed negative Judgement of Group P1, there is an opposition to what was asserted in section 5.2.e above in the section on positive Judgement. In that section, the children presented a positive image of themselves as being *like* the rest of the world, as being *normal*, as being *human*. The statements in this section, in contrast, set the children in opposition to the rest of the world: *Palestinian child are different from another child in the world* [9A(2)] and *we can't be like other teenagers* [9A(13)]. In two additional examples, the children attribute their difference to being unable to live like everybody else in the world: *we can't live like everyone does* [9A(13)] and *we can't live normally* [11IB(14)]. On the one hand,

the children present a Judgement of themselves as being part of the greater human community, while on the other hand separate themselves from that same community because they perceive their daily life to be very different from all others'.

This tension resulting from a juxtaposition in imagery has already been seen in many places throughout the data. The children are scared and suffering, yet incredibly happy and proud to be Palestinian. They are freedom fighters, perpetually engaged in resistance, yet *Palestinians are peaceful people* [9CI(9)]. Palestine is a beautiful country, yet also land of war and bloodshed. In every opposite image, the negative Appreciation, Affect or Judgement, there is a cause attributed, either explicitly or implicitly. That cause is the military occupation of Group P1.

In the remaining few instantiations of inscribed negative Judgement of Group P1, there is reflection on human nature in general, and the actions that have been taken by Group P1 throughout the Intifada: *we* [humans] ***are capable of leaving marks of destruction, hate, poverty and hunger around the world*** [11IB(13)], *losing them* [martyrs] ***is not the solution*** [9C(16)] *we are both* ***wrong*** [9B(4)]. These are the only three occurrences of this nature, and it is significant that there are so few. These instantiations, when viewed in conjunction with the instances of positive Judgement above, may suggest that the children view human nature as essentially good (indeed, this might explain why there are more instances of 'likeness' in the corpus, of Group P1 as being *human* like Groups I1 and W). That there is only one instantiation of the perception that martyrdom, the death of Palestinians, is not the answer is significant because it supports the claim already made that the martyrs are judged by virtually all the children, and indeed Palestinian society, in a positive way. The final example, which includes Group I1 in the general *we*, is the only one of its kind. This is the only example in the corpus of explicit condemnation of Group P1's behaviour.

The issue of condemnation is an important one, because it embodies the fundamental difference in the ways Groups I1 and P1 are appraised through inscribed Judgement. When evaluating human behaviour with respect to social norms, negative Judgement is instantiated through condemnation (White, 2000; Martin, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2003). The APPRAISAL of Group I1, as the analysis has shown, exhibits negative Judgement of this type: the children condemn the behaviours of Group I1 as they

relate to/cause the suffering, etc. of Group P1. In contrast, the negative Judgement of Group P1's disposition and behaviours cannot accurately be conceived of as condemnation. Take, for example, the statement *we as a Palestine's are **born in abuse life and killed way*** [9A(8)]. The negative Judgement here is inscribed through the vocabulary choices of *abuse* and *killed.* However, I would argue that this statement cannot be considered condemnatory of Group P1 because the children are not portraying the Palestinians as abusing themselves, or gathering to commit mass suicide. Instead the APPRAISAL seen in this section of the analysis might more appropriately be considered Judgement of pity, as each utterance depicts a pitiful situation and can evoke pity from the reader. The literature on APPRAISAL analysis does not currently have the resources to distinguish, for example, between different types of Judgement, as in condemnation and pity. In the case of Group P1, the children judge its dispositions and behaviour only in relation to the community's difficult circumstances. In contrast there are no judgements of pity for Group I1.

5.3 Inscribed APPRAISAL of Groups R, S and W

As the figures in table 5.0 illustrate, there are occurrences of both positive and negative inscribed APPRAISAL for participant Groups R, S and W. Following the criteria for presentation already set, in this section only positive Appreciation of Group R, negative Appreciation of Group S and negative Judgement of Group W number the requisite five occurrences. A cursory glance at the figures, before an in-depth exploration of the instantiations, complements the general findings of all analyses so far: religious entities have, for the most part, been represented in positive ways by the children; the political situation and, by extension, living conditions of the children have been portrayed as virtually horrendous; and, the social actors of Group W have been portrayed both positively and negatively by the children, but mostly as social actors who do not take action to support Group P1. It is therefore not surprising that the highest number of occurrences of inscribed APPRAISAL for these three groups is realized through negative Judgement of Group W.

5.3.a Inscribed positive Appreciation of Group R

Within these instances of inscribed Appreciation, there are three appraised entities: religion in general, Islam (or its holy sites) and Christianity (or its holy sites). The APPRAISAL is in terms of beauty/history or, on a more abstract level, peace/freedom:

FIGURE 5.1: INSCRIBED APPRECIATION (POSITIVE)-GROUP R

all these religious call for peace *religion means...peace*	*Al-Aqsa is an old mosque* *being Muslim means freedom*	*the Nativity Church is a very lovely place for Christians*

These examples have already been discussed in various sections of the TRANSITIVITY analysis (e.g. **relational** clauses) and will therefore not be re-discussed here, barring the note that there is one instance of Amplification, realized by *very*. It is important to note though, that although there are only a few instances of inscribed positive APPRAISAL here, Group R receives no negative Appreciation at all.

5.3.b Inscribed negative Appreciation of Group S

There are nine instances of inscribed negative Appreciation of Group S, all describing the situation in Palestine via lexical items which range on a cline of ***difficult***, to ***bad***, to ***worse*** (e.g. *the situation here in Palestine is very bad*). There are no instances of positive Appreciation of Group S.

