

**ALJAZEERA ARABIC AND BBC ARABIC ONLINE NEWS  
COVERAGE OF THE 2011 ARAB SPRING IN TUNISIA AND EGYPT:  
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

by

**MUHAMMAD MARWAN BIN ISMAIL**

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of  
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Department of Modern Languages  
School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music  
College of Arts and Laws  
University of Birmingham  
November 2019

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

**University of Birmingham Research Archive**

**e-theses repository**

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

## ABSTRACT

The Arab Spring, which started in late 2010, has attracted a lot of media attention globally for the political and social significant of the historical event. Media outlets try to portray the event according to their ideological stance and affiliate themselves with either sides of the conflict. This study analyses the Arabic online news discourse of the so-called the ‘Arab Spring’ in Tunisia and Egypt Revolutions. Utilising the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study analyses the modern standard Arabic online news discourse of two prominent international media outlets *Aljazeera* and BBC. Based on the Fairclough’s three-dimensional analysis framework, the study examines how the outlets represent the social events and the social actors of the Revolutions textually and discursively during the first 70 days of the so-called the Arab Spring. Besides, corpus techniques were applied to further enhance the qualitative analysis of CDA with quantitative evidences. The study examines six textual and discursive practice features including the concordance analysis, content analysis, lexicalisation and predication, presupposition, verbal process and intertextuality. The study finds differences between *Aljazeera* and BBC’s coverage on both the textual and discursive level. Besides, the two outlets practised group polarisation characteristics; the ingroup in BBC’s reporting was the Tunisian and Egyptian governments and the outgroup was the protesters. In contrast, the ingroup in *Aljazeera's* reporting was the protesters and the outgroup was the two governments. The study recommends that the future research on the media representation of the Arab Spring inquire further into said problems and limitations, in order to produce more comprehensive understanding of media coverage of the Arab Spring.

79689 words

## **DEDICATION**

To my father Ismail Md Saman and my mother Wan Sofiah Wan Mohd Noor who taught me how to deal with different situations in life with wisdom and patience.

To my brothers and sisters Majdi, Hidayati, Kamal and Hannani for their constant encouragement of my academic life.

To my family, which has been my source of motivation and inspiration: my lovely wife Farah Nadia Harun who has been very patient and helpful throughout my research progress and to my son Muhammad Danish Hakeem for bringing me with smiles.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful. I praise God for the strength to complete this humble thesis. Peace and blessings upon his final Messenger, his family, and his companions.

This study has been made possible by the support of many people. I would like to thank each and every one of them for their direct and indirect contributions. My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr Anissa Daoudi who patiently supervised me and gave valuable insights in refining and developing my thoughts. Many thanks also to Professor Mustapha El-Lahlali and Dr Hany Rashwan for providing their time and feedback during the viva examination.

No less important, I am indebted to Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM) and the Ministry of Education Malaysia for granting me scholarship and opportunity to pursue this study.

The most essential, I owe my loving thanks to my beloved wife, Farah Nadia Harun for her endless love, encouragement and affection. To my baby boy, Danish Hakeem who was born during this PhD journey and became the most important source of strength, I have no words to describe my unconditional love to him. To my father Ismail Md Saman and my mother Wan Sofiah Wan Mohd Noor who continuously prays for my success. To all my dear siblings, family members, relatives and friends – this space is not enough to mention each of their names, I thank them very much for their prayers and supports.

Last but not least, I would like to thank everyone who contributed directly or indirectly in many forms to the completion of this research. Thank you everyone who kept motivating me to be persistent in writing, and for not giving up on me. Without their supports and prayers,

it would have been impossible for me to finish this work. Indeed, it is five years journey of love, laughter, and tears. May God bestow His Mercy and Blessings upon all of us.

*Jazākumu Allāhu khayran kathīrā!*

M B Ismail  
Birmingham – Sepang  
2014 – 2019

## TRANSLITERATION

The table below highlights the system of transliteration of Arabic terms and names used throughout this thesis.

Consonants			
ء '      ة	د d	ض ḍ	ك k
ب b	ذ dh	ط ṭ	ل l
ت t	ر r	ظ ṣ	م m
ث th	ز z	ع ʿ	ن n
ج j	س s	غ gh	ه h
ح ḥ	ش sh	ف f	و w
خ kh	ص ṣ	ق q	ي y

Vowels	Short	َ ِ ُ	a i u
	Long	___ + ا ___ + ي ___ + و	ā ī ū
	Double	َيّ وّ	īyy (final form ī) uww (final form ū)
	Diphthongs	أَيّ أَوّ	ay aw

The *taʿmarbuṭah* (ة) is rendered as *t* in the construct state, while in all other cases it is rendered as *h*. The *shadda* (ّ) is indicated by doubling the letter. Case-endings (*al-i ʿrāb*) and the *hamzah* (ء) at the beginning of a word are not indicated.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AJA: *Aljazeera* Arabic Online News  
AS: Arab Spring  
BBA: BBC Arabic Online News  
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis  
DCR: Democratic Constitutional Rally of Tunisia  
DT: Discourse Theory  
ER: The 2011 Egyptian Revolution  
EU: The European Union  
MB: Muslim Brotherhood  
MENA: Middle East and North Africa Region  
NDP: National Democratic Party of Egypt  
PUP: Popular Unity Party of Tunisia  
TR: The 2011 Tunisian Revolution  
UDU: Unionist Democratic Union of Tunisia  
U.S: The United States of America



## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

### **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

1.1	Introduction	<b>14</b>
1.2	Objectives of the Study	<b>18</b>
1.3	Background information	<b>19</b>
1.4	Purpose of the Study	<b>23</b>
1.5	Research Questions	<b>24</b>
1.6	Significance of the Study	<b>26</b>
1.7	Why Aljazeera Arabic and BBC Arabic?	<b>29</b>
1.8	Thesis Layout	<b>35</b>
1.9	Literature Review	<b>36</b>

### **CHAPTER TWO: Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology**

2.1	Introduction	<b>59</b>
2.2	Theoretical Framework	<b>59</b>
2.3	Discourse Theory (DT)	<b>60</b>
2.4	Critical Discourse Analysis	<b>75</b>
2.5	Research Methodology	<b>95</b>
2.6	The Sampling Procedures	<b>97</b>
2.7	Procedures of Analysis	<b>101</b>
2.8	Conclusion	<b>109</b>

### **CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS OF CONCORDANCE ANALYSIS**

3.1	Introduction	<b>111</b>
3.2	Results of Pre-Analysis Stages	<b>111</b>
3.3	Results of Archive Search	<b>112</b>
3.4	Results of Concordance Analysis	<b>128</b>
3.5	Results of Content Analysis	<b>134</b>
3.6	Conclusion	<b>141</b>

### **CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS ANALYSIS OF LEXICALISATION AND PRESUPPOSITION**

4.1	Introduction	<b>143</b>
4.2	Lexicalisation and predication	<b>144</b>
4.3	Naming Strategy in the 2011 Tunisian Revolution	<b>145</b>
4.4	Naming Strategies for the Egyptian Revolution	<b>163</b>
4.5	Presupposition Strategy	<b>181</b>
4.6	Presupposition Strategy in the coverage of Tunisian Revolution	<b>182</b>

4.7	Presupposition strategy in Egyptian revolution coverage	<b>198</b>
4.8	Conclusion	<b>226</b>

## **CHAPTER FIVE: THE RESULT ANALYSIS OF VERBAL PROCESS**

5.1	Introduction	<b>228</b>
5.2	Verbal Process	<b>228</b>
5.3	Verbal Process in Tunisian Revolution Coverage	<b>230</b>
5.4	Verbal Process in Egyptian Revolution Coverage	<b>269</b>
5.5	The Changes in Utilising the Verbal Process	<b>306</b>
5.6	Conclusion	<b>321</b>

## **CHAPTER SIX: THE RESULT ANALYSIS OF INTERTEXTUALITY**

6.1	Introduction	<b>323</b>
6.2	Discursive Practise	<b>323</b>
6.3	Intertextuality in Tunisian Revolution News Coverage	<b>325</b>
6.4	Intertextuality in Egyptian Revolution News Coverage	<b>347</b>
6.5	Conclusion	<b>406</b>

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSIS RESULTS: SOCIAL PRACTICES**

7.1	Introduction	<b>408</b>
7.2	Group Polarisation on the Textual Level	<b>409</b>
7.3	Group Polarisation on the Discursive Practice Level	<b>416</b>
7.4	Shifting Point	<b>420</b>
7.5	Hegemonic Discourse and the Hegemonic Intervention	<b>427</b>
7.6	The Future of Media Outlook in the Region	<b>434</b>
7.6	Conclusion	<b>436</b>

<b>CHAPTER EIGHT</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>438 -455</b>
----------------------	-------------------	-----------------

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>		<b>456 - 477</b>
---------------------	--	------------------

<b>APPENDIX</b>		<b>478 - 488</b>
-----------------	--	------------------

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

### List of Figures

#### Chapter 2

Figure 2.1	Transformation Process between Social Imaginary and Myth	<b>73</b>
------------	--	-----------

#### Chapter 3

Figure 3.1	The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication from November 2008 until October 2010	<b>113</b>
Figure 3.2	The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication between November 2010 and December 2012	<b>116</b>
Figure 3.3	The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication between November 2008 and December 2010	<b>120</b>
Figure 3.4	The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication between January 2011 and December 2012	<b>124</b>

### List of Tables

#### Chapter 2

Table 2.1	The Number of Online News Articles Published between December 2008 and December 2012 Collected from the Archive Search	<b>100</b>
Table 2.2	The Number of Online News Articles Published between 17 <sup>th</sup> December 2010 and 25 <sup>th</sup> February 2011 Collected from the Archive Search	<b>101</b>
Table 2.3	The detail on Ten News Articles of <i>Aljazeera</i> Subjected for Content Analysis	<b>106</b>
Table 2.4	The detail on Ten News Articles of BBC Arabic Subjected for Content Analysis	<b>107</b>

#### Chapter 3

Table 3.1	The number of online news articles before the 2011 Tunisian Revolution found in the archive of <i>AlJazeera</i> and BBC Arabic	<b>112</b>
Table 3.2	The number of online news articles on the 2011 Tunisian Revolution published between November 2010 and December 2012	<b>115</b>
Table 3.3	The number of news articles collected before the 2011 Egyptian Revolution	<b>119</b>
Table 3.4	The number of news articles published between January 2011 and December 2012	<b>124</b>
Table 3.5	The Total Number of Online News Articles Collected from the Archive Search	<b>127</b>
Table 3.6	Frequency of words showing different themes in AJA and BBA	<b>128</b>
Table 3.7	Frequency of thematic all words in the news article of TR	<b>129</b>
Table 3.8	Frequency of thematic call words in news articles of ER	<b>129</b>
Table 3.9	Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in Five AJA articles on TR	<b>135</b>

Table 3.10	Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in five BBA article on TR	<b>136</b>
Table 3.11	Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in five AJA articles on ER	<b>137</b>
Table 3.12	Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in five BBA article on ER	<b>137</b>
Table 3.13	The use of sources and the quoting technique in AJA	<b>138</b>
Table 3.14	The use of Source and Quoting Technique in BBA	<b>139</b>
Table 3.15	Categorisation of the sources used in news articles of AJA	<b>140</b>
Table 3.16	Categorisation of the sources used in the news articles of BBA	<b>141</b>

## **Chapter 4**

Table 4.1	The Frequency of Positive Names Associated with the Protests	<b>159</b>
Table 4.2	The Frequency of Negative Names Associated with the Protests	<b>159</b>
Table 4.3	The Frequency of Names Associated with the Protestors	<b>160</b>
Table 4.4	The Frequency of Negative Names Associated with the Protestors	<b>160</b>

## **Chapter 5**

Table 5.1	Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the corpus of online news texts	<b>231</b>
Table 5.2	Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of AJA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category	<b>232</b>
Table 5.3	Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the corpus of online news texts	<b>249</b>
Table 5.4	Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of BBA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category	<b>249</b>
Table 5.5	The Utilisation of Positive Verbal Processes on the Protestor's Words	<b>263</b>
Table 5.6	The Utilisation of Positive Verbal Processes on the Opposition's Words	<b>264</b>
Table 5.7	The Utilisation of Positive Verbal Processes on the New Government's Words	<b>266</b>
Table 5.9	Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of AJA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category	<b>271</b>
Table 5.10	Examples which utilise Positive Verbal Process on Mubarak's Words	<b>272</b>
Table 5.11	Examples of utilisation the Positive Verbal Process on Activists' Words	<b>275</b>
Table 5.12	Examples which utilise Positive Verbal Process on the Egyptian Oppositions' Words	<b>277</b>
Table 5.13	Examples of the Use of Positive Verbal Process on Egyptian Non-political Groups	<b>279</b>
Table 5.14	Examples of Positive Verbal Processes in reporting Zewail's Words	<b>281</b>
Table 5.15	Examples of the Negative Verbal Processes in Reports on Mubarak's Words	<b>283</b>
Table 5.16	Examples of The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Mubarak's Minister's Words	<b>285</b>
Table 5.17	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes to Report on Egyptian Authorities' Words	<b>286</b>
Table 5.18	The Use of Positive Verbal Process on Mubarak's Words	<b>287</b>

Table 5.19	The Use of Neutral Verbal Process on Mubarak's Words	287
Table 5.20	Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the online news texts	288
Table 5.21	Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of AJA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category	289
Table 5.22	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on Mubarak's Words	290
Table 5.23	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes to Report on Minister's Words	294
Table 5.24	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes to Report on NDP's Words	295
Table 5.25	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes to Report on Egyptian Authorities' Words	297
Table 5.26	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Protestors' Words	300
Table 5.27	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Oppositions' Words	301
Table 5.28	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on the Activists' Words	302
Table 5.29	The Use of Neutral Verbal Processes on the Antagonists' Words	305
Table 5.30	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Protestors' Words	309
Table 5.31	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Oppositions' Words	311
Table 5.32	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Activists' Words	312
Table 5.33	The Use of Neutral Verbal Processes on the Ministers' Words	314
Table 5.34	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on the Mubarak's Words	316
Table 5.35	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on the Ministers' Words	317
Table 5.36	The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Antagonists' Words	319
Table 5.37	The Examples of Refuting the Government's Words	320
Table 5.38	The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Mubarak's Words	321

## Chapter 6

Table 6.1	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words	326
Table 6.2	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Tunisian Ministers' Words	327
Table 6.3	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Authorities' Voices	328
Table 6.4	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words	329
Table 6.5	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Antagonist' Words	330
Table 6.6	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Antagonists' Words	331
Table 6.7	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Protestors' Demands	332
Table 6.8	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Protestors' Words	333
Table 6.9	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Union's Leaders Word	334
Table 6.10	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Oppositions' Words	335
Table 6.11	The Intertextuality of Eyewitnesses Voices	336
Table 6.12	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words	338
Table 6.13	The Use of Strategic Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words	341
Table 6.14	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Ministers' Words	343
Table 6.15	The Examples of Quotation Techniques for the Authorities' Words	344
Table 6.16	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Ruling Party's Words	345
Table 6.17	AJA Intertextuality in the Online News Report on the First Day of the ER	349
Table 6.18	BBA Intertextuality in the Online News Report on the First Day of the ER	352
Table 6.19	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on Mubarak's Words	357
Table 6.20	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Mubarak's Words	358
Table 6.21	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on Suleiman's Words	359

Table 6.22	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Suleiman's Words	<b>360</b>
Table 6.23	The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Egyptian Ministers' Words	<b>361</b>
Table 6.24	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Egyptian Ministers' Words	<b>362</b>
Table 6.25	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on NDP's Words	<b>364</b>
Table 6.26	The Quotation Techniques Used to Report on the Army's Words	<b>365</b>
Table 6.27	The Use of Indirect Quote to Report from the Egyptian Official TV	<b>366</b>
Table 6.28	Examples of Intertextuality of Eyewitness' Voice	<b>368</b>
Table 6.29	Examples of the Intertextuality of Activists' Voice	<b>369</b>
Table 6.30	Examples of Intertextuality of Foreign Media (Reuters)	<b>371</b>
Table 6.31	Intertextuality of Foreign Media (AFP and AP)	<b>372</b>
Table 6.32	Examples of ElBaradei Direct Quote	<b>374</b>
Table 6.33	Examples of ElBaradei Indirect Quote	<b>375</b>
Table 6.34	The Intertextuality from Other Egyptian Opposition Groups	<b>376</b>
Table 6.35	The Intertextuality from the Source of Muslim Brotherhood	<b>377</b>
Table 6.36	Examples of Intertextuality of the Third-party Sources on the Protests	<b>378</b>
Table 6.37	Examples of Intertextuality of the Protestors' Voices	<b>382</b>
Table 6.38	Examples of Intertextuality of the Protestors' Voices from Outside Egypt	<b>383</b>
Table 6.39	Examples of Intertextuality of the Protestors' Slogans	<b>385</b>
Table 6.40	Examples of Intertextuality of the Activists' Voices	<b>386</b>
Table 6.41	Examples of Intertextuality of the Eyewitnesses' Voices	<b>388</b>
Table 6.42	Intertextuality Frequencies of the Egyptian Oppositions' Sources	<b>389</b>
Table 6.43	Intertextuality of Muslim Brotherhood using Direct Quotation	<b>390</b>
Table 6.44	Intertextuality of Muslim Brotherhood using Indirect Quotation	<b>391</b>
Table 6.45	Intertextuality of ElBaradei's Voices using Direct Quotation	<b>393</b>
Table 6.46	Intertextuality of ElBaradei using Indirect Quotation	<b>394</b>
Table 6.47	Examples of Intertextuality from the sources of Egyptian Oppositions	<b>395</b>
Table 6.48	Examples of Intertextuality of the Islamic Leaders' Voices	<b>396</b>
Table 6.49	Examples of Intertextuality of the Islamic Leaders' Voices	<b>397</b>
Table 6.50	Examples of Intertextuality of the Foreign Media's News Reports	<b>399</b>
Table 6.51	Examples of intertextuality from British media	<b>400</b>
Table 6.52	Intertextuality from the sources of international organisations	<b>402</b>
Table 6.53	Intertextuality from the sources of Human Rights Organisations	<b>403</b>
Table 6.54	The Examples of Intertextuality of Local Sources	<b>405</b>

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Overview

The so-called ‘Arab Spring’ (in Arabic *al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī*) (henceforth, AS) is a term which refers to revolutionary wave of demonstrations, protests, chaos and riots in a number of Arab countries in Middle East and North Africa (MENA region) (Khondker, 2011). It started on 17<sup>th</sup> of December 2010 in Tunisia before spreading to other Arab nations namely Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, Morocco and many more (Dabashi, 2012). This Arab uprising started with peaceful protest participated by small group of people before widely spread to become huge protests, riots and even civil wars in the case of Libya and Syria. The Arab Spring brought massive impact in the modern history of Arab world particularly in term of political and economic transformations. Ultimately, by the ends of 2013, presidents from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen have been removed by force from power. Moreover, the uprising has resulted into ongoing Civil Wars in Yemen, Syria and Libya, where thousands have been killed and millions of refugees seeks protection around the world (Saleh et al., 2014).

The Arab Spring (AS) has become major news and headlines of global media outlets since its outbreak in late 2010. Hence, AS has attracted many researchers to analyse the event from different point of view (Goodwin, 2011; Johnstone and Mazo, 2011; Hollis, 2012; Mohiuddin, 2016; Mujani and Musa, 2018). Some studies examine the Arab uprising from the political perspective, thus, relate the event with the call for a political change (Dalacoura, 2012) and the end of post-colonialism (Dabashi, 2012). Other studies however, focused on the economic issues plugged the Arab region before the AS (Campante and Chor, 2012). Besides, other researches focused on the differences between versions of these uprisings according to the Arab countries in which they broke out (Anderson, 2011; Nepstad, 2013). On top of these

studies, many researchers examine the link between AS and the media particularly the social media and the satellite TV channels (Storck, 2011; Howard and Hussain, 2013; Wolfsfeld et al., 2013).

The major factors that caused the Arab Spring are the lack of democratic practices among the Arab rulers and the pertinent societal pressures have led the people of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen to raise against their government (Campante and Chor, 2012). Many Arab countries were described as totalitarian regimes and their rulers governed with autocratic role or dictatorship (Witzel, 2013). As a result, people do not involve in the democratic process of electing the government. Other factors which transformed small groups of protesters into nationwide of riots and chaos are the feeling of dissatisfaction with the governments over issues related to power abuse, corruption, oppression, human right violations, unemployment particularly among the younger generations, extreme poverty and the huge gaps in peoples' income levels (Joffé, 2011; Dabashi, 2012).

The explosion of anger which turned into a revolutionary wave spreading beyond the borders of Tunisia to other Arab countries in the Northern Africa until the Arabian Sea, began on 17 December 2010. It consisted of series of street protests in many Tunisian cities including Tunis the capital city between late December 2010 and January 2011. The trigger for these protests was self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi<sup>1</sup> due to the harsh economic circumstances. The protests were regarded as an expression of people's frustration over economic issues which plugged Tunisia for years particularly high unemployment, inflation, and lack of political freedoms (Lotan et al., 2011). Ben Ali's economic policies were among the major reasons for the dissatisfaction among Tunisian educated and unemployed youth, who felt that they were left without any future (Sghaier, 2012). In term of Ben Ali's political policies, his government

---

<sup>1</sup> Mohamed Bouazizi, a twenty-six years old Tunisian graduate worked as fruit and vegetable street vendor in Sidi Bouzid. On 17 December 2010, Bouazizi was selling his goods without official authorisation from local governmental authorities. Hence, the authority confiscated his scales and goods. Following that and in response to the physical and psychological attack by a local government officer, he immolated himself in the street outside of the provincial governor's headquarters.



oppressed all his critics and the oppositions in both political and religious area, hence, all dissidents were suppressed and silenced. Moreover, Ben Ali made Tunisia a police state by employing more police officers than the France's police force, despite Tunisian population only a sixth the size of France's (Lurry, 2014: 15). Another significant factor which drives the spark of anger among the Tunisian was the perception of corruption and high level of nepotism of Ben Ali's family. Ben Ali and his associate among the Trabelsi, Chiboub, Mabrouk and Matri families monopolies national companies particularly in the telecommunication, media, banking, agriculture, transport and construction industries (Sghaier, 2012). Ben Ali's government offered state financial services which helped these families to support their businesses. All these economic and political issues which plagued Tunisia for years have forced the Tunisian particularly the 'Tunisian youth' to uprising against Ben Ali (Lynch, 2013). As the main force of the revolution, the Tunisian youth utilised all the potential of social media network (Facebook and Twitter) to call for series of protests and manage them, which in turn attracted major attention of world media namely *Aljazeera*, BBC, CNN, Associated Press, France Press (AFP) and Reuters. Ultimately, Ben Ali fled to Jeddah of Saudi Arabia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 and his position considered vacant after social unrest reached the peak level. Thus, marked the end of autocratic rule of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali who ruled the country for twenty-three years (1988 – 2011).

Influenced by the success of the Tunisian uprising in removing Ben Ali's regime, the Egyptian oppositions and activists called for a series of protests in the capital city of Cairo and other Egyptian big cities on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. The protests in Egypt shared many driven factors with the Tunisian's protests, which mainly to demonstrate the people's frustration over the ongoing political circumstances, corruption, power abuse, people's oppression, the lack of democracy, issues of unemployment and inflation (Skinner, 2011). A series of protests continued over several weeks throughout the country after the success of the first protest on

25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. This has resulted in escalate violence as the protesters clashed with the police forces and the supporters of President Hosni Mubarak. However, the Egyptian army refused to intervene in the clashes, as they ignored the request to fire upon the protesters in Tahrir Square (located at the centre of Cairo city), where most of the protesters stationed in civil resistance. Ultimately, when the protests reached the peak, the clashes claimed hundreds of lives and Mubarak's government lost his Western superpowers' support, Hosni Mubarak stepped down on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011, after hold the autocratic power since 1981 (Eltantawy and Wiest, 2011; Lotan et al., 2011; Hollis, 2012).

The mass media played a vital role in the two Revolutions by reporting the events comprehensively as they unfolded. The variety of media outlets has caused the production of news reports which portrayed the same event in different ways as they were reporting different stories. This variation of stories of the same event was mainly due to different ideological stances; either aimed to promote the government practices and maintain a hegemonic discourse or counter this dominance discourse and support the protestors' demands. A counter discourse was represented by transnational media outlets such as *Aljazeera*, BBC and CNN. In contrast, the state-owned media has been used as a propaganda tools to support the hegemonic discourse of the existing governments during the uprising. *Aljazeera* which had gained prominence in the Arab world since its foundation in 1996 has since challenged the discourse of Arab official media by providing an ample opportunity to highlight issues avoided by the Middle East's ruling power (El-Nawawy and Iskandar, 2002:12). However, it does not mean that *Aljazeera* did not have an agenda in their counter hegemonic discourse, but the outlet is vital in providing a non-Western alternative to the official media. Western media outlets also offered non-official narrative to many issues in the Arab world. However, before the proliferation of transnational media outlets, the access to prominent Western outlets such as CNN and BBC were limited among the Arab elites (Seib, 2007). These international news service providers are well-known among the Arab

audiences for their more or less reliable news coverage compared to Arab state-owned media. However, Arab viewers were frustrated of the news about their own context which was reported from a Western perspective (Pintak, 2006).

Media can be used as a powerful tool to shape people's opinions. Hence, different groups compete to control it and to utilise it as an instrument of social power to legitimate and naturalise their ideologies, beliefs, and values (Van Dijk, 1995). Thus, the present study focuses on the 'hidden' battle of the 'Arab' verses the 'West' (in particular, the Qatari media verses British Media) in the competition between the two international media discourses of *Aljazeera* and BBC during the time of crisis. The first two months of the so-called 'AS' which brought down two presidents among the most influential and powerful rulers in the Arab world, Tunisia and Egypt have become the centre attention of breaking news globally. Media institutions from different background and ideologies provided comprehensive coverage of the event as it unfolds in various narratives. Thus, media outlets have emphasised certain actions and marginalised others and associating themselves with one of the two sides of the conflict; the government and the protestors.

## **Objectives of the Study**

The aim of the present study is:

1. To unveil how discourse was employed by *Aljazeera* and BBC to shape power relations during the two versions of the so- called the AS of Tunisian and Egyptian Revolution.
2. To investigate how the two media outlets, represent the protests and how the ideas of 'antagonist' and 'protagonist' are shaped.
3. To compare and contrast the ideologies of the two media outlets during the revolutions and shed light on the future of the media landscape in the region in light of the social

and political developments that immediately followed the two revolutions.

4. To analyse discourses using corpus technique which provides quantitative evidence that help the qualitative side of critical discourse analysis.
5. To combine between the Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) with the textual oriented Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough (1992) in analysing the online news discourse around the AS.

### **Background information**

It is worth to note, that the 'AS' are not totally caused by recent events in the Arab region, but rather it is historically related to the establishment of each country involved (Bellin, 2012). In Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba (1903-2000) led the movement against the French occupation which resulted in Tunisia's independence in 1956. Bourguiba became the first President of Tunisia until 1987, when the then his Prime Minister Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (1936-2019) took power in a bloodless *coup d'état* on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1987 by declaring Bourguiba's incompetence for the presidency (Hopwood, 1992). Ben Ali was the second President of Tunisia, which ruled from 1987 up until January 2011 when the Tunisian Revolution happened. Under the leadership of Ben Ali, Tunisia was governed by one ruling party, Constitutional Democratic Rally (CDR) where Ben Ali has almost unlimited legislative powers (Lamloum and Ravenel, 2002; Erdle, 2010). Thus, Tunisia was governed by an authoritarian regime which recorded almost absent of any kind of democracy. Moreover, Ben Ali banned 'real' oppositions who criticised his policies, while legalised 'friendly' oppositions who cooperated with the ruling party. Within these political contexts and the miserable economic conditions, in late December 2010, Tunisians went down into streets to protest against Ben Ali.

It is all started on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, when Mohamed Bouazizi set fire on himself to protest for the treatment he received from the local authority. As a result, series of protests were organised in many Tunisian's towns before reaching Tunis the capital city in late December 2010 (Allagui and Kuebler, 2011; Filiu, 2011; Cassel *et al.*, 2013). Previously, public protests are rarely taking place in Tunisia where the authority closely monitored any anti-government views (Sghaier, 2012). However, the social unrest caused by issues of unemployment, inflation, economic downturn, lack of freedom of expression and democratic institutions, autocratic rule, corruption and nepotism have reached an unbearable level for many Tunisian particularly the youth. The protesters have been treated violently by the police and many of them have been killed or badly injured, while many activists have been detained. To calm the protestors' anger, Ben Ali reshuffled his government and made promises to create more jobs and carry out major political and economic reforms (Lynch, 2013). Despite this, the protests reached their highest levels and forced Ben Ali to leave Tunisia for Saudi Arabia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

In term of the Egyptian Revolution (ER) many factors accumulated throughout years before the 2011 event leading to the outbreak of the demonstrations on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Joya (2011: 368) for instance emphasised: "there were clear signs that there was a potential for a mass uprising, although no one was sure when such a mobilization would take place." At the Egyptian soil, in response to the outcome of the 2010 Egyptian General Election, a number of opposition activities were taking place before the 2011 event. These activities included the forming of 'National Association for Change' lead by ElBaradei's<sup>2</sup>, a call to boycott the People's Assembly elections, and intentions to form a 'shadow parliament'. Besides, the Egyptian activists appealed to the US government to put pressure on the Egyptian government

---

<sup>2</sup> Mohamed Mustafa ElBaradei was the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 1997 to 2009. In 2010, he decided to reform the Egyptian politic, hence, planned to return to his home country and involved actively in politic. During the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, ElBaradei played a critical role in uniting all Egyptian oppositions against President Mubarak. He also declared that he is ready to lead a transitional government if the Egyptian support the demand to overthrown Mubarak's government.

to undertake reforms (Cook, 2012). Moreover, during these time Egypt witnessed the establishment of a number of youth movements and Facebook pages, particularly the ‘April 6 Youth movement’ and the ‘We are all Khaled Said’ Facebook page, whose role was decisive before and during the Revolution. Wael Ghonim, who was Google’s regional manager, was detained on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2011 for mobilising the demonstrations on Police Day. He was the leader of the largest group participated in the first day protests. This comes as 70,000 members on his Facebook page, ‘We are all Khaled Said’<sup>3</sup>, confirmed they would participate in the protests (Ibid).

