

The Representation of the Two American Candidates of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections in a Selection of World's Newspapers: A Cognitive-Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates the presentation of the two American candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the presidential elections that occurred during 2016 in a selection of American, British and Eastern newspaper articles. The study aims to examine how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tools, together with cognitive semantics tools, can be applied to highlight the representation of both candidates throughout the period of the elections. The study focuses on the framing technique as a tool of the cognitive semantics and highlights how the lexical choices affect the representation of each candidate both positively and negatively.

Keywords: Cognitive Semantics; Critical Discourse Analysis; Discourse Historical Approach; Framing

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of the Study

Elections give the right to citizens to vote and decide who governs. Elections show how citizens peacefully pass power to their elected candidates. ("Elections", 2016)

According to Sanders (n.d.),

election days come and go. But the struggle of the people to create a government which represents all of us and not just the one percent - a government based on the principles of economic, social, racial and environmental justice - that struggle continues.

Every four years, the U.S. presidential election is held in November. During the process, each political party chooses a nominee and supports them. The nominated candidates devote their campaigns to illustrate their views; then, a candidate wins the elections when they receive the majority of electoral votes. (Presidential election process 2017). The democratic and the Republican parties are the two major political

parties that dominate the U.S. elections. In the U.S. presidential election for the year 2016, Hillary Clinton was the representative of the Democratic Party, while Donald Trump was the representative of the Republican one. (Elections 2016). On the one hand, Hillary Clinton is a law professor and an activist. In 2001, she was elected to the U.S. Senate. From 2009 till 2013, she became the 67th U.S. Secretary of State. In 2016, she was nominated as the Democratic Party nominee for the U.S. presidential elections. (Biography 2017a). On the other hand, Donald Trump was one of the most important business leaders in the 1980s and 1990s. He was a famous reality television star. In June 2015, he announced himself as the Republican Party nominee for the coming U.S. presidential elections. (Biography 2017b)

Different newspapers throughout the whole world tend to thoroughly cover the presidential elections period. Many newspapers cover the 2016 Democratic and Republican conventions. Both candidates are portrayed in different ways. While the two of them are negatively presented in some newspapers, they are positively presented in others.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The present study aims at analyzing how different world newspapers portray the two candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, during the U.S. presidential elections period (2016). This is carried out by a thorough critical discourse analysis of some of the world's newspapers articles, notably articles that portray Clinton and Trump in multiple ways.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1- How are Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump represented in the American, British, and Eastern newspapers articles under scrutiny?
- 2- How do framing and lexical choices help in portraying Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the American, British, and Eastern newspapers articles under scrutiny?

2. METHODOLOGY

Data and Data Collection

The data in the present study is retrieved from online newspapers. The articles are collected from March to November 2016, during the U.S. presidential elections, to explore how the world news stories portray the two candidates of the U.S. elections: Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. More specifically, the data is collected from American newspapers (New York Times, New York Post, and USA Today), British newspapers (The Guardian, Daily Record, and Daily Express) and Arabic-speaking Eastern newspapers (Al-Ahram Daily, Asharq Alawsat, and Alquds). The rationale for the selection of these newspapers is their popularity, following Mellanen's (2012) claim that newspapers' popularity indicates highly readable content; consequently, readers would trust this content for its naturalized view of the world. The selected newspapers come up at the top of the Google search for the newspapers that properly cover the U.S. Elections in full detail during 2016.

Three main steps were followed prior to analysis in the present study. First, I searched for the articles on the websites of the chosen journals. Then, I chose the articles that cover the subject of the elections from

March to November 2016, and had them downloaded and archived. Finally, I analyzed the chosen articles employing the cognitive semantics approach with special attention to framing tools (See Appendix A for links to the coded articles).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) emerged in the early 1990s when a group of scholars spent two days in the University of Amsterdam, discussing together a number of theories and methods of discourse analysis. They explored many similarities and differences between different approaches in CDA (Wodak 2001b). Although Wodak suggests that critical linguistics (CL) and CDA could be used interchangeably, it seems that the CDA term is used to represent the theory known as CL. Accordingly, there is a definition that may refer to both terms which states that CL or CDA refers to the analysis of relationships that relate to dominance, racism, power, and control as being presented in language.

One of the CDA goals is to investigate any social inequality being expressed in discourse. Wodak (2001b) figures out that there are three concepts in CDA: power, history, and ideology. CDA does not suggest that there is a relationship between discourse and society; rather, it focuses on the concept of having a structural relationship between discourse and dominance. Consequently, each discourse is produced and understood in a historical way, while being positioned in time and place. Simultaneously, the dominance structures are permissible by people in power. These dominance structures turn the effects of power and ideology to natural and normal forms in discourse. Wodak (2001b) discusses the notions critical, ideology and power.

While "critical" is a notion that reaches the data and inserts it in the social, "ideology" is a notion that replaces the unequal power relations. Ideology studies the different ways that can present meaning through other symbolic forms (Thompson 1990). It further studies the social contexts surrounding these symbolic forms. Against the two notions of "critical" and "ideology", CDA does not consider language as being powerful; the idea lies

in the powerful people who manipulate the language. This highlights the reason behind the idea that CL always chooses the thoughts of those who suffer and offers a critical analysis of people who are powerful, resulting in social inequalities while having the chance to make conditions better.

CDA is so much related to language as a social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997) and it takes into consideration the significance of the language context (Wodak 2000). According to Wodak (2006, 174),

[CDA] is not concerned with evaluating what is 'right' or 'wrong'. CDA ... should try to make choices at each point in the research itself, and should make these choices transparent. It should also justify theoretically why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others.