5.3.c Inscribed negative JUDGEMENT of Group W

There are eight instances of inscribed negative Judgement of Group W. Appearing most commonly as the appraised entity are items with some kind of connection to America. Perhaps the strongest example of Judgement of America surfaces in the following clause: *the Israeli with **the most evil in the world** America* [9C(21)]. American weapons are judged with similar vehemence: *the Apache helicopters and F-16 jets and all the bombs and bullets **terrorizing** me, my family, my friends are also American* [9CI(3)]. The Judgement in this section is also condemnatory of people, either of Americans or in one instance Britons, or of the people of the world in general: *the kids in America **use violence often just for fun and to show people they are not afraid*** [7B(6)], *the world should wake up from **ignorance*** [9A(16)] and *you are **wrong*** [9C(1)]. In another instance, the international media is judged similarly to Group I1's media: *the media **distorts** our image in front of the people in the world* [9C(6)].

5.4 Evoked APPRAISAL of Group I1 and Subgroups

The presentation of APPRAISAL so far has revealed that the corpus holds fewer instances of inscribed APPRAISAL, particularly negative Judgement, of Group I1 than was predicted at the outset of the research. Although the vocabulary choices of the children do not, on the whole, express a great number of explicit value judgements, virtually all language choices, at the clause, clause complex and sentence levels, contain tokens of evoked Judgement of Group I1. Such tokens, in the words of White (2000) are "superficially neutral, ideational meanings" which have the capacity to evoke strong judgemental responses by the reader, particularly by the Palestinian community who presumably come from the same social/cultural/ideological reading position as the children. Indeed, distinguishing between instances of inscribed and evoked Judgement posed the greatest challenge for this analysis. As has already been stated, virtually every utterance has a clear evaluative meaning, yet is more likely to be at least provoked/triggered Judgement, if not fully evoked. This is the case generally with negated language choices and verbs referring to actions which, viewed from the writer's side, are 'bad' or contrary to the children's perception of their community's value systems and social expectations.

The following examples, with regard to negated language choices, illustrate an evoked sense of negative Judgement of Group I1: ***they didn't even think of us***, ***they only think of themselves*** [9A(14)] and ***they haven't got the right to do this, they haven't got the right to do anything to us*** [7C(14)]. In both of these cases the nominal *they* points explicitly to a third party carrying out the actions (or, as in the first case, the selfishness), and can thus be considered evoked as the nominal refers, as patterns in the data indicate, to Group I1. The lexical choices *this* and *anything* would presumably evoke in the mind of the reader images of violence and destruction akin to that portrayed in the TRANSITIVITY analysis.

In other cases, the Judgement could really be considered only as provoked or triggered, in the sense that the third party is not part of the utterance. For example, *the city and its villages are divided into section by many checkpoints* [9B(2)]. In this case, there is nothing overtly judgemental about the utterance; yet, in the situation in which the children live, where entities of Group I2 regulate Group P1's freedom of

movement, the mere mentioning of *checkpoint* will trigger strong emotional responses from the Palestinian community.

With regard to processes (verbs) which the children, and indeed the community, would deem 'bad', there are two which appear repeatedly across the data to the extent that they could be considered very borderline cases of direct vs. indirect Judgement. The verbs are *invade* and *occupy*. Although there could not be an instance of Palestinian usage of *occupy* which would be positive in evaluation, the vocabulary item itself is not evaluative, and can be used in different contexts by different communities, evoking different reader responses. If, for example, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was spoken of by both Palestinians and extremist Jewish settlers, the word would take on entirely contrasted meanings. It is therefore the shared values of the Palestinian community which make verbs such as *invade* and *occupy* evaluative, rather than an intrinsically evaluative nature of the lexical item itself. Accordingly, the two verbs were not included in the appendices under inscribed APPRAISAL.

To reiterate briefly, virtually every clause in the corpus draws on one or more sets of shared values and social expectations of the Palestinian community. Consequently, the corpus is saturated with provoked, triggered and evoked Judgement of other social actors, usually Group I1. This finding is not unexpected, particularly in light of the knowledge gained in Chapter Four about the ways in which the children perceive the world around them, a world in which they portray themselves as the weaker party in a highly asymmetrical power struggle. What is unexpected, and therefore constitutive of a significant finding, is the fact that the Judgement (particularly negative) is not often introduced explicitly for the reader; instead, the children let the facts speak for themselves rather than pointing out that they happen. There are a number of possibilities as to why the children's language choices exhibit far more evoked tokens of APPRAISAL than inscribed. The low frequency of inscribed APPRAISAL could highlight the normality of the situation as seen through the children's eyes; indeed, it is difficult for a group to protest against the same treatment year in, year out. It may also be that the children see the solution as being relatively simple; the endless repetition of a demand for the occupation to end suggests that this is the children's point of focus, not the Israelis as a people. Finally, it might not be the nature of

children to hurl verbal abuse in protest. No empirical evidence has been gathered during the course of this research to confirm such possibilities; an interesting area of further research might therefore be an exploration into the social and psychological factors contributing to the children's language choices.

5.5 Chapter Summary

The findings of the APPRAISAL analysis reveal that the children appraise the participant groupings representing their community in a generally positive way. Their characterization of the in-group is in contrast to the out-group, Group I1, which is virtually always characterized negatively. However, what is interesting to note, and what is not entirely in keeping with the predictions set out at the beginning of the present research is that, when the children appraise Group I1 and its subgroups, they do so primarily through their role as occupiers. It is the occupation and its administrative measures which are the main focus of the evaluation, not the individual members of Group I1. Although the texts are highly evaluative in nature, it is a significant finding that the children tend to evoke APPRAISAL by informing the reader of the facts on the ground, rather than explicitly appraising Group I1 via lexical items which serve to dehumanize the out-group. A discussion of how such findings might be considered as constituting a more positive discourse will be presented in Chapter Six.