Moving into the day when the protests started in Egypt, the 25<sup>th</sup> January is a national holiday in Egypt to celebrate Police Day. The authorities underestimated the mobilisation by different Facebook pages for an uprising. Hence, they did not take serious action to prevent the mass gathering. In contrast to the authority estimation, thousands marched in Egyptian cities such as Cairo, Alexandria, Mansura, Tanta, Aswan, and Assuit calling for change. Two days later, ElBaradei returned to Cairo and joined the protests, which significantly intensified the mobilisation of the public to join the protests. On 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011, President Mubarak addressed his people in his first speech during the protests. He announced the reshuffle of the government, but he refused to step down. Mubarak also appointed Omar Suleiman as a vice-president a position which was vacant for many years. Despite Mubarak swift actions, nothing has changed among the protestors as they were still asking for a radical transformation of the regime. More people started to march to Tahrir Square in Cairo and many other places around the country. Hence, an issue of stability was a deep concern for countries around the world.

---

<sup>3</sup> Khaled Mohamed Said, a 28 years-old Egyptian man who died in police Custody in the coastal city of Alexandria, Egypt on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2010 approximately seven months before the Egyptian Revolution started. Within five days from his death, Ghonim decided to create a Facebook Arabic page dedicated specifically to the death of Khaled Said, known as ‘We are all Khaled Said’. The page attracted thousands of followers who support and sympathy with Said. Two days after the first protest of the Egyptian Revolution started, Ghonim as the administrator of the Facebook page on Khaled Said has been arrested and the government blocked almost all access to the internet in Egypt.

During his second speech (1<sup>st</sup> February 2011) Mubarak promised that he would not run for the next presidential elections but refused to step down immediately. After his speech, clashes broke up between his supporters and the protesters in Tahrir Square which eventually led to the escalated violence of the so-called the 'Battle of the Camel' (AlHumaidi, 2013). Mubarak's third speech (10th February 2011) was highly speculated to announce his resignation. However, it has intensified anger and frustration among the protesters. A day later, on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011, Omar Suleiman, the Vice-president announced Mubarak's resignation.

Like Tunisian Revolution unemployment, high prices, and political oppression were main causes of the Egyptian Revolution. To begin with, Egypt was witnessing economic growth which was considered among the highest compared to other Arab countries such as Jordan and Syria. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 7% between 2005 and 2008. Moreover, the World Bank praised Mubarak for lowering taxes and tariffs, and acknowledged the Egyptian economic reform as one of the best example in the region (IMF, 2011). Despite these economic reforms, about 20% of Egyptians were below the poverty line; 44% were illiterate; inflation reached 12.8% in 2008; unemployment and underemployment were high; and corruption was common (Ibid).

Beyond these economic achievements, Egyptians were outraged by Mubarak's economic policies. According to the protesters, throughout Mubarak's thirty years in power, he did not achieve any significant economic and social progress which directly beneficial to most of the Egyptians. Egypt was heavily depended on U.S. military aid, which hit \$1.3 billion and the \$250 million economic assistance. This aid has been controversial both in the U.S. and Egypt (Cook, 2012). Egypt was under emergency law during Mubarak's era. Under this law, security forces suppressed any suspects with the most brutal practices as in the case of Khaled Said. Mubarak's emergency law restricts any opposition political gathering which includes; political demonstrations, non-governmental political activity, and event unregistered donations.

Moreover, most of the time, detentions under this law were indefinite and without trials. Despite the U.S. pressure to implement democracy in Egypt, and despite promises made the Egyptian government to halt the law, Mubarak kept on extending the law (Williams, 2006).

## **Purpose of the Study**

Utilising a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, the study aims to compare and contrast how the two versions of so called the ‘AS’ of Tunisian Revolution and Egyptian Revolution were portrayed by modern standard Arabic online news articles of two prominent international media outlets: *Aljazeera* Arabic (AJA) and BBC Arabic (BBA)<sup>4</sup>. In doing so, the study reveals the ideological differences between the two media outlets in reporting the events during the times of conflict. It also discusses the prospects of media landscape in light of the ongoing political change as a result of the revolution. The study examines a corpus of online news articles published by AJA and BBA during the first 70 days of the AS ranging between 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, the day Bouazizi’s self-immolation, and 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011, two weeks after President Mubarak stepped down.

CDA differs from other frameworks of discourse analysis in that it is not only centred on textual, linguistic analysis, but goes further to incorporate the historical, political, social, and cultural context that surrounds text production and consumption. Therefore, drawing on Fairclough’s critical approach to media discourse, the study addresses the micro-level of social action, which primarily deals with linguistic strategies, and macro- level social structure, which draws on the socio-political and cultural context, to link discourse to society and text to context. A comprehensive multi-layered analysis that links the textual to the social should yield a better understanding of the subtle ideologies of the examined media institutions and account for the

---

<sup>4</sup> Henceforth it will refer specifically with the abbreviation of AJA for the *Aljazeera* and BBA for the BBC.



potential difference between the outlets in representing the protests and portraying the two sides of the conflict; it gives insights into how unequal relations of power and hegemony played out in the outlets' reporting of the uprising.

The study also draws on van Dijk's (1998) concept of Ideological Square where the representation of ideological groups is based on an Us/Them dichotomy and an identification of an ingroup and an outgroup. It, therefore, attempts to depict how AJA and BBA formed ingroup and outgroup identities by their presentation of different sides of the conflict and how linguistic features were utilised to doing so. In addition, the study utilised the idea of hegemonic intervention proposed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) to examine the discourse struggle in challenging the hegemonies discourse. Moreover, the study endeavours to draw consistent themes in the news articles of both outlets and explicate those themes by relating them to the wider social and political of the Tunisian, Egyptian and Arab contexts. Since the study compares and contrasts between two internationally renowned media outlet in terms of their linguistic portrayal of the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolution, the results of the comparison expand to discuss the implications for the future of media landscape in post- revolutionary of Tunisia and Egypt. That is, the study concludes by investigating the interrelation between media change and political change in autocratic states and highlights the different views on the controversial causal relation between political change and free press.

## **Research Questions**

The research questions for this study aim to address how the two news outlets, AJA and BBA, covered the Tunisian Revolution (TR) and Egyptian Revolution (ER) by investigating how they represented the protests and portrayed the antagonists and protagonists? Relying on Fairclough's three- dimensional framework, these representations are investigated both textually, by analysing lexicalization and predication, verbal processes and presupposition, and discursively, by analysing intertextuality. Further, the study explores the socio-political context

to provide a nuanced explanation of discourse as it pertains to society and tackles the implications of the results for the future of media landscape in Tunisia and in Egypt.

Specifically, the study aims at answering the following research questions:

1. How were the protests represented in AJA and BBA news coverage of the TR and ER?
2. How were the protesters represented in AJA and BBA news coverage of the two revolutions?
3. How were the President Ben Ali of Tunisia, President Mubarak of Egypt and their governments were represented in AJA and BBA news coverage of the revolution?
4. Given any differences between the news coverage of the two outlets, what are the discursive and socio-political practices that can explain these differences?
5. What are the implications of the two Revolutions for the future of the media situation in Egypt and Tunisia as well as the Arab region?

To answer these research questions, the following sub-questions are addressed to provide a textual and discursive analysis of the coverage:

1. What kind of lexicalisation and predication are utilised in the coverage of AJA and BBA?
2. Which verbal processes can be depicted in the news coverage of AJA and BBA?
3. What types of presuppositions are used in the news coverage of AJA and BBA?
4. What kind of intertextuality is employed in the news coverage of AJA and BBA?
5. What are the collocations of the important words: ‘Protestor/s’, ‘Ben Ali’ and ‘Mubarak’?

## Significance of the Study

The so called the ‘AS’ is one of the most important events in the modern history of Arab world. During the first 60 days of the uprising which started in Tunisia in December 2010, two Presidents among the most influential Arab rulers have been forced to step down. Thus, The Tunisian Revolution (TR) and the Egyptian Revolution (ER) are among the most remarkable social and political events in the history of both countries. During Ben Ali and Mubarak terms in power, their government restricted the freedom of expression including the strict regulations and monitoring on the media (Cooper, 2008; Elmasry, 2011). International media outlets enjoy significantly more freedom compared to state-owned media. In this regard, understandably, the Western media outlets were among the earliest to offer an alternative source of news and information to the Arab audience. BBC for instance, has more than 80 years of long history commitment with the Arab societies. When *Aljazeera* was found in 1996, the outlet has immediately become another important source of news to the Arab audiences. *Aljazeera* has been regarded as one of main alternative to the non-Western media discourses. The outlet also offered counter-discourse to many Arab states’ official media, hence caused a tense diplomatic relationship between Qatar; the host country of *Aljazeera* and the Arab nations including Tunisia and Egypt (Seib, 2008).

When the protests started in the remote areas of Tunisia, media outlets reported the events with different ideological stances. Thus, the significance of present study is to compare and contrast between two international media institutions: *Aljazeera* representing the media outlet from the Arab world (Qatar in particular) and BBC representing the British media. Many studies (Fornaciari, 2011; Yehia, 2011; Barkho, 2011; Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013) have compared between the two media outlets previously, however, not many focused on the outlets’ online news texts particularly the modern Standard Arabic news texts which published on their

respective official news portal. This online news was aimed at the Arab audiences globally. Besides, many non-Arabic native speakers (who learned Standard Arabic as a second language) benefited from this online news, particularly those in the Muslim world (Ismail & Mohammad, 2009). Both outlets proudly stated on their website that their news portals have been attracted more than ten million visitors monthly and the number increased significantly during the so called 'AS' (Aljazeera, 2017; BBC 2017). Hence, indicates the significance of the present study in selecting and analysing the data of the study.

Analysing the Arabic online news articles of *Aljazeera* and BBC provide a good spectrum for a comparison between the two international well-known media institutions, representing two sides of the media world; the Qatari media which represents one outlet of the Arab world and the British media again, one outlet of the Western world. BBC is among the oldest and biggest media institutions in the world. Moreover, BBC Arabic has been offering news and information for the Arab audiences since 1938. *Aljazeera* on the other hand, not only famous for its controversial coverage of the Arab world issues, but also the first Arab semi-independent news outlet which attracts the vast majority of viewers in the Arab world (Seib, 2007). This is significant as it adds to the body of research on the two media outlets and casts light on the content of online news as one the critical sources of news in the Internet age (Salwen, 2005).

The present study aims to add to the body of Arabic sociolinguistics qualitative research with interdisciplinary approaches. Hence, the study helps in bridging the gap between the linguistic, in one hand, and the media, political and social, on the other hand, in the researches pertaining the Middle East. Therefore, the study investigates hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses of the Revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt and highlights the implications of the media coverage as the result of the Revolutions. Thus, the analysis in this study examines

the interrelation between political change and media change in post-revolution event, which is goes beyond a linguistic description of news stories.

The study also offers additional insights to previous studies of media coverage of the AS. Despite the different aspects have been address in the literature of AS, only a few studies have focused on the first two months of the event in which many still underestimated the significant impact of the uprising. Yet, during these two months, two presidents among the most influential leaders in the Arab world have been ousted. Moreover, only a few studies opted to examine the Arabic online news articles of the Revolutions. When both *Aljazeera* and BBC decided to utilise the internet services in reaching their audiences in late 1990s, online news was the initial content of their news portals. Online news portal which offers all the advantages of traditional printed newspaper with much more interactive features were the most convenience news sources among many internet users (Ahmad, 2017). Hence, the analysis of online news is significantly important despite the emerge of the social media and the online access to the televised news broadcasts. Besides, not many studies focused on investigating the Modern Standard Arabic online news texts particularly those produced by non-Arab international news outlets such as BBC. Thus, the present study fills a gap in the literature of the ‘AS’.

In term of the theoretical approach and the analysis framework, previous researches on the AS have utilised CDA approaches. However, not many studies broaden their theoretical perspective with the benefit from other critical theories such as Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe, Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, Foucault’s theory of power and Althusser’s theory of ideology. All these theories offer more comprehensive insights into the news discourse around the ‘AS’. Moreover, the application of corpus linguistics analytical tools on Arabic texts is still limited. Besides, the use of corpus tools to enhance the CDA analysis of Arabic news discourses were numbered. Thus, the present study which combines the CDA with

other critical theories and enhances the CDA analysis framework with corpus tools aims to fill a gap in the research of Arabic linguistics pertaining the media coverage of the ‘AS’.

### **Why Aljazeera Arabic and BBC Arabic?**

The success of democratic uprising of the AS in Tunisia and Egypt was associated with many factors, including the mass media which played a critical role in shaping the event as it unfolds (Aday *et al.*, 2013; Wolfsfeld *et al.*, 2013; Malik, 2014). The way the media represents the event of these revolutions, reflecting their own ideologies and prospects for future events has affected other subsequent revolutions across the Arab world. Hence, it is safe to say that the Tunisian revolution in which the wave of the AS started triggered the following Egyptian revolution and so on in a predictable fashion (Bayat, 2013; Malik, 2014). Thus, the present study attempts to indicate how the Arab and the Western media particularly the Qatari and British media outlets covered the two versions of the so-called the ‘AS’ in the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. The Arabic media is represented by *Aljazeera* of Qatar, the media outlet which is by many regarded as the most influential Arab media network (El-Nawawy and Iskander, 2002; Miles, 2005; Zayani, 2005; AlHumaidi, 2013). On the other hand, the Western media is represented throughout this study by the British media of BBC, which is one of the oldest and most professional news channels in the world (Barkho, 2006; Miladi, 2006; Barkho, 2008, Lahlali, 2011).

*Aljazeera* is one of the prominent news networks in the Arab world since its establishment in 1996 despite many controversies around it. The network based in Qatar, was the first Arab network to provide 24-hour news service to its viewers. *Aljazeera* has been recognised as the most popular Arab news channel according to different polls, reports, and recognition from influential institutions (Pareene, 2011; Wikileaks/Twitter, 2011). *Aljazeera* in Arabic literary means ‘island’ or ‘peninsular’, it can be symbolically referred to the Arabian Peninsula in

general or it refers to Qatar, a peninsula itself within the Arabian Peninsula. Besides, *Aljazeera* may refer to the network as an island of professional journalism tradition (*Aljazeera*, 2015). Hence, since the beginning of *Aljazeera's* operation, the network has adopted a Western-style journalism. The network provides their audiences with news addressing issues which Arab official medias considered 'red lines' (El- Nawawy, 2003; Dresner, 2006). As a result, Arab governments accused the network of being an agent of the CIA, serving American interests in the region (Zayani & Ayish, 2006). Besides, *Aljazeera* has been controversial in the Western world. During post September, 11 terrorist attacks, particularly pertaining *Aljazeera's* comprehensive coverage of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. has accused *Aljazeera* of anti-Americanism and aiding terrorists (Mekay, 2004; Pintak and Ginges, 2008; Fahmy and Johnson, 2007).

*Aljazeera* launched Arabic language news website on the internet on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2001, after the beta version was initiated in 1999. Since then, it continues to be the source of information for millions of people worldwide (*Aljazeera*, 2013). During the AS particularly in the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions, *Aljazeera's* online website provide comprehensive coverage of the events as they unfolded and saw a remarkable increase in page views and search attempts (Aouragh and Alexander, 2011). As a result, the network continues to receive bad treatment from the governments. For instance, on 29<sup>th</sup> December 2010, the Tunisian Parliament condemned the network's coverage of the protests in Sidi Bouazid and urged a severe punishment to be taken against the news outlet. The outlet's situation in Egypt was even worse, as *Aljazeera* was the only Arab or Western news outlet whose journalists and offices were attacked, and its transmission interrupted by Egyptian authorities. In comparison, other Arab and Western news outlets which also have a significant presence in Egypt such as *Al-Arabiya*, CNN, and BBC did not go through the same hardships as faced by *Aljazeera* (Hussain, 2011).

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is globally well-known for being the world's largest media cooperation. It is regarded as among the oldest media outlet which continues to broadcast information to both local British and global audiences on television, radio and the internet since its foundation in October 1922. BBC services reached about 372 million audiences around the globe per week (BBC, 2017). In addition to nine UK local stations, BBC operates 11 international television channels under one of the outlet arms known as 'BBC World Services'. Among these international channels are BBC World, BBC America, BBC Canada, BBC Earth, BBC Knowledge, BBC Lifestyle and BBC Arabic. As among the leading global news corporation, BBC broadcasts news in 33 languages to its audiences worldwide. One of these languages is Arabic which started in 1938 through the BBC Arabic Radio Service. In 2008, BBC launched BBC Arabic television station to become the first BBC's non-English television channel (BBC, 2012). BBC Arabic Television channel was founded by the UK government to compete against the Pan-Arabic channel particularly *Aljazeera* of Qatar. Despite being funded by the UK government, the channel insists on its independence from the control of the government. Hence, BBC emphasised that its editorial board are free from the UK government influences and are independence in producing the channel's outputs (Aly & Baumann, 2013). However, many critics criticised BBC World services for being the UK's government mouthpiece since it was funded by the UK Foreign Office (Jarrah, 2008). Hence, one might argue that the professional of BBC media outlet may be politically biased toward the interest of UK's foreign policies.

The most unique feature of BBC Arabic service compared to other Arabic outlets is BBA highlights topics which are being avoided by most of the Arab counterparts. Among these topics which were given comprehensive coverage by BBA service were democracy, human rights, freedom of expression, minority rights and culture and social change. Thus, BBA service provided significant source of information when the wane of uprising hit Arab countries in



2011. Moreover, BBA has been providing the Arab audiences with news and information for almost eight decades. Hence, it has been highly regarded by the Arab audiences for the brand name and its culture (Pintak, 2007). Another important feature of BBA which made it attractive to the Arab audience is BBA follows the Western media tradition which emphasised on the impartiality, fairness, professionalism and objectivity (Lahlali, 2011). Furthermore, the BBA's journalists provided special attention to the Arab audiences' interests and desires in line with the Western reporting style which promote the freedom of expression (Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013).

Similar to *Aljazeera*, BBA address the same audiences inside and outside the Arab region. By broadcasting in Arabic language, BBA tried to build its own constituency in the Middle East and Northern Africa region (MENA) which compete directly with other pan-Arab and local Arab media outlets in very crowded global media arena (Seib, 2010). BBC Arabic in general refers to three Arabic language services provided by the BBC World Service. These services are: First, the Arabic radio station which was very long history among the Arab audience since its foundation in 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1938. Secondly, BBC Arabic satellite TV channel which was established in 2008. Last but not least, it refers to the website which provides Arabic language news portal which was founded in 1998. Today, the BBC Arabic news portal ([www.bbcarabic.com](http://www.bbcarabic.com)) not only provide online news articles but also provides online access to both the BBC Arabic TV and radio broadcasts. After celebrating its 80 years of broadcasting in January 2018, BBC Arabic proudly declared that the outlet has a weekly reached of 43 million audiences globally (BBC, 2018). The website serves more than 4 million unique browsers each month which equally to around 30 million pages views every month (ibid). During the so-called 'Arab Spring' event across the Arab world in 2011, BBC Arabic has been regarded as one of the trusted of news information sources in the Arab world. Hence, BBC

Arabic's audiences rose dramatically from 21.6 to 36.2 million in 2011-2012 and continue to grow significantly three years after the events unfold (BBC, 2018).

Both AJA and BBA do not provide ample information on the journalists or authors in most of the news articles involved in the current study. However, the official outlets' news portal does provide names of important persons who were in charge of monitoring and producing online news from 2008 up until 2013 (Aljazeera, 2014). It is worth noting that many AJA staff had gathered their experiences in BBA before joining AJA when it was established in 1996. Ahmed al-Sheikh, the chief editor of AJA for instance, was working with BBA before joining AJA in 1996 (Aljazeera, 2017). Similarly, Mostefa Souag, AJA Managing Director has gained experience in the journalism from BBA (Aljazeera, 2018). Other important names in the AJA's team include Mohammed Mukhtar Al-Khalil who was the founder member of the outlet's online news portal (Aljazeera.net). He then was promoted to become the Arabic editor – in chief in June 2010. Salah Negm, who was the director of news, is another crucial personal in AJA. He was responsible for the production of news in the outlet (Aljazeera, 2018).

*Aljazeera* is full of controversies, particularly in term of its coverage of AS. The same also applies to its journalists who have been facing various restrictions by the authorities. Mahmoud Hussein<sup>5</sup>, for instance, has been detained without trial in Egypt since 2016. Moreover, Alaa Omar Sablan and Ibrahim Mohammed Helal were sentenced to death in absentia after being found guilty of breaching Egyptian national security (The Guardian, 2016). Other controversial members of AJA include Faisal al-Kasim whose talk show known as '*The Opposite Direction*' is popular (Aljazeera, 2016). Al-Kasim strongly supported the AS through

---

<sup>5</sup> He was the Chief Editor of AJA in Egypt during the AS and moved to AJA headquarters in Doha in 2013 after the authority closed Aljazeera's office in Cairo. He was detained without trial in Egypt since 2016, and the outlet has since launched an extensive campaign to release him (Aljazeera, 2020).

his program, his blog, and his news writing. Ghassan Bin Jiddo is another well-known figure in AJA as he was popular among the audience for his TV program ‘*Open Dialogue*’<sup>6</sup>.

BBA journalists also are not exempted from facing restrictions by the authority during their coverage of AS. Mohamed Taha, Assad Sawey and Shaima Khalil<sup>7</sup> were among the outlet’s journalists who have been arrested and beaten by the Egyptian authority (BBC, 2011). Other BBA vital staff included Mustafa Kadhum who was responsible for launching the BBA online news service in 1998 (Khadum, 2018). He was later appointed as Senior Online Editor who takes the responsibility of monitoring BBA journalists in London and Cairo. Kadhum works closely with Mohamed Yehia, the Head of Multimedia Output who is in charge of managing the news portal (ibid.). Moreover, Samir Farah<sup>8</sup>, who joined BBA since 1996 has produced many ground-breaking documentaries related to the MENA region (BBC, 2016).

Erfan Arab is another member of BBA who has the responsibility of writing and presenting news of the Arab current affairs since 2006 (Khadum, 2018). He works closely with Edgard Jalal and Tony el-Khoury who joined the outlet in 2007 (ibid.). Faris Couri was the Lead Editor of BBA during the AS, and he was assisted by many news editors including Bassam Andari the Senior News Editor since March 2010 and Akram Shaban Abdou the Assistant Editor (Couri, 2013). Ahmad Elkady, who was worked as Senior Broadcast Journalist and the Senior News Producer, had gained his experience by working with AJA in 2000 – 2007 before joining BBA (Khadum, 2018).

---

<sup>6</sup> However, he resigned in April 2011, two months after President Mubarak stepped down.

<sup>7</sup> Shaima later appointed as BBC world service Middle East Regional Editor in 2012. She received the Association for International Broadcast Award for her outstanding works in 2014.

<sup>8</sup> He was very popular with his program ‘*Nuqtat Hewan*’ (Point of Discussion) and was later appointed as Head of BBA in 2016 after holding several essential tasks during the 'AS'.

## **Thesis Layout**

In Chapter Two I discuss the theoretical framework for the study and the discursive practices that govern the production of discourse with particular focus on the Tunisian and Egyptian context. I focus in particular on Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, adopted in the study, and discuss the analytical tools that are used to examine the data textually and discursively. Since the analysis is multilayered in that it goes beyond micro-textual analysis to explain organizational routines of discourse production and sociocultural practices, which constitute the larger-scale macro-analysis, I address three notions that are central in CDA studies: ideology, power, and hegemony. In addition, these three notions particularly the notion of hegemony have been linked to the concept of hegemonic intervention introduced by Laclau and Mouffe to provide wider understanding of the investigated discourses. Chapter Two also discusses the methodology for the study, including data collection, sampling, building corpus data and translation of news texts from Modern Standard Arabic into English.

Chapter Three onwards focus on the analysis results and discussion. Hence, in Chapter Three, the discussion focuses on the result of the archive search, concordance and content analysis. After that, I analyse the data textually by explicating how linguistic concepts such as, lexicalisation, predication, presuppositions and verbal processes were used by the two outlets to represent the protests and the antagonists. Thus, Chapter four concentrates on the lexicalisation and presuppositions. While Chapter Five focuses on the analysis results of verbal processes, I analyse the data discursively, in Chapter Six by explaining how intertextuality was strategically used in the coverage of AJA and BBA. Specifically, I explain the inclusion and exclusion of different voices throughout the event, and explain how different types of reporting such as, direct reporting, indirect reporting, and strategic reporting were used with each side differently. Throughout my textual and discursive practice analysis in Chapter Four, Chapter

Five and Chapter Six, I attempt to observe whether or not the use of different features was consistent in each outlets' reporting or whether there were points in time during the uprising where there were shifts in using different features. I expand the insights of textual and discursive practice analysis in Chapter Seven to investigate the wider socio-political context. After addressing the 'how' in my analysis, I turn to the 'why': why did *Aljazeera* and BBC address the Egyptian and Tunisian Revolution the way they did? What are the social and political aspects that help understand discourse? I specifically address textual and discursive group polarisation characteristics in the reporting of the two outlets in light of van Dijk's (1995) ideological square and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) hegemonic intervention. In my critical analysis, I examine the socio-political context to explain discourse. In the Conclusion Chapter, I summarise the study's findings and highlight the main factors that contributed to the contrast between the Qatari and British international online media discourse. I also point out the study's limitations and implications for future research.

## **Literature Review**

My discussion on the literature review is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on media and power relation particularly in the underlying role of media on gaining political purposes. The second section of my literature review discusses more specifically on the 'Arab Spring' and the media. Finally, I highlight the gap between these literatures which the current research aims to fit in.

### **The political role of media**

Many studies have studied the role of media in achieving political goals particularly in achieving and using power. Media can be used as a tool to shape people's opinion and

perspectives in which help improving someone's status or increasing his power or vice versa. Hence, in this section, I highlight the most-related literature which discussed the role of media in affecting people politically. These literatures are divided into three themes based on their focus, namely: First; The role of media in promoting political participation, secondly; the role of media in election processes and finally; The role of media in shaping people's opinion towards government's policies.

In the first theme pertaining the use of media for encouraging political participation has attracted a lot of attention among the researchers. Among them, McLeod *et al.*, (1999) who studied the role of mass media on political participation. This study focuses on the role of community integration and interpersonal communication in forecasting two types of local political participation namely: institutionalised acts of participation and taking part in forums. The result showed that the newspaper readership obtained a strong impact on institutionalised participation, compared to the interpersonal discussion. The study also revealed that television news did not directly affect any of the two types of political participation. All in all, the study emphasised that communication played a vital role in enabling and triggering local political participation.

In a related study which focus on the media in German from 1994 to 1998, Eilders (2000) examined the role of media as political tools, particularly in the involvement of political processes. The study suggested that by focusing on specific issues the media outlets indicate their political stand to the audience and highlight a distinct ideological profile of the outlets. However, the result of this study revealed that the effect of such editorials on the political system was related to the overall degree of the issue which has been mentioned by other outlets within the media system. Thus, the study assumed that when different newspapers covered the same issue differently, the political system is likely to respond effectively to the issue highlighted by the media. One of the main finding from this study is there were notable

differences between newspapers which focused on specific politics issues and policies throughout the media system compared to other typical newspapers. In another study, Mutz (2001) investigated the role of media in facilitating communication across political difference. The study utilised United States survey data to examine the various sources of political information which led people to various political views. The result shown that despite the lack of diverse perspectives is a common complaint against American news media, individuals are more likely exposed to more various political views through media compared to interpersonal political discussions. Hence emphasised, the role of media in promoting diverse political views.

Showing that the media has been used by political institutions to serve their ideas. Schudson (2002) examined how the news media can be utilised as political institutions. The study argued that political science has tended to overlook investigating the news media as political institutions, although there are a lot of party-owned newspapers and throughout history an increasing “medialisation” of politics. The study examined this issue within three main approaches. Firstly, the study examined where the political and economic perspectives by looking at the patterns of media ownership and the behaviour of news institutions in relatively liberal versus relatively repressive states. Secondly, the study investigated the social organisation of news work and related news content based on the interaction between journalists and their sources. Finally, the third approach looked at the news as a form of culture which incorporates general belief systems, assumptions, and values into news writing. The result of study revealed that in certain cases media is a representation of the political authorities. This can be observed in many Arab countries including Egypt and Tunisia where media is totally controlled by the authorities.