Relatedly, van Dijk (1986) summarizes some of the CDA goals that mainly focus on the relationship between research interests and political commitments presented as critical science. He defines CDA as an approach that is concerned with the study and analysis of any written or spoken text to explore how the notions of power, dominance, inequality and bias are tackled within different types of contexts (1998). He further asserts that CDA can be considered as a shared concept while analyzing any linguistic, semiotic, or discourse work (1993). He further defines CDA by negating that it is not a direction of research nor a theory or a method, rather than it can be connected to any approach in the humanities or social sciences (van Dijk 2001b).

CDA studies social problems on the discourse level and the application of power abuse and domination. It opposes the idea of power abuse and does not support those people who use their power against the oppressed. It directly defends the oppressed people without any denial to be known for bias. It is fully aware of the connection between discourse and social structures. Against this backdrop, CDA requires an interdisciplinary work to offer a better understanding of how language can produce and transmit knowledge, arrange social institutions or even impose power.

3.2 Cognitive Semantics

Cognitive Semantics appeared in the 1970s in opposition to the objectivist world-view of the Anglo-American tradition philosophy and the truth-conditional semantics approach. It studies the mind and how it can be related to the experience or culture embedded into it. In this regard, language is considered as a tool to reveal the conceptual organization and structure (Evans and Green 2006). What makes cognitive semantics different from any other approach is the nature and organization of the mental representations. It studies the nature of human interaction and creates a theory of conceptual structures. Talmy, one of the cognitive linguists, illustrates that "research on cognitive semantics is research on conceptual content and its organization on language" (Talmy 2000, 4).

Evans and Green (2006) state four guiding principles that mark all the approaches that are related to cognitive semantics: "Conceptual structure is embodied", "semantic structure is conceptual structure", "Meaning representation is encyclopedic", and "Meaning-construction is conceptualisation." These principles paved the way for a number of incidents that help in starting the direct study of cognitive semantics. First, to explain 'Conceptual structure is embodied', cognitive semantics is interested in studying how people deal with and interact with their outer world; it also constructs a conceptual structure theory on how people experience this outside world. "**Embodied cognition thesis**" is the outcome of the study of conceptual organization in relation to the study of how people interact with their external world. This thesis comes out with the idea that the conceptual structure is considered as meaningful when there is a bodily experience that accompanies it.

Evans and Green make the thesis clear through an example of a man locked in a room

A room has the structural properties associated with a bounded landmark: it has enclosed sides, an interior, a boundary and an exterior. As a consequence of these properties, the bounded landmark has the additional functional property of containment: the man is unable to leave the room. Although this seems rather obvious, observe that this instance of containment is partly

a consequence of the properties of the bounded landmark and partly a consequence of the properties of the human body. Humans cannot pass through minute crevices like gas can, or crawl through the gaps under doors like ants can.

(Evans and Green 2006, 157-158)

This act of containment is a direct result of the physical interaction with the external world. The second principle 'semantic structure is conceptual structure' states that language is part of the concepts embedded in the speaker's mind, and that it is not related to the objects in the external world. So, there is a claim that semantic structure, and a word's meaning, can be viewed as lexical concepts that are "the conventional form that conceptual structure requires in order to be encoded in language" (Evans and Green 2006, 158).

3.2.1 Framing

The theory of frame semantics was developed in the 1970s and 1980s by Fillmore Charles (Evans and Green 2006). It is derived from Charles' work on Case Grammar in the 1960s which continues to proceed in academic study in accordance with his work on Construction Grammar. Evans and Green claim that frame semantics help scholars discover the characteristics of people's structured knowledge related to words and their consequences. Fillmore's theory suggests that a frame is the representation of experience or knowledge at the conceptual level and being saved in the individual's long-term memory. Frames are accompanied by dynamic qualities in which people can imagine certain actions in connection to other objects or actions according to a certain frame. For instance, we can mentally imagine if someone is going to have dinner out, he/she is going to go to a restaurant, choose a table, read the menu, order a meal, eat in a plate, use a spoon/fork/knife, ask for the cheque, pay money, then leave the restaurant.

According to Fillmore (1982), we can consider a group of words like buy, sell, and goods as being related to the commercial event frame in which people might have background for what each word means or represents. Consequently, the valence appears as the way words can be combined with other words to form new grammatical structures. For instance, the

verb "buy" needs to be combined to two participants (divalent) the buyer and the goods. While "pay" as a verb needs to be combined to three participants (trivalent) the buyer, the seller, and the goods. The verb buy is so much connected with the nouns buyer and goods in which money is transferred from buyer to get the goods. The verb pay is so much related to nouns like buyer and seller in which money is paid from buyer to seller. All these relations are related to the frame of the commercial event that helps in understanding these lexical items and making use of them. According to Fillmore (1982), in one sentence that has the verb pay, it is not important to mention all the participants (buyer, seller, and goods) because they are clear in the background of the frame.

Lakoff (2005) showcases that "[f]raming is about moral values and systems of ideas primarily, and secondarily about the language used to express those values and ideas. Reframing is reconceptualizing – using your mind in a different way" (p.1). Reconceptualization refers to changing the target of any policy by replacing it within another context to create a totally different group of ideas. For example:

Conservatives reconceptualized taxes as useless burdens, afflictions placed on us by an inefficient, immoral, and bloated government – afflictions requiring "relief." So-called "tax relief" is a short, memorable phrase that evokes the new set of ideas about taxes. But don't confuse the slogan with the underlying ideas.

(Lakoff 2005, 2)

Lakoff (2005) cites Tannen who observes that words that should accompany the word "choice" are related to the frame of consumer and its own vocabulary, like choosing between shoes or shampoo. Lakoff (2006) classifies frames into two types: deep frames which frame how people view their own life and surface frames which involve certain words, or phrases with different ways of communication, i.e., "liberal elites." Whereas surface frames meaning depends on the deep frames that characterize the moral and political ideas of people and frame their view of the world, deep frames are considered as the base of our minds on which all ideas are built. So the surface frames meaning depends on the base made by the deep frames. When people think in frames, they reach

conclusions that do not necessarily follow logic. For example, in politics and economy, people tend to make use of different types of frames rather than laws of logic. But those frames differ from one person to another; thinking of specific frames for special situations is not universal.