This dissertation will now proceed to the final chapter, in which conclusions will be drawn and recommendations for further research will be made.

6
Conclusion

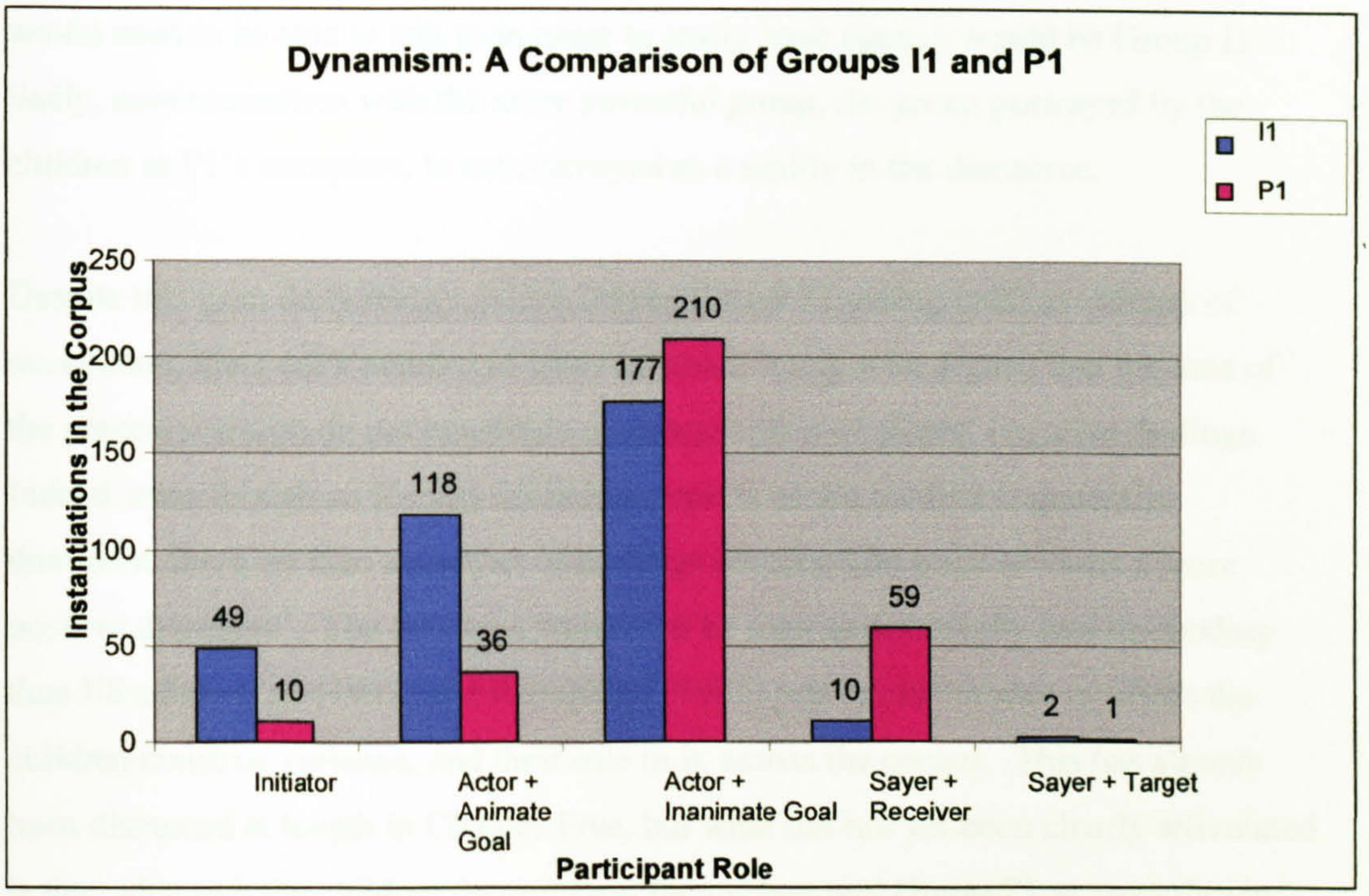
Aqtash, Seif & Seif (2004) write that the media misrepresents Palestinian children by positioning them only in relation to violence, never telling the stories of other aspects of their normal, everyday lives, like "environments at school, at home or engaging in recreational activities" (405). This is a fair claim to make, as there is plenty of other research which, exploring how Palestinians are represented by the media, draws the same conclusion (see, for example, Manning, 2003, 2004 and Fisk, 2005). From the results of such research, it might be a reasonable assumption that if Palestinian children were given the opportunity to represent themselves, the resulting picture would be quite different, surely illustrating more the concerns and joys common to childhood. The present research set out to do just that – to give Palestinian children a voice through which they could counter the dominant discourse by developing their own.