The relationship between media freedom and political participation among voters has been examined by Leeson (2008), who studied the connection between media freedom and three political aspects namely: political knowledge, political participation, and voter turnout.

Hence, the study examined the media freedom and political knowledge in 13 European countries using data from Freedom House's Freedom of the Press report and the European Commission's Candidate Countries Eurobarometer survey. On the second link between, the media freedom and political participation the data comes from 60 countries extracted from the World Values Survey. Finally, in the third link between the media freedom and voter turnout, the study utilised data of the same 60 countries but this time is taken from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. The result revealed that where government controlled the media by holding a control share of media outlets, regulates the media industry more, and control the news content more, people are more politically ignorant. In contrast, when the media is less controlled by government and the media industry become more privatised people are more knowledgeable with political aspects. The study concluded, that less media freedom resulted in poor political knowledge, minimum political participation, and less voter turnout. However, in the countries where the media enjoyed higher media freedom, their people knowledge and participation are better. Hence, recorded higher number of voters turned out.

In more recent study when the social media emerged as the important media tools, Howard and Parks (2012) examined the role of social media in the political change. The study suggested a working definition of social media and discussed other related term proposed by the concerned scholars in their studies. The results of study indicate that the social media is consisted of the information tools which are used to produce and distribute content. This content initially has an individual value but also reflects shared values influenced by the surrounding. Thus, the content which originated from personal messages, news, and ideas, have becomes cultural products, produce and consume by many in the network of social media.

Specifically pertaining the media and the political of Arab world, the Arabic media is playing significant role toward the democratisation and political change in the Middle East



(Lahlali, 2011). The process has started back in 1950s with the emergence of Arabic unity discourse and Arab national identity, which being further enhanced in 1990s with the start of the Arab transnational television broadcasting (Aldawood, 2004; Amin, 2001; Sakr, 2007). Previous literatures have highlighted the features of Arabic transnational media outlets by focusing on bias and independence of such media (Zayani & Ayish, 2006; Miladi, 2006; Fandy, 2007; Volkmer, 2008; Mellor, 2011). Although, these Arabic media outlets claimed that they are privately-owned, hence, totally independent and free from government control, these outlets have been used as political tools. Thus, Arabic transnational media is associated directly or indirectly with certain agendas and ideologies. Moreover, these ideologies are rooted in regional conflicts within the Arab world (Fandy, 2007). Mellor (2011) tracked how Arab media outlets managed to move from working under firm governmental grip to become commercially oriented media institutions, but still cannot totally avoid from the governmental influence. Hence, there is a little room for criticising these governments particularly those related to sensitive national and international issues. On the positive side, the Arabic transnational media like *Aljazeera*, *Al-Arabia*, *Al-Hurra*, BBC Arabic and CNN Arabic have offered the Arab audiences with a variety choice of content and presentation (Elareshi & Gunter, 2010; Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013). As a result, these media outlets have created a challenge to the dominant of Arabic state media. Besides, the Arabic transnational media promoted the freedom of expression through their discussions and current affairs programmes (Miladi, 2006).

Moving into the second theme of the literatures around the political role of media which focuses on the role of media in election processes showed many studies have been carried out to examine the relationship between media and the process of election. To begin with, Weaver (1996) examined the aspects the voters learn from media when choosing for a candidate they vote for. He argued that the media can be used to manipulate political perspectives during an election process. Thus, voters' perspectives can be manipulated by newspapers news,

television, and televised debates. The study revealed, among learned by the voters from media were the awareness over specific questions, issues, and the characteristic of election candidates. This study that certain position of candidate and his political party on certain issues are also indicated less likely to be benefited or manipulated by media. Furthermore, the result of this study showed that media exposure only exhibits minimum relationship to certain important aspects including the voters' images of candidates; prior political stands and educational levels which considered as much stronger predictors of these perceived images. This study highlighted that the exposure to the television coverage of elections, helps to strength the interest in both politics and voting turnout among the voters. Interestingly, the result of Waver's study showed that the newer forms of media at that time like radio and television talk shows, have notably weaker connections to the voter's obtaining of information on the election process.

In the same vein, Pinkleton and Austin (2001) in their study investigated the political disaffection related to media reporting among the registered voters in Washington. They argued that mass media have been blamed for distancing people from the political process through augmenting voter apathy and cynicism. Hence, the study carried out a telephone survey of (592) registered voters in Washington State, to examine the relationships between perceived media importance, political involvement, and political disaffection. The study found that political involvement was positively correlated with the perceived media importance particularly from radio talk shows and newspapers, which were, in turn, negatively correlated with cynicism but positively correlated with efficacy. In addition, the efficacy was positively correlated with involvement. The study also revealed that involvement is a very important variable in the process of political decision making. Accordingly, media can be made as a catalyst to encourage people's participation in decision making. Finally, the study suggests that those researchers working on the relationship between political involvement and mass media must give high attention to the motivational context individuals bring to the media when addressing on the

impact of the mass media in the process of political decision making.

Still related to the election process in the United States and the media particularly the online media, Kenski and Stroud (2006) in their study highlighted the connection between the online exposure about the presidential campaign and political efficacy, knowledge, and participation. Hence, the study examined data from the 2000 National Annenberg Election Survey. The result showed that the online information about the presidential campaign are significantly correlated with political efficacy, knowledge and participation. Additionally, the study argued that many associations between internet exposure with political efficacy, knowledge, and participation can be found even when taking socio-demographic variables, political interest, party identification, partisan strength, and other media exposures variables into consideration. The study also emphasised that the concerns that the internet would give a negative effect on knowledge, and democratic participation are mostly exaggerated. However, the positive correlations between the internet variables and the dependent variables were limited. Thus, the study concluded that the internet is not the only solution for the issues of political efficacy, knowledge and participation.

In a related study, Gerber, *et al.*, (2009) studied the role of media in election process particularly the role of newspapers in manipulating voters' views during the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial election in the U.S. Based on an assumption that there was compelling evidence indicated that media sources have leaned toward certain political direction. The study however, argued that there have been few researches highlighting the effects of media on political views of media bias or access. The study selected the voters in Washington DC area as the subject of study which were having access to two newspapers, namely: the Washington Times and the Washington Post. Then, the respondents (voters) were randomly assigned into three groups: either to receive a free subscription of Washington Post, or Washington Times, or to join a control group. Following that, survey was carried out after the 2005 Virginia

election. The result show that the voters who were assigned to the Washington Post group were 8% more likely to vote for the governor candidate from Democratic compared to those who were into the control group. However, the result show minimum evidence of in public opinion shift certain issues highlighted by the two newspapers during the 2005 election.

In the third theme of the literatures around the political role of media, gathered the most relevant studies which examined the way media has been used to shape people's perspective of certain policies. Analysing the news coverage of the Persian Gulf War in 1990s, Pan, *et al.*, (1994) investigated the exposure of news media and during the Persian Gulf War by making a comparison of two probability surveys: the first was conducted immediately after the War, whilst the second, was conducted a year and half before the war. The result showed that the exposure to media makes one familiar with the war events. However, the study also revealed that different people prefer different things, hence, they were different in their general knowledge based on their interest. In term of different type of exposure, the study highlighted that the exposure to news input from network TV news might be used to accure "image-oriented" information, while exposure to were mostly related to learning more abstract and complex information about the war.

Moving into another study which focused on much more smaller contact in investigation the role of media in shaping people's opinions of a local government policies, Besley and Burgess (2001) examined the role of mass media in rendering the Indian local governments responsive to the citizens' needs in 1958-1992. The study emphasised that the role of the mass media on issues of public interest does not attract much attention from the researchers. The study suggested a theoretical example of the media's role in boosting and enhancing the government's responsiveness based on of information from local and national government. Following that, the data has been analysed the investigate which Indian local governments responded to critical issues such as food shortages through the public distribution

of food. In addition, it correlated these critical issues with the work of media and political issues. The data analyses showed that states which are more responsive to the people's needs have a high level of literacy, voters turnout and newspaper circulation. The analysis also revealed that richer states do not show a tendency to be more responsive compared to poor states. Thus, the study explained the important of media in highlighting the responsiveness of one state to people's requirements. Thus, the responsiveness of government to their citizens' needs can be enhanced with the help from mass media. By utilising the full potential of media, governments can have better understand on how they can work more effectively in offering services to their citizens. At the same time, it is vital to have strong media institutions which support prominent role of government serving people's needs.

Closer to the Arab and Islamic world, Gentzkow and Shapiro (2004) in their study argued that the United States has a bad image within the Islamic and Arab World after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attack. The study revealed that merely 1% of the people in the Middle East, expressed positive opinions of the United States. The study gathered research data from nine Muslim countries to investigate how such beliefs come as a result of on exposure to news media and levels of education. The result show that the intensity of media use and level of education have a weak correlation with people's beliefs. The result also revealed that the sources of news sources have strong effects on beliefs. Hence, individuals watching Arab news channels or educated in schools with little Western influence are less likely to agree that the September 11th attacks were carried out by Arab terrorists compared to those who have minimum media exposure or schooling. In contrast, those who exposed to western media and western education are more likely to agree that the attacks were made by Arab terrorists.

To summarise, these literatures have emphasised that media played very important role in shaping political views. The previous studies have provided evident of media has been used as a tool to manipulate people's perspectives towards specific issues including elections local

government issues, political awareness and violence behaviours. Hence, media significantly influenced people's life and beliefs. Which led them into certain actions. Thus, the mass media had a vital role during the so-called the 'Arab Spring' particularly in shaping certain incidents and orienting people's perspective towards certain issues, as will be discussed in the following section.

### **Arab Spring and the Media**

In this section, I highlight the important literatures which addressed the role of the media in the so-called Arab Spring (AS) events. Since the breakout of the uprising in the Arab region in late 2010, the AS has attracted attention many researchers to analyses the events from different perspective. However, my discussion in this section limits only on the studies investigated the connection between media and the AS. Thus, the relevant literatures are divided into four themes namely:

- a) Social media and the Egyptian Revolution (ER)
- b) Social media and the Tunisian Revolution (TR)
- c) Social media and the Arab Spring as a whole
- d) Comparison between Aljazeera's coverage of the Arab Spring events with other media outlets.

Before mentioning the detail of these literatures, it is worth to note that many studies have highlighted the role of social media (*Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Weblog*) during the AS compared to the traditional media (printed newspapers, radio broadcast and non-satellite television). Hence, literatures on the role of social media will be given more focus in this section of literature review and they are separated from each other based on their focus of the Arab country which severely affected from the AS.

The Egyptian Revolution (ER) received the most attention by the researchers compared

to the revolutions in other Arab countries. Among the earliest study highlighted on the role of media in the AS, Storck (2011) investigated the Arab Spring revolutions in Egypt by focusing on the use social media in facilitating the uprisings. Thus, Storck examined how the Egyptian activists utilised social media networks (namely: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and weblogs) to organise and spreading awareness of political mobilisation, during Egyptian uprising in early 2011. The study also utilised of the well- established theories of communication, to position the use of social media within a wider context of communication. The study also used the theory of communicate to explicate how the inherent characteristics of social networking which were relevant to the aim of Egyptian activists. The result found of study showed that various potential of social media could be used to facilitative political mobilisation. Similar to Storck (2011), Bhuiyan (2011) also investigated the role of (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and weblogs) in the ER. This study revealed the social media enhanced people's desire for democracy and improvement of in Egypt socio-economic. The study also highlighted social media has been used to allow Egyptian to ignore the government censorship, break the barrier of fear, and spread the call for political reform. Finally, the study showed how social media has been utilised to mobilised millions of Egyptians to participate in political action and emerged as organisational power structures.

Always on the Egyptian revolution, Abdallah (2011) claimed that the role of the media before and during the revolution was shaped by the Egyptian society. The study revealed that media highlighted the opposition movements' activities and helped to uncover the regime's abuse of power, corruption and injustice. Moreover, media created awareness among the Egyptians on their rights by promoting the oppositions' calls, led towards emerging new human rights activists and helped in strengthening the Egyptian youth movements. In contrast, the state-controlled media were justifying the government's misdeeds which caused a back fire as played a significant role it help the other uncontrolled media to build a close relationship with

its audience. Another important finding is the observation that anti-state media focuses much on people in education sector which are supposedly become the leaders of change in the society. At the end of the study, it summarised that both traditional and new media contributed significantly toward the political change during the uprising in Egypt. They continue to positively contribute towards the democracy after the revolution. In relation to Abdallah (2011), another study by Frangonikolopoulos and Chapsos (2012) investigated the impact of social media in the Egyptian Arab Spring. The study emphasised that although the social media not the only factor causing the uprisings, it played a significant role in establishing what the people call for during the event. Hence, the social media has successfully igniting public mobilisation, enabling civic engagement, and strengthen the collaboration between activists' event outside their own country. Thus, the study concluded that social media was one of the important catalysts facilitated people to work together to bring down the existing regimes during the revolution.

Based on the survey among the protestors who participated in the mass protests in Tahrir Square of Egypt, Tufekci and Wilson (2012) investigated how social media affected the decision to participate in political protest during Egyptian Arab Spring. The study conducted a survey on participants in Tahrir Square protests, to demonstrated that social media particularly Facebook, has become new sources of information which the regime could not totally controlled. Hence, the social media was very important in shaping how people made decisions to participate part in protests, the study also revealed that Egyptians learned about the protests through Facebook, phone contact, or face-to-face conversation. While, Twitter and blogs, were used by protestors to communicate about the demonstrations as they unfolded. Furthermore, the study indicated that printed media was used for acquiring general information on a protest but not for communicating about it. Overall, the results of study highlight the vital role of social media, Facebook and Twitter, in particular during the protests which overthrown President



Mubarak in February 2011.

Different slightly with other studies on the ER which concentrated on the social media, Aouragh and Alexander (2011) investigated the Arab Spring in Egypt in relation to the internet revolution. The research highlighted the debate around role of the internet in triggering political and social change. The study data of derived from interviews and observations conducted during the 2011 revolution. The result concluded that it is crucial to go beyond three sets of polemics. Firstly, the study emphasised the idea which transcending the debate between utopian and dystopian perspectives on the role of the internet in political change. Secondly, the study suggested a change from perspectives isolating the Internet from other media particularly social media and satellite broadcasters during the Egyptian revolution. Thirdly, the study established that understanding the dialectical relationship between online and offline political action is very important to figure out the role of internet during the revolution.

Moving into a quantitative study of the ER, it found that Kavanaugh (2012) examined statistical data on the use of social media during the Arab Spring. To complete the data analysis, this study compared the findings with survey data of among Egyptian students, in June 2011. The study indicated that social media had a strong impact beyond its general adoption rates based on to the age distribution of the social media user particularly among the youth protestors. The result showed, despite it is quantitatively marginal, Twitter users were most likely opinion leaders. Hence the use of Twitter most probably leads towards larger social impact.

In the second theme of the literatures on the AS showed that studies focusing specifically on the connection of social media and the Tunisian Revolution (TR) attracted a lower number of researches compared to those focusing on the Egyptian Revolution (ER). Analysing the ways the demonstrators dealt with the Tunisian regime's suppression in the virtual world, Champagne (2012) indicated that the Tunisian police did completely competence in dealing with social media. The study furthermore stated that the internet surveillance software

provided by a European company to the Tunisian secret service was not yet fully functional at that time. Champagne (2012) furthermore explained that it was possible for the local police to act against the protestors as most of the time, the Facebook accounts which were used to distribute information on the uprising were set to public access to attract the largest possible number of users. As a result, during the first three days of the Tunisian protest a total of 200 persons, were detained for uploading videos, and pictures of the local uprising to their Facebook accounts. Accordingly, Facebook and internet users started to hide their real names to protect themselves from governmental prosecution being arrested by the authorities. Then, the authority shut down were shut down Facebook accounts which contain information of the protests, and new ones were opened using different name. In response to that, the authority slowed down the speed of data internet connection to prevent the spread of information among local activists. As a result, users were unable to upload videos of uprising events to Facebook. This action has forced the activists to send the videos to their friends abroad using emails and their friends then uploaded it for public access. In short, this study revealed how local authorities during the AS dealt with the increasing use of social media by prosecuting those using social media services to go against the authorities.

In a different study which concentrated on Sidi Bouzid, the Tunisian town where the AS started, Wulf (2013) examined the use of Web 2.0 and other social media services during the uprising. The results revealed four main findings:

- 1) Web 2.0 helped to spread the leaked Tunisian official documents initiated by Wikileaks in which challenged the legitimacy of Ben Ali's government.
- 2) Web 2.0 helped in connecting the Tunisian local activists with Arab cable and satellite networks, which then broadcasted the detail of the revolution events to the viewers around the world.
- 3) Social media linked young activists in Sidi Bouzid with other activists in different Tunisian

cities. Hence, helped to widespread the protests into other Tunisian towns including Tunis the capital city of Tunisia.

4) Social media also helped the protestors to organise the resistance inside Sidi Bouzid and the surrounding area.

The third theme of the literatures in this section studied the relationship between social media and the AS without specifically focus on certain Arab country. However, my discussion in this section will give more priority to the AS events in Tunisia and Egypt which are the main focus of the current study. To begin with, Ghannam (2011) examined how the social media led to the wide spread of Arab Spring. The study highlighted that the social media has changed the nature of news and community engagement among the society. The social media continues to evolve with the combination merging of social media and satellite broadcasts, as seen in many Arab countries like Tunisia and Egypt. Specifically on the role of social media on the Arab people, Ghannam argued that social media has relatively bring changes in term of freedom of expression. This is being achieved by enhancing the collective and individual capacities to communicate, mobilise, and gain technical knowledge and experience which are expected to eventually lead to even greater voice, political influence, and participation among Arab people. Thus, Ghannam claimed that such changes in the freedom of expression among people in the Arab countries have been accelerated rapidly in early 2011, hence caused the spread of AS in many Arab countries.

In a wider perspective, Khondker (2011) analysed the role of the new media during the AS in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The study argued that the new media is regarded as one of the important factors in triggering social revolution in the region. The new media played a principled role in getting information particularly in the absence of democratic media and a civil society. Specifically, regarding the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia, the study emphasised that the social media tools particularly Facebook and Twitter

played a prominent role in expanding the political movements in the two Arab countries. However, the study revealed that the role of conventional media, especially *Aljazeera* television channel, was crucial, during the uprising. Nevertheless, the most important factor according to this study was indeed the inability of the state systems to contain the revolutionary upsurge as well as the presence of revolutionary conditions. Which mainly led toward the revolution. Thus, the social media is only a tool of causing the revolution track, then social media was a vital tool—a necessary condition—especially in the face of a muzzled conventional local media, but a tool, nevertheless.

Similarly, Howard, *et al.*, (2011) addressed the role of social media during the Arab Spring, particularly in shaping political debates. Hence, social media facilitated the spreading of democratic ideas across the international borders. In relation to the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, the research builds a database of information collected from the sources of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. Besides, the research created maps of important Egyptian political websites, highlighted the political debates in the Tunisian blogs, collected out more than three million Tweets and figuring out which countries thousands of individuals tweeted from during the revolutions. All of these to prove that the social media played critical role in the AS.

Moving away from Facebook and Twitter and focusing on the Arab bloggers during the Arab Spring, Benkirane (2012) investigated the role of the social networks in Tunisian and Egyptian societies during the uprising. The study argued that the emerge of many Arab bloggers during the uprising was the social outcome of several decades of continuous struggles demanding for their rights to be fulfilled. Thus, the social networks and new media had a catalytic role within the Tunisian and Egyptian uprising. By accelerating the social reactions, synchronized different levels of revolutions and provided a coverage of events through sharing real-time footage to attack public opinion globally. Finally, the study concluded that the

emerging ‘Intelligence Technology’ could promote the path towards liberation. However, at the same time it can be used as spying technology might become a powerful tool for control and repression against the people themselves. In a more recent study, Alshareif (2017) examined the Western media representation of the revolution in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Based on the interview conducted on the staff and student of a Libyan university, the result showed that the Western media is trusted for its dispassionate observation. Besides, the Western media is considered as neutral and professional without much emphasise on the political propaganda.

In the fourth theme, there are many studies examined the media discourse in the Arab region. These studies utilised various theoretical frameworks like CDA and framing analysis to investigate how certain news events have been described by the media and revealed the ideological stances of media outlets (Sefsaf, 2004; El-Nawawy, 2006; Lynch, 2006; De Graaf, 2008; Fornaciari, 2011; Yehia, 2011; Castells 2011). As a leading international media outlet in the Arab region, most of these studies opted to examine *Aljazeera* network and its contents particularly the network’s news, talk shows and *Aljazeera* online services. Moreover, these studies focused on how Al-Jazeera portrayed important events of the Arab region such as the conflict of Israel and Palestine (De Graaf, 2008) the so-called the AS of Egyptian Revolution in 2011 (Fornaciari, 2011 and Yehia, 2011). Furthermore, Castells (2011) highlighted on the important role of *Aljazeera* in Arab Spring events. The study mentioned that *Aljazeera* collected information widely spread on the internet particularly by organised groups on Facebook, then retransmitting free news through mobile phones to their audiences. As a result, *Aljazeera* helped in creating a new system of mass communication which built from a mix of an interactive television, internet, radio and mobile communication systems. This study argued that communication technologies did not resulted into the insurgency. However, the rebellion

was born because of the poverty and social exclusion that afflict much of the population in the fake democracy at the time.

Most studies made a comparison between *Aljazeera* as a leading media outlet in the Arab world with its equivalence from prominent Western media outlets namely CNN and BBC. These studies aimed to depict how *Aljazeera* offered counter hegemony discourse to the Western media. To begin with, past research criticised Western media institutions arguing that they cannot replace pan-Arab media (Rugh, 2004). They claimed the Western media promote ‘Western agendas’ through news and entertainment rather than finding solutions to issues surrounding the Arab nations (El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2002). Hence, the Arab audiences considered the Western media as propaganda tools which advocates the ideologies of Western power which may not fit with the Arab culture (El-Nawawy, 2006; Lynch, 2006; Sefsaf, 2004; Ferjani, 2009).

In contrast, other studies indicated that Arab audiences find the Western media outlets are more credible and more attractive than the local Arab media (Khalil, 2004). The news services provided by Western media are considered as important source for gathering public opinion (Anderson, Gillespie, & Mackay, 2010; Elareshi & Gunter, 2010; Kassman, 2007). Moreover, with the benefit of social media, these news services have developed new ways of engaging their Arabic viewers through citizen journalists, hence, provide a good platform to communicate with the Arab audience globally (Ferjani, 2009; Gillespie, 2013). Despite this argument, international audiences are sophisticated enough to consume information from multiple media sources even if they disagree with the outlet’s agendas (Rugh, 2004). In times of crises, audience tends to find fresh news from various sources to triangulate on a topic which help in building a clear picture (Heil, 2007; Rugh, 2004). More specifically on the Arab audience, Lynch (2012) highlighted that young Arabs may follow news and entertainments from various media sources regardless of their political agendas.

In relation to this, Fornaciari (2011), in his study argued that the Anglo-American media outlets such as CNN and BBC dominated the journalism internationally. Hence, *Aljazeera* provided an alternative voices which challenged the hegemony of Western media discourse. Furthermore, *Aljazeera* has a clear advantages compared to the Western media outlets among the Arab people, as the outlet emphasised on the Arab identity which closely related to the local culture and region. In contrast, the Western media does not pay great attention to the local values and in fact tries to promote Western cultures to the Arab audiences. In another study, *Aljazeera* was compared to *Al-Hurra* news network an American network offers news services in Arabic language.

Using CDA framework, Abdel Samei (2010) compared how *Aljazeera* and *Al-Hurra* covered certain international events in their news services. The result revealed that *Aljazeera* and al-Hurra represented two different ideologies, hence portrayed the same event differently. *Aljazeera* emphasised on the pan-Arabian identity which rooted on the Arab's history, language and religion. In contrast, al-Hurra promoted liberal voices and marginalised the role of history and religion among Arab people. Furthermore, the study revealed *Aljazeera* gained much more popularity among the Arab audience as the outlet widely highlighted about the Arab's concerns unlike al-Hurra. Al-Hurra tended to dismiss the discussions on certain United States policies of the region which go against the local culture and believe. Thus, the study argued that *Aljazeera* has become a threat to the American public diplomacy in the Arab world. Hence, al-Hurra failed to deliver the United States voice to the region as the outlet faced a huge challenge presented by *Aljazeera*.

Focusing on *Aljazeera* media discourse during the so-called the 'Arab spring' it is found that most of the studies opted to focus on the Egyptian revolution compared to other Arab countries which also resulted in power change in 2011 such as Tunisia and Libya. Most of the studies focused on the role of social media and the so-called the 'new media' of Facebook,

Twitter, Youtube and Weblog during the uprising. Other studies however opted to compared how the Arab and Western media outlets portrayed the revolution. Using content analysis approach, Fornaciari (2011) investigated how *Aljazeera* English framed the Egyptian Revolution compared to BBC. The results showed *Aljazeera* English tended to cover on Egyptian issues by distancing itself. Hence, *Aljazeera* English coverage on the Egyptian Revolution does not take a stand on the power struggles during the uprising and does not provide solutions to the unfolding events. In contrast, BBC clearly stated its stand towards the issues. Hence, the outlet's coverage of the events distinguished between the winner and loser of the conflicts. BBC also provided solutions to the Egyptian issues reported during the 2011 revolution.

In another study, Yehia (2011) compared between *Aljazeera* Arabic and CNN framing of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. The results however contradicted Fornaciari's findings on *Aljazeera* English coverage of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Yehia (2011) in his study found that *Aljazeera* Arabic strongly supported the protestors. Moreover, *Aljazeera* Arabic framed the revolution based on protestors' point of view. Hence, supported the demand to overthrow Mubarak. In contrast, CNN framed the Egyptian Revolution based on the United States official statements particularly on the future of democracy and power in Egypt. Therefore, CNN was reluctant to support the protestors' demands at the beginning of revolution but shifted to support the protestors after Mubarak stopped down.

All in all, the Fornaciari (2011) and Yehia (2011) studies on the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, indicated that international medias accommodate their target audiences by providing different framings on the same event. Thus, the *Aljazeera* discourses of Egyptian Revolution are various based on the outlet services language which aimed to serve different group of audiences. Barkho (2011) for instance, revealed that *Aljazeera* English portrayed the Gaza war differently compared to BBC. In reporting the war events, *Aljazeera* English tried to



distance itself from the centers of power. Thus, more focus was given to the people affected by the war. Furthermore, both the Israelis and the Palestinian sides were treated equally on the discursive and social levels. In comparison, BBC coverage of the same event, clearly distinguished power differentials. Hence, the protagonists were given the prominent appearance in the BBC discourse. However, Loomis (2009) in his study revealed that *Aljazeera* English not always take a different side to the Western media. Therefore, Loomis (2009) found that *Aljazeera* English covered international events in the same way as the other Western international media outlets like BBC, CBS and CNN did. Although, *Aljazeera* English provided not much positive narratives toward the United States compared to the Western outlets, there was no difference in term of news contents among these international media outlets. Despite, the Brakho's (2011) findings contradicted Loomis's result (2009), the two studies indicated that *Aljazeera* English do not challenge the hegemonise discourse of Western media.

Further studies comparing *Aljazeera* Arabic and *Aljazeera* English produced inconsistent results. De Graaf (2008) in his study compared *Aljazeera* English coverage on the Jewish settlers' withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in August 2005 with CNN coverage of the same event. The study used CDA approach and the result indicated that *Aljazeera* English provided a counter-ideology discourse to challenge the hegemonise of Western news discourse. Moreover, the outlet practiced group polarisations in its coverage of the event. The Palestinians were considered as the 'in-group', while the Israelis were the 'out-group'. In contrast, CNN considered the Israelis as the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' were the Palestinians. Thus, the study concluded that *Aljazeera* English portrayed the Israelis-Palestinian conflict in a similar way to *Aljazeera* Arabic in which both provided counter-ideology to the domination of Western news. Moreover, Samuel-Azran & Pecht (2014) argue that news layout of *Aljazeera* Arabic and *Aljazeera* English is not the same. The study found that the Arabic version is more aggressive in dealing with the US affairs. In comparison the English version tends to be edited

through making changes, exclusions and shifting speech from direct to the indirect, aims to meet the satisfactions of a different target group.

Other studies also utilised CDA and framing analysis to examine the Arab national media coverage of the AS. Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) utilised framing analysis to compare Egyptian national media with independent and social media coverage of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. The results revealed that the government-controlled media framed the revolutions as a conspiracy against Egypt. Hence, heavily backed the Egyptian government. In contrast, the social media portrayed the revolution as a path towards freedom and justice. While independent media framed the event using intermediate frame by combining the frames of social media and the Egyptian national media. In a related vein, AlHumaidi (2013) utilised CDA approaches in examining Al-Ahram of Egypt coverage of the 2011 Egyptian uprising events. The study found that *Al-Ahram* strongly backed President Mubarak and practiced group polarisation in the coverage of the uprising events. Thus, Al-Ahram was considered as the mouthpiece of Mubarak's government before switched to back the protestors after Mubarak stepped down.