The way we think is the way we use the frames in our minds. A fact should fit the frames in our brains and if not, the frames remain the same in our brains while the fact is being ignored. For a fact to be accepted, it should be consistent with the frames in our brains. Lakoff (2005) discusses the several factors of conservative populism. The first factor is the ordinary people frame. This frame differentiates between the elite as the oppressors and the ordinary people as the good people who are oppressed. The frame shows how ordinary people are oppressed in the sense that “Populism is about identifying oneself as an ordinary person, oppressed by the elite. The ordinary person is poor, uneducated, hardworking (doing manual labor), physically strong, religious, patriotic, uses bad grammar, has loosely articulated pronunciation, and has a traditional sex role” (Lakoff 2005, 134).

4. FRAMING ANALYSIS

Framing is regarded as an effective tool that helps in the portrayal of the two U.S. presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. In newspapers, words are chosen in a way that is expected to deliver a certain message and/or frame certain ideas about each candidate to embed them to peoples’ minds. The power of the newspapers is manifested in the precise choice of words that carries meaning whether implicitly or explicitly and then directs the reader to reach specific result. Analysis has revealed different recurrent frames in the world newspapers. Below is a representation of these frames and how they connect to each candidate across different world news.

4.1 Frame of Racism

The racial frame encompasses some racist ideologies of both candidates, but mainly the large number of examples is presented within Trump’s ideology towards “the other” and how he tries to embed these

racial ideas within the minds of his supporters and the whole American society.

4.1.1 Clinton and racism

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
1	Needy Latinos, taco bowl engagement, deplorables, basement dwellers, and bucket of losers.	Daily Record (Article #4)	Negative

The example above is the only example that presents Clinton as a racist. Clinton describes Latin people and minorities in completely severe way, as being indigent losers who suffer a miserable state. Although it is only one example, it highlights a deep dark side of Clinton’s character that raises fear among minorities in the sense that they are humiliated and that they face a lot of dangers if Clinton wins the elections. There is a message to the reader that illustrates how Clinton’s presidency is dangerous and that people should not elect her.

4.1.2 Trump and racism

In the American newspapers, Trump promises to deport all Muslims and immigrants and send them out of the country and isolate America from the whole world. Trump’s hatred to “the other” is embossed in his nationalism and love to America. The consequences of this hatred spread among the American society, especially students who proceeded to their class-mates just because they are of a different origin, they embrace the idea of isolation as in singing “build a wall.” The consequences are not limited to the spread of the idea of isolation, but also they degenerate to the extent that they trigger frustration and desperation among minorities, to the extent that they relinquish their own rights just to avoid the continuous indictments they face all the time. Other consequences include that people become more bold; they become able to say whatever they want, and bullying is spread all over the American society. Trump’s campaign is based on racism, bigotry, and prejudice. The background of the frame carries a serious alarm to the Americans that Trump is unfit for the US presidency and that they should never vote for Trump.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
1.	<u>xenophobic nationalism</u>	<i>New York Times</i> (Article #1)	Negative
2.	total and <u>complete shutdown of Muslim newcomers</u> plus the <u>deportation</u> of 11 million undocumented immigrants		
3.	a group of white students suddenly began jeering at their Latino classmates and chanting: “ <u>Build a wall! Build a wall!</u> ”	<i>New York Times</i> (Article #3)	
4.	<u>wounded by accusations</u> that <u>she doesn’t belong</u> in the country in which she was born, Briana is thinking of being home-schooled		
5.	Trump fans at his rallies directing <u>crude slurs</u> not just at Hillary Clinton, but also <u>at blacks, Latinos, Muslims and gay people.</u>		
6.	a <u>tidal wave of bullying</u> has come through,		
7.	Trump’s <u>venom</u> has poisoned schools across the country		
8.	Trump is a <u>racist</u>		
9.	Trump campaign is enveloped by a cloud of <u>racial, ethnic and religious animosity</u>		
10.	a school club had put up posters criticizing racism, and they were then marred by graffiti such as “ <u>Go back</u> where you came from” and “Trump 2016.”		
11.	Trump is a <u>deranged, ignorant, bigoted</u>		<i>USA Today</i> (Article #2)

On the other hand, the British newspapers *Daily Express* and the *Guardian* portray how Trump is a racist and that he trades in racism. He never accepts “the other.” He only favors the American people. He proclaims his hatred to minorities, ethnic groups, and Muslims even if they are related to the Americans by any means. He is used to insulting Mexicans, Muslims, Blacks and immigrants. He plans to stop these groups

from entering America while deporting those who already live there. He intends to isolate America from the whole world. The power of newspapers appears in these examples as they highlight the result of this sense of racism and how the American society is going to be divided with hatred being spread among its citizens. This sense of racism is embedded within Trump’s core plans.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
19	<u>insult</u> the mother of an <u>American Muslim</u> soldier killed in Iraq	<i>Daily Express</i> (Article #1)	Negative
20	<u>the Mexico border wall</u>	<i>Daily Express</i> (Article #4)	
21	<u>ban on Muslims</u> immigrants		
22	Trump who would <u>delegitimize</u> the ascent of women and <u>minorities</u>	<i>The Guardian</i> (Article #1)	
23	His approach to trade is in line with his approach to <u>immigration</u> – the <u>building of walls</u> .	<i>The Guardian</i> (Article #2)	
24	His <u>bigotry</u>		