Sadly, the children's discourse does not construe a childhood of bicycles and ice-cream. To be fair, this may not even have been the kind of world-view that Aqtash et al. (2004) thought it possible to be conveyed; yet, it is of crucial importance to note that when given the opportunity to represent themselves, these children have linguistically positioned themselves and their community virtually always in relation to the violence of the Israeli occupation and life in the Intifada. The term violence, as it is used by Aqtash et al. (2004) refers primarily to shooting, killing and other similar acts, but those are just some of the many forms of violence these children face every day. Practically every process that is affecting or describing the social actors of Group P1 is violent: home demolition, house searches, arrest, detention, humiliation, poverty, hunger, suffering, inequality; the list goes on. The fact that the children are construing a world in their discourse which is at the same time a very real one in which the Palestinians are party to a protracted and bloody conflict over land makes it difficult to imagine that they could, even if they wanted to, depict any other aspects of their daily life as being dominant. The violence under which these children live is all-encompassing, all-consuming. In such a world, the most salient question becomes not why the children have represented a life of violence but, how could they have possibly represented anything but?

The findings of the present research, which reveal that Israeli military aggression and the squalid conditions of life under occupation dominate these children's construals of reality, are not surprising given Elbedour et al.'s (1997) conclusion that the aspect of Palestinian children's identity which is shaped by the conflict overrides all other aspects. In their research, evidence of a conflict/political dominant identity was seen repeatedly in drawings containing Intifada related violence and communal strife. If depictions of Intifada related violence indicate an identity dominated by conflict and politics, then the children participating in the present research are no exception. The findings of the present research are also strikingly similar to the concerns of Gazan children identified by MacMullin & Odeh (1999). Their study identified 1096 worries held by children in Gaza, most of which could be grouped under broader categories of war, conflict, violence and politics. From Israeli occupation, to high rates of unemployment, to dying and being killed, their results very closely parallel the results of this research. Since 1987, relatively little has changed about the way in which Palestinian children see the world. Such a world-view makes it difficult to argue against Elbedour et al.'s (1997) conclusion that "some Palestinians would continue, for generations, to identify themselves through their wounds as victim, and with vengeance, as aggressor" (227).

Indeed, looking at the TRANSITIVITY analysis from the perspective of Hasan's (1985) Cline of Dynamism showed that the children typically represent their group as passive social actors, as being relatively physically helpless. Figure 6.0 below highlights the number of times Groups I1 and P1 appear in the five most dynamic participant roles as outlined in Hasan's Cline of Dynamism, section 2.15:

FIGURE 6.0 DYNAMISM: A COMPARISON OF GROUPS I1 AND P1



An examination of the five most dynamic participant roles reveals that the two most dynamic roles are occupied by Group I1 much more frequently than Group P1. Indeed, even when Group P1 appears to be more dynamic than Group I1, as is the case with the third and fourth most dynamic roles, a look back at the clausal context highlights how even though the figures suggest they are dynamic social actors, they are not. In the case of the third role, an Actor on an inanimate Goal, the discussion in section 4.1.2.g shows how the social actors of Group P1 are construed by the children primarily as acting upon Group I2, Israeli non-human entities, a participant grouping which consists entirely of military infrastructure. In these clauses, the children construe Group P1 as physically negotiating the checkpoints, for example, or attacking jeeps and tanks with rocks. In the latter case, the rocks are entities of Group P2, Palestinian non-human entities. Although grammatically the children appear as situating themselves in a dynamic participant role, the fact remains that Group I2, military infrastructure and weapons, is more powerful than the individuals of Group P1. The case is similar with **verbal** processes where the children construe Group P1 as Sayer in clauses with a Receiver. The children do construe themselves as speaking to somebody, yet the Receiver is a member of Group I1, the other party to the conflict, only three times, as already discussed in section 4.4a. The children address me, the

researcher, and Group W, the world; but, the set of social actors which the children would need to be able to talk to in order to really have agency would be Group I1. Sadly, communication with the more powerful group, the group portrayed by the children as P1's occupiers, is not conveyed as a reality in the discourse.

Despite this grim daily reality, which leaves Group P1 seeing itself as victims of occupation, there are a number of ways in which it might be argued that the data of the present research do not constitute an exact replica of others' negative findings. Indeed, even though an identity including aspects of the conflict is generally dominant, there are also a number of findings which might point towards a more positive discourse[1]. The first area which can be seen as potentially less foreboding than Elbedour et al. (1997) and Rosenblatt (1983) predict, is the way in which the children construe violence, and their role in it, across the corpus. This has already been discussed at length in Chapter Five, but what has not yet been clearly articulated is that, although the children do represent themselves and Group P1 as engaging in acts of resistance (instantiated in the data in **material** processes) the data gathered for the present research do not appear to support Elbedour et al.'s (1997) conclusion that Palestinian children will, in the future, identify themselves with vengeance as aggressor. The children do construe Israeli occupation and military actions as justification for Palestinian acts of violence (including suicide bombing); but their actions are clearly construed as resistance, rather than revenge. In general, the children appear to rationalize Group P1's violence along the lines of 'they occupy our land so we must fight to free it'. The children's discourse, which contains only one direct reference to revenge, does not typically display clauses of the 'eye for an eye' variety characteristic of the discourse of the Israeli government and Palestinian factions who are engaged in the embittered cycle of retaliatory attacks (i.e. Israel

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[1] Throughout the course of writing this dissertation, it became apparent that had the children been asked to address their letters to Israeli children, not Canadian children, the data may have exhibited a range of different themes, some more or less positive than others. It also became apparent that there was a need to reflect upon the influence I had as researcher on the children and the types of negative and positive discourses they produced. Although I have no empirical data to support my hypotheses, it is possible that, having perceived me as part of the outside world, a world that the children perceive holds generally negative views of the Palestinians, the children censored themselves to a certain extent, particularly when it came to the difficult topics of terrorism and martyrdom. Equally possible however, is the exact opposite: because I had lived and worked in Ramallah for three years before gathering data, the majority of the children already knew about me, and knew me to be trusted by members of their community. This may have allowed them to speak and write without inhibitions. It is difficult to know which case is more likely; I do know, however, that as I was leaving the school one day, a grade nine boy followed me and said: *Thank you. This was the first time anybody asked me to write about how I feel. We need more activities like this.*

assassinates a Palestinian political leader, whose party in turn declares they will avenge the death with Israeli blood via the blood of a young Palestinian bomber, which in turn sparks another assassination by Israel, etc.).