To summaries, the so-called the AS has attracted many researches to investigate the historical event from wide array of perspective. Among these researches are the studies which examined the role of media during the AS. In this regard, many studies have highlighted the role of social media (*Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Weblog*) during the AS compared to the traditional media (printed newspapers, radio broadcast and non-satellite television). Moreover, the Egyptian Revolution (ER) received the most attention by the researchers compared to other Arab countries. In term of methodological approach, many studies have utilised CDA framework to analyse the media discourses of the uprisings. As among the leading media network in the Arab world, many studies have examined the network's coverage of the AS. These studies compared *Aljazeera's* coverage with other Arab official media outlets, while

other studies compared *Aljazeera* with other prominent international networks such as BBC and CNN.

Therefore, the present study aims to fill the gap in these literatures by offering additional insights to previous studies of media coverage of the AS. To begin with, despite many studies have examined the *Aljazeera*'s coverage of the AS, but only a few focused on the outlet's online news texts. Most of the previous studies focused on the *Aljazeera*'s televised news broadcast. Despite both the televised and the online news mostly carry the same news, the online news texts have a different layout (i.e headline, subtopic, still image and caption) which almost similar to the traditional printed newspaper. Moreover, the online news texts are the most critical content of the outlet's official news portal. Besides, not many studies focused on investigating the Modern Standard Arabic online news texts particularly those produced by non-Arabic international news outlets such as BBC. Thus, the present study fills a gap in the literature of the 'AS'.

Previous studies also have examined different part of the AS based on certain locations, nations and period of time. However, only a few concentrated on the first phase of the uprising when the massive impact of the uprising is still yet to be determine. Hence, the present study opts to focus on the first two months of the event in which many still underestimated the significant impact of the uprising and many other still intact to the old regime. Yet, during these two months, two presidents among the most influential leaders in the Arab world have been ousted. In term of the theoretical approach and the analysis framework, the present study widen the CDA theoretical framework with the benefit of other critical theories such as Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Foucault's theory of power and Althusser's theory of ideology. Moreover, the study utilises corpus tools to enhance the CDA qualitative analysis of Arabic news discourses with quantitative evidences.

## **CHAPTER TWO:**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **2.1 Introduction.**

The present chapter deals with the essential part of the research focusing on the aspect of the theoretical framework and the methods utilised in this study to answer the research questions. The theoretical framework is based on two major theoretical approaches in discourse study: The Discourse Theory (DT) of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, 2005). The main goal of this theoretical framework, which combines two approaches is to achieve better theoretical understanding of the nature, concept, significance, limitation and potential consequences of discursive construction and struggle around the two versions closely related of the so-called the 'AS' namely the Tunisian Revolution (TR) and the Egyptian Revolution (ER). Following my discussion on the theoretical framework, I further elaborate on the research methodology used in this research. The main approach of this study is based on the qualitative study by utilising the Critical Discourse Analysis framework. In providing more accurate results and mitigating researcher's bias through 'cherry-picking' of certain discourse elements and structures, corpus technique has been deployed to provide statistical insights into the invested discourse.

#### **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

My discussion on the theoretical framework is divided into two major parts, the first focuses on the Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe, and the second introduces the textual-oriented type of Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Fairclough. The chapter begins with a brief explanation on Discourse Theory by focusing on the critical analytical concepts, particularly

the new concept of hegemony introduced by DT, which been developed from Antonio Gramsci's (1971) ideas.

A brief introduction to the essential pillars of Critical Discourse Analysis is allocated at the beginning of the second part of this chapter. Then, the discussion gives more emphasis on the textual-oriented CDA of Fairclough. Fairclough proposes a more systematic analytical framework compared to other CDA approaches. Fairclough's framework connects micro-analysis of texts with the macro-level of discourses through his three dimensions textual analysis of text, discursive practice and social practice. This three-dimensional analysis furthermore is being accomplished with the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity which link between text and discourse.

Although Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe and Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough have many differences particularly in terms of their very individual epistemological stances, some of the analytical concepts proposed by Laclau and Mouffe can be matched with Fairclough's. Besides, Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe is more towards providing my research with the ground theories and concepts but lacks a practical systematic analytical framework. Thus, Laclau and Mouffe's concepts can be effectively beneficial by combining them with Fairclough's systematic Critical Discourse Analysis through the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

### **2.3 Discourse Theory (DT)**

The main aims of this section are to present the simplified version of Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory and highlight some of its essential concepts, especially those concepts which can be used in the discursive analysis of texts. Thus, the discussion in this section is divided

into two main sections: First, the social theory of discourse, which derives Laclau and Mouffe's ideas and secondly, the theory of hegemony and hegemonic intervention.

The Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe which is being presented here is heavily based on their book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985) and other works individually carried out by Laclau or Mouffe for instance (Laclau, 1990, 1993 and 1996) and (Mouffe, 1993, 2008). The discussion on DT in this section will also be complemented with various discussions, commentaries and critiques on Laclau and Mouffe's works by other scholars and researchers namely: Torfing (1999), Philips and Jorgenson (2002), Sjolander and Payne (2011) and Rear (2013). The discussion on Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe cannot be completed unless other social theorists such as Gramsci (1971), Althusser (1977), Lacan (1971), Foucault (1972, 1984) and Zizek (1989, 1994) have been brought forward.

### **Discourse in Social Theory**

Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory is a result of intensive comment and critiques on Marxism that comes from Marxist social theory and Structuralism, which is based on Saussure's linguistics ideas. Marxism provides Laclau and Mouffe with ideas about social phenomena and Structuralism inspires them to discover the theory of meaning. They critically read Marxism and Structuralism before combining it with both post-Marxist social thought and post-Saussurian linguistics concepts to form their theory of the social world (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Laclau and Mouffe themselves were among Marxist supporters before 1985 and with the publication of their famous book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985), which marks their change to join other post-Marxist scholars.

The first part of Laclau and Mouffe's DT, which focuses on social issues, is derived from Marxism. Marxism gives Laclau and Mouffe a starting point to study social phenomena. However, they heavily critique the fundamental base of Marxism, which focuses entirely on

the material-economic base. Karl Marx (1961) introduced the concept of historical materialism to distinguish between a base and a superstructure in its description of society. Material condition and the ownership of the means of production belong to the base. However, the superstructure such as educational system, mass media, religious authorities and judiciary bodies are owned by the state. Furthermore, the economy is regarded as the core that explained everything. Historical materialism sees that base is entirely determinant of the superstructure. Thus, the economy determines everything, including what people say and think. Post-Marxist theorist, in particular, Gramsci (1971) has relooked at the concept of historical materialism and found that economy is not the only factor that determines the relationship between the base and superstructure as mentioned by Marx. Gramsci has been able to soften the Marxist extreme economic determination with his famous hegemony theory. It is no longer the economy that determines what people say and think.

The most important element of DT is the concept that sees all social phenomena are mediated through discourse, and their meanings can never be fixed permanently (Rear, 2013: 5). According to Discourse Theory, there are vast arrays of discourses and each of them structures reality in a different way (Torfing, 1999: 113). At the same time, all these discourses compete with each other to define what is '*true*' within a particular aspect of the social world. Furthermore, what people understand from this particular aspect of the social world is based upon the continuous struggle between discourses, together with perceptions of society and identity always open to new representations. This is because meanings are altered continuously and reconfigured through constant contact with competing discourses (Rear, 2013: 5). However, it is not the aim of discourse analysis in DT's perspective to reveal the '*truth*' about reality, but the main goal is to describe how discursive struggle constructs their reality to appear as natural and neutral.

For instance, discourse analysis only focuses on its analysis about how people perceive their identities within society through discourses, rather than finding out which group of people do exactly exist within the society. This concept of discourse analysis can be linked to Foucault's idea (1984) of genealogical, which comes after his first archaeological project. Foucault has previously emphasised that the genealogical project does not work to define which is '*true*' or '*false*', but it is a task for the genealogist to immerse in the myriad of power struggle that shapes historical forms of discourse (Torfing, 1999). In other words, it is safe to say that the primary goal of discourse analysis sets by DT is inline with Foucault's works. Both DT of Laclau and Mouffe and Foucault's genealogical works agree that discourse analysis only aims to describe how discursive struggle builds their reality and appears as command-sense among people. Thus, discourse analysis will not search for the reality behind the discourse in order to find out what people mean with their words.

We will now move to the second source, which inspired the construction of DT. The second part of DT proposed by Laclau and Mouffe is based on critical reading on De Saussure idea of Structural Linguistic. Laclau and Mouffe depend on the theory of meaning introduced by De Saussure in his structural linguistics ideas (1960). They then modify the theory with inputs from post-Structuralists that view language as not permanently fixed but alterable through daily interaction of social actors. Philips and Jorgensen (2002: 25) suggest that Saussure's Structuralist concept of language can be easier to understand by using the metaphor of a fishing-net.

The basic unit of language is known as the sign, which arbitrarily joins a particular sound-image relation, which links between the signifier (sound) with a particular concept (the signified). Signs get their meaning from their difference from one another. According to the metaphor of a fishing-net, each individual sign has its place as one of the knots in the net. When the net is stretched out, the knot is fixed in position by its distance from the other knots in the



nets, like the sign is defined by its distance from the other signs (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002: 11). Thus, a sign gets its specific meaning from being different from another sign. For example, the word 'fish' is different from other words such as 'hen', 'and 'dog'. Therefore, the word 'fish' is part of a network of other words from which it differs. This means the word 'fish' gets everything (in meaning) that is not related to the meaning of other words such as 'duck', 'cat', 'dog' and 'horse'.

Post-Structuralists such as Derrida (1967) and Foucault (1972) agree that signs acquire their meaning by being different from each other. However, they looked much more in-depth, especially in the ongoing language use and found that we can put the signs in different relations to one another, so that it may acquire new meanings. Thus, post-Structuralists reject the idea that views language as a stable, unchangeable and totalising structure. It means that the meaning cannot be fixed so unambiguously and definitively. For them, language use is a social phenomenon; it is through conventions, negotiations and conflicts in social contexts that structures of meaning can be fixed and challenged (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002: 25).

The rejection of the original idea of De Saussure by post-Structuralists is supported by Laclau and Mouffe (1985), and they go against the study of language as a fundamentally synchronic entity. Thus, they believe signs cannot be fixed definitively into position. In real language usage, the position of signs is always up for negotiation. Furthermore, the result from this continues negotiation also affect the contingency of discourses and its meaning in the social life itself. It is worth mentioning that despite these heavy critiques and rejections toward Saussure's Structuralist linguistics, Laclau and Mouffe do not reject all Saussurian principle ideas. They, however, reserve the notion of signs in the language usage, which termed by Saussure as '*la parole*' in contrast with other term called '*la langue*' (Rear, 2013: 5). These two essential concepts are the main focus in structural linguistics study.

Although the fixing of signs into particular meaning is ultimately impossible, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argue that discourses attempt to fix signs into certain positions in a similar sense to that suggested by Saussure. This means we continually strive to fix the meaning of signs by placing them in particular relations to other signs. In the fishing-net metaphor, we can say that we always try to stretch out the fishing net in order to make the meaning of each sign locked into a specific relationship to the others. Therefore, it is the same process with those constant attempts to fix the meaning of the discourse analysis that never completely succeed.

In a nutshell, discourse analysis in Laclau and Mouffe's perspective aims to map out the process by which the meaning of signs is struggling to be fixed (or at least relatively fixed) and the processes by which some fixations of meaning become conventionally natural. These processes can be analysed and described by using analytical concepts and tools introduced by Laclau and Mouffe in their DT, which will be outlined in the next section.

Also, these main concepts of Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe which have been inspired from the critical reading of Marxist social theory and Structuralist linguistic theory are essential to the research as they provide the starting point and the theoretical background to discover the discursive constructions on the Arab Spring in modern Arabic news articles.

### **Hegemony and Hegemonic Intervention**

The concept of discourse as structuring of meaning within a particular terrain leads Laclau and Mouffe to their critical reading of Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of *hegemony*. The concept of hegemony has also attracted much attention among other researchers working with discourse analysis, particularly Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Gramsci's ideas have become a significant source of inspiration for Laclau and Mouffe to launch their attack on Marxism. As previously mentioned, Gramsci has successfully introduced the idea to decrease the grip of

economical rigid determinism in every aspect of social life, including what people think and say.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony highlights that the processes of meaning creation take place at the level of the superstructure. This understanding is a crucial instrument for the stabilisation of power relations. Through the production of meaning, power relations can be naturalised and become part of common sense. Thus, hegemony in Gramsci's theory referred to social consensus, which masks peoples' interests. This social consensus, however, is not achieved by violence or coercion, but it is achieved through articulation, like the concept of discursive closure.

Hegemony in Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe can be defined as "*the expansion of a discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action by means of articulating unfixed elements into partially fixed moments in a context crisscrossed by antagonistic forces*" (Torfing, 1999: 101). Although Gramsci has rejected the totalism of economic determinism and proposed his theory of hegemony, he is still locked in social class struggle idea, which roots from Marxist thought.

Being different from Gramsci, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) however, do not view society as the only field of hegemonic struggle. They have widened the concept of hegemonic struggle as it can take place over and within many domains of social life. Hence, Laclau and Mouffe's concept of hegemony also covers various struggles of social relations such as gender and race. When discourses successfully become hegemonic, the social practices they structure can appear so natural. As a result, people fail to see that because they are the result of hegemonic political practices. Discourses then reach the level of common sense, which refers to their origins and intrinsic contingency are almost totally forgotten (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Mouffe mentions this by saying " *The practices of articulation through which a given order is created, and the meaning of social institutions is fixed, are what we call "hegemonic*

*practices" ...What is at a given moment accepted as the 'natural order', jointly with the common sense that accompanies it, is the result of sedimented hegemonic practices"* (Mouffe, 2008: 4).

The term '*objective*' in Discourse Theory refers to all discourses that contingency has become invisible and threatened as common sense. Philips and Jorgensen (2002) give an example of how modern Western societies treat and understand children as a group with certain distinctive characteristics compared to adults has become a matter of common sense. However, it is not that same condition of understanding and treatment in the Western communities a few hundred years ago. There was a time when children were treated and understood by their society as small adults in the West. Thus, Western society's view of children has been constituted through historical struggle over meaning has long been forgotten. Therefore, this certain view of the children by the West and the discourse which represents it may be termed as objective. This is because this particular view has been threatened as a command sense and the processes which successfully build it has been forgotten.

In the following part, the discussion will move to another concept of hegemony termed as *the hegemonic intervention*. The concept of hegemonic intervention emerges as a result of the Discourse Theory's understanding which views that no single discourse can become dominant permanently. Even though the contingency of discourses can become invisible and treated as common sense, no single discourse is capable of completely hegemonising a field of discursivity. This means that the domination of a particular discourse is not permanent. Mouffe has highlighted this by saying, "*every hegemonic order is susceptible of being challenged by counter-hegemonic practises which attempt to disarticulate it in order to install another form of hegemony*" (2008: 4). Counter-hegemonic practices can be done on purpose. For instance, it is specifically and strategically being carried out by certain interest groups to challenge or transform the existing discursive dominance. On the other hand, counter-hegemonic may be

done naturally through daily communication practices, which might challenge or change the dominance discourses.

In the next paragraphs, the discussion will be focused on how the DT of Laclau and Mouffe understand the concept of ideology as the construction of hegemony is not complete without ideology. The concept of ideology within the DT is closely related to objective disclosure. Laclau defines ideology as "*the non-recognition of the precarious character of any positivity, of the impossibility of any ultimate suture*" (Laclau, 1990: 92). For Laclau, ideology constituted in a discourse which aims to build society as a decidable discursive form within a totalizing horizon or in his own words "*the will to totality of any totalizing discourse*" (ibid.). Laclau and Mouffe reject the Marxist concept of ideology that views it as '*false consciousness*' simply because we cannot access the '*real world*' other than through a discursive system of representation. According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), ideology and objective discourse cannot be separated easily as they both hide the political processes which transform a social order to seem like common sense.

Even though people will try to distance themselves from the totalising ideological representations, it, however, continues to function through common daily social actions, which reproduce those ideological representations regardless of our knowledge of their distortedness. Zizek (1989) referred to this social behaviour as '*ideological fantasy*'. This is to say; people do not live in a vacuum without being influenced or influence others. Thus, they cannot totally escape from being attached to a certain view. Furthermore, ideology works through common daily social activities which seem to be as a command sense and people hardly notice it as a result of being influenced by a certain ideology.

Zizek (ibid.) gives us a clear and easy to understand example for this, which refers to money as the primary form of wealth. People continue to believe that having a lot of money is an essential indicator of wealth, despite being completely aware that the money itself (made

from paper) has no intrinsic material value. Furthermore, our modern life nowadays is hugely influenced by the power of advertisements through mass media. Ideology fantasy can be archived easily when we allow ourselves to accept the influence of advertisement even though we know that they are highly manipulative (Torfing, 1999).

Overall, the new concept of hegemony as proposed by Laclau and Mouffe, which extends the older concept Gramsci's hegemony is very relevant to the research topic. The concept of hegemony and hegemonic intervention will cast a light for the research to discover the competing discourses on Arab Spring in modern Arabic news articles which struggle to achieve hegemony. The concept of hegemony intervention also will provide theoretical tools to discover how certain dominant discourse can be challenged by other discourses to fix meaning.

The concept of ideology is going to be given more explanation in the following section by relating it to other important concepts introduced by Laclau and Mouffe, namely the concept of *identity*, *myth* and *social imaginaries*.

### **The Concept of Identity, Myth and Social Imaginaries**

Laclau and Mouffe build their theory of identity on the works of Louis Althusser (1971) and Jacques Lacan (1977). It is no doubt that they also looked at Foucault's works that push forward Althusser's ideas and Zizek's works on Lacan's theory of identity. In addition to that, Laclau and Mouffe also borrow the post-Marxist concept of *interpellation* (Philips and Jorgensen, 2002: 41). Before the Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe starts to analyse identity, Foucault has provided the starting point for discourse analysis understanding of the subject. For him, subjects are created in discourses and are decentred (Foucault, 1972: 55). It is clear with this view that he was influenced by his teacher Althusser, who introduced the concept of

interpellation. However, this understanding of the subject is different from the common Western understanding, which views the subject as an autonomous and sovereign entity. Althusser suggests that individuals are placed in certain positions by particular ways of talking. For instance, if the children call '*teacher*' and the adult response, then the adult has become interpellated or placed with a particular identity that regularly attached to a '*teacher*'. It also carries particular expectation about the adult behaviour that generally related to the teaching profession.

In order to understand more about Althusser's theory of ideology, we must first look at what he defines as ideology and the concept of *interpellation*. We must understand that his structural Marxist approach is closely linked between subject and ideology. Althusser defines ideology as a system of representations that masks our true relations to one another in society by constructing imaginary relations between people and their social formation (Althusser, 1971). Interpellation, on the other hand, refers to the process through which language builds a social position for the individual and transforms him to become an ideological subject (ibid.).

Thus, Althusser views ideology as a distorted recognition of real social relations, and all aspects of society are controlled by ideology. Althusser furthermore assumes that there is no chance of resistance to this process as we always accept the subject positions allocated to us, which subsequently make us subject of ideology (ibid.). For him, individuals are placed into certain subject position by an ideology that has been developed by superstructural institutions in society such as the education system, the mass media and the family (ibid.).

Let us return to the Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe; we can observe that they only reject part of Althusser's ideas particularly those ideas which carry the elements of economic determinism largely influenced by Marxist structural theory. Laclau and Mouffe however, take the concept of interpellation from the post-Marxist and combine it with the

psychoanalysis theory of Lacan. Lacan constantly views that subjects are fundamentally fragmented and always try to become whole (Lacan, 1977).

In contrast to Althusser, Lacan does not view subject as only interpellated in one specific way or single specific position. For Lacan, subjects can be placed in different positions by many temporary, contingent and event competing and contradictory discourses. This is to say, Lacan rejects Althusser's idea that views subject only restricted to a certain position. Lacan has widened the understanding of the subject by suggesting that subjects can be placed in various positions through difference discourses.

By combining ideas from Althusser and Lacan concerning the concept of interpellation of post-Marxist, Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe arrive to define identity as an identification with certain subject positions (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). It is termed by Lacan (1977) as '*Master Signifiers*' and by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) as '*Nodal Points of Identity*'. Even though these nodal points or master signifiers are empty signifiers, they construct their meaning through chains of equivalence that link together signifiers and establish identity relationally (Rear, 2013: 10). Besides, the chains of equivalence play a vital role in the formation of group identity.

The discussion on the identity and the concept of interpellation leads us to another important concept in Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe called '*Myth*'. The myth refers to a complex type of floating signifier that seeks to construct society as a totality with a positive and fully stitched identity. According to Laclau (1990), a myth emerges at times of dislocation when events occur that cannot be symbolised and integrated into existing discourses, thus causing their destabilisation. The formation of a myth, therefore, can be understood as an attempt to overcome the dislocation by suturing the dislocated space into a new structure. Since the process of myth formation involves the forming of new objectivity through rearticulation of dislocated elements, it can be categorised as a hegemonic process (Laclau, 1990: 61). It is



worth mentioning that; the concept of myth not only is limited to its literal meaning which is closely related to a vision of ideal social order like Marxism, Socialism or Capitalism. The myth also can be applied to any floating signifier that refers to society as a decidable totality, for instance '*the people*', '*the country*', Europe, Asia and Africa.

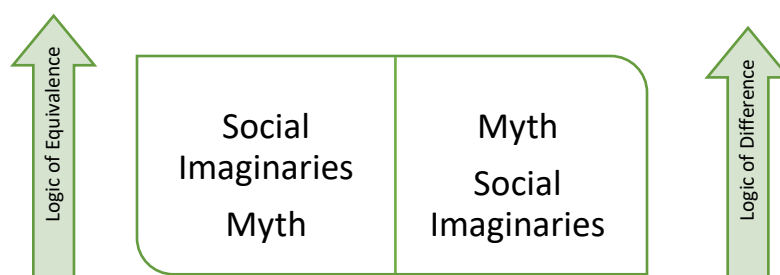
Myth carries many similarities with nodal points. They are both essentially devoid of meaning and can function as a '*surface of inscription*' for different social demands and dislocations. Myth can reach the level of '*social imaginary*' when it succeeds in neutralising social dislocations and constitutes the hegemony of one particular vision of social order. Laclau (1990: 63) himself defined this as a '*horizon*', which put the "*absolute limit which structures a field of intelligibility*". In other words, myth can transform from something out of people mind to become command social vision. This transformation process will make people see myth as real or something that appears natural for them.

Despite these similarities, the differences between myth and social imaginary can be easily observed because they work at different levels of society. According to Laclau (1996), myth works at the level of the interests of a particular group. In contrast, social imaginary can only be achieved when a group can move beyond its interests into a universal terrain of bigger groups in broader society. This idea seems to be inspired by Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Gramsci previously mentioned that the working classes could only become hegemonic if they go beyond the economic class struggle into account of interests of other social groups and combining them into a single vision of society (Rear, 2013: 11).

Furthermore, Laclau and Mouffe add that the constitution of social imaginaries is done through the '*logic of equivalence*'. It plays critical roles in eliminating the boundaries between social groups or different interest by "relating them to a common project" (Mouffe, 1993: 50). In contrast, the '*logic of difference*' works in the opposite direction to the '*logic of equivalence*'.

It works by building of emphasising the boundaries that separate social groups with their different interests.

The constitution of national identity is a clear example of the construction of social imaginaries. For instance, the construction of imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) takes place around an empty nodal point, which represents the pure and perfect but impossible identity of a certain community. Besides, through contrast with '*other*', an otherwise diverse national community can be combined into a single collective identity (Rear, 2013: 11). Consequently, where the logic of equivalence predominates, the social division will tend toward a dichotomisation of political space that leads to separate social communities into two opposing camps. Therefore, we can see that people are divided between the groups of workers and owners. We can observe how the Western people are being seen as opposed to the East and Capitalist versus Communist by merely looking at the differences between them and the others. Hence, the process of contrasting with the '*other*' is among the best way to build a single collective identity for the community.



**Figure 1.1: Transformation Process between Social Imaginary and Myth.**

The transformation from myth to social imaginary is reversible, as shown in figure 1.1. Even a well-established social imaginary among society can be challenged as well as other hegemonic discourses. A study done by Celik (2000) has shown to us how "Kemalism" the most dominant and very well-defined identity in discourse of modern Turkey for almost 80

years became increasingly dissolved during the 1990s. The discourse of Kemalism, rooted in the ideas of Mustafa Kemal – the founder of modern Turkey in the early 1920s – was articulated around the nodal points of republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism and revolutionism. Surprisingly, after almost 80 years of its domination in the discourse of modern Turkey, Kemalism faced tough challenges from the competing discourses of Islamism, Kurdism, the Green movements and women's rights organisations. All these lead Celik (2000: 201) to argue as a clear example of the transformation of a hegemonic discourse that was performed as an imaginary horizon among the society, into a discourse struggling for hegemony and striving very hard to survive in the political arena.

If the construction of social imaginary and the transformation from myth to social imaginary is based on the '*logic of equivalence*', the '*logic of difference*' plays a crucial role in shifting the social imaginary back to myth. It works by eliminating the illusion of unity amongst social groups or one particular group but with different interests. The logic of difference also creates a more sophisticated articulation of elements and separates social space into two collective groups of '*Self*' and '*Other*' (Rear, 2013: 11-12).

In a nutshell, the construction of identity is closely related to the concept of myth, and social imaginaries as a myth can transform to become a social imaginary when it has successfully become hegemony. However, the transformation from myth into social imaginaries can be challenged by another hegemonic discourse through the concept of logic of differences and logic of equivalences. Thus, the researcher finds the concept of identity, myth and social imaginaries which associate with the concept of logic of equivalence and the logic of difference are relevance to the research topic as they can become useful tools in analysing discourse construction on the Arab Spring. The concept of myth and social imaginaries, in particular, can be used to investigate the competing discourses which struggle to build an identity that represents Arab Spring in a certain way.

## **2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis**

In this second half of the chapter, the discussion is focused on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by highlighting its main principles and approaches. CDA, in general, attaches to different leading scholars or a group of scholars with various backgrounds. Among CDA's prominent scholars are Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, Paul Chilton, Margaret Wetherell, Michael Billing, Gunther Kress and many more. Each of these scholars has different backgrounds which lead to a different version of CDA. For instance, Fairclough has a background in systemic-functional linguistics inspired by Halliday; van Dijk has expertise in text linguistics and cognitive-linguistic; Wodak in interactional studies and Chilton in linguistics, semiotics and communication studies (Blommaert, 2005: 21).

The discussion on CDA will start by comparing and contrasting between the general principle of DT and CDA. It is essential before building a link to combine between the two theories. The discussion then will expand into the general overview of CDA, particularly concerning different approaches within CDA tradition. After that, the discussion will become more focused on the textual-oriented version of CDA proposed by Fairclough. The discussion will give more focus to the textual analysis framework, which offers excellent potential to bridge between DT of Laclau and Mouffe with the CDA.

### **The Similarity and Differences**

It is worth highlighting in this following section fundamental differences and similarities between Discourse Theory (DT) of Laclau and Mouffe and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough before building a bridge to link between both theories. Both DT and CDA agree that the functioning of discourse, including discursive practice is a social practice that shapes the social world. The concept of social practice involved both individual actions and context-bound together with institutional activities that socially anchored.

Fairclough's CDA focuses on the concept of discourse on text, talk and other semiological systems such as gestures and fashion. Laclau and Mouffe, on the other hand, does not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive dimensions constituted by discourse. This concept reminds us of the historical materialism of the Marxist theory. Historical Materialism is exceptionally obsessed with economic determinism; therefore, they emphasised that discourse is being entirely constituted by economic materialism.

In emphasising the contingent nature of discourses, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) have argued that Laclau and Mouffe have overestimated the ability of social groups to bring changes through the re-articulation of elements into new social orders. Furthermore, Chouliaraki and Fairclough found DT "unable to explain which social forces share a greater capacity to effect articulatory changes and why" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 125). In CDA's view, not all groups have equal access to key discourse genres capable of creating such hegemonic intervention. Besides, social actors are subject to constraints that originate from structural relation of dependencies such as class, ethnicity and gender. These structural relations, however, are not emanating from the discursive level.

Zizek (1994) also highlighted the lack of DT in providing a good explanation of how political interests are constituted through discourse. If social identities are built through discourses, we cannot explain how the articulation of interests related to a social actor's social position. Ultimately, Zizek distances himself from Laclau and Mouffe by establishing the notion of class struggle and economy determinism which is the core of Marxist theory in determining political interests and identities. This is to say, Zizek argues by totally rejects the notion of class struggle, and economic determinism, Laclau and Mouffe's DT may not be able to provide a clear description of discourse analysis particularly in political discourses.

It is possible to separate between discourses that are ideological, and those are not in CDA. This is because CDA views ideology as it is closely related to the maintenance of unequal

power relations. According to Fairclough, ideology is "a system of ideas, values, beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimising existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities" (Chiapello and Fairclough, 2002: 187).