Finally, all the Eastern newspapers highlight Trump’s sense of racism, prejudice, together with his sense of hatred towards “the other” whether blacks, Muslims, minorities, or ethnic groups. Trump does not accept the other or living with the other. The background of the frame of racism shows how Trump is a racist

and that he never accepts the other and how his presidency brings hatred among people and causes an isolation for the American society from the whole world. People are advised implicitly not to vote for Trump and never let him win these elections.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
31	رجل متطرف بكل المقاييس An extremist by all accounts	<i>Al-Ahram Newspaper (Article #1)</i>	Negative
32	وعنصريته الكريهة And his grotesque racism.		
33	كراهيته للأقليات الدينية والعرقية His hatred of religious and ethnic minorities		
34	تورط ترامب في الهجوم على اسرة الجندي الامريكي من أصل عراقي المسلمة دون اي مسوغ سوى تأكيد موقفه العنصري الكاره لكل مسلم حتى لو كان جنديا امريكيا Trump's involvement in the attack on the family of the American soldier of Iraqi Muslim origin without any justification other than to assert his racist attitude to every Muslim, even if he was an American soldier.	<i>Al-Ahram Newspaper (Article #2)</i>	
35	شخصية استفزازية لاتقبل الاخر ولا تحسن التفاهم والتعايش معه في ظل وجود اختلافات عرقية ودينية. A provocative figure who does not accept the other and who does not improve understanding and coexistence in the light of ethnic and religious differences.		

As shown above, the frame of racism is mainly associated with the character of Trump who practices racism against blacks, Muslims, minorities and any other ethnic group. In all the world newspapers, Trump appears as a racist who aims at spreading hatred towards the other and refuses to live with any other group other than Americans.

4.2 Frame of Misogyny and Sexism

The frame is about racism against women. The frame is depicted in all world news only through the character of Trump who announces his hatred and condemnation towards women.

4.2.1 Trump and misogyny and sexism

The American newspapers use the frame of misogyny and sexism and the very harsh lexis used in the articles to portray the character of Trump who is used to humiliating women, and abusing them sexually. The word “unapologetic” raises a brutal sense related to Trump’s character that this sexual abuse is intended and it brings feelings of joy, unblemished with any sense of regret. This harsh description is accompanied by a complete devaluation to all women in the world. The background of the frame makes it clear through these two examples that the reader must be aware of the demeaning life which awaits all the Americans not only women if Trump wins the presidential elections. People should avoid voting for Trump.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
1	<u>unapologetic sexism</u>	<i>New York Times</i>	Negative
2	<u>degrading comments</u> about women	(Article #1)	

On the other hand, the British newspapers crystalize another catastrophic issue related to the character of Trump which is that Trump hates women and is used to sexually abuse them. Trump considers women as being of a low standard and that they can never be at the same level as men. He declares his hatred to them and by then this hatred towards women is spread all over the American society. The background of the frame sets an alarm of danger related to Trump’s presidency and the malicious ideas which Trump spreads all over America.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
3	multiple allegations of <u>sexual assault</u>	<i>Daily Express</i> (Article #2)	Negative
4	Trump who would <u>delegitimize</u> the ascent of women	<i>The Guardian</i> (Article #1)	
5	He has fought a <u>campaign of abuse and nastiness</u> , riddled with racism and <u>misogyny</u> .	<i>The Guardian</i> (Article #3)	
6	thin-skinned billionaire who trades in racism and <u>misogyny</u>	<i>The Guardian</i> (Article #4)	
7	The billionaire is a <u>grabber and kisser</u> of women		
8	<u>numerous allegations</u> of sexual assault by Mr Trump		
9	That most men favor Mr. Trump over Secretary Clinton demonstrates at some level a more <u>insidious sexism</u> than the one Mr Trump peddles: that centered on the mind, not the body		
10	It is a <u>hostility</u> —against seeing women as <u>genuinely equal</u> .		

The frame of misogyny and sexism is presented in all the Eastern newspapers through using lexis of dehumanization and humiliation of women to the fullest. Trump sexually abuses women at work. His sexual scandals are well-known to all the American society. Trump expounds his despicable statement of women. He not only sexually abuses them, but also describes them as dogs and pigs. This is a hugely disgraceful depiction of women that highlights the very disgraceful side of Trump’s character. The background of the frame presents an alarming depiction of the characterization of Trump that highlights the ominous life that awaits the American people after he wins the elections. People should not vote for Trump to avoid living the life depicted in the previous examples.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
11	ضد محاولات التحرش بهن داخل مكاتب العمل لتزيد من غضب النساء الأمريكيات Against attempts to molest them in labor offices to increase the anger of American women	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #2)	Negative
12	فضائحه الجنسية <u>His sexual scandals</u>	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #4)	
13	وتصريحاته بخصوص النساء وما تتسم به من نظرة دونية his statements about women and their inferiority		
14	وصف النساء بالكلاب والخنازير Describing women as dogs and pigs		

As presented in the world news, Trump is the only character who is presented through the frame of misogyny and sexism because of his direct declaration of his hatred towards women and that he condemns them to the extent that he sexually abuses them. In most of his talks, he is used to humiliate women and offend them with very harsh obscenities.

4.3 Frame of Feminism

The frame of feminism tackles the idea of supporting women and how women should be respected and their role must be appreciated. This frame is presented only through Clinton. The few examples that are related to Trump show how women are gathered to rise up against Trump.