There are at least two areas of the data which suggest that Elbedour et al.'s (1997) claim is not applicable to this group of Palestinian children. First, as it was suggested in Chapter Four, even when the children represent themselves and Group P1 as agents in acts of resistance, those acts are typically not very impacting (i.e. the relative ineffectiveness of throwing stones at tanks). When the children do represent themselves as aggressor, it is in virtually harmless acts.

Second, and perhaps most importantly, the phenomenon of suicide bombing, which can be viewed as the most vengeful and aggressive of the range of resistance activities Group P1 might engage in, is notably absent in the children's discourse. The few times the children actually do confront the topic squarely in their texts, they typically do so with reticence. It has been seen that the act of suicide bombing is not construed by the children as a wide-spread goal of Group P1. Instead, the children appear careful to justify such actions as those required to liberate the land and in some instantiations, even limit the participant fulfilling the role of Actor to those Palestinians who have had relatives killed or their homes destroyed by Group I1. It could be argued, of course, that it is for the purposes of revenge that the latter Actors carry out the suicide attacks. However, it is perhaps more a case of the children's awareness that these actions are considered unacceptable; the children know what the act involves, they know it is condemned, and they are careful to show that it is only those Palestinians who have been completely and totally brutalized by the occupation who carry out such acts. Instead of showing a thirst for revenge, the way the children have construed the phenomenon seems to suggest more that, although they do not condemn such acts, they try to separate themselves and the general Palestinian population from the acts by highlighting the extreme suffering of the people who engage in them.

Rosenblatt (1983) suggests that children growing up in these environments have reflexive rather than reflective responses (particularly in regards to violence). There is plenty in the data to suggest that this is not true of the children participating in this

study. It can be argued that there is a great deal of reflection exhibited by these children, an argument which is supported by the data in a number of ways. The first, and most obvious one, is that there are no **verbal** processes which might constitute a directive to members of Group P1, or indeed any of the other participant groupings, to martyr themselves in support of the Palestinian cause. The absence of clauses such as 'all Palestinians should sacrifice themselves to free their land', indicates that the children do not appear to be endorsing any particular kind of suicidal behaviour in their texts. It is true that they construe acts of martyrdom as positive **material** processes of freedom-fighting; that they positively appraise the martyrs; and that there is a small handful of references in the corpus to a willingness to die for the liberation of the land. But, it appears that they are expressing their attitude toward the phenomenon as it already exists, rather than expressing an opinion that the Palestinians should all be prepared to sacrifice themselves. Second, the children do not express desire, through **mental** processes or other areas of the TRANSITIVITY system, to become martyrs, particularly suicide bombers. It has been seen that they sometimes represent themselves in acts of stone throwing at Israeli soldiers and military apparatus, but if the children were merely reflexive as Rosenblatt (1983) suggests such children of war are, the data would likely have exhibited more direct construals of a desire for self-sacrifice.

The fact that the children's discourse is not overflowing with references to martyrdom and desire to become martyrs is interesting from the perspective of other research on Palestinian children. As it was pointed out in the review of literature on the political socialization of Palestinian youth in Chapter Two, section 2.7, and also made clear in the research by MacMillan & Odeh (1999), the high degree of social integration among collectivist cultures can act as a psychological protector for children exposed to high levels of stress and intense trauma. Since the children have a tendency to collectively represent Group P1, rather than representing themselves through the use of the nominal *I*, it may be that they have a stronger sense of belonging to the group identity than an individual willingness to lay down their lives for their country. Giacaman (2001), in a report investigating the phenomenon of suicide and attempted suicide among young West Bank Palestinians, finds that despite the poverty, oppression and general sense of powerlessness brought about by war, the levels of suicide and attempted suicide in Palestine are very low, much lower than in

industrialized societies. Therefore, it seems that Giacaman's study underscores what the children of the present research study construe about themselves and their community: even though there is a desire expressed repeatedly to resist occupation and liberate Palestine, sometimes even at all costs, that desire is not manifesting itself in actual mass self-sacrifice.[2] Hage (2003a) similarly reflects that there is a need "to differentiate between the presence of a social disposition toward sacrificing the self and the practices of sacrificing the self" (69). The presence of only eight direct references across the corpus to martyrdom, only two of which address suicide bombing outside of negated or projected clauses, suggests that the Palestinian children participating in this study do not have a disposition toward sacrificing the self. This is a significant positive finding.