In a different approach within CDA, van Dijk (1993: 280) views ideology from the social cognitive perspective. For him, ideology is a manipulative activity that operates through structures and strategies which manipulate our mind in such a way. This manipulative activity lets preferred social cognitions such as attitudes, ideologies, norms and values tend to be developed ultimately in the interest of the dominant group. Thus, van Dijk views ideology operating on both discursive and non-discursive levels. This concept leads to understanding discourse as a "way of talking about and acting upon the world which both constructs and constructed by a set of social practices" (Candlin and Maley, 1997: 202). In line with Fairclough, van Dijk accepts the overall premise within CDA that discursive and non-discursive worlds exist in a dialectical relationship, each constituted by and constitutive of the other.

### **The Concept of Discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis**

Discourse can be generally defined as "language in use" or situated text and talk (Hall, 1996). However, CDA used the term in more developed senses as the discourse analysis within CDA moves from a micro to a macro perspective. At a macro level, discourses are particular ways of representing certain aspects of the physical, social and psychological world. They include political discourses like a liberal, conservative or social-democratic, which represent social groups and their relations in a society in different ways (Fairclough, 2005: 925). This level of discourses, also known as 'big D' discourses for their 'grand' or 'mega' discourses. Discourses at the micro-level, on the other hand, draws on the 'grand D' (big D) discourses at the macro level to produce talk, writing and interaction. Therefore, among the crucial goals of CDA is to

link the micro discourses with the macro to uncover the way we talk, write and interact and vice versa.

According to Fairclough (1992), there are three aspects of the constructive effects of discourse which derive from three important functions of language, namely '*identity*', '*relational*' and '*ideational*'. He defines all these three functions as follow:

*The identify function relates to how social identities are set up in discourse, the relational function to how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated, the ideational function to ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations* (Fairclough, 1992: 64)

Thus, Fairclough underlines three essential functions of discourse as he views discourse as an essential element in constructing '*social identities*' and '*subject positions*', interpellating social actors in a certain way. Secondly, discourse contributes to the construction of social relationships among people. Thirdly, discourse helps in the construction of a system of knowledge and belief. These ideas of discourse's effect are in line with Foucault theory of discourse (1972). They are also can be linked with Halliday's concept of Functional Grammar (1994).

Halliday, for instance, views texts as stretches of spoken or written language. It can reproduce, sustain, threaten or overturn hegemonic notions of identity, social relations or systems of ideas and belief. Furthermore, texts can give some "physical impact on the social world (Halliday 1978, 1994). We also can discover the evidence of a struggle between competing social actors, interest groups and their different ways of viewing the world. On the same idea Foucault says, discourses "is not simply that which translates struggles or system of domination, but it is the thing for which and by which there is a struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized" (Foucault, 1984: 10). We can match Foucault's idea about this with Fairclough's in his book '*Discourse and Social Change*' as he mentions discourse "is not the only site of power struggle, but also a stake in a power struggle" (Fairclough, 1992: 67).

We can conclude the textual and discourse concepts of Foucault, Halliday and Fairclough by saying that the study of texts is not only about simple lexico-grammatical description. Instead, it is an analysis of a key tool in the reproduction of the broader social world. The best example for this is by looking at the texts of political figures speeches, policy papers, reports and news articles that widely produced and circulated in the political arena. They are primarily aimed to achieve the hegemony of a particular point of view and subsequently aim to create change within other non-discursive aspects of social practice. In this context, critical discourse researchers can describe how hegemonic practices are being achieved through discourses, and they are also may contribute to the dissolution of those same hegemonic practices by producing texts by themselves (Rear, 2013: 15).

### **Principal Tenets of CDA.**

Generally, CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that mainly studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Blommaert, 2005: 23). The study aims to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality, which can be tracked back in Fairclough's book *Language and Power* (1989). The book is commonly being labelled as the starting point for other works on CDA (Blommaert, 2005: 23). CDA also somehow related to "critical" developments in sociolinguistics, psychology and social sciences since the early 1970s (Dijk, 2006: 360). Although the current focus on language and discourse was initiated with the Critical Linguistic that emerged in Australia and UK at the end of the 1970s, some earliest indicator of CDA can already be found in the critical theory of Frankfurt School before Second World War (Dijk, 2006: 361). Within Critical Linguistic tradition which based on Halliday's (1978, 1985) functional linguistic theory, the study of media language is one of its main focuses



(Fowler, 1991: 4). The Critical Linguistic furthermore being developed by a group of critical linguists at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s (ibid.).

CDA typically studies how context features influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in preferred context models and how discourse structures influence mental representation. Some other studies not conducted under the label of CDA, but there are dealing with various issues of power, domination and social inequality. Among these studies are (Dijk, 2006: 362) :

- 1) Gender inequality – Feminist work has become paradigmatic for much discourse analysis.
- 2) Media discourse – The massive power of media has inspired many critical studies.
- 3) Political discourse – since it is directly related to the enactment, reproduction and legitimization of power and domination.
- 4) The study of the role of discourse in enactment and reproduction of ethnic and racial inequality has slowly emerged in CDA.
- 5) Many other studies also critically examine various genres of institutional and professional discourse, i.e. text and talk in the courtroom, educational and scholarly discourse, corporate discourse etc.

In sum, CDA deal with the relationship between discourse and power. There are some gaps between methodological and theoretical in this approach. Even though a lot of empirical studies on discourse and power has been carried out, the details of the multidisciplinary theory of CDA are still not clear. Besides, there is still a gap between more linguistically oriented studies of text and talk and various approaches in social research. Integration of various approaches is critical to achieving a satisfactory form of multidisciplinary approaches of CDA.

## CDA Textual Analysis Framework

The framework for textual analysis of CDA can be found in Fairclough's books namely: *Language and Power* (1989), *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995a), *Media Discourse* (1995b), *Discourse in Late Modernity* co-written with Lille Chouliaraki (1999) and *Analysing Discourse* (2003). In these books, Fairclough highlights the importance of systematic analysis of texts, which include spoken or written language. Furthermore, he suggested a three-dimensional framework for texts analysis that could be employed to relate communicative events with broader aspects of social practice.

Even though Fairclough uses linguistics details in texts analysis, he blames linguistic approaches for limiting their analysis exclusively on linguistic elements of the texts and for working with a simplistic and superficial understanding of the relationship between text and society. He instead, insists on an interdisciplinary perspective that can combine between textual and social analysis. For him, textual linguistic analysis alone is not sufficient for discourse analysis because it does not look into the links between texts and society and their cultural process and structures (Fairclough, 1992). The understanding of discourse as both constitutive and constituted is central to Fairclough's theory. He conceives that the relationship between discursive practice and social structure is complex and variable across time.

According to Fairclough (2003: 24), social practice can be analysed by using the construct of '*order of discourse*'. The concept of "order of discourse" refers to the sum of all genres and discourses that are in use within a specific social domain or institution such as media, school, hospital, judiciary etc. (ibid.). Every communicative event contains three dimensions of text, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough 1995b: 58-61). All these three dimensions must be analysed accordingly:

- 1) Text. The analyse of texts should focus on linguistic features such as cohesion, grammar, lexicalisation and text structure.

- 2) Discursive Practice. The analysis looks at the processes related to the production and consumption of the text, which includes the force of utterances, coherence, intertextuality and interdiscursivity.
- 3) Social Practice. It refers to the institutional circumstances of the discursive event and the constitutive effects of discourse.

Fairclough's approach is a text-oriented form of discourse analysis. He tries to unite three traditions (1992:72):

- 1) Detailed textual analysis rooted in linguistics, particularly Michael Halliday's Functional Grammar.
- 2) Macro-sociological analysis of social practice inspired by Foucault's ideas.
- 3) The micro-sociological interpretative tradition within sociology that includes conversation analysis. This tradition treated everyday life as the product of people's action that followed by a set of shared "common-sense" rules and procedures.

At the first dimension, Fairclough suggests that textual analysis should examine how discourses are realised linguistically. At the second dimension, discursive practice will analyse how producers of texts apply already existing discourses to create a text and on how recipients of text use available discourses to interpret them. The second level of analysis mediates the link between text and social practice by showing how texts both shape and shaped by social practices. Finally, at the third dimension, the social practice focuses on how texts reproduce or challenge broader aspects of society, particularly how they relate to the "production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough, 1992:87).

Furthermore, Fairclough, in his book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995a: 97) summarised that his textual analysis method is based on three components, namely: description, interpretation and explanation. The first component of description refers to the process of describing linguistic elements in the text. Then, in the second component, the

relationship between the process of productive and interpretive of discursive practice and text in interpreted. Finally, the third component of explanation refers to the process which the relationship between discursive and social practice is explained.

Despite epistemological differences between CDA of Fairclough and DT of Laclau and Mouffe, Fairclough highlights his regard to several concepts and ideas provided by Laclau and Mouffe. In his book (co-authored with Chouliaraki) *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), they clearly mention that: “...we regard Laclau and Mouffe as providing valuable conceptual resources for the analysis of change in discourse, in particular, their conceptualism of “articulation” and “equivalence/difference” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 124).

Fairclough borrows these three key concepts from DT of Laclau and Mouffe: First the concept of ‘*articulation*’ which closely related to the concept of hegemony, secondly the concept of ‘*equivalence*’ and finally the concept of ‘*difference*’. Fairclough then creatively adopts these three keys concept to fit with CDA's main principles. For example, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) view the social practice as the product of the co-articulation of different elements. Therefore, they see social practices as fully discursive, which leads them to analysis all processes of articulation in term of discursive logic. However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) distinguish between discursive and non-discursive elements within the process of articulation. Thus, they suggest that articulation brings together shifting elements of the social and stabilises them into more or less relative permanences as moments of social practice (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 21). Moments are themselves transformed through articulatory processes by being brought into new combinations with each other

The CDA’s key concept of *articulation* not only borrow it terminology from DT of Laclau and Mouffe, it also reserves Laclau and Mouffe’s interpretation of Gramsci’s hegemony particularly “in term of the relative permanency of articulations of social elements”

(Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 25), Later on, Fairclough introduces the term '*nodal discourses*' to define terrains of hegemonic struggle (Fairclough, 2005). Like the term of *articulation* before, the term '*nodal discourses*' is slightly different in Fairclough's terminology compared to Laclau and Mouffe's definition. For him, '*nodal discourses*' are the organising relations between other constituent discourses. He furthermore gives an example of the discourse of "new public management" or "total quality management" (ibid.).

Hegemony in Fairclough's understanding is always be articulated and rearticulated (2003: 45). However, it is not an easy process, as Laclau and Mouffe seem to assume. The continual interaction between diverse practices and discourses means that outcomes are never entirely predictable and that resources for resisting hegemony are always available (Rear, 2013: 19). As a result, hegemony is never stable, but it is, however, changing and incomplete. Fairclough views that the concept of hegemony gives us the means to analyse how discursive practice is part of a more extensive social practice involving power relations. Discursive practice can be seen as an aspect of the hegemonic struggle that leads to the reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse.

Fairclough also benefits from the concepts of *equivalence* and *difference* proposed by Laclau and Mouffe in building his texts analysis framework (Rear, 2013: 20). He uses these concepts without any substantial modifications to the one used by Laclau and Mouffe. The concept of '*logic of equivalence*' as previously mentioned plays its roles in eliminating differences among a group of particular interests. Which resulting in discursively unified camp. In contrast, the '*logic of difference*' breaks down that unify and instead, built differences to threat among hegemonic society. As a result, society is divided into two opposing camps: '*Us*' and '*Them*'.

Thus, we can observe that the key analytical concepts introduced by Laclau and Mouffe can be practically utilised by combining it with Fairclough's systematic analytical framework

of CDA. Therefore, the researcher finds that it is beneficial to combine between these two discourse analysis approaches of DT and CDA in examining the discursive construction and struggle around the Arab Spring in through critical discourse analysis of modern Arabic news articles. The following section will elaborate more about this combination between DT of Laclau and Mouffe and Fairclough's CDA, particularly concerning the concept of *interdiscursivity* and *intertextuality*, which can become a fundamental link between DT and CDA.

### **The Concept of Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality**

Interdiscursivity occurs when different discourses are articulated together in a communicative event (Fairclough, 2003:124). When new articulations of discourses happen, the boundaries between both orders of discourse and between different orders of discourse are changed. This leads to the term known as '*creative discursive practices*' (Rear 2013: 21). The term refers to new and sophisticated ways of discourse combinations. It is also a sign of discursive and socio-cultural change. In contrast, discursive practices "which discourses are mixed in conventional ways are indications of the stability of dominant order of discourse and the dominant social order" (Jorgensen and Philips, 2002:73). According to Fairclough, discursive reproduction and change can be discovered through an analysis of the relations between different discourses within an order of discourse and between different orders of discourses (Fairclough, 1995a:56).

Intertextuality, on the other hand, refers to the condition whereby all communicative events draw on earlier events (Fairclough, 1995b: 78). It is almost impossible for one to avoid using words and phrases that others have used before. Therefore, texts somehow draw on other texts, for instance, through citation. Thus, in this view, interdiscursivity is a form of intertextuality. A text can be seen as a link in an intertextual chain (Fairclough, 1995a:77) which refers to a series of texts in which each of it incorporates elements from another.

Intertextuality also refers to the influence of history on a text and to a text's influence on history. It shows how a text responds to and reworks past texts. Thus, it helps in making history and contributes to broader processes of social change (Fairclough, 1992:102). Links between texts can be established in three ways (Krzyanowski and Wodak, 2008:205). Firstly by continuing reference to atopic or main actors, secondly through reference to the same events; and finally by transferring of main arguments from one text into the next

According to Sjolander (2011:15), a round table discussion between lead scholars or DT and CDA was organised in October 2008. During the discussion, discourse theorists express their resistance against the stepwise approach in text analysis proposed by Fairclough. However, at the end of the meeting, they have come out with more positive overall conclusion that "in the end, when it comes to the actual analysis of text, the differences between the perspectives were not that great" (Sjolander and Payne, 2011:35).

Sjolander and Payne furthermore in their book *Tracking Discourses: Politics, Identity and Social Change* (2011) present some empirical studies which combine between DT and CDA key analytical framework to the analysis of various kind of texts, primarily related to the education policy, news articles, business and corporate reports and interview excerpts. The concept of intertextuality and interdiscursivity for Sjolander and Payne are the bridge that links between DT and CDA (2011: 36). Laclau and Mouffe concept of articulation can be related to the concept of intertextuality and interdiscursivity of CDA. Both constructs on the fundamental idea that discursive practice builds on prior patterns and at the same time questioning them. In comparing between both concepts, Sjolander and Payne (2011: 38) point out that intertextuality can offer more precise and concrete guidelines for what to focus upon within a text compared to the concept of articulation.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts**

In order to strengthen the link between CDA and DT particularly in analysing media texts around the so-called the 'Arab Spring', Van Dijk (1995) analytical framework of media discourse offers practical analytical tools for the current study. Van Dijk framework distinguishable from other approaches for his emphasises on both textual and reception process of media discourse (Boyd-Barrett, 1994). Therefore, Van Dijk analyses the textual and structural level of media discourse before looking at the production and comprehension level of the investigated discourse. Relevance to this study is his call to integrate between textual media analysis and the media production processes which include journalistic and institutional practices of news making and the economic and social practices which are essential to create the media discourse. These elements once again are closely related to the structures of media discourse.

In the 1980s, Van Dijk started to apply his developed discourse analysis theory to media texts, which represent the minorities and ethnic groups in Europe. In this work, the grammatical, morphological, phonological, and semantic levels are not only what can uncover the underlying message of the speaker. The higher-level properties of the text including coherence, overall themes and the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimensions of texts, to name just a few, are instead counted as important and significant in revealing the secrets of the text. Van Dijk's analysis of media attempts to illustrate the relationships between the levels of news text production and their concomitant relationships with the broader social context in which these processes and relationships are enveloped or integrated within (Sheyholislami, 2001). Moreover, Van Dijk indicated that in order to identify these relationships, the analysis has to focus on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements of coherence in the text. Furthermore, other rhetorical elements such as quotations, direct or indirect reporting which give factuality to the news reports must be addressed as well.



Relevant to my study, Van Dijk media discourse-analytical framework highlighted the importance of analysing media texts by looking at four linguistics elements namely: lexicalisation and predication, presupposition, verbal process and intertextuality through the use different type of quotations and direct or indirect reporting. The brief discussion on these elements is as follow:

### **Lexicalisation and Predication**

The analysis of lexicalisation involves studying the denotations and connotations of lexical items. Such analysis is significant because “words convey the imprint of society and value judgments in particular” (Richardson, 2007: 47). Since two or more expressions do not convey precisely the same meaning, or at least have different connotations, “vocabulary encodes ideology, systems of beliefs about the way the world is organised” (Fowler, 1987: 69). A classic example of the interrelation between lexicalisation and ideology is the use of 'freedom fighter' vs 'terrorist' (Kress, 1983) or in this study between the use of 'martyr' vs 'suicide'. Thus, naming is one of the lexicalisation strategies used in media discourse. It refers to how social actors are referred to which "can signal the type of relationship between the namer and the named” (Richardson, 2007:49).

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) explain that referential strategies establish an identification of ingroups and outgroups through membership categorisation devices. Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (1979: 200) state that “the different possibilities [of naming] signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation.” As a result, the ingroup is often described in detail, while the outgroup is marginalised by providing little or no detail in their description. Members of the ingroup are also sometimes referred to using terms of politeness

that “indexes a particular social status” (Blommaert, 2005: 11). For instance, President Ben Ali was described in detail about his achievement in developing Tunisia to become a prosperous moderate country in the region. In contrast, there is almost no detail provided about the Tunisian opposition leaders who criticised Ben Ali's political policies.

My analysis also focuses on predication strategies which “appear in stereotypical, evaluative attributions of positive or negative traits and implicit or explicit predicates” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 27). Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 55) identify specific forms through which predications are realised which include: forms of reference, attributes, predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/ pronouns, collocations, and explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures. Labelling implies categorisation based on ideological grounds and also involves a dichotomy between the ingroup and outgroups. Thus, describing different social actors negatively or positively gives insights into group affiliations. For instance, the Islamic preachers who encouraged the Egyptian protesters during the Friday prayers have been referred with the title ‘sheikh’. Hence, they acknowledged their religious and social status, which eventually authorised their voices. Relevant to the distinction between the ingroup and outgroup in terms of referential and predication strategies is van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’ which is based on positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation; thus, positive referential and predication strategies are associated with Us, and negative ones are associated with Them (van Dijk, 1998).

### **Presupposition**

Presuppositions are what encoders treat as common ground and are known by decoders. In making presuppositions, a speaker/writer asserts the content of the utterance and considers it unchallenged and taken for granted. Wodak (2007: 214) argues that “presupposed content is, under ordinary circumstances, and unless there is a cautious interpretive attitude on the part of

the hearer, accepted without (much) critical attention (whereas the asserted content and evident implicatures are normally subject to some level of evaluation).” Therefore, an analysis of presuppositions reveals encoders’ beliefs as well as what they want their recipients to take as a given (van Dijk 1998).

Fairclough (2003) terms presuppositions as assumptions, and he lists three types of assumptions, namely: existential, propositional, and value-laden. Existential assumptions are about what exists; propositional assumptions are about what will happen; while, value-laden assumptions are about what is considered right or good. It is important to note that ideological presuppositions are considered as value-laden as they make judgments and express values. Furthermore, Reah (2002) and Richardson (2007: 63) provide linguistics elements which help to analysis presuppositions linguistically. Reah (2002) lists three linguistic structures which indicate to presupposed meaning. Firstly, the linguistic structure which cues to presupposed meaning is words such as change of state verbs (stop, begin, continue) or implicative verbs such as (manage, forget). For example, the sentence 'The government continued suppressing the protesters' presumes that the government used to suppress the protesters. The second linguistic structure is the definite article ('the ----'), and possessive articles ('his/her ----') indicate presuppositions. For example, 'the Egyptian Revolution' presupposes that the Revolution exists and acknowledges it. Third, 'wh-questions' also indicate presuppositions; for example, a question like 'Which group is responsible for destruction?' presupposes that there is destruction. Finally, Richardson (2007: 63) adds the fourth linguistic structure which trigger presuppositions; adjectives or nouns that are used to quantify nouns. For example, in the sentence: 'the old way of suppressing protesters,' employing the adjective 'old' presupposes that protesters used to be repressed.

In addition to these four linguistic structures, Levinson (1983) provides other presupposition cues like referential expressions, factives, and cleft sentences. As to referential

expressions, the use of the expression *inciters* in 'The inciters of the protests were arrested' presupposes that there were inciters. An example of factives is 'Ghonim regrets the killing of innocent protesters' which presupposes that protesters were killed, and involves sympathy with those protesters as they are described as innocent. Finally, cleft sentences are employed to trigger presuppositions by focusing on the agent and taking the action for granted. For example, 'It was the security forces who started the clashes' presupposes that there were clashes.

### **Verbal Process**

In the analysis of the verbal process, I explain how the two online news outlets AJA and BBA reported on the two sides of conflict namely the government (protagonist) and the antagonists with an attitude; that is, how the two news outlets employed positive, neutral, and negative verbal processes differently. Halliday (1994) states that different processes in the transitivity system represent experiential meanings. Under his system of transitivity, Halliday identifies six process types: material process, behavioural process, mental process, verbal process, relational process and existential process. Relevant to my analysis in this section is a verbal process which relates to “any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning” (Halliday, 1985:129). Furthermore, Halliday (1994: 140) identifies three participants in a verbal process: the Sayer, the Receiver, and the Verbiage – the function that corresponds to what is said.

For example, Aljazeera reported: “Barack Obama, the US president, said the move was the beginning, not the end, of the transition to democracy in Egypt”. (*Aljazeera* English, Feb. 11, 2011). According to Halliday, the three participants in a verbal process in this sentence is:

- a) Sayer: Barack Obama, the US president
- b) Verbal Process: Said
- c) Verbiage: the move was the beginning, not the end, of the transition to democracy in Egypt

An analysis of verbal processes in media discourse is vital in that it shows how reporters utilise verbal processes to emphasise certain meanings and marginalise others and push readers' understanding of verbiage in a certain direction. Thus, verbal processes not only introduce what is said but also reveal the reporter's attitude toward what is said. As Fowler (1991: 231) put it: "Critical analysis should pay particular attention to how what people say is transformed: there are clear conventions for rendering speech newsworthy, for bestowing significance on it."

Chen (2004, 2005) developed a comprehensive analytic tool of verbal processes. She classified verbal processes into three sub-types: positive, negative, and neutral. Chen furthermore provides some examples of positive verbal processes such as: pointed out, announced, explained, declared, indicated, and urged; negative verbal processes include: denied, claimed, admitted, insisted, and complained; and neutral verbal processes include: said, told, described, asked, and commented (Chen, 2004). In the present study, I examine how different verbal processes – positive, negative, and neutral – played out in the discourse of the two media outlets of Modern Standard Arabic online news AJA and BBA during the Tunisian Revolution and Egyptian Revolution.

### **Intertextuality**

"In its simplest form" Blommaert (2005: 46) explains "intertextuality refers to the fact that whenever we speak we produce the words of others, we constantly cite and recite expressions, and recycle meanings that are already available." The analysis of intertextuality falls under the second dimension of Fairclough's framework: discursive practice. Fairclough distinguishes between two types of intertextuality: manifest intertextuality, overtly drawing on previous texts, and constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity, which means that texts are composed of heterogeneous elements: generic conventions, discourse types, register, style

(Blommaert, 2005). Analysing how reported speech is selected and included in texts is an essential aspect of manifest intertextuality (Baynham and Slembrouck, 1999).

Texts are composed of fragments of previous texts and cannot be produced or consumed in isolation from these texts (Richardson, 2007). Bell (1991) describes the production of a news story as layered and embedded in that earlier versions of a news article is embedded in newer ones. There are many stages through which a news article is produced starting with a journalist, a translator, or a news agency (e.g. Associated Press or Reuters) to which a media organisation is subscribed and ending with the chief editor. In each of the stages of production, earlier versions are recontextualised across what Fairclough (1995) calls “a chain of communicative events which links source events in the public domain to the private domain consumption of media texts” (p. 49). This process of transformation and recontextualisation is responsible for the different ways in which a news item - that could be taken from the same source - is reported in different ways, with different emphases on different events.

Therefore, a full understanding of a text is only possible when relating it first to other texts and other social practices. Intertextuality is vital in media discourse, particularly news coverage, because it involves constructing “fragmentary and ill-defined happenings” (Fairclough, 2003: 84). News reporting involves a narration of events taking place, comments on these events from different sides, background information about the events, and opinions and views about them; thus, news articles are composed of fragments of other texts. Sourcing, or reported speech, is an essential aspect of news reports. By including and excluding voices reported and selecting what is to be reported, reporters control the framing and ideologies expressed in reports, even if they were distancing themselves from the content by downplaying their voice.

Van Dijk (1998b) considers sourcing as a means through which hegemony is achieved. News outlets allow access only to dominant groups and “represent leaders or speakers of

movements as unreliable sources in newsgathering” (ibid: 260). Moreover, the voices of the ingroup are legitimised by attributing them with authoritative quality such as titles and credentials that renders what they say reliable and unquestioned. The outgroup, on the other hand, is not reported as frequently as the ingroup, and when members representing the outgroup are reported, the aim is “to criticise them or discredit them” (Rojo, 1995: 54). Richardson (2007: 102-06) identifies five ways of reported speech that are most relevant to the study of news journalism. First, reporting speech through direct quotation. In this typical kind of reporting the exact words of the reported person, entity, or institution are included in quotation marks. The readers’ interpretation of the directly reported speech will be most influenced by the kind of verbal process employed, as explained earlier. Second, reporting speech through strategic quotation, known as ‘scare quotes.’ This kind of speech reporting is used with phrases or expressions that are “contentious.” News outlets distance themselves from the content of certain expressions by reporting them using scare quotes. Examples of such use include the reporting of controversial terms like “terrorism”, ‘martyr’ and “freedom” which may mean different things for different groups. Relevant to this kind of reporting is the use of expressions like the so-called, the so-described, what they call, and others, which are also employed to keep a distance from the content of the reported speech.

Third, reporting speech through indirect reporting. In indirect reporting, the reporter provides a summary of “the content of what was said or written, not the actual words used” (Fairclough, 2003: 49). Thus, it is difficult to distinguish between “the representing discourse and the represented discourse – between the voices of the reporter and the person reported” (Fairclough, 1995: 81). Fourth, reporting speech through transformed indirect quotation. What distinguishes transformed indirect quotation from indirect reporting is that it drops reporting clauses such as said, accused and alleged. Moreover, replaces it with transitive action (e.g. discovered) or mental state verbs (e.g. believes) (Richardson, 2007: 104). Finally, reporting

speech through ostensible direct quotation. This kind is different from a direct quotation in that it is made up to propose that “the view is too direct, extreme, or outlandish to have come from the source involved” (ibid: 105).

In this study, the analysis of intertextuality will help depict the way reporters of AJA and BBA produced their news stories regarding selecting what to report and whom they considered newsworthy. It would also reveal which group they identified as the in-group by referring to its members as authoritative social actors and which group they identified as the outgroup using marginalisation and delegitimisation. Moreover, even if news reports appear “balanced” and “objective” in the sense that they include both sides of the conflict, “it is often easy to divide voices into protagonists and antagonists” (Fairclough, 2003: 82).

## **2.5 Research Methodology**

This section addresses the methods used to achieve the objectives of this research and the rationale for their operation. This chapter contains the following section: the data sources used in the linguistic analysis, the Arabic online news selected and criteria for their selection, the analysis procedures and finally the analysis framework aimed to answer the research questions.

### **Data Sources**

The modern standard Arabic online outlets in this research are represented by two prominent international online news outlets namely: *Aljazeera* Arabic (AJA) and BBC Arabic (BBA) (BBC stands for British Broadcasting Cooperation). Both AJA and BBA are prestigious news outlets with worldwide circulation focusing on both international and the Arab region affairs by relying on news sources on their own correspondents as well as from other news agencies. Firstly, AJA offers comprehensive coverage of world events through their worldwide



network of correspondents, reporters, photographers, journalists and editors. Hence, AJA provides news of Arabic and international affairs, business, sciences and technology, culture, society, arts and religion. Thus, its sections are varied to suit the comprehensive range of online news topics which it covers. Secondly, Similar to AJA, BBA not only provides coverage of events in the Middle East but also offers comprehensive coverage of world events through their global network of news editorial teams. BBA provides various news sections to satisfy a different group of readers, namely: arts, cultures, economy, businesses, women, education, politics and many more.

Not only Arabic online news outlets offer a complete collection of news articles which has been published for more than five years. In contrast, both AJA and BBA offer an easy to access of their online news archives through their respective official online news portal; [www.aljazeera.net/Arabic](http://www.aljazeera.net/Arabic) for AJA and [www.bbcarabic.com](http://www.bbcarabic.com) for BBA. Both AJA and BBA online archives offer a comprehensive collection of their online news articles up to eight years from their first date of publication. Hence, the two online news outlets have been selected in this study. In addition to the viability, the selection of 'international' news outlets, as opposed to the local Tunisian or Egyptian news outlets, is based on the more extensive international coverage of the uprising events. As the present study focuses on the uprising events in both Tunisian and Egyptian, local Tunisian news outlets might not offer comprehensive coverage on the Egyptian uprising and vice versa. This is to say, local Tunisian or Egyptian news outlets focused more on providing details on their local uprising, while AJA and BBA provided coverage of the events without limitation to specific Arabic country compared to local news agencies. Furthermore, when the so-called AS started in the remote area of Tunisia known as Sidi Bouzid, local news agencies marginalised the news values of the events, while the foreign media particularly *Aljazeera* and has started to provide comprehensive coverage of the event for day one.