4.3.1 Clinton and feminism

Only one example of the American newspapers comes as an assertion of the women's rights issue and how Clinton focuses on the essentiality of applying and focusing on women's rights. Although it is only one example, the background of the frame, presented in this example, highlights that Clinton is so much interested in the case of women's rights and that she applies them as being "human rights". So, people should elect Clinton as she proves she is capable of managing the American social issues.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
1	declaring that women's rights are human rights	New York Times (Article #2)	Positive

In the British newspapers, the frame of feminism portrays the power of women and how women should be respected and their role in the society should be enhanced. This frame focuses on the character of Clinton as a strong woman who is ready to win the US presidential elections and to be the first woman president throughout the US history. Clinton advocates women's rights. Through this portrayal of Clinton's character, a message is sent to the reader that Clinton is the right candidate for these elections and that she is the suitable candidate for the US presidency, so people should vote for her.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
2	If [I'm] playing the woman's card then deal me in!"	Daily Express (Article #3)	Positive
3	that power could be taken from them by a woman	The Guardian (Article #1)	
4	It is high time there was a woman president.	The Guardian (Article #3)	
5	The time is right for a female president	The Guardian (Article #4)	
6	She has stood consistently for the rights of women		
7	She offers the greatest hope that the supreme court defends abortion rights		

The frame of feminism is presented in the Eastern newspapers through focusing on the idea that if

Clinton wins, she is considered the first woman usurping the US presidency, the fact that arises the sense of victory to all women not only in America but also in the whole world. Clinton is portrayed as the woman who is so much concerned about women's rights and how women should be treated equally and with full respect. It becomes a desired feminist dream that such a serious and ambitious woman wins the US elections and be the first female president. This implies that people should elect her.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
8	فضلا عن انحياز غالبية النساء الامر يكتسب لها باعتبارها أول سيدة أمريكية تخوض الانتخابات الرئاسية In addition, the majority of American women aligned themselves with her as the first American woman to run in the presidential election.	Al-Ahram Daily (Article #2)	Positive
9	طموح وجدية حملها لتكون أول امرأة أمريكية تتنافس حول مقعد أبراهام لينكون Ambitious and serious, she became the first American woman to compete for Abraham Lincoln's seat.	Al-Ahram Daily (Article #3)	
10	امرأة تدافع عن حقوق النساء A Woman Defending Women's Rights		
11	وستكون أول امرأة تحكم الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية حال فوزها She will be the first woman to rule the United States once she wins.		
12	ويرى كثيرون في فوزها تحقيقاً لحلم أن تقود البلاد امرأة Many see her victory as a dream for the country to be led by a woman.	Al-Ahram Daily (Article #4)	
13	، فإذا فازت كلينتون شعرت الأكتريية بالانتصار لمبادئ المساواة واحترام النساء If Clinton wins, the majority will feel the victory of the principles of equality and respect for women.		

4.3.2 Trump and feminism

On the contrary, the frame of feminism appears in the Eastern newspapers in a way that shows how women stand together to face Trump's detrimental effect on them and the whole society. They refuse his candidacy and unite against his winning. Women are evoked against Trump because of his humiliating attitude towards all women, the idea that arouses the demand of an apology for all women as a sign of respect for these women who deserve to benefit from democracy and other feminist rights.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
14	احتشاد نساء الحزب الجمهورى وتوحدن ضد ترشيح ترامب Republican women rally and unite against Trump's candidacy	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #2)	Negative
15	أثارت بذاءات ترامب استياء كثيرين من الديمقراطيين وأنصار النسوية وحقوق المرأة وعلت أصوات كثيرات فى الهجوم عليه Trump's slurs have displeased many Democrats, feminists, women's rights and voices.	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #4)	
16	عليه أن يعتذر علنا الى جميع النساء والفتيات فى العالم» He has to apologize publicly to all the women and girls in the world.		

As presented in the previous examples, the frame of feminism appears in the articles in relation to Clinton who supports women and advocates their rights. Clinton is shown as the right candidate to win the US presidency as she will be the first female president in the US history. This is recognized as the typical evidence of applying women rights in the American society.

4.4 Frame of Capability

The frame of capability is one of the most important frames in this chapter. It sheds light on the ability and capability of each candidate whether Trump or Clinton to be the coming president and reflects this clearly to the reader to make up his/her mind to choose the perfect candidate who fits the US presidency.

4.4.1 Clinton and capability

In the American newspapers, the frame of capability illustrates how Clinton's character is highly appreciated specially for her sense of intelligence and her great experience in the political field. Clinton is capable of spreading equality and serving all Americans by providing them with all suitable opportunities in terms of jobs and paving the way for them to live within a stable society. All these descriptions of the capability of Clinton are embedded in the background of the frame of capability which evokes the idea that Clinton is the most capable candidate who deserves the US presidency; consequently, people should elect her to give America the chance to rise again.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
1	Our endorsement is rooted in respect <u>for her intellect, experience and courage.</u>	<i>New York Times</i> (Article #2)	Positive
2	It shows a <u>determined leader</u> intent on creating opportunity for struggling Americans at a time of economic upheaval		
3	an <u>unusual capacity</u> to reach across the aisle.		

In the British newspapers, the frame of capability highlights how Clinton gets two opposing points of view regarding her capability to be the coming US president. The first view is that she is portrayed as being able to build the American economy in an equitable way. This highlights Clinton's capability to win the US elections. She is depicted in a very strong way with the capability of fixing the harmful and dangerous issue that Trump raises throughout the elections. The more positive instances related to Clinton's capability to win the elections, the more encouraged the reader is to choose and elect Clinton to be the coming US president.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
7	<u>Building</u> a stronger fairer economy	<i>Daily Express</i> (Article #3)	Positive
8	HILLARY Clinton is seen as <u>the favourite to win</u> the US election	<i>Daily Express</i> (Article #4)	Positive
9	<u>strong start</u> in the presidential race		
10	<u>she's got a two in three chance</u> of winning		
11	she <u>has been preparing</u> for the last decade		
12	the election was held tomorrow, <u>Clinton would win</u> it		
13	she <u>will be able</u> to attack Mr Trump's mixed business record, bullying manner and more controversial suggestions		
14	she <u>will be able</u> to win the US election		