Another area which is very much linked to conflict identities and attitudes toward violence is the construction of the out-group, the 'other', the 'enemy'. Chapter Two section 2.11, described Nelson's (2002) idea of the enemy as an 'it' which can be maimed and tortured. Elbedour et al. (1997) did not find that the enemy presented by the children participating in their study was an entity as dehumanized and brutalized as that which Nelson (2002) suggests is common among discourses of war; yet, they did find that a "critical component of the 'we' identity of the Palestinians has become the mortal enemy of Israel" (226). Elbedour et al. (1997) came to this conclusion because the children's drawings tended to depict violent confrontation between Palestinians and Israelis. They argue that the depictions function to distinguish the children from the outside enemy. According to the description of their methods, the children were neither interviewed nor asked to write a description of their pictures for the researchers. Drawings which depicted confrontation between Palestinians and Israelis or included any occupation-related entities (e.g. jeeps, soldiers, etc.) were automatically assigned to the category of conflict/political identity. It is not readily apparent how depictions of Israeli social actors and military apparatus can be taken to mean that the children view Israel not just as an enemy, but a mortal one at that. It is possible that the children were representing the world as they perceive it, their daily experiences of life under occupation. The findings of the TRANSITIVITY analysis

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[2] It should be emphasized that both the children participating in the present research and the participants of Giacaman's (2001) study are residents of the West Bank. Studies on young people in the Gaza Strip differ: One study quoted by Omar Barak in the Israeli *Ha'aretz* newspaper (April 27, 2002) reveals that of 1000 Gaza Strip residents aged 9 to 16 over 70% said they wanted to be martyrs.

conducted on this corpus similarly reveal countless depictions of violence attributed to the occupation, violent confrontations between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers and humiliation suffered at the hands of Israeli soldiers. It is clear from these findings that the out-group has been constructed only in relation to the violent, destructive and humiliating impact it has on the in-group. It can be argued that such an out-group could only be viewed as an enemy. Yet, surprisingly, as the findings of the APPRAISAL analysis illustrate, the children employ the term *enemy* in their descriptions of Group I1 fewer than a handful of times, and never in conjunction with intensifiers like worst, hated, or mortal. The children, when construing the actions and being of Group I1, refer to the social actors as what they are: *Israelis*, *Jews* and *soldiers*. Chapter Five, section 5.1.d, highlighted how, apart from the few instances of the term *enemy*, the only other derogatory term used by the children to denote Group I1 is *terrorist*. When this term is used, it is usually in conjunction with one of the above three, *Israelis*, *Jews* and *soldiers*. In these cases, the children simultaneously dehumanize Group I1 as a *terrorist*, yet keep their human identity by referring to what they are in everyday life, *Israelis* and *Jews*. It seems often taken for granted in the literature on the construction of in- and out-groups that groups in conflict will always paint a dehumanized picture of the other. However, as has been demonstrated repeatedly throughout the present study, it seems that there is a relative degree of indifference among these children when it comes to Group I1; instead of constructing an intensely barbaric, demonic and dehumanized out-group, they tend to construe their world precisely as it is: occupied. Instead of concerning themselves with constructing and characterizing the out-group, the data, with its many negated verbs and projected clauses which report what others think and say about Group P1, points to a tendency on the children's part to refute the out-groups' construction of the in-group. Indeed, as the sections in Chapter Two, particularly on **mental** and **verbal** processes indicated, the children seem to be very aware of the generally negative view of Palestinians held by Israel, the world and their media. Through their preoccupation with asserting their normality and their humanity in opposition to the widely held assumption that they are terrorists, the children's discourse is carefully constructing the in-group, not the out-group. The out-group is consistently constructed and characterized only in relation to its role as occupier. It is the occupation that the children object to – there is an almost robotic repetition across the corpus of the children's objection to the occupation. It is not the Jews or the Israelis who are

objected to, as the inclusion of Judaism in the Holy Land, as being part of the inherently religious nature and history of Palestine, suggests. The children do not represent the conflict as being about hatred of an enemy, but about Group 11's occupation of Palestine and the Palestinian people. The children's language choices suggest the solution is simple; end the occupation and let people live in peace: *I hope that the occupation will be over and to be come between us love and peace because we need freedom* [9C(12)].

It could be that this lack of focus on the out-group has something to do with the fact the constructors of this discourse are children. Nugent's (1994) findings reveal that when expressing emotional attachment to their country, the children did so "solely in terms of the relationship of the child to Ireland, its history and culture" (39). When more political sentiments were expressed, they were primarily descriptions of Ireland as being occupied by the British, rather than describing what a terrible group of people the British are. As was the case with the children of the present research, Nugent's (1994) data suggests that the children tended to focus their comments about the out-group on the act of occupation rather than the character of the occupier. It may be then, that it is possible to describe the children's discourse as a discourse of life in war, rather than a discourse of war. The lack of a tendency to focus on the construction of an out-group through language choices which dehumanize and bestialize, combined with the clear focus on the military occupation of their land, suggests that these children are construing life as it is in an occupied society. Their discourse is not a discourse of war; their descriptions of life under occupation do not simultaneously sound a vengeful war cry against the Israelis.

Part of the children's construction of the in-group, of the Palestinian people, is construing the particular relationship they have with the land. The sense of Palestinian-ness these children express has undoubtedly been shaped by the battles with Israel for Palestine. The references to violence, destruction, loss and suffering attest to this. Yet, at the same time, there is also a very innocent relationship with the land, a relationship where great pride is expressed for the landscape, scenery, and also history, culture and traditions of the Palestinian people. These findings echo Nugent's (1994) research with Irish children, which found that the participants had a very concrete conception of their country. The TRANSITIVITY templates identified in the