With regard to the selection of 'online news' rather than 'printed news' is mainly based on the advantages of online news compared to the traditional printed news or newspaper. Among these advantages are the widespread news access globally and the instant update on the latest development of the events. Hence, making online news is the popular choice among the readers compared to the traditional printed newspapers. Most importantly, the 'online services' via an internet connection is the primary catalyst for the widespread of the 'Arab Spring' wave which influenced people of other Arab nations to start their own version of Arab Spring in their country.

## **2.6 The Sampling Procedure**

The sampling procedure for obtaining the materials for this study was done according to the theories and studies which have utilised Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in analysing the language of online news articles.

### **Specification of the Period**

My analysis focuses on the Arabic online news articles published by AJA and BBA during the most crucial time of the 2011 revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. This crucial time is chosen because it is the time when most of the clashes and struggles happened between the ruling powers in Tunisia and Egypt and their antagonists. This crucial time also is the perfect time frame for analysing the different discourse strategies utilised by the two online news outlets and tracking changes of discourse concerning the power struggles in Tunisia and Egypt during the so-called the 'Arab Spring'. Therefore, I identify that the most crucial time during the 2011 TR is the early stage of the uprising when the people of Sidi Bouazid in a remote area of Tunisia went down to their street and voiced out their protest against the local authorities. This protest came as a result of Bouazizi 'strange' act of protest by putting fire on himself on 17<sup>th</sup> December

2010. Hence, the textual analysis will focus on the Arabic online news articles published by two online news outlets of AJA and BBA from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011. This time frame which constitutes the ‘time of crisis’ for the 2011 TR has been extended to add an extra of two weeks (fourteen days) after President Ben Ali left Tunisia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011. These ‘additional days’ are essential in order to give enough time to trace the discourse change. In other words, the time of crisis for the 2011 TR has been slightly expanded in order to track if the two online news outlets have changed their discourse strategies after the change of power took place in Tunisia after President Ben Ali flew the country and live in exile in Saudi Arabia.

Moving into the period for Egypt, the most crucial time during the 2011 ER began from the early stage of the uprising when the people of Egypt started to march on their streets and voice their protest against President Mubarak and his government. Thus, my analysis examines the Arabic online news articles published by AJA and BBA from 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011, which constitutes the ‘time of crisis’ for the 2011 ER. It is noted that the period has been extended to add an extra fourteen days after Mubarak resignation on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011 and fourteen another days before the mass gathering started in Tahrir Square the capital city of Egypt. This extension of the time frame is essential in order to give enough time to trace the discourse change. This means that the time of crisis for the 2011 ER has been slightly expanded in order to track how the two online news outlets have changed their discourse strategy after the change of power took place in Egypt after the resignation of Mubarak. This extra two weeks before the start of first mass gathering at Tahrir Square also been added to the ‘time of crisis’ of the 2011 ER to provide comprehensive coverage of the Egyptian Revolution which was influenced by the change of power in the 2011 TR which happened on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Furthermore, this extension allows the two revolutions to be deal together as a continuous event which carries a significant impact on the modern history of Tunisia and Egypt. It is observed that the ‘time of crisis’ for the 2011 ER started almost immediately after the 2011 TR

reached its peaks when president Ben Ali of Tunisia flee to Saudi Arabia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011. No doubt that the success of 2011 TR in bringing down president Ben Ali from his power after ruling Tunisia for almost 23 years has inspired Egyptian to start their uprising against president Mubarak who was in charge of ruling Egypt for almost 30 years.

To summaries, the period from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 (70 days) is the period specified for analysis which showed that the protests have been able to remove two influential presidents in the region from their power. The period also represents the first two months of the so-called the 'AS' in which the impact of the uprisings is still uncertain. It starts on the day Mohamed Bouazizi burn himself which marked the start of the Tunisian Revolution and ends on 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 two weeks after Mubarak declared his resignation. Hence, showing the success of the Egyptian Revolution in dethroning Mubarak's regime which holds 30 years of power dominant approximately after a month in which Ben Ali of Tunisia has been forced to face the same fate. For a contextualisation of the specific period and event, the research adds additional time to the original period when the two revolutions happened. Thus, the periods subjected to the analysis in this research are as follows, starting from the broad to specific.

- a. Period I – from November 2008 until December 2012 specified for the archive search.
- b. Period II – from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011, the selected online news articles from this period were involved in CDA.

### **Criteria for Selection of Online News Articles**

The research focuses on the two versions of the so-called 'Arab Spring,' namely the 2011 Tunisian Revolution (TR) and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution (ER). Hence, the relevant modern standard Arabic online news articles were those describing these two significant events in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011. These online news articles come with reference to the people of

Tunisia and Egypt, and their respective governments during the uprising, namely Ben Ali's regime of Tunisia and Mubarak's regime of Egypt. As the 'revolution' mainly involve struggle of power, the selected online news articles are mainly focused on politic, economic and social issues. Thus, the search in the archives of AJA and BBA are centred on (following keywords but no limit to): 'Ben Ali', 'government', 'minister', 'authority', 'Mubarak', 'President', 'opposition', 'Protest' and 'Protestors'. By focusing on these keywords and other closely related theme associated with the revolution events, other online news articles which have been reported by AJA and BBA are excluded from the study. The excluded online news articles are those related to arts, culture, sports, weathers, and tourism which do not directly relate to the two revolution events of Tunisia and Egypt. Also, news articles in which reported on the other version of Arab Spring, particularly those happened in Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Syria are disregarded as they do not serve the purpose of this research.

### **The number of analysed article**

The Arabic online news articles involved in this study are divided into two groups of corpus data. First is the big corpus data of 1.2 million words which contains all the online news articles involved in the archive search. Secondly, the online news published during the 'time of crisis' (from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011) has been extracted from the big corpus data to form the sub-corpus data for the CDA analysis, as well as the concordance and content analysis. The following tables provide detail on the number of online news articles involved in this study. To begin with, the total online news articles gathered from the archive search for the period of December 2008 until December 2012 (Period I) are presented in the table below:

<b>No.</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Total Words</b>	<b>Articles %</b>
1	Al-Jazeera	1173	602,616	55.67
2	BBC Arabic	934	516,985	44.33
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2107</b>	<b>1,119,601</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2.1: The Number of Online News Articles Published between December 2008 and December 2012 Collected from the Archive Search

Secondly, the detail of online news articles gathered for Period II from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 which will be used for the CDA analysis is stated in the table below:

No.	Institution	Number of Articles	Total Words	Articles %
1	Al-Jazeera	414	177,285	50.67
2	BBC Arabic	403	181,458	49.33
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>817</b>	<b>352,743</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2.2: The Number of Online News Articles Published between 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 and 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 Collected from the Archive Search

## 2.7 Procedures of Analysis

Stage I – Archive Search from Nov 2008 – Dec 2012 (Period I).

This archive search aims to provide a general overview of the topic under the current study, contextualise the events of the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions and provide the referent online news articles for the analysis. The interest of international online news outlets particularly AJA and BBA on Tunisia and Egypt can be observed from the number of news articles and its topics covered by the outlets beginning from November 2008 until the end of 2012 which has been specified as (Period I) for the archive search. In addition, a contextualisation of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolution events can be made by comparing the number of online news articles during the time of crisis (Period II: 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011) with the number of news articles in the succeeding and proceeding months as specified in Period I (November 2008 – December 2012).

## Procedures

The AJA official website [www.aljazeera.net/Arabic](http://www.aljazeera.net/Arabic) retrieved on 3/4/2014, and an archive search is done with 'Ben Ali' as the main keyword search word for Tunisian's contents

and 'Mubarak' for the Egyptian's. The research is enhanced by using supportive search words, namely: 'government', 'minister', 'opposition' and 'protestor' to gain a more extensive result. The search is being specified with the period mentioned in this research and the results obtained are arranged chronology. The AJA's archive provides a 'preview' of the online news articles containing the search word. This preview offers brief information on the news articles, namely: the titles, date of publication and summary of articles. It also offers additional information such as a line or two of the news article which content the search word, (The search word being highlighted by different font colour or being underlined) and the news section which the articles have been located, for example: The headline, main news, latest updates, International, Arabic word, economy and etc.

BBA website [www.bbcarabic.com](http://www.bbcarabic.com) was retrieved on 2/8/2014 for a similar archive search on BBC Arabic online news articles. The archive search in BBA's archive used the same keywords of 'Ben Ali' and 'Mubarak' followed by supportive search words of 'government', 'minister', 'opposition' and 'protestor'. Not much different from AJA's archive, BBA's also provides brief information on the related articles resulted from the archive search such as the news titles, date of publication (online) and summary of the news articles.

The number of online news articles on Tunisia and Egypt in the period of 50 months from November 2008 until December 2012 is compared. Then, the number of online news articles on Tunisia and Egypt during 'the time of Crisis' 70 days from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 is compared to those published from November 2008 until December 2012.

## **The Outcome<sup>9</sup>**

---

<sup>9</sup> The results and discussion of the archive search will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three of the present study.

- a) The interest of AJA and BBA had given to Tunisia and Egypt from November 2008 until the end of 2012 is measured.
- b) The events of Tunisian Research and Egyptian Research are contextualised.
- c) The total number of 2,107 online news articles from AJA and BBA which consist of almost 1.2 million words resulted from the archive search, constitute the raw material from which selected online news articles are drawn for further in-depth analysis.

## **Stage II: Concordance Analysis.**

Concordance is "a collection of the occurrences of a word – form, each in its textual environment. In its simplest form, it is an index. Each word- form is indexed, and a reference is given to the place of each occurrence in a text. " (Sinclair: 1991, 32). Besides, it provides word collocations.

### **a. Purpose**

Initially, the purpose of concordance analysis in this research is to give evidence to the first intuitions of the researcher. It gives the evidence that is going to be explained through linguistic analysis (description). In other words, the researcher's first intuitions about the portrayal of the protests, protestors and the governments in AJA and BBA can be emphasised, modified or altered by the results of the concordance analysis. Accordingly, the concordance analysis is an asset rather than a liability as it does not mirror our first intuitions but provides new evidence and therefore, new explanations that might change our first intuitions. In this way, the concordance analysis and the linguistic description are complementary to each other. Sinclair (1991: 36) asserts: "The computer is not a device which will produce sensible categories without guidance but, on the other hand, a linguistic description which is not supported by the evidence of the language has no credibility."



Secondly, this program used for numerical or statistical purposes provides essential clues for the subsequent analysis of articles as shown from the words of high frequencies. Importantly still, frequency counting provided by this program is useful in measuring long-run trends in image changes as revealed by writers. According to Budd et al., as quoted in Mousa (p.56), "a trend refers to the increase or decrease of the frequency of given symbols (or content) over a period of time." Thirdly, this computer program provides collocations of essential words, for example: 'Protestor/s', 'Ben Ali' and 'Mubarak' the significance of which are essential in this research.

#### b. Instrument

The selected online news articles published by both AJA and BBA are subjected to a text analysis computer software known as (AntConc 3.4.3, September 2014).

#### c. Procedures: Analysis steps

A total of 70 online news articles (see appendix 3) were selected for the concordance computer analysis. These news articles were taken from the articles founds in the archive search, particularly those published 'during the time crisis' (Period II) (17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011). The 70 online news articles consist of 35 articles from AJA and another 35 articles from BBA. The steps of converting the two corpora of AJA and BBA into a readable format for the Antconc software are:

- 1- Selection of texts for study: thirty-five news articles from AJA and another thirty-five news articles from BBA based on the fact that they were published in Period II, taken from various sections, related to the two revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt in the topic, and exhibited frequency of the word "protestors".
- 2- Recreation of the selected texts as not all the features of a text are coded in the concordance computer program used for the analysis. Their format is changed into very simple text formats (plain text) in which texts are long strings of letters, spaces and punctuation marks.

The text to the program becomes as “a long succession of nondescript characters marked off in pages and lines.” (Sinclair, 1991: 28)

- 3- Compiling the texts of the same publication together and categorising them into two sets (of corpora); one of AJA and the other of BBA.
- 4- Processing the two corpora by the concordance program one at a time.
- 5- Questions to be asked before and while doing the concordance analysis:

- a. What are the words of high frequency in the texts? What do this /these/they signify?

What are the contexts in which they occur? What are their collocations?

- b. What is the frequency of the significant words ‘Protestor/s’, ‘Ben Ali’ and ‘Mubarak’?

What are their/ its collocations?

- c. What are the verbs and words associated with them?

6- The concordance analysis of the two corpuses provides: the frequency of words in a list arranged in an alphabetical order, a full KWIC (keyword in context) that provides a whole line of a text with the word under examination highlighted in the middle and collocations of words till the 5th right and the 5th left words.

7- Finding explanations that fit the evidence (frequencies and collocations found); the results of the concordance analysis, and not evidence that fits our pre-set explanations is one of the goals of the following content and critical discourse analyses which are greatly illuminated by the findings of this concordance analysis.

d. The outcome<sup>10</sup>:

The following observations are made:

---

<sup>10</sup>The results and discussion of the concordance analysis will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three of the present study.

- 1- Words of high frequencies, their contexts and collocations.
- 2- Collocations of the words ‘Protestor/s’, ‘Ben Ali’ and ‘Mubarak’.
- 3- The content, theme and context of articles could be inferred from the words of high frequencies.

### Stage III: Content Analysis.

#### a. Purpose

The content analysis aims at analysing certain content features in the selected articles and their effect on the portrayed image of the antagonists and protagonists throughout the Revolution events.

#### b. Procedures/Analysis Steps.

Out of seventy online news articles involved in the previous Computer Concordance Analysis, twenty news articles were subjected to content analysis. They are ten news articles from each AJA and BBA. These articles are:

	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
1	Marches in Tunisia...	18/12/2010
2	Demands to Release the Sanction...	20/12/2010
3	Ben Ali Warns the Troublemakers...	29/12/2010
4	Supports for Protestors...	30/12/2010
5	Ben Ali Sacks his Governor...	30/12/2010
6	Qardhawiy Calls...	25/1/2011
7	ElBaradei Calls...	27/1/2011
8	Mubarak Dissolved His Government...	29/1/2011
9	Obama Urges...	29/1/2011
10	ElBaradei: The Regime is Shaking.	29/1/2011

Table 2.3: The detail on Ten News Articles of *Aljazeera* Subjected for Content Analysis While, the news articles from BBA are as follow:

	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
1	Killed and Injuries...	24/12/2010
2	The Fights Continues...	26/12/2010
3	Ben Ali: The Protests...	28/12/2010
4	Ben Ali Make Changes...	29/12/2010
5	Tunisia: Ben Ali Promises...	13/12/2010

6	Egypt: Protests Continue...	28/1/2011
7	Egypt: The West Demands...	29/1/2011
8	Friday of Anger...	29/1/2011
9	Egyptian Situations...	29/1/2011
10	Egypt: Appointment of Vice President...	29/1/2011

Table 2.4: The detail on Ten News Articles of BBC Arabic Subjected for Content Analysis

The content analysis of these twenty online news articles focuses on themes, referents, contexts, and the image of antagonist and protagonist portrayed in the articles. Then, the result obtained is compared and explained.

c. The outcome<sup>11</sup>.

The results obtained lead to the identification of the following:

- 1- The themes tackled;
- 2- The contexts of the articles and
- 3- The sources used.

#### **Stage IV: CDA**

A total of 817 modern standard Arabic online news articles which consist of more than 350,000 words were involved in the qualitative CDA analysis. These news articles were published during the 70 days of the ‘time of crisis’ beginning from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 (Period II) as mentioned before. It is important to note that the data is in Arabic (modern standard Arabic); hence, relevant news extracts were first translated into English and then analysed<sup>12</sup>. Although both *Aljazeera* and BBC provided online news in English, the present research chooses to translate the Arabic news texts rather than examining the online news texts of *Aljazeera* English and BBC English in which both offered online news originally in English data. The main reason for that is the previous studies (Fornaciari, 2011; Yehia, 2011) have revealed that *Aljazeera* English, for instance, does not merely provide their audience with

<sup>11</sup> The results and discussion of the content analysis will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three of the present study.

<sup>12</sup> The Arabic online news texts presented in this study are taken exactly as it is from their respective outlets. It may contain grammatical, pronunciation and writing errors.

the English version of the outlet's Arabic news contents. Moreover, these studies indicated that *Aljazeera* English has its independent editorial board which serves a different target audience. Similarly, BBC Arabic, which has a working studio in Egypt, has its own editorial board. Thus, its news contents focus on a different group of crowds compared to BBC news services which provided news originally in English. Since the focus of my study is on the online news produced mainly for the Arab audience during the two Revolutions, the original data written in modern standard Arabic were translated into English.

The textual and discursive practice features examined in the research consist of four tools namely: lexicalisation and predication, presupposition, verbal process and intertextuality. The first three tools relate to textual analysis are the focus of Chapter Four and Five. While the intertextuality is concerned with discursive practice analysis, hence needs a separate chapter, will be discussed in Chapter Six. Finally, Chapter Seven focuses on the third dimension of Fairclough's framework, namely the critical dimension of social relation.

The textual analysis is the first dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. To address this aspect, I first examine how the two outlets used lexicalisation and predication in their coverage to refer to the antagonists and describe them. It is assumed that each outlet employed editorial strategies in referring to both sides of the conflict; depicting such strategies gives insights into how AJA and BBA stand with the government or protesters during the revolution. Second, I discuss how presuppositions were employed to serve the ideological stance of each online news institution; mainly, I show how taken-for-granted propositions were strategically utilised to support or challenge power dominance during the two Revolutions. Hence, raised questions of: what ideology does a given presupposition serve? Is it intended to challenge power relations or defend the authority? Following that, I discuss how verbal processes were used by the two outlets in their online news coverage. The analysis of verbal processes aims to cast light on how social actors on both sides of the conflict were

reported throughout the revolution event. In the second dimension, which focuses on the discursive practice, I discuss how certain voices have been given comprehensive access to the construction of news discourse, while other voices have been silenced or marginalised. I also explain how different types of reporting, such as direct reporting, indirect reporting, and strategic reporting, were used with each side differently. The aim is to show how hegemony is achieved by allowing certain groups access to media discourse, hence, treated as the voice of 'in-group'. While the other groups were considered as unreliable sources. Thus, their voices have been side-lined.

The third dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework deals with social practice. Based on the results of the textual and discursive analysis, my discussion continues to examine the broader socio-political context of the event, aims to reveal features which contribute toward power abuse and social inequality. Thus, I critically analyse the background and historical information of the events by looking at the economic, social, and political aspects which potentially provide a better understanding of how the two online news outlets reported the revolutions and portrayed the antagonists and protagonists.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter provides the theoretical framework of this research based on the ideas of DT and CDA. The combination of DT and CDA has provided an analytical framework for analysing online news discourse around the so-called 'Arab Spring' in Tunisian and Egypt. Moreover, the present study benefited from other critical theories such as Gramsci's theory of hegemony, Althusser's theory of ideology and Foucault's theory of power. To enhance the CDA qualitative analysis results, corpus linguistics tools are deployed to provide statistical evidence which guide the analysis and results discussion. Based on the theoretical framework, this chapter also highlights the research methodology utilised in this study, starting with the

sources used for data collection, the sampling procedures, the analysis stages and the analysis model used. The data for the present study involved modern standard Arabic online news texts from *Aljazeera* Arabic and BBC Arabic. The data is in Arabic; hence, it was translated into English before conducting the analysis procedures. Thus, this chapter is considered as the backbone of research and the guidance map for reaching research objectives.

## **CHAPTER THREE:**

### **RESULTS OF PREPARATORY ANALYSIS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The Chapters Three, Four, Five, Six and Seven present the results of the analysis which answer the research questions and justify the conclusion at the end of the research. These chapters provide a discussion on the analysis results in line with the findings of the theoretical part and literature review. The main research question in this study is to analyse how the two Arabic online news outlets, Al-Jazeera Arabic (AJA) and BBA Arabic (BBA), covered the 2011 TR and ER by investigating how the outlets represented the protests and portrayed the antagonists and protagonists. To find the answer to this central question, three pre-analysis stages were carried out before conducting the CDA linguistic analysis. The results of three pre-analysis stages are discussed in this chapter (Chapter Three), while the Chapters Four to Seven focused on the results and discussion of CDA analysis.

#### **3.2 Preparatory Analytical Stages.**

The pre-analysis stages involved three preparatory analytical stages before conducting qualitative CDA, namely:

- 1) The Archive Search,
- 2) The Concordance Analysis and
- 3) The Content Analysis.

The results of these pre-analysis stages are as follow:



### 3.3 Results of Archive Search.

The results of the archive search provide a contextualisation of the uprising events in Tunisia and Egypt. It also gives critical information surrounding the two events. The archive search focused on the frequency of articles written on political issues in Tunisia and Egypt before and after the 2011 events. This analysis is fundamental as it considered as a preliminary stage in the analysis of articles qualitatively using CDA approaches. These results are as follows:

#### Archive Search of News Articles on the Tunisian Revolution

A total of 67 Arabic online news articles around President Ben Ali have been collected from (AJA) and (BBA). These online news articles are dated between November 2008 and October 2010 are being collected from the news archives after both news agencies had published it on their respective official websites. The details of these online news articles can be found in the table below:

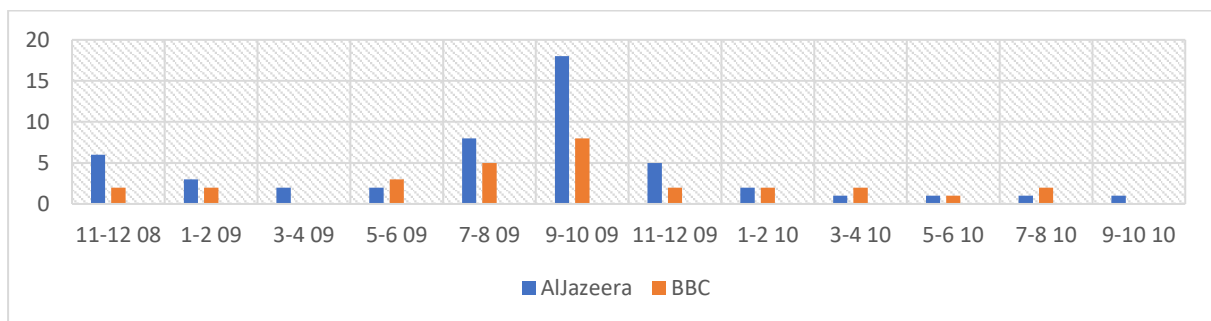
No.	Institution	Number of Articles	Total Words	Articles %
1	Al-Jazeera	37	19,559	55.22
2	BBC Arabic	30	10,420	44.78
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>29,979</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 3.1: The number of online news articles before the 2011 Tunisian Revolution found in the archive of *AlJazeera* and BBC Arabic.

Table 1 shows many useful background information on the online news articles collected from the archive search represent online news coverage before the 2011 Tunisian Revolution. The table indicates the number of online news articles collected from each news agency and the total words in the news articles, which also indicates the total size of news articles. Furthermore, the table also reveals the proportion of online news articles for each online news agency. The collection of Arabic online news articles from AJA and BBA between November

2008 and October 2010 consists of 67 online news articles. The archive of AJA online news provided 37 news articles (55.22% of the total number of articles) which is significantly higher proportion compared 30 online news articles (44.78%) provided by BBA within the same period. AJA news articles also contain an almost double number of words compared to BBA online news articles.

Looking into more detail on this collection of online news articles, particularly by looking at the date of the news articles or the date it has been published reveals interesting information about these online news articles. All these online news articles are distributed according to the date when it appeared in their respective news outlet's website. The detail on this can be seen in the graph below:



Graph 3.1: The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication from November 2008 until October 2010.

The graph indicates that between November 2008 and October 2010, the average number of online news articles collected from the archives of AJA and BBA is three articles per month. The number of online news articles from AJA is higher than BBA in almost every month except for the months of Mei – June 2009, March- April 2010 and July- August 2010 when BBA has recorded a slightly higher number of online news articles compared to AJA. It is also worth to note that the total number of online news articles hits the lowest number of (one article by AJA) in the months of September and October 2010. In contrast, the total number of online articles hits the highest level in September and October 2009. The total of 26 online

news articles have been collected for months of September and October 2009. These 26 news articles represent the most significant proportion at 43.28% out of total online news articles collected between November 2008 and October 2010. Besides, out of these 26 news articles, AJA provided the biggest proportion of 18 online news articles compared to eight online news articles from BBA.

The total number of online news articles also slightly higher than average during the months of July - August 2009 and November - December 2009. In July - August 2009, a total of 13 online news articles were collected, which consist of eight news articles from AJA and five news articles from BBA. These 13 news articles represent 19.4% of the total number of both AJA and BBA in November 2008 until October 2010. Meanwhile, another 10.45% of the total number of online news articles was published by AJA and BBA in November - December 2009. AJA has provided five news articles, and BBA has two news articles making a total of seven online news articles have been collected from these two months. The increasing number of online news articles from July to December 2009 indicates the increase in online news coverage by AJA and BBA on Tunisian political issues during these months. The apparent reason for that is the 2009 Tunisian General Election which was held on October 2009. Therefore, since July 2009, AJA and BBA have reported on various events happened in Tunisia which related to 2009 Tunisian General Election such as presidential candidate nomination, electoral campaigns and pledges, electoral rally and predictions of election results. The number of news articles hit its highest level in the months of September - October 2009 when the election campaign entered the final stage and election results widely speculated in the online news. As a result, 43.28% out of total online news articles collected between November 2008 and October 2010 from AJA and BBA achieves has been published in the months of September - October 2009. Moreover, although the number of online news articles started to go down slightly in November and December 2009 when the election was completed, the total number

of online news for these two months is slightly higher than the average number of articles in other months. Most of the news articles during November and December 2009 from AJA and BBA discussed on post-2009 Tunisian General election by mainly highlighting the overwhelming success of Ben Ali and his Democratic Constitutional Rally (DCR) party in the 2009 election result.

To conclude, the total of 46 out of 67 (68.66%) online news articles from AJA and BBA published between November 2008 and October 2010 have been published during the 2009 Tunisian General Election. Thus, the months of July until December 2009 and the 2009 Tunisian General Election are the most crucial milestone in the online news discourse before the 2011 Tunisian revolution. In short, before the 2011 Revolution, Tunisia in general and Ben Ali in particular, do not gain much attention by AJA and BBA except some essential and remarkable events take place in Tunisia. Thus, the result of the archive search indicated that the two outlets were focusing on the 2009 Tunisian general election. In this general election, President Ben Ali and his party Democratic Constitutional Assembly (DCA) continue their domination on Tunisian politics by winning both parliament and presidential election with a vast majority.

The 2011 Tunisian revolution resulted in more online news coverage on Tunisia compared to the pre-revolution period. Both AJA and BBA have intensified their online news report on almost every event happen in Tunisia related to the Revolution. Hence, a total of 583 online news articles have been collected from the archive of AJA and BBA. These online news articles are dated between November 2010 and December 2012, as stated in the table below:

No.	Institution	Number of Articles	Total Words	Articles %
1	Al-Jazeera	446	205,968	65.3
2	BBC Arabic	237	121,315	34.7
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>683</b>	<b>327,283</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 3.2: The number of online news articles on the 2011 Tunisian Revolution published between November 2010 and December 2012.

It was evident that the number of online news articles published by AJA and BBA has recorded huge jump from November 2010 until December 2012 compared to the online news before the revolution from merely 67 news articles to 683. This massive jump in the number of news articles indicates the massive shift by both news agencies to report more intensively on essential events in Tunisia from November 2010 – December 2012. AJA, for instance, from November 2010 to December 2012 published 446 online news articles compared to only 37 online news articles from November 2008 to October 2010. BBA also published a total of 237 online news articles between November 2010 and December 2012, which is almost eight times more than merely 30 online news found in the outlet archive dated between November 2008 to October 2010. Despite recorded a massive increase in the number of online news articles, the total number of BBA news articles between November 2010 to December 2012 is only half compared to the total number of news articles published by AJA within the same period.