The frame of capability is applied in the Eastern newspapers in Al Ahram newspaper articles 3 and 4. In both articles, Clinton is shown as an experienced candidate who is acquainted with all the measures needed for America’s political issues. The background of the frame highlights the fact that Clinton is capable of the US presidency and that she deserves to be the

coming president. Like the American newspapers, the Eastern newspapers present only one example from Al quds article 1 which portrays Clinton in a negative way by describing her as a ramshackle candidate who is incapable of being the coming US president as she lacks the sense of security.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
33	<u>تجربة غنية بالخبرات والمعارف والتجارب</u> Experience rich in expertise, knowledge and trials	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #2)	Positive
34	<u>واكثر قدرة على مخاطبة مشاكل المنطقة</u> And more able to address the problems of the region.		
35	<u>كليتتون شخصية سياسية مخزومة منذ مطلع شبابها</u> Clinton is a veteran political figure from the beginning of her youth.	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #3)	

4.4.2 Trump and capability

The American newspapers present two opposing points of view about Trump’s capability of being the coming US president. The articles use the frame of capability through choosing specific words and expressions related to Trump’s capability. In the first point of view, Trump is described as being unqualified, he is not capable even to be advised by experts. He is not well-equipped with qualifications needed by America at that time. The background of

the frame indicates that Trump is unfit to win the elections and lacks capabilities of a president. There is an explicit message sent to the reader in order not to vote for Trump. The second point of view sheds light on Trump’s capability to benefit America and the American people. Trump, in examples 38 and 39, is depicted through lexis such as “citing his experience” and “good intuition” as a knowledgeable and experienced candidate who is fully aware of taxation issues and how people get advantage from this.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
36	too many voters described him in two words: “ <u>unqualified</u> ” and “racist.”	<i>New York Times</i> (Article #4)	Negative
37	Mr. Trump may be <u>beyond coaching</u>		
38	Mr. Trump, he said, also expressed <u>strong views about the taxation of interest</u> on business loans, citing his experience as a developer		Positive
39	but he has <u>very good intuition</u> about how these things will affect real people.”		
40	<u>He lacks the temperament,</u> knowledge, steadiness and honesty that America needs from its presidents.	<i>USA Today</i> (Article #1)	Negative
41	He is <u>ill-equipped</u> to be commander in chief	<i>USA Today</i> (Article #2)	
42	Trump is <u>disqualified</u> and <u>unqualified</u>		
43	he <u>does not meet these standards</u>	<i>USA Today</i> (Article #3)	

The British newspapers present two opposing points of view regarding the frame of capability related to Trump. The first point of view is presented through the Daily Express and it highlights Trump’s capability of the US presidency by choosing specific lexical choices that carry a positive description of Trump. In the Daily Express, Trump is presented to be the savior of Muslims who are always matched by terrorism. There is much hope that Trump keeps the world

away from any danger. The frame illustrates that he does not plan to isolate America from the world; he just bans immigration from troubled countries to be capable of keeping America safe. The background of the frame uncovers a positive side of Trump’s character by choosing specific lexis that prove how Trump cares for America and the whole world and how he is capable of winning the elections.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
44	the eccentric billionaire would help <u>clear the name of Muslims from terrorism.</u>	<i>Daily Express</i> (Article #1)	Positive
45	I want to see <u>the world safe.</u>		
46	<u>Can guide America</u> toward the right direction		
47	I want <u>a safe Europe</u> , I want <u>a safe Middle East</u>		
48	Trump is <u>going to win</u> in 10 days time		
49	<u>ban immigration to the US from “volatile” regions</u>		
50	“We <u>cannot let this evil continue.</u> ”	(Article #3)	

Then the Daily Record and The Guardian, in the British newspapers, come with the second point of view, in which an outright description of Trump as being incapable of the US presidency. Trump is portrayed as an inexperienced, ignoramus character

who exposes America to huge dangers and affects the whole world’s stability. The background of the frame regarding the second point of view sets an alarming view of Trumps’ character and how he is incapable of the US presidency.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
51	Trump is <u>unfit to be president</u>	<i>Daily Record</i> (Article #1)	Negative
52	He’s <u>not level-headed</u>	<i>Daily Record</i> (Article #2)	
53	<u>lacks appropriate experience</u>		
54	A Donald Trump <u>victory</u> would be <u>dangerous</u> for everyone	<i>The Guardian</i> (Article #2)	
55	Trump victory would immediately <u>make the world more worrying</u> and <u>unsettled</u> than it already is		

Similar to the British and the American newspapers, the Eastern newspapers describes Trump’s capability through the frame of capability by choosing specific lexis to present two opposing points of view related to Trump’s character. The first point of view has the negative connotation in which the articles use lexis that raise doubts about Trump’s capability and that he suffers mental problems and egoism and that he seems extraordinarily irritable. Through this depiction, Trump is shown as a character that lacks any capabilities that suit the US presidency requirements to the extent that his presidency threatens the American society. The background of the frame is full of an alarming harsh lexis that highlights Trump’s incapability regarding the US presidency.

The second point of view is a positive view related to the former speaker of the US House of Representatives Gingrich Newt in which he pinpoints the points of strength in Trump’s character. According to him, he is the only one who is capable and who really deserves the US presidency because his strength uncovers the previous political regime, and shows that he is capable of changing or modifying it.

The frame of capability is inclined towards Clinton by using specific lexical choices that shed light on the character of Clinton and how she is the most capable candidate for the US presidency. Trump is presented as a character that is not capable of being the coming US president.