data of the corpus, particularly those presented and discussed in Chapter Two, sections 4.2.a and 4.2.b, show an attachment to Palestine based on aspects of the country like ecology, physical characteristics, history and culture. These templates are virtually echoes of the categories described in Nugent's (1994) study. However, one main difference in the findings of the present study and Nugent's is that the levels of attachment, often signaled by the presence of concrete, abstract and sometimes critical statements about the country, do not seem to be indicators of a particular age group. Indeed, children of all age ranges in this study express positive, uncritical attachment, usually through simple adjectives such as *nice* and *beautiful* as seen in the findings of both the TRANSITIVITY analysis (**relational** processes) and the inscribed APPRAISAL analysis. With regard to more abstract statements, they do appear more regularly in children of Grade 11, falling more into categories three (idealized-ambivalent) and four (integrated-committed) introduced in Nugent (1994) (see Chapter Two, section 2.6). Specifically, these abstract statements exhibit not only a commitment to the development of the country, but through these clauses the children "identif[y] national characteristics in their own awareness of themselves as persons" (Nugent, 1994: 32). Examples are: *being a Palestinian is like being a lonely rose without any water or sunlight* [11IB(13)] and *to be Palestinian is to live an experience that is not understood by others* [11IB(12)]. These statements are highly reflective on the nature of what it means to be a Palestinian. These two children have pondered their situation and, in the first case, produced a beautiful simile, while in the second case exhibited a reflective awareness characteristic of Nugent's category four. The child is aware that there are others in the world who have different experiences; these unshared experiences separate him/herself from others, but the child does not reject his/her own experience. Indeed it seems, as Nugent suggests of this category, that the child's personal identity is tied to the country's past, present and future. Such reflective and sometimes also abstract/poetic statements are not, as in Nugent's findings, limited to the oldest children. Of the youngest children, one clause in particular stands out: *we as Palestinians do not hurt people just to have a good time* [7B(6)]. This is an interesting clause because it exhibits elements of Nugent's categories two, three and four. The child exhibits awareness that people from other countries have perceptions, mostly negative, of Palestinians. In response, the child evokes a comparison of Palestinian violence to what he/she views as senseless, 'fun' crime. Palestinian actions are reflected upon in this sentence, seemingly viewed as

negative, yet in the end, justified. This clause reflects a commitment to the group, to the country, even if that commitment is not always pretty, so to speak. Overall, it can be seen how these children are not, as Elbedour et al. (1997) suggest in their research, damaged/influenced to such an extent by the conflict that their mentality is one of mere reflex rather than reflection.

An area of the data which might, at first look, seem constitutive of a negative discourse of war is the fact that, as has already been highlighted, there are noticeably few references to normal daily life activities in comparison with the dominance of expressions of violence, destruction and suffering. One theme resounding through Elbedour et al. (1997), Aqtash, Seif & Seif (2004) and MacMullin & Odeh (1999) is that the children's (and, in the case of Aqtash et al., the media's) expressions of their own personal identity are related more to pastoral images of a peaceful life on their traditional homeland rather than aspects of an individual identity such as relationships with friends and success at school. It is true that these aspects of the children's identity appear very infrequently when compared to their construal of aspects of the conflict. However, the fact that the children assert their normality, their humanity and a love for the mundane activities of everyday life at all in this data which was collected in the months following the 2002 invasion and reoccupation of the West Bank, is a significant positive finding (e.g. sections 4.2.a, particularly students [9B(1)], [11IB(13)] and [9B(5)] and 5.2.e, student [11IB(7)]). During the worst period in the cycle of violent history between the Israelis and the Palestinians, when Israeli F-16 fighter planes and Apache helicopters were dropping bombs on densely populated residential Palestinian neighbourhoods, when the Palestinian population was under curfew for weeks at a time, there are still clauses in the corpus which express the children's love of *things like the moon and stars and music and the rain* [7BI(1)] (e.g. Chapter Two sections 4.2.c and 4.3.b). Somehow, amidst the chaos of their lives, these children are capable, at least a little, of revealing aspects of themselves and their personalities seemingly untouched by the conflict.

As part of an individual identity, Elbedour et al. (1997) find that personal accomplishment or ambition is virtually unrecognized except as it relates to the struggle. On the face of things, such a conclusion can be drawn from the data of the present study as well, as it has already been seen that aspects of the children's lives

separate from the occupation and the Intifada are very infrequently instantiated across the corpus. However, depending on the perspective from which one approaches the data, a more nuanced conclusion can be drawn. Apart from the odd clause like *I would like to be James Bond* [7BI(13)], expressions of future ambition are in the framework of the social development of Palestine. Whereas Elbedour et al. (1997) find martyrdom as the primary ambition relating to support of the struggle, it has already been discussed how that is not the case with these Palestinian children. Instead, these children's ambitions express a commitment to education and learning, or a caring profession: across the **mental** processes presented and discussed in section 4.3.b the desire *to live peacefully* and to *have their own country free of occupation* is construed as being achievable by becoming educated, as the following examples illustrate: *I would like to share my knowledge and education with all Palestinians because it is an excellent way of improving this country* [11IB(10)], *I would like to become a doctor when I finish my degree in order to reduce the pain of others, save lives and give comfort* [9CI(6)] and *I always dream to work with small kids or to work in a zoo to take care of baby animals or to work in a place where I take care of old people* [9C(17)]. Moreover, data gathered in the course of this study, but not included in the corpus, highlights how the children position education in relation to the occupation via metaphors such as education is the key, the solution, our weapon, the right path, etc. This desire to become educated and free the country in a non-violent way (e.g. *I find that dancing is a better way of fighting* [11IB(10)]) is a significant positive finding, very different in tone to the foreboding conclusions of other researchers whose data has revealed more depressing, hopeless findings.

The children's ambitions related to the sense of community mentioned above might also be seen as a sign of how the situation has socialized the children. The sense of community developed under occupation through shared suffering might be leading to the sense that their future is group-oriented rather than individual. Even if the young people are only expressing a desire to contribute to the development of their country[3] because they know it is the 'right' or 'expected' thing to say in such a context (as opposed to the desire to be *James Bond* or a *ballerina,* which may reflect more honest

[3] Although it was not a goal of the present study to explore the gender-related aspects of the children's discourse, it is interesting to note that the clauses which expressed a future ambition to participate in caring professions were uttered by female students, while clauses which expressed a future ambition to develop the country through professions such as engineering, were uttered by male students.

ambitions), there is still clearly a pressure felt, from somewhere inside and/or outside, to envision their futures in these collective terms. It may be that the sense of Palestinian group identity is contributing to this future vision, or it may also be that it is a typical reaction of children to a life lived helplessly in war.