Moving into the detail on this collection of online news articles, particularly by looking at the date of the news articles reveals exciting information about these online news articles. Hence, indicated the period when the online news outlets gave more attention to events that happened in Tunisia. All these online news articles are distributed according to the date of its first published in their respective news agency website can be seen in the graph below:

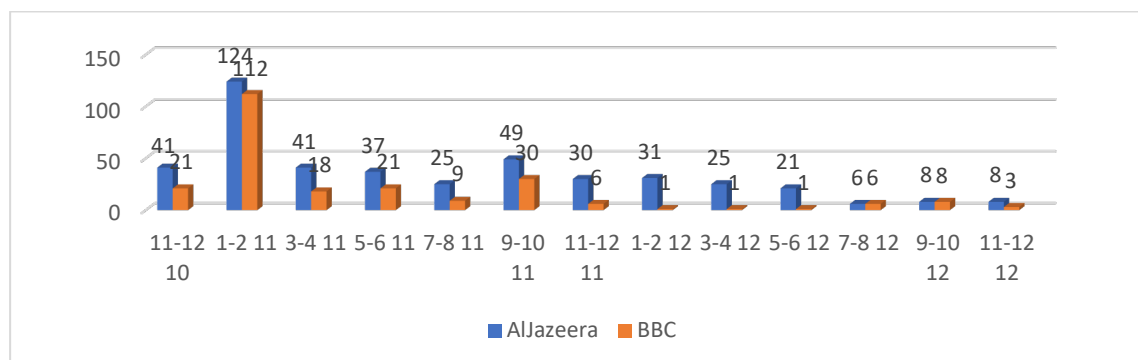


Figure 3.2: The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication between November 2010 and December 2012.

It is important to note that the number of news articles published by AJA and BBA has recorded a significantly high level above than average several times from November 2010 to

December 2012. Firstly, the number of online news articles reaches its highest level in January-February 2011 with a total of 236 news articles which 34.55% of total online news articles published by AJA and BBA between November 2010 and December 2012. Out of these 236 online news articles, AJA provided 124 news articles which are 27.8% out of the total number of AJA's news articles, while BBA has 112 news articles (47.25% of total BBA's articles). Secondly, in May – June 2011, the total number of news articles once again reached a significantly high level of 58 news articles which constituted 8.5% of the total number of news articles during the 2011 Tunisian revolution published by AJA and BBA. During May – June 2011, AJA published 37 online news articles (8.3% of total AJA's news articles), while BBA published 21 news articles (8.86% of total BBA's news articles). Thirdly, in September – October 2011, the total of 79 online news articles have been collected from the outlets' news archive which makes these two months recorded the second-highest number of online news articles published between November 2010 and December 2012. These 79 online news articles represent 11.56% out of total online news articles. Once again, AJA provided a slightly higher proportion of news articles (49) compared to BBA with 30 news articles.

These three phases of time when the number of online news articles reached significantly higher levels between November 2010 and December 2012 indicated the three most important milestones during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution. It is also marked three significant events that happened in Tunisia, which gain a lot of media attention by AJA and BBA. The first milestone is the start of the protest, demonstration and chaos, which lead towards the fall of Ben Ali's regime in Tunisia beginning from December 2010 until February 2011. It is also marked the first phase of the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, which recorded the massive scale of people uprising against Ben Ali's regime, which ultimately forced Ben Ali to leave Tunisia. The second milestone, which also marks the second phase of the 2011 Tunisian Revolution happen between May and July 2011. Between May and July 2011, saw an almost

complete fall of Ben Ali's regime in Tunisia. Ben Ali's political party Democratic Constitutional Rally (DCR) has been dissolved, many of his associates have been forced to step down, and many others have been detained. The months of May and July 2011 also recorded massive online news coverage by AJA and BBA on the beginning of the trial against Ben Ali and his associates in Tunisian military and civil courts for various serious allegations. The third phase of the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, which also marks the third important milestone in the online news discourse is centred around the 2011 Tunisian Constitutional Assembly Election. The election was held on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2011 after several delays. In this third phase of the 2011 Tunisian revolution, a new government has been elected to replace Ben Ali's regime via a more clean and transparent election after the fall of Ben Ali.

In a nutshell, the number online news articles around the 2011 Tunisian revolution published by AJA and BBA between November 2010 and December 2012 has recorded enormous increase compared to pre- 2011 Tunisian Revolution period of November 2008 until October 2010. Besides the increasing number of online news articles, AJA and BBA news articles cover more broad topics and themes during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution (between November 2010 and December 2012) compared to November 2008 until October 2010 which primarily focused on the 2009 Tunisian General Election. The online news articles published by AJA and BBA during the revolution (between November 2010 and December 2012) on the other hand covered various events in Tunisia beginning from Bouazizi strange act of protest by putting flame on himself on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, followed by series of demonstrations and protests days later which ultimately lead towards the dissolved of Ben Ali's government and force Ben Ali to left Tunisia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Furthermore, the online news articles also reported the formation of Tunisian interim government which combine several Ben Ali's ministers and opposition leaders. This interim government was in charge of governing Tunisia until the first election was held after the fall of Ben Ali's regime in October 2011 to elect the

member of Tunisian Constitutional Assembly. Since Ben Ali left Tunisia and live in exile in Saudi Arabia, AJA and BBA also intensively reported on various accusations and charges against Ben Ali and his associates which followed the trial against all their misconducts in both Tunisian military and civil courts beginning from June 2011.

### **The Results of Archive Search on the Egyptian Revolution**

The result of the archive search of AJA and BBA on the 2011 Egyptian Revolution was divided into two sub-corpus data. The first sub-corpus data consists of online news articles published between November 2008 and December 2010. This first sub-corpus data represents the collection of online news before the revolution. The second sub-corpus meanwhile, consists of news articles published by AJA and BBA between January 2011 and December 2012. The following sections explain detail on these online news archive search results.

#### **News Articles before the Revolution (November 2008 – December 2010)**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Total Words</b>	<b>Articles %</b>
1	Al-Jazeera	83	39,293	36.24
2	BBC Arabic	146	63,855	63.76
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>103,148</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 3.3: The number of online news articles collected from the archive of Al-Jazeera and BBC Arabic before the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

The collection of Arabic online news articles from AJA and BBA between November 2008 and December 2010 contains a total of 229 news articles. Out of these 229 online news articles, the archive of AJA provided 83 news articles which represent 36% of the overall number of this news collection. In comparison, the BBA archive provided a slightly higher number of news articles compared to AJA. A total of 146 online news articles were taken from BBA archive, which constitutes almost 64% of the total news collection of AJA and BBA



published November 2008 until December 2010. Moreover, all these online news articles were distributed according to the date of its first published in their respective outlet websites, as stated in the graph below:

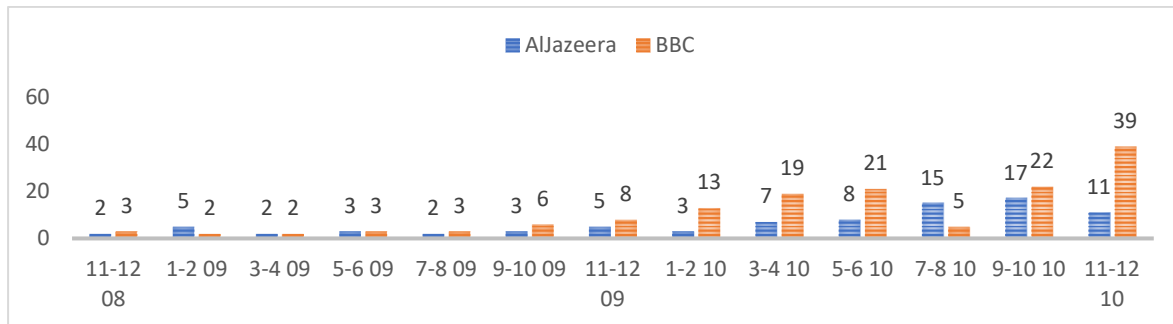


Figure 3.3: The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication between November 2008 and December 2010.

The graph shows the distribution of 229 online news articles collected from the archive of AJA and BBA for the news published between November 2008 and December 2010 to represent the collection of online news articles before the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. From the graph, we can observe that these collections of online news contain a relatively low number of news articles during the beginning of the period between November 2008 until December 2010. Thus, each of AJA and BBA only provided no more than five online news articles every two months for the period between November 2008 until August 2009. However, the number of online news articles from AJA and BBA started to rise beginning from November – December 2009 until December 2010. BBA online news articles recorded the highest level of 39 news articles in November – December 2010. Before that, 21 online news articles were found for May- June 2010 and another 22 news articles for September- October 2010 in the BBA archive. In comparison, the AJA news articles reached the highest level of 17 news articles during September - October 2010. AJA also has the second-highest number of news articles during July- August 2010 with 15 news articles.

It is important to note that the number of news articles from AJA and BBA has recorded a significant increase between November 2008 and December 2010 in the three most

remarkable milestones. These three milestones also reflect the three significant events which dominated the online news coverage by AJA and BBA within this period. These three significant events are First, wide media speculation on Mubarak successors. Secondly, Mubarak receiving intensive treatment in Germany, which also sparks more speculations on his successor and finally the 2010 Egyptian Parliamentary Election. It begins from the speculation on the next president of Egypt after Mubarak reached another level of high interest by AJA and BBA during September and December 2009. It is when the member of NDP – the most dominant Egyptian political party- gathered during their annual conference in preparation for the next parliamentary and presidential election scheduled to begin before the end of 2010. Thus, in these collections of 229 online news articles, AJA has a total of 8 news articles, while BBA has 14 news articles published between September and December 2010.

Another important event in Egypt between November 2008 and December 2010 which received comprehensive news coverage by AJA and BBA is the news around Mubarak receiving intensive treatments in Germany. In 2010 Mubarak was 82 years old and had been in power for almost 30 years. Thus, his health issues have been caused great concern by the Egyptian for many years. However, when Mubarak travelled to Germany on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2010 for having intensive treatment on his health problems, both AJA and BBA have intensified their news coverage on the event. Furthermore, this intensive treatment also resulted in broader speculation on Mubarak's successor, particularly the debate on the plan to inherit Mubarak presidency to his son Jamal. The importance of event surrounding Mubarak receiving treatment in Germany has reflected by the increase of online news articles collected from the archive of AJA and BBA for March until June 2010. As a result. A total of 15 news articles were collected from AJA, while BBA provided more than double of AJA news articles with 40 online news articles.

Moving into the most significant event in Egypt which gained the most coverage by AJA and BBA between November 2008 until December 2010 was the 2010 Egyptian Parliamentary Election. This election was crucial because the parliamentary election result will generally affect the Egyptian Presidential Election scheduled to be held several months after the parliamentary election. Thus, the Egyptian political parties, particularly the ruling party of National Democratic Party (NCP), must do their best in the 2010 Parliamentary Election in preparing for the upcoming Presidential election. Ultimately, the 2010 Egyptian parliamentary election recorded a landslide victory for Mubarak's NDP party and a massive defeat for Muslim Brotherhood-linked opposition party before.

The first round of this 2010 Egyptian Parliamentary Election was started on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2010 followed by the second round on 5<sup>th</sup> December 2010. However, the process of nomination and election campaign started much earlier in July 2010. Thus, both AJA and BBA have intensified their news coverage on the 2010 Egyptian Election since June 2010. The news coverage on the 2010 election constituted the most significant proportion of the 229 online news articles collected from AJA and BBA news published from November 2008 until December 2010. AJA news, for instance, provided a total of 43 online news articles during the months of 2010 Egyptian election from July to December 2010. BBA furthermore provided 66 news articles during the same months. Thus, a total of 109 news articles were collected from the archive of AJA and BBA concerning the 2010 Egyptian election, which represents 47.6% of the total 229 news articles. It is also worth to mention that both AJA and BBA number of news articles reached the highest level during the months of 2010 Egyptian election. AJA recorded the highest number of news in this collection of online news articles were published in September – October 2010, while BBA provided the highest number of news articles for November – December 2010.

Although the number of online news articles taken from AJA and BBA shows an uprising pattern during the months of 2010 Egyptian election, there is a drop in the number of articles taken from AJA for November – December 2010 despite the election itself was held during these two months. The reason for that may originate from various restrictions faced by foreign (non-Egyptian) media agencies in reporting the events around the 2010 Egyptian election. Secondly, the decrease in online news reports particularly during the time election was held by AJA comes in line with the call made by Egyptian oppositions to boycott the election which they claimed has been excessively manipulated by Mubarak government. All in all, the massive success of Mubarak's NDP party during the 2010 election came not more than two months before the huge protest started in Egypt, which caused the fall of Mubarak.

To conclude, the total of 109 out of 229 (47.6%) online news articles from AJA and BBA published between November 2008 and December 2010 are dealing with the 2010 Egyptian Parliamentary Election. Thus, the months of July until December 2010 and the 2010 Egyptian Parliamentary Election are the most critical milestone in the online news discourse before the 2011 Egyptian revolution. Secondly, the speculation of Mubarak' successors were the second major topic highlighted by AJA and BBA between November 2008 and December 2010. During this period, the discussion on the next Egyptian president after Mubarak in AJA and BBA was at a high level at least during two occasions. First, it was during the annual gathering of NDP party during September and December 2009 and in the months of March until June 2010 when Mubarak received an intensive health treatment in Germany.

### **News Articles during the 2011 Revolution (January 2011 – December 2012)**

Moving into the archive search of online news articles published between January 2011 and December 2012 recorded a tremendous increased in the number of news articles provided by both outlets. These online news articles offer a contextualisation of an event slightly before

the first protest started in Egypt up until Morsi, the new President of Egypt after Mubarak was elected and formed his new government.

No.	Institution	Number of Articles	Total Words	Articles %
1	Al-Jazeera	607	337,796	53.81
2	BBC Arabic	521	321,395	46.19
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1128</b>	<b>659,191</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 3.4: The number of online news articles published between January 2011 and December 2012.

Table 3.4 shows detail descriptions of the online news articles gathered from the archive of AJA and BBA published between January 2011 and December 2012. A total of 1128 online news articles were collected for this news collection, almost five times higher compared to 229 online news articles found in outlets archive of news articles before the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. In contrast to the collection of online news before the 2011 revolution which saw BBA provided a significantly higher proportion of online news articles compared to AJA, it is the turn for AJA to provide a more significant number of news articles than BBA. Hence, 607 news articles were collected from AJA (53.81%) compared to 521 news articles (46.19%) owns by BBA. Moreover, these 1128 online news articles were distributed according to the date of publication in their respective outlet websites as illustrated in the figure below:

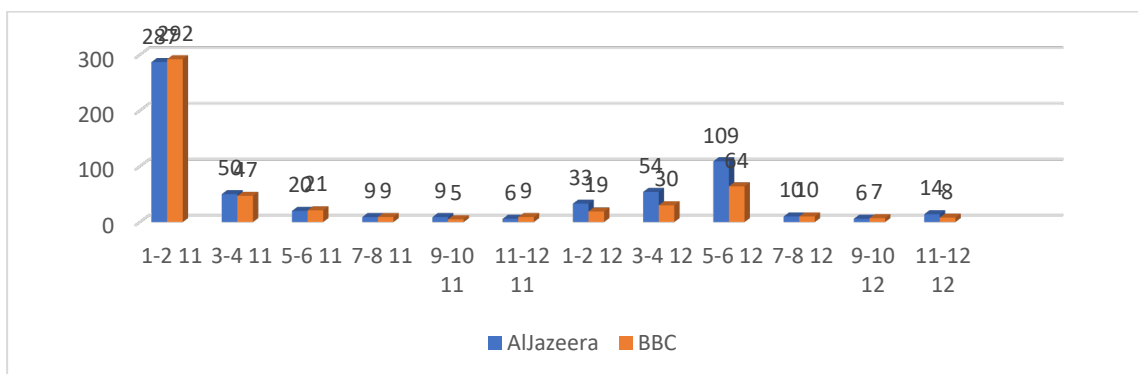


Figure 3.4: The distribution of online news articles according to the month of publication between January 2011 and December 2012.

The graph revealed that the number of news articles published by AJA and BBA had recorded significantly higher level above than average several times between January 2011 and December 2012. Firstly, the number of online news articles reaches its highest level in January-February 2011 with a total of 579 news articles. These 579 news articles represent 51.33% of total news articles taken from the archive search. Out of these 579 online news articles, AJA provided 287 news articles which are 47.28% out of 607 total number of outlet's news articles. In comparison, BBA has a higher number of news articles, 292 news articles for the same months. This represents almost 56% out of the total number of BBA's online news articles (521 news articles).

Secondly, the number of online news articles jumped in May – June 2012, which saw the total number of news articles reached the second-highest level. A total of 173 news articles which constituted 15.34% of the total number of news articles for this archive search. During May – June 2012, AJA published a higher number of online news articles (109 news articles, 18% of the total AJA's news articles) compared to BBA which provided 64 online news articles, represent 12% out of the outlet total number of news articles. Thirdly, in March – April 2012, a total of 84 online news articles have been collected from the news achieve of AJA and BBA which make these two months after the 2011 revolution, recorded the second-highest level for the total number of online news articles. These 84 online news articles represent 7.5% out of total online news articles published during this time of the Egyptian Revolution. Once again, AJA provided a slightly higher proportion of news articles (54) compared to BBA 30 news articles. The number of online news articles from AJA and BBA also high in March – April 2011 and January – February 2012. Fifty online news articles were collected from the archive of AJA, and another 47 news articles were sourced from BBA to make a total of 97 online news articles were collected for March – April 2011 which the two months slightly after the uprising which toppled Mubarak's regime. Furthermore, a total of 52 online news articles

were gathered for January – February 2012, in which 33 of them come from AJA and another 19 were published by BBA.

These five phases of time when the number of online news articles reached a significantly high level between January 2011 and December 2012 indicate significant milestones during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. It is also marked four significant events that happened in Egypt, which gain a lot of media attention by AJA and BBA between January 2011 and December 2012. The first significant event is the start of the protest, demonstration and chaos against the Mubarak's regime in Egypt beginning from the middle of January 2011. It is widely known by 18 days of mass protest beginning from 25<sup>th</sup> January until 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011. These massive protests in major Egyptian cities have forced Mubarak to step down and transfer his power to the Vice President of Egypt and the Egyptian Arm Forces on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011.

Mubarak resignation which followed by the mass resignation of other key figures in his government marked the fall of the regime are considered as the second major event happened slightly after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. The third major event which received intense coverage in the online news by AJA and BBA is the historical trials against Mubarak, his families, particularly his two sons and his associates. It is all started slightly after Mubarak resignation, which leads towards the detention of several key ministers in Mubarak's regime. Ultimately, Mubarak and his two sons Gamal and Ala, were detained for intensive investigation on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2011. Subsequently, the trial against them was started on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 2011. Although the trial of Mubarak and his two sons Gamal and Ala during 2011 and 2012 takes a long process, the online news coverage by AJA and BBA was intense during January – February 2012, which recorded the full details of this historic trial.

The fourth major event in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution is centred around the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Election. The first round of the election was held on 23<sup>rd</sup>- 24<sup>th</sup> May 2012,

while the second round was conducted on 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> June 2012. Before these dates, the online news of AJA and BBA provided full details on the election processes since the formal nomination process was opened on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2012. Ultimately, on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2012, Morsi was declared as the new President of Egypt, which marks the new beginning for Egypt after the fall of Mubarak. Thus, the number of online news articles from AJA and BBA was rocketed high from April until June 2012.

All in all, the archive search of AJA and BBA has resulted in a collection of corpus data consists of the Arabic online news articles published by the two international outlets between November 2008 and December 2012. This corpus data consists of almost 1.2 million words gathered from 2,107 online news articles which provided a contextualisation to the 2011 Revolution events in Egypt and Tunisia. It is noticed that AJA provided a slightly higher proportion of news articles (1173 news articles which represent 56% out of the total number of online news articles) compared to BBA. The archive of BBA has provided a total of 934 online news articles which is 44% of the total number of articles in this corpus data.

No.	Institution	Number of Articles	Total Words	Articles %
1	<i>Aljazeera</i>	1173	602,616	55.67
2	BBC Arabic	934	516,985	44.33
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2107</b>	<b>1,119,601</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 3.5: The Total Number of Online News Articles Collected from the Archive Search

In short, the results of the archive search showed that Tunisia does not receive much media attention from the outlets before the revolution started compared to Egypt. It also revealed that the number of online news articles jumped dramatically from December 2010 until March 2011 covering the events in both Tunisia and Egypt. This is due to the intensive coverage provided by the two outlets on the protests and political struggles during the revolutions. Finally, AJA and BBA continue to provide comprehensive online news coverage on Tunisia and Egypt even after the fall of President Ben Ali of Tunisia and President Mubarak of Egypt. The news coverage after the revolution mainly focused on the process of power



transition in Tunisia and Egypt and the formation of the new governments through a series of elections.

### 3.4 Results of Concordance Analysis.

70 Arabic online news articles of AJA and BBA are subjected to the computer-assisted concordance Analysis (Antconc Concordance Analysis Software). The analysis focuses on the words of high frequency particularly the thematically important words, lexical collocations of significant words associated with the antagonists and protagonists ('Protestors' vs 'Ben Ali' for Tunisian Revolution and 'Mubarak' for ER). By taking into consideration the frequency of words and their keyword in context (KWIC) reveals the following results:

1- Theme: The theme of the seventy Arabic online news articles subjected to this concordance analysis is political. This is based on the finding which showed the word 'political' سياسة showed the highest frequency in both AJA and BBA compared to other words which indicating other themes. The highest frequency recorded for word 'political' also showed that the context of these online news articles is political as well. In addition to 'political' the word frequency results also showed other thematically. Words which recorded much lower numbers of frequencies compared to 'political'. These words are 'economic', 'social' and 'religion'.

Thematic Word	AJA	BBA
Political	78	79
Social	28	26
Economic	31	30
Religion	8	5

Table 3.6: Frequency of words showing different themes in AJA and BBA

The above table shows the total frequency of words showing different themes in AJA and BBA Arabic online news. The political theme recorded the highest frequency in both AJA and BBA,

while the ‘religious’ theme recorded the lowest. Meanwhile, the ‘economic’ and ‘social’ themes recorded an almost similar number of frequencies in both AJA and BBA news articles. Hence, most of the online news articles carry the political theme, follow by economic and social themes. While the ‘religion’ theme only manages to record a significantly low number of frequencies. Looking into the details on this thematically words frequency result by focusing on the news coverage of each TR and ER, shows the following results. The following table shows the frequency of words showing different themes in AJA and BBA coverage of TR.

<b>Thematic Word</b>	<b>AJA</b>	<b>BBA</b>
Political	25	32
Social	7	10
Economic	13	6
Religion	3	3

Table 3.7: Frequency of thematic all words in the news article of TR.

Again, the political theme recorded the highest frequency in both AJA and BBA news articles on TR. However, the theme of ‘economical’ is significantly higher in AJA online news articles compared to BBA. In contrast, BBA online news article on TR carry a higher number of thematic call words of ‘social’ compared to AJA.

<b>Thematic Word</b>	<b>AJA</b>	<b>BBA</b>
Political	53	47
Social	21	16
Economic	18	14
Religion	5	2

Table 3.8: Frequency of thematic call words in news articles of ER.

Similar to the result of thematic call words frequency for the news articles on TR, the ‘political’ theme recorded the highest number of frequencies in both AJA and BBA. In contrast, the ‘religion’ theme was recorded the lowest number of frequencies in the two news outlets. This

indicates that most of the news articles in AJA and BBA were related to the political issues in Tunisia and Egypt.

## 2- Lexical Collocations of Significant Words.

In the analysis of lexical collocations, it focuses on two crucial linguistic elements, namely: the verbs following of significant word and the associated words of the significant word. As the study focuses on how the antagonist and protagonist being portrayed in the Arabic online news, the important words are 'protestor', which represents the antagonist, while 'Ben Ali' represents the significant words for the protagonist of TR and 'Mubarak' as the ER protagonist.

### Verbs Collocation.

In AJA's articles on TR, the verbs following 'protestors' as a subject were found mostly to be dynamic verbs (action verbs) with positive connotations such as 'asked', 'raised', 'gathered', 'protected', 'negotiated', 'shouted' and 'run'. In contrast, the verbs following 'Ben Ali' were static verbs which usually refer to a static state or unchanging condition. For example:

- *Ben Ali 'denies' the accusations.*
- *He (Ben Ali) 'promises' Tunisian a major reform.*
- *Ben Ali 'understands' the people demands. and*
- *He (Ben Ali) 'recognised' the need for change.*

Furthermore, it is found that many verbs following 'Ben Ali' are promoting negative connotations such as: fired, ignores, dismissed, accused, fought and prohibited. The concordance analysis on BBA online news articles of TR, on the other hand, showed that the verbs following 'Ben Ali' as a subject were found using action verbs with a positive connotation. For instance, verbs: 'released', 'investigated', 'elected', 'contacted', 'discussed', 'monitored', 'worked', 'launched' and 'produced'. In contrast, the action verbs associated with the 'protestor' come with negative connotations such as: 'clashed', 'burn', 'struggled',

‘attacked’, ‘vandalised’, ‘smashed’, ‘threw’, ‘killed’, ‘suicided’, ‘departed’, ‘arrested’, ‘broke’ and ‘targeted’.

Moving into the AJA online news articles on ER, the concordance analysis also found that the verbs following ‘protestors’ as subject mostly dominated by dynamic action verbs with positive connotations. Hence, the collocation of word ‘protestors’ is associated with verbs: ‘gathered’, ‘joined’, ‘raised’, ‘controlled’, ‘concurred’, ‘gained’, ‘repeated’, ‘protected’, ‘challenged’, ‘prayed’, ‘marched’, ‘participated’ and ‘took over’. In contrast, the verbs following ‘Mubarak’ as a subject were static verbs such as: ‘worried’, ‘sad’, ‘promised’, ‘ignored’, ‘understand’, ‘recognised’, ‘denied’ and ‘dismissed’ which mostly promote negative connotations on Mubarak. In addition, the dynamic verbs which indicate verb of action attached to ‘Mubarak’ come with negative connotations, namely verbs: ‘step down’, ‘departed’, ‘manipulated’, ‘lied’, ‘rejected’, ‘clinging (to power)’, ‘tremble’, ‘suppressed’ and ‘warned’.

In comparison, the concordance analysis of the verbs following ‘protestors’ as the subject in BBA news articles reveals that is was associated with action verbs promoting negative connotations. Hence, the verbs following ‘protestors’ in BBA articles are: ‘fight’, ‘arrested’, ‘surrounded’, ‘burned’, ‘smashed’, ‘attacked’, ‘chased’, ‘assaulted’, ‘teased’, ‘injured’ and ‘killed’. This is in the opposite when compared to the verbs following ‘Mubarak’ as a subject which was dominated with dynamic action verbs which promoting positive connotations. Hence, the verbs ‘answered’, ‘full-filled’, ‘appointed’, ‘selected’, ‘released’, ‘protected’, ‘investigated’, ‘explained’, ‘elaborated’, ‘visited’, ‘discussed’, ‘welcomed’ and ‘supporters’ are promoting positive meanings on ‘Mubarak’.

In AJA, ‘Protestor’ are almost subjects of the sentences, for example:

- *The ‘protestors’ continue to march against the regime.*
- *The ‘protestors’ chanted the slogan supporting the demands.*
- *The ‘protestors’ send a clear message to the government.*
- *Millions of ‘protestors’ gathered in Tahrir Square.*

However, when the ‘protestors’ are objects of the sentences, they are mostly victims, as an act of violence was carried out against them. For instance,

- *The Army sticks with the order for not using violence on the protestors anymore.*
- *The government was supporting the hidden hands which depressed the protestors.*
- *The military unit has prevented the protestors from entering Tahrir Square.*
- *Several protestors have been killed as a result of a violent clash.*
- *A report said that the police had shotted several protestors.*
- *During the operation, some of the protestors have severely injured, and others have been arrested.*

Other verbs which follow the word ‘protestors’ as objects are: ‘negotiated’, ‘dialogue/talk to’, ‘understand’ and ‘listen to’ which encourage the subject to deal with the object (protestors) peacefully and adequately. In comparison, concordance analysis of ‘Ben Ali’ and ‘Mubarak’ as an object in the AJA showed that the associated verbs mainly provide a meaning of putting pressures on them to fulfil the protestors’ demands. Hence, the verbs: ‘demanded’, ‘asked’, and ‘ousted’ are working with ‘Ben Ali’ as an object in the sentence. While verbs: ‘advised’, ‘urged’, ‘departed’, ‘stop’, ‘must end’ and ‘left’ are working with ‘Mubarak’ as the object in sentences. It is worth to note that the verb ‘departed’ recorded highest frequency (18 times) when ‘Mubarak’ is an object in the sentences.