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
61	سحب كثيفة من التشكيك في صلاحيته لرئاسة الولايات المتحدة، Plenty of doubt about his competence to preside the United States		
62	تاريخه منذ ظهوره كرجل أعمال لا تجعل أحدا يتوقع إمكان وصوله إلى منصب الرئاسة His history since he appeared as a businessman makes no one expect him to access the US presidency.		
63	أن ترامب يعاني من متاعب عقلية Trump's having mental problems.	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #1)	Negative
64	إحتمال إصابة ترامب بمتاعب صحية وعقلية Possible health and mental problems for Trump		
65	تطالب بإجراء كشف على السلامة العقلية لترامب Demands a disclosure of Trump's mental integrity		
66	ترامب يعاني من حالة من النرجسية غير المنضبطة Trump suffers from uncontrolled narcissism		

4.5 Conclusion

The researcher uses the tool of framing with the specific lexical choices that are used to frame a certain meaning and deliver a certain message. The framing tool is used to analyze the portrayal of the two candidates of the US presidential elections through the chosen words within the articles of the world’s newspapers. The researcher finds out that both candidates are described in two opposing views throughout all the articles. The positive depiction mainly is associated with the character of Clinton; however there are also a number of negative depictions of her character. The more negative connotations proved by the framing tool, are so much connected to Trump, but also there are other examples that carry a positive connotation related to the character of Trump. Some frames set an alarm that warns voters in order not to vote for Trump because of the dangers he might bring to America and the whole world. Other frames carry the message to the reader that Clinton is not a suitable candidate for the US presidency and voters should not vote for her.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the research are presented with regards to the research questions of the present study, the answers are given to each question.

1. How are Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump represented in the American, British, and Eastern newspapers articles under scrutiny?

No.	Key Term	Article	Connotation
70	إن ترامب هو الاقدر على هدم نظام سياسي علاه الصدا يتأكل من داخله Trump is best placed to tear down a rust-ridden political system.		
71	جينجرينش الذي يعتقد ان ترامب هو الوحيد المؤهل لكشف الغطاء عن عيوب النظام الامريكى الراهن ويملك شجاعة تغييره! Gingrich, who believes that Trump is the only one who is well qualified to uncover the flaws of the current American system and owns it.	<i>Al-Ahram Daily</i> (Article #2)	Positive

It is proved that the majority of the newspapers portray Clinton in a very positive way: she is presented as a great character that fits for the U.S. Presidency. On the contrary, Donald Trump is portrayed mostly in a very negative way: he is presented as a mean character, unfit for presidency. In most of the articles, Clinton is presented as the savior of the American society, and as the heroine who is expected to save America and the whole world. She is presented as the hope towards social equality. She is portrayed as the hope for all minorities to gain their rights to live a normal life and never be rejected as being the other. As the first female president, she becomes the hope for all women to have their own rights and be dealt with fairly without being stepped aside or sidelined. Clinton promises women to have actual roles in society and that they would never be disdained again.

Only few articles portray Clinton as a promising phantom and that her era is a continuation of Obama's and Clinton's regime with all their failures. Some of them mention the fact that people may tend to vote for Clinton just to keep Trump away from winning the presidency not because Clinton fits to win the US presidential elections. On the other hand, most of the articles depict Trump as the coming danger that threatens not only the US but also the whole world. Trump's presidency threatens America's stability. Trump is portrayed as a character who aims at spreading hatred within the American society. He is mostly shown as a character that plans to isolate America from the whole world. He aims at building a wall that separates the American people away from non-Americans whether blacks, Muslims, or minorities. Trump never accepts the other; he refuses the idea of co-existing. He is presented not only as a racist but also as a misogynist who hates women and degrades them and his insults to women are made public. The articles picture his pride of his sexual abuse of women and his daring manifestation of this abuse. Only a couple of articles are at Trump's side, and views him as a character who cares for America and its citizens. Some articles are neutral and tend to refuse both candidates and that America still deserves a better candidate other than Trump and Clinton.

2. How do framing and lexical choices help in portraying Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?

The framing tool as applied in the articles helps in shedding light on the portrayal of the two US presidential candidates. The framing tool uses numerous lexical choices to support a specific idea or send a specific message to the reader whether directly or indirectly. The frame of Racism uses some lexical choices that Clinton uses to describe minorities such as needy latinos, basement dwellers. This choice of words presents a dark side of Clinton in the world of racism and so people should think before voting for her. However, this lexis counts as nothing when compared to the lexical choices offered by Trump. Some of these lexical choices are like "insult American Muslims, ban on Muslims, Delegitimize minorities, propagates prejudice, stereotyped black people, deepened racial divide, extremist, his hatred towards minorities, describing them as animals, demagogue racist."

All these lexical choices portray Trump as a typical racist who refuses the other, and plans to isolate America from the whole world and to get rid of all Muslims, minorities, immigrants and black people. These lexical choices carry a direct message to the reader that people should never choose Trump for the US presidency as there might be major terrible consequences on the American society. A forceful opposition between the two candidates appears through two frames: frame of misogyny and sexism that carries only negative connotations presented only through the character of Trump and the frame of feminism that carries only positive connotations related only to Clinton. The articles present the character of Trump through some words like "sexual assault, delegitimize the ascent of women, campaign of misogyny, grabber and kisser, his harassment trials, his sexual scandals, women insult".

This description of Trump sends an alarming message to the reader about the character of Trump and that people should not elect him because of his hatred and continuous disdain towards women together with his sexual abuse of all women surrounding him. This frame directly opposes the frame of feminism associated only with the character of Clinton who appears to be the savior of all women and their own rights as in "rights of women, women respect", and as in being the first female president throughout the American history as in "woman president, and the

first woman to rule”. These choices of words send a message to the reader that Clinton deserves to be the first female president for the United States of America.

Then comes the frame of capability which presents both candidates through two opposing points of view. Clinton is described through words like “strong start, will be able, a plan for crisis, smart, right experience, chance of winning, prepared and qualified, determined leader, a trial full of experiences, a veteran politician”. All these lexical choices portray Clinton in a very positive way that shows how she is capable of the US presidency and that people should elect her. On the other hand, the same frame presents a very negative depiction of Trump that shows how he is incapable of the US presidency as in “unfit to be president, not level-headed, lacks experience, severely damage US, no experience, unqualified, ill-equipped, disqualified, he doesn’t have the qualifications, mental disorders, undisciplined narcissism”. Only very few examples describe Trump as being capable of winning the US presidency like “can guide America, safe Europe, safe Middle East, is going to win, the most qualified, and the most capable”.