Helplessness may be a theme resounding through the children's discourse, but hopelessness is not. The children's language choices do reveal physical helplessness and a sense of victimization, but instantiations of mental agency, via the lexical items of *hope*, *dream*, *believe*, etc. exhibit the children's resilience and positive outlook. The desire to continue, to not give in and surrender, appears across the corpus, in virtually all areas of the TRANSITIVITY system. The APPRAISAL analysis reveals similar strength, particularly in the personal admiration type of positive Judgment of Group P1's social actors. One child poignantly captures the tenacious spirit of the corpus in general: *I will not give up my rights and dreams because if we all give up our dreams our lives would be impossible to live and no reason to keep on moving* [11IB(13)]. The children do envision a future, and it is through their visions that a heartening account of progress can be seen shining through the discouraging analysis of oppression.

The present research has explored how a group of West Bank young people linguistically construe their experiences of reality. As such, it represents an alternative discourse emerging from the multitude of voices on and from the Middle East. The present study focuses on a particular group of students at a particular time in a particular place. While there are surely aspects of reality, as these children see it, shared by Palestinian society at large, this study did not set out to explore how all Palestinian children living in the occupied Palestinian Territories construe their experiences. The voices of this research speak from Ramallah, not from Gaza, Jenin or Hebron. They do not speak from overcrowded Palestinian Authority schools, nor do they speak from the squalor of the refugee camps. A very interesting area of potential future research would therefore be to conduct a similar linguistic exploration of children's world-view in other locations and social classes of Palestinian society. Of specific interest would be the degree to which the sense of hope and resilience exhibited in the data collected for the present study speaks through voices of the rest of Palestine's children. Related to this, it would also be very informative to conduct

empirical research into the question of where the hope is coming from: are parents and relatives, teachers and school administrators, for example, contributing to the sense of constructive purpose the children feel they have in life?

Regardless of the approach taken, or the questions asked, more research into discourses constructed by Palestinian children will reveal that each one of them owns a story. Their stories, I am sure, will be of conflict, and of hope.

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Appendix A

The table below lists the texts included in the data set, and provides a key for the codes of reference used in the body of the dissertation.

7A(1-18)	9A(1-17)	11IB(1-18)
7B(1-15)	9B(1-22)	
7BI(1-16)	9C(1-26)	
7C(1-17)	9CI(1-11)	

Key: In order to ensure the anonymity of the children, each text has been assigned a code.
First number (e.g. 7;9;11) = The children's grade level
Letter (e.g. A;B;C;CI;IB) = Each grade level had more than one class; this letter therefore distinguishes the classes
Final number (e.g. 1-18) = Each individual student in the class has his/her own number

The following table provides a sample of the text types comprising the data set. These texts exemplify the typical length, style and English language level of the data set in general.

Sample Text 1: Written Text (Pen-pal letter)

Dear Friend,
Hi, my name is ___. How are you?
I'm fifteen years old, I live in Ramallah with my Palestinian sisters and brothers, with their fears, and their wounds, and with our land. We all help each other especially in this bad situation.
Have you ever saw your brother, or your sister shoot in front of your eyes? Of course no, because only Palestinian people have to see that. Have you ever saw your father pulled in front of your eyes?
Palestine is a treasure for the Palestinian people, it is the land that gave them food, a place to live in, the courage to defend it from any enemy, the happiness, everything, so now in this bad situation we had to defend for this treasure to keep it with us, we should struggle for this treasure even if we have to sacrifice in our lifes.
Our life become so hard, only watching blood, wounded and killed people and children, crying, and shouting, all the happiness that we live in before we erased from our life, we can't see anything except blood.
People who live in villages need to pass many checkpoints by walking, so I don't think people still want to live in this country, for this bad situation, and to live in fears, so many people immigrated for many reasons, maybe their houses were destroyed or maybe they are suspensed about their children. So do you think that we are the terrirost? Do you think that we are the killers?
In front of that I'm going to tell about some of our traditions like our tradition in dressing, or in our food, our weddings, singing, dancing like the dabkeh.
There are many differences between our religions, a muslim or a Christian, we are differ in the way and place of praying, but all of us pray for the lord, we do not have a difference between a muslim and a Christian in our country, because we have to together and in one hand to fight together against those israeli's.
I wish only to have peace in our country, and to live in security like any other country, and I wish that all the countries will listen to us because we are not the terrirost one.
Grade 9 Student

Sample Text 2: Spoken Text (Artwork interview)

R: Hi, what's your name?
S: ____
R: ____, ok tell me about your picture.
S: Uuhh. I have at home a tank because I see it everyday, the street, a destroyed building and uuhh the people in the building are killed
R: What is the soldier saying?

S: Get out from your building now
R: Ok and what would you like to say to him?
S: I don't want because it's my building
R: Ok. And in general, if you could talk to a soldier, what would you say?
S: Stop. What are you doing, because you are killing people.
R: And what would he say to you?
S: He will say that I'm soldier and I have to do what I have to do
R: And how does that make you feel?
S: Sad 'cause I'll be killed in this way because he has a very…he's really bad
R: Anything else?
S: No
R = Researcher
S =Grade 7 Student