6. CONCLUSION

The significance of the study lies in the synergy between the Cognitive semantics and Critical discourse analysis. This appears in the article through the framing tool which highlights how the both candidates are portrayed in the world newspapers. Mainly the four frames manifested in this article present two opposing views of the two American candidates. Most of the newspapers’ articles present a very positive depiction of Clinton and that she is the suitable candidate to win the US presidency. On the contrary, the negative depiction is mainly associated with the character of Trump and how his presidency would be dangerous for America and the whole world. This frame analysis highlights how the world newspapers present both candidates through these specific depictions in order direct the American voters to choose specific candidate than the other.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

For Future work, this study may help any researcher to apply this synergy on other types of international interest news. Moreover, the researcher did not investigate thoroughly differences between British, American, and Eastern newspapers. Further studies can examine such differences whether applying the same tools applied in this research or other linguistic tools.

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APPENDIX A: Links to the newspapers' articles

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

New York Times

Article 1:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/26/opinion/why-donald-trump-should-not-be-president.html>

Article 2:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/opinion/sunday/hillary-clinton-for-president.html>

Article 3:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/14/opinion/sunday/donald-trump-is-making-america-meaner.html>

Article 4:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/14/us/politics/donald-trump-campaign-gop.html>

USA Today

Article 1:

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/09/29/dont-vote-for-donald-trump-editorial-board-editorials-debates/91295020/>

Article 2:

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/12/05/texas-electors-wont-vote-trump/95023864/>

Article 3:

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/10/01/hillary-clinton-best-fundraising-month-collects-154-million-september/91399930/>

Article 4:

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/08/05/conservatives-clinton-khans-bush-romney-franck-never-trump-constitution-column/88037204/>

New York Post

Article 1:

<http://nypost.com/2017/02/23/keith-ellison-trump-has-done-enough-already-to-be-impeached/>

Article 2:

<http://nypost.com/2016/08/24/the-only-question-left-for-hillary-what-else-are-you-hiding/>

Article 3:

<http://nypost.com/2016/08/15/clinton-is-crushing-trump-in-new-york/>

Article 4:

<http://nypost.com/2017/02/23/funny-enemies-wasnt-so-offensive-when-it-meant-republicans/>

BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

Daily Express

Article 1:

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/695316/Muslims-for-Donald-Trump-leader-Republican>

Article 2:

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/726548/Donald-Trump-Nigel-Farage-Hillary-Clinton>

Article 3:

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/700485/Hillary-Clinton-friends-Trump>

Article 4:

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/691556/Hillary-Clinton-is-Democrat-likely-to-be-president-US-election-2016-Donald-Trump-America>

Daily Record

Article 1:

<http://www.mydailyrecord.com/eedition/editorial/2016/10/26/clinton-is-unfit-too/>

Article 2:

<http://www.mydailyrecord.com/eedition/editorial/2016/09/07/let-others-join-debate/>

Article 3:

<http://www.mydailyrecord.com/eedition/editorial/2016/09/13/president-hillary/>

Article 4:

<http://www.mydailyrecord.com/eedition/editorial/2016/10/25/bearing-gifts/>

The Guardian

Article 1:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/09/donald-trump-second-amendment-quote-hillary-clinton>

Article 2:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/04/the-guardian-view-on-the-us-election-hillary-clinton-is-the-worlds-best-hope>

Article 3:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/07/the-guardian-view-on-americas-choice-dont-vote-for-trump-elect-clinton>

Article 4:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/21/guardian-view-on-us-presidency-time-is-right-for-female-leader-hillary-clinton>

EASTERN NEWSPAPERS

Al-Ahram Daily

Article 1:

<http://www.ahram.org.eg/News/191996/115/544367/%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%88-%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%B1/%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A8-%D9%87%D9%84-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B3%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A9%D8%9F.aspx>

Article 2:

<http://www.ahram.org.eg/News/191991/4/542591/%D9%82%D8%B6%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A1/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%85%D9%87>

%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%8A%D8%BA%D9%84%D9%82%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%B5-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AD-%D8%A3%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%9F.aspx

Article 3: <http://www.ahram.org.eg/News/192012/4/549133/%D9%82%D8%B6%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A1/%D8%A3%D8%B4%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AD-%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%A7%D8%B5%D8%B1-%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%89-%D9%83%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%86.aspx>

Article 4:

<http://www.ahram.org.eg/News/192074/1151/559309/%D8%AF%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A7/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A9--%D8%B3%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%88-%D9%85%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%B1-%D9%81%D9%89-%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%86%D8%B3%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A9.aspx>

Al Sharq Al Awsat

Article 1:

<http://aawsat.com/home/article/582651/%D8%B9%D8%AB%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%BA%D9%86%D9%8A/%C2%AB%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A8%C2%BB-%D9%87%D9%84-%D9%8A%D8%AC%D8%A8-%D8%A3%D9%86-%D8%AA%D9%82%D9%84%D9%82%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%9F>

Article 2:

<http://aawsat.com/home/article/776981/%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%B1%D9%8A/%D9%83%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%85-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A8-%D8%A3%D9%8A%D9%87%D9%85%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%81%D8%B6%D9%84-%D9%88%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%A3%D8%9F>

Article 3:

<http://aawsat.com/home/article/716141/%D8%AC%D9%8A%D9%85%D8%B3-%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%88%D9%86%D9%8A/%D8%B2%D8%AD%D9%81-%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A8>

Article 4:

<http://aawsat.com/home/article/750541/%D8%A8%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A8-%D9%88%D9%83%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A3%D8%AE%D8%B7%D8%B1-%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%85%D8%A4%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-2016>

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Article 1:

<http://www.alquds.co.uk/?p=621956>

Article 2:

<http://www.alquds.com/articles/1474953427803866300/>

Article 3:

<http://www.alquds.com/articles/1477935635513811000/>

Article 4:

<http://www.alquds.com/articles/1467405010814606800/>