Moving into BBA by focusing on the following verbs when the ‘protestors’ are the object in the sentences, shows mostly the Tunisian authority has taken a proper way in dealing with the protestors. Hence, the verbs following the ‘protestors’ are: ‘released’, ‘prevented’, ‘controlled’, ‘deal’, ‘advised’, ‘called upon’, ‘offered’, ‘intercepted’ and ‘objected’. However, in BBA news articles on ER, it is found that the ‘Egyptian’ protestors have become victims when they are objects in sentences. For example:

- *The police shoot rubber bullets towards protestors*
- *The fight happened between police and protestors near one of the mosques in Cairo*
- *Egyptian army prevented protestors from entering the building of the Egyptian Home Ministry*
- *Casualties have been reported among the protestors after the clash*
- *The Egyptian government will take serious action in dealing with protestors*
- *The police used tear gas to dismiss the protestors*

In the BBA online news report, 'Ben Ali' is mostly subject in sentences. However, it is not a case for 'Mubarak' which appears as subject and object in the news articles. When 'Mubarak' become the object, the verb 'depart' occurred most frequently. The verb 'depart' occurred nineteen (19) times, in the news articles for concordance analysis, 14 times of it attached to 'Mubarak' as the object, while another five times the subject is 'the regime' as a whole. Other verbs follow 'Mubarak' as a subject in sentences are: 'urged', 'emphasised', 'encouraged', 'increased', 'called upon' for example:

- *The United States increased pressure on Mubarak for reform.*
- *The oppositions called upon Mubarak to step down.*
- *The European leaders encouraged Mubarak to listen to his people.*

### **Associated Words**

The word 'protestors' repeated 20 times in AJA news articles on TR and mostly associated with moderate words which centred around their demands. Hence, the words 'rights' repeated 18 times, 'unemployment' (12 times), march (11 times), demand (11 times), corruption (seven times), slogan (six times) and freedom (five times). Other associated words which recorded slightly lower number of frequency are: 'dialogue', 'cost (living)', 'unions', 'youth', 'streets', 'leaders', 'violent' and 'casualties'. In contrast, the word 'Ben Ali' repeated 37 times and mostly associated with words of negative impression. For instance: 'injustice', 'restriction', '(lack of) freedom', 'punishment' and 'unbalance (development)'. Other associate words are words related to Ben Ali as the head of Tunisia, for example: 'government', 'country', '(national) television', 'speech', 'election', '(political) party', 'authority', 'minister' and 'law'. Moving into BBA news articles on TR, it found that the word 'protestors' repeated 32 times. In contrast to AJA, the associated words of 'protestors' are mostly promoting negative impressions. Hence, the word 'disorder' repeated (18 times), 'violent' (13 times), 'chaos' (12 times). Other associated words which promote negative impressions are: 'stone', 'glasses',

‘vandalism’, ‘clashes’, ‘fights’, ‘death’ and ‘injuries’. In contrast, the word ‘Ben Ali’ which was repeated 40 times in the news articles mostly associated with positive words such as: ‘opportunities’, ‘jobs’, ‘foods’, ‘necessities’, ‘promise’, ‘investments’, ‘freedom’ and ‘rights’. The concordance analysis of associated words for ‘protestors’ which specifically attached to ‘Egyptian Protestors’ are: ‘Martyrs’, ‘poverty’, ‘activists’, ‘Fridays’, ‘prayer’, ‘mosque’, ‘square’, ‘emergency (law)’, ‘inflation’ and ‘internet’. Similar to word ‘Ben Ali’, the associated words of ‘Mubarak’ which repeated (112 times) mostly are negative words. For instance: ‘regime’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘unjust’, ‘anger’, ‘inheritance’, ‘pressure’, ‘violent’, ‘disorder’ and ‘suppression’.

Slightly different from the associate word of ‘protestors’ in BBA online news on TR, the outlet news articles on ER show that the ‘Egyptian Protestors’ are associated with both negative and moderate words. The negative words are: ‘turmoil’, ‘chaos’, ‘injuries’, ‘casualties’, ‘stones’, ‘fire’, ‘weapons’, ‘prisoners’ and ‘thugs’. Furthermore, the moderate words are: ‘dialogue’, ‘negotiation’, ‘right’, ‘mosque’, ‘prayers’, ‘civilians’ and ‘youth’. Also, the word ‘Mubarak’ which repeated 105 times in BBA online news is mostly associated with authoritative tasks. For instance: ‘ministers’, ‘government’, ‘promises’, ‘pledges’, ‘reforms’, ‘meetings’, ‘television’, ‘steps’, ‘procedures’, ‘urgent’, ‘statement’, ‘arm force’ and ‘law’.

### **3.6 Results of Content Analysis.**

The content analysis is an extension of the concordance analysis in stage II of the preliminary analysis. This is done by selecting 20 news articles out of 70 involved in the concordance analysis. Those 20 news articles which constitute ten news articles from each news outlets are distributed equally between the two revolutions. The contents analysis focuses on linguistic features, namely: the themes, referents, contexts and sources used to construct the online news. These linguistic features help to determine the journalist attitude toward the uprising events in

Tunisian and Egyptian. To begin with, the results of content analysis on five online news articles from AJA of TR are as follow:

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Referents</b>	<b>Context</b>
1) Marches in Tunisia...	18/12/2010	Protestors demands	Sidi Bouzid residents	Economy and social
2) Demands to Release the Sanction...	20/12/2010	Stiff action against Protestor	Sidi Bouzid residents	Politic and Social
3) Ben Ali Warns the Troublemakers...	29/12/2010	Ben Ali's response to the Protestors	Security force Protestors and government	Politic and Social
4) Supports for Protestors...	30/12/2010	The widespread of Protestors	Opposition and protestors	Politic and Social
5) Ben Ali Sacks his Governor...	30/12/2010	Changes in the government	Government and Protestors	Politic and Social

Table 3.9: Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in Five AJA articles on TR.

In comparison, the results of content analysis on five online news articles from BBA on TR are as follow:

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Referents</b>	<b>Context</b>
1) Killed and Injuries...	24/12/2010	Violent Protests Caused Casualties	Protestors and police	Politic
2) The Fights Continues...	26/12/2010	Violent continue	Protestors and police	Politic and social
3) Ben Ali: The Protests...	28/12/2010	Ben Ali condemned the protests	Protestors	Politic and social
4) Ben Ali Make Changes...	29/12/2010	Full filling protestors' demand	Government and protestors	Politic and social
5) Tunisia: Ben Ali Promises...	13/12/2010	Ben Ali's promises	Protestors and government	Politic and social

Table 3.10: Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in five BBA article on TR.

### **Themes:**

As mentioned in the table (3.8) above, the AJA's articles are centred around the protests and protestors (article 1,2 and 4) by reporting their demands, actions taken against them and the widespread of protests. Another theme of AJA online news focuses on the Tunisian government



actions as a result of protests. In contrast, the articles (1,2 and 3) of BBA focus on the negative sides of the uprising events by highlighting the casualties and violent during the protests. While articles (4 and 5) reported on the government efforts to full fill the protestors' demands.

### **Referents:**

In general, the main referents in news articles of AJA and BBA are the Tunisian's protestor and the Tunisian government. However, AJA specifically refers to Sidi Bouazid's residents in their news articles during the early stage of the revolution. Other referents are included, the Tunisian opposition and Tunisian security forces.

### **Context:**

The political context dominated all ten articles of AJA and BBA as started in the tables above. Besides, the news articles also refer to social issues in addition to political issues. However, the article (1) of AJA highlighted the economic and social issues without many referents to political issues.

Moving into the outlet's articles on ER, by focusing on the content analysis results of five news articles of AJA as detailed in the table below:

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Referents</b>	<b>Context</b>
1) ElBaradei: The Regime is Shaking.	25/1/2011	Egyptian opposition united against Mubarak	Mubarak and oppositions	Politic
2) Obama Urges...	27/1/2011	International pressure on Mubarak	Mubarak and protestors	Politic
3) Mubarak Dissolved His Government...	29/1/2011	Changes in government after Protests	Egyptian government and protestors	Politic
4) Qardhawiy Calls...	29/1/2011	Call for Mubarak to step down	Mubarak and protestors	Politic
5) ElBaradei Calls...	29/1/2011	Calls for Mubarak to step down	Mubarak and protestors	Politic

Table 3.11: Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in five AJA articles on ER.

In comparison, the results of content analysis on five news articles of BBA focusing on ER are detailed in the table below:

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Referents</b>	<b>Context</b>
1) Friday of Anger...	28/1/2011	Enforcement of Emergency law to prevent mass protestors	Mubarak and protestors	Politic
2) Egypt: Protests Continue...	29/1/2011	Change in government after protests	Mubarak and protestors	Politic
3) Egypt: The West Demands...	29/1/2011	International pressures on Mubarak	Mubarak and protestors	Politic
4) Egyptian Situations...	29/1/2011	International pressures on Mubarak	Mubarak and protestors	Politic
5) Egypt: Appointment of Vice President...	29/1/2011	Change in government after protests	Mubarak and protestors	Politic

Table 3.12: Results of the analysis of themes, reference and context in five BBA article on ER.

### **Theme:**

It is found the online news articles of AJA and BBA on ER share many similarities in term of theme particularly on the two themes, namely: The international pressures on Mubarak and secondly, changes in the Egyptian government as a result of protests. However, articles (4 and 5) of AJA focus on the call for Mubarak to step down, which is one of the main demands made by the Egyptian protestors. On the other hand, the articles (1) BBA focuses on the enforcement of emergency law by the Egyptian authority to prevent the widespread of protests.

### **Referents:**

The news articles from two outlets mostly shared the same referents, namely Mubarak and the protestors. In addition to that, AJA articles have referred to the Egyptian opposition and the Egyptian government.

## Sources:

In term of the sources used in the online news articles and their quoting technique, the content analysis revealed another exciting result. The following tables illustrate the use of sources and quoting technique utilised in AJA and BBA.

### a) AJA:

	Title	Sources	Quoting Technique
1	Marches in Tunisia...	1) Eyewitness 2) Oppositions	Indirect Indirect
2	Demands to Release the Sanction...	1) Oppositions 2) Labour Unions	Indirect Indirect
3	Ben Ali Warns the Troublemakers...	1) Ben Ali 2) Ruling Party 3) Oppositions	Indirect & Scared Quote Indirect & Scared Quote Indirect
4	Supports for Protestors...	1) Oppositions 2) Unions	Direct & Indirect Direct & Indirect
5	Ben Ali Sacks his Governor...	1) Ben Ali 2) Oppositions	Indirect Indirect
6	Qardhawiy Calls...	Qardhawiy	Direct & Indirect
7	ElBaradei Calls...	ElBaradei	Indirect
8	Mubarak Dissolved His Government...	1) Mubarak 2) Oppositions 3) Ruling Party	Indirect & Scared Quote Direct & Indirect Indirect & Scared Quote
9	Obama Urges...	1) Foreign Leaders 2) Arab Leaders 3) Foreign Media	Direct & Indirect Direct & Indirect Direct
10	ElBaradei: The Regime is Shaking.	ElBaradei	Direct

Table 3.13: The use of sources and the quoting technique in AJA.

In comparison, Table 3.12 below details the analysis results on the use of sources and quoting technique used in BBA news articles.

	<b>Title</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Quoting Technique</b>
1	Killed and Injuries...	1) Tunisian authority 2) Unions	Direct & Indirect Indirect
2	The Fights Continues...	1) Tunisian authority 2) Oppositions	Indirect & Strategic Quote Indirect & Scared Quote
3	Ben Ali: The Protests...	1) Ben Ali 2) Tunisian authority 3) Unions	Direct & Indirect Indirect Indirect
4	Ben Ali Make Changes...	1) Ben Ali 2) Unions	Indirect & Strategic Quote Indirect
5	Tunisia: Ben Ali Promises...	1) Ben Ali 2) Tunisian authority	Direct Indirect
6	Egypt: Protests Continue...	1) Egyptian authority 2) Foreign Media	Indirect Indirect
7	Egypt: The West Demands...	1) Western Leader 2) Arab Leaders	Direct & Indirect Direct & Indirect
8	Friday of Anger...	1) Mubarak 2) Foreign Media 3) Eyewitness	Indirect Indirect Indirect
9	Egyptian Situations...	Western Leader	Direct
10	Egypt: Appointment of Vice President...	1) Egyptian authority 2) Foreign Media 3) Bedouin Protestors	Indirect Indirect Indirect

Table 3.14: The use of Source and Quoting Technique in BBA.

It is found that AJA prefers to utilised sources from the antagonists rather than the authorities' sources. This approach is used by the outlet in their news coverage of both the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. Hence, in news articles 'March in Tunisia' the source from Tunisian opposition was used to provide details on the events. The sources from Ben Ali has been used in two news articles, namely 'Ben Ali Warns the Troublemakers' and 'Ben Ali Sacks Governor of Sidi Bouazid'. In the new articles of the Egyptian revolution, the sources from Mubarak and his party have only being used through indirect quotations. In comparison, the voices of Qardhawi and ElBaradei who loudly called for Mubarak to step down have been quoted directly. Similarly, the sources of foreign leaders, particularly President Obama, has been quoted directly.

BBA, on the other hand, prefers to utilise the authority sources rather than the antagonists. Hence, the voice of Tunisian authority, particularly President Ben Ali, Tunisian ministers and security forces have been quoted directly and indirectly. However, the voice of Tunisian unions which show their support to the protestor has only been reported using indirect quote. The thing has slightly changed in BBA news articles on the Egyptian revolution. While, the sources from Egyptian authority such as President Mubarak, Egyptian ministers, Egyptian arm force and the police still have been used through direct and indirect quotation, the sources of foreign leaders and foreign media have been used to balance the authoritative sources. Most of the time, the sources of foreign leaders were used to put pressures on Mubarak and his government to listen to protestors' demands.

The following table lists the number of quotes based on the source categorisation in AJA before comparing it with BBA.

<b>Source Categorisation</b>	<b>Number of Quotes</b>	<b>Direct Quoting</b>	<b>Indirect Quoting</b>
Authority	18	2	16
Antagonists	62	20	42
Foreign Leaders	23	9	14
Eyewitness	3	1	2
Foreign Media	6	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>76</b>

Table 3.15: Categorisation of the sources used in news articles of AJA.

The above table shows that antagonist's sources dominated the sources categorisation in AJA news articles. It is also the most reported using a direct quotation. Hence, provided the authority to the ideas which are mainly the protestors' demand to be discussed by the outlet's journalists in the news articles. The voice of antagonist furthermore being emphasised through the sources of foreign leaders, foreign international media and eyewitness sources. For comparison, the following table lists the number of quotes based on the source categorisation in BBA.

<b>Source Categorisation</b>	<b>Number of Quotes</b>	<b>Direct Quoting</b>	<b>Indirect Quoting</b>
Authority	64	10	54
Antagonists	15	1	14
Foreign Leaders	32	9	13
Eyewitness	9	2	7
Foreign Media	16	1	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>103</b>

Table 3.16: Categorisation of the sources used in the news articles of BBA.

The above table shows that the authority sources recorded the highest number of quotes followed by the source of foreign leaders. In contrast, the source of eyewitness and the source of antagonists recorded the lowest number of quotes at nine and sixteen total number of quotes, respectively. This shows that BBA prefers to utilise the voice of authority who hold the recognised political positions rather than the voice of antagonists. It is also worth to note that BBA pays much attention to the source of foreign leaders by reporting on them using mostly direct quotation (19 times out of a total of 32 times). Thus, showed the outlet was including the international sources in reporting on the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions.

### 3.7 Conclusion

The present chapter shows the result of three preparatory analysis namely, the archive search, the concordance analysis and the content analysis. Firstly, the archive search offers the contextualization of the investigated discourses which focus on the online news discourse of the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. The result of archive search revealed that the two revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt have attracted vast media attention by both media outlets. Hence, AJA and BBA have provided comprehensive news reports of the revolutions' events. Secondly, the concordance analysis furthermore provides the evidence which is going to be

explained through the linguistic analysis of CDA. Thus, the portrayal of the social events (the protests), and the social actors (the protestors and the governments) in AJA and BBA can be emphasised based on the results of the concordance analysis. Finally, the content analysis focuses on themes, referents, contexts, and the image of antagonist and protagonist portrayed in the online news articles. All in all, the results of concordance analysis and content analysis revealed that both outlets have distinctive linguistics features which differentiate between their news coverage of the revolution events.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESULTS ANALYSIS OF LEXICALISATION AND PRESUPPOSITION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The chapter aims to answer the sub-research question two (SR2), which deals with the strategies in discourse construction around the Arabic online news coverages on the so-called 'Arab Spring' of Tunisia and Egypt. The SR2 is related to Question One, Two and Three of the present research. Drawing on Fairclough's (1992) theoretical framework which is based on three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice, the study first examines textual and discursive practice features to analyse the data textually and discursively. Then, my analysis will focus on the third dimension of the critical analysis, which is discussed separately after retaining the details of textual and discourse analysis. The choice of textual and discursive practice features that are examined in the study is based on the findings of an initial pilot study which was carried out on August 2015 that showed that three textual strategies and one discursive practice strategy provided the most interesting results. Thus, the tools for textual analysis include:

- a) lexicalisation and predication
- b) presupposition
- c) verbal processes and for discursive practice:
- d) intertextuality.

Accordingly, the results and discussion on items a) and b) on lexicalisation and presupposition are discussed in the current chapter (Chapter Four), while Chapter Five focuses on the verbal processes. Furthermore, Chapter Six discusses the results of intertextuality, and finally, Chapter



Seven discusses the sociocultural practice. Thus, in the following, I will begin with the textual analysis by focusing on the lexicalisation and predication.

## **4.2 Lexicalisation and predication**

The analysis of lexicalisation involves studying the denotations and connotations of lexical items. Such analysis is significant because “words convey the imprint of society and of value judgments in particular” (Richardson, 2007: 47). Since two or more expressions do not convey precisely the same meaning, or at least have different connotations, “vocabulary encodes ideology, systems of beliefs about the way the world is organised” (Fowler, 1987: 69). A classic example of the interrelation between lexicalisation and ideology is the use of 'freedom fighter' vs 'terrorist' (Kress, 1983) or in this study between the use of 'martyr' vs 'suicide'. Thus, naming is one of the lexicalisation strategies used in media discourse. It refers to how social actors are referred to which "can signal the type of relationship between the namer and the named" (Richardson, 2007:49).

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) explain that referential strategies establish an identification of ingroups and outgroups through membership categorisation devices. Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (1979: 200) state that “the different possibilities [of naming] signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation.” As a result, the ingroup is often described in detail, while the outgroup is marginalised by providing little or no detail in their description. Members of the ingroup are also sometimes referred to using terms of politeness that "indexes a particular social status" (Blommaert, 2005: 11). For instance, President Ben Ali was described in detail about his achievement in developing Tunisia to become a prosperous

moderate country in the region. In contrast, there is almost no detail provided about the Tunisian opposition leaders who criticised Ben Ali's political policies.

My analysis also focuses on predication strategies which "appear in stereotypical, evaluative attributions of positive or negative traits and implicit or explicit predicates" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 27). Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 55) identify specific forms through which predications are realised which include: forms of reference, attributes, predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/ pronouns, collocations, and explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures. Labelling implies categorisation based on ideological grounds and also involves a dichotomy between the ingroup and outgroups. Thus, describing different social actors negatively or positively gives insights into group affiliations. For instance, the Islamic preachers who encouraged the Egyptian protesters during the Friday prayers have been referred with the title 'sheikh'. Hence, they acknowledged their religious and social status, which eventually authorised their voices. Relevant to the distinction between the ingroup and outgroup in terms of referential and predication strategies is van Dijk's 'ideological square' which is based on positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation; thus, positive referential and predication strategies are associated with Us, and negative ones are associated with Them (van Dijk, 1998).

#### **4.3 Naming Strategy in the 2011 Tunisian Revolution**

The analysis in Chapter Sixth, Seventh and Eighth will be more focus on the Arabic online news articles published by AJA and BBA during the most crucial time of the 2011 revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. This crucial time is chosen because it is the time when most of the clashes and struggles happened between the ruling powers in Tunisia and Egypt and their antagonists. This crucial time also is the perfect time frame for analysing the different discourse strategies

utilised by the two online news outlets and tracking changes of discourse concerning the power struggles in Tunisia and Egypt during the so-called the 'Arab Spring'. Therefore, the researcher identifies that the most crucial time during the 2011 TR is the early stage of the uprising when the people of Sidi Bouazid in a remote area of Tunisia went down to their street and voiced out their protest against the local authorities. This protest came as a result of Bouazizi 'strange' act of protest by putting fire on himself on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010. Thus, in this section, the textual analysis will focus on the Arabic online news articles published by two online news outlets of AJA and BBA from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011. This time frame which constitutes the 'time of crisis' for the 2011 TR has been extended to add an extra of two weeks (fourteen days) after President Ben Ali left Tunisia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011. These 'additional days' are essential in order to give enough time to trace the discourse change. In other words, the time of crisis for the 2011 TR has been slightly expanded in order to track if the two online news outlets have changed their discourse strategies after the change of power took place in Tunisia after President Ben Ali fled the country and live in exile in Saudi Arabia.

Based on Fairclough's (1992) theoretical framework and the additional details provided by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the textual analysis of AJA and BBA online news report during the time of crisis reveals many distinctive differences in utilising naming strategy. These differences revealed the ideology practised by the outlets, which also reflected by their choice of side during the Tunisian conflict. Thus, the following section will highlight the comparison between the naming strategy used by AJA and BBA in details.

### **1) Ben Ali vs the Antagonists**

There are several political groups and non-political movements in Tunisia which are widely being reported by AJA and BBA during the 2011 TR. However, these groups and movements

can be divided into two main groups based on their position during the time of crisis in the TR (Ismail *et al.*, 2018). The first group was led by Ben Ali and his political party of CDR, the ruling party of Tunisia during the uprising. In addition, CDR received great supports from other Tunisian legalised political parties such as Unionist Democratic Union (UDU) and Popular Unity Party (PUP). In contrast, the second group is dominated by Tunisian opposition (mostly banned political parties) namely Ennahda Movement, Progressive Democratic Party (PDP), Congress for the Republic (CPR), Ettakatol or Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties (FDTL) and Tunisian Workers Party. This second group also consists of several non-political movements such as: Tunisian Labour Union, teacher's union, lawyer's union and many more. Beside these opposition parties and non-political movements, there are the protestors who consist of ordinary Tunisian participated in the mass protests against the government. In short, during the 2011 TR, the 'first group' which consists of Ben Ali and his allies from the ruling party have faced severe challenges from the 'second group' of pro-revolution. In other words, the 2011 TR had revealed the clash between two Tunisian main political forces, mainly when the Tunisian oppositions started to utilise the uprising to launch their attacks against Ben Ali and other CDR party leaders. Thus, AJA and BBA have chosen their side between these two forces which can be revealed from analysing the naming strategies used by both online news outlets.

AJA tends to highlight on the banned Tunisian oppositions by associating their party or movement names with the word 'banned' (Maḥzūra محظورة). In comparison, BBA was keened to highlight the ruling party of Tunisia CDR and other associated political parties which enjoy an excellent relationship with President Ben Ali. Thus, BBA always mentions CDR as 'the ruling party' الحزب الحاكم. Furthermore, if AJA associates Tunisian opposition names with the 'banned' term, BBA, in contrast, associates Tunisian political parties closely link to Ben Ali

with 'legalised' (shar'iyya) شرعية. For example, AJA reported about the CPR party and labelled it as the 'banned party':

وكان حزب المؤتمر من أجل الجمهورية المعارض -وهو حزب محظور- قد دعا إلى إضراب وطني  
(The pro-Republican Congress Party for the Republic has called for a national strike)  
20/12/2010

Similarly, when reporting about the Ennahda Movement, AJA stated the party as 'banned party'. For instance, AJA report dated 20<sup>th</sup> December 2010:

كما حذرت حركة النهضة -المحظورة أيضا- من تداعيات الأحداث  
*Ennahda also warned of the repercussions of the events*

Tunisian Workers Party also being labelled as the 'banned party':

من جهته أدان حزب العمال الشيوعي التونسي المحظور بدوره  
*The outlawed Tunisian Communist Workers' Party, in turn, condemned the ban*

In contrast, Tunisian legalised oppositions have been labelled as 'close to the authority' to indicate that the parties were working closely with CDR party the then ruling party of Tunisia. Hence, these opposition parties were allowed to politically active in Tunisia, while other opposition parties which constantly criticise Ben Ali and his government have been barred. AJA, for example, described Unionist Democratic Union party (UDU) as:

اعتبر حزب الاتحاد الديمقراطي الوحدوي (مقرب من السلطة)  
*Considered the Unionist Democratic Union Party (close to power)* 20/12/2010

BBA, on the other hand, labelled these opposition parties which enjoy special privilege because of their cooperation with the Tunisian government as the 'legalised party'. BBA reported, for example:

وانتقد الحزب الاجتماعي الليبرالي من المعارضة الشرعية والذي يمثل ثمانية نواب في البرلمان  
*He criticized the Liberal Social Party of the legitimate opposition, which is represented by eight deputies in parliament.* 26/12/2010

In another report, the 'legalised' Tunisian oppositions have been mentioned in BBA's online news report with a description on them:

وكذلك انتقدت احزاب معارضة شرعية اخرى ليست ممثلة في البرلمان  
*Other opposition parties which do not representator in parliament also criticised.* 26/12/2010

The difference in labelling these two opposing groups of the 'legalised' and the 'banned' during the 2011 TR indicates the struggles between the two opposing groups for power to achieve hegemony. Ben Ali, his allies from CDR party and other associated parties, including the 'legalised oppositions' were the dominant power in Tunisia for almost 23 years. In the 2011 TR, the 'banned' oppositions have managed to gain their strength in order to challenge the hegemony of Ben Ali. From the naming strategy used by two online news outlets, it is found that AJA selects to be with the 'banned' opposition groups by highlighting the term of 'banned' when mentioning about the Tunisian oppositions. AJA not only tried to show their sympathy to these Tunisian oppositions but also to highlight the political restrictions in Tunisia under the rule of President Ben Ali (Ismail *et al.*, 2018). Hence, the Tunisian oppositions were not allowed to practise their political rights. In contrast, BBA focuses on the ruling party and 'legalised' Tunisian oppositions to emphasise that these are the recognised political groups in Tunisia, while others are considered as outlaws. Thus, revealed that BBA has opted to be with the Tunisian government's side, while AJA selected to support the Tunisian antagonists.

## **2) Mohamed Bouazizi vs Unemployed young man**

Mohamed Bouazizi was a Tunisian street vendor and considered as a vital name during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution (TR). On 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, he put fire on himself to show his protest against the restrictions forced on him by the Sidi Bouzid local authorities. His action has inspired many Tunisian, particularly other unemployed young men and university graduates, to show their protest on the issues of unemployment. Although Mohamed Bouazizi is considered as among the critical figure during the 2011 TR and his act of protest has inspired others to start the TR, AJA and BBA have different strategies in referring and labelling Mohamed Bouazizi himself and his action on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010. Hence, these differences

signal different assessments by the outlets' journalist of his relationship with the person referred to in the news texts. Moreover, it indicates the formality or intimacy of the situation.

Looking at the Arabic online news texts from AJA and BBA published during the time of crisis (from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011) revealed the differences between AJA and BBA in referring to Mohamed Bouazizi and naming him. Since the very beginning of Tunisian uprising, AJA referred to Bouazizi by his full name “Mohamed Bouazizi” when reporting about his injury caused by his protest on his local authorities after been restricted from his selling his goods. For instance, AJA reported on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2010:

مظاهرات احتجاج اندلعت يوم الجمعة الماضي في أعقاب إقدام شاب يدعى محمد البوعزيزي (26 عاما) على إحراق نفسه أمام مقر محافظة المدينة احتجاجا على تعرضه للضرب

*(Protests broke out last Friday after a young man, Mohamed Bouazizi, 26, set himself on fire in front of the city's governorate headquarters in protest of being beaten)*

This news extract indicates that AJA providing detail information on Bouazizi by mentioning his name in full and his age. Similarly, in another news report, Bouazizi is being referred with his name.

وكان بن علي زار أمس الشاب محمد البوعزيزي الذي يرقد حاليا بأحد مستشفيات تونس العاصمة، لمعالجته  
*(Ben Ali visited yesterday Mohamed Bouazizi, who is currently in a Tunis hospital, for treatment) 29/12/2010*

Ultimately, when Bouazizi died on 4<sup>th</sup> January 2011, AJA immediately proclaimed him as the inspiration of the widespread protest and anger in Tunisia which lead to the 2011 TR.

إن عائلة الشاب محمد البوعزيزي الذي أحرق نفسه بسيدي بوزيد وتسبب باندلاع موجة احتجاجات في تونس أكدت وفاته  
*(The family of Mohamed Bouazizi, who burned himself in Sidi Bouzid and sparked a wave of protests in Tunisia, confirmed his death.) 5/1/2011*

Instead of referring to Bouazizi by his name, BBA, in contrast, preferred to label him with his status ‘Tunisian graduate’ جامعي تونسي or his job ‘street vendor’ بائع متجول. Sometimes, Bouazizi being referred anonymously by BBA as ‘a young man’ شاب. For instance, BBA stated in the online news report dated 24<sup>th</sup> December 2010:

وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر/ كانون الاول إثر محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها جامعي تونسي

*(The governorate of Sidi Bouzid has been plagued by social unrest since December 19th following a suicide attempt by Tunisian universities) 24/12/2010*

Bouazizi in this news report only referred to as a 'Tunisian graduate', without mentioning any other additional information to refer to Bouazizi himself specifically. In another news report, Bouazizi was referred by his job (part-time job) as a street vendor.

وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر/كانون الثاني بعد يومين من محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها بائع متجول

*(The province of Sidi Bouzid has been plagued by social unrest since December 19, two days after a street vendor attempted suicide.) 26/12/2010*

Besides, BBA also labelled Bouazizi as an unemployed Tunisian university graduate. For instance, news report dated 26/12/2010:

وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر/كانون الثاني بعد يومين من محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها بائع متجول (خريج جامعي عاطل عن العمل)

*(The governorate of Sidi Bouzid has been plagued by social unrest since December 19, two days after a suicide attempt by a street vendor (an unemployed university graduate).)*

In another news report dated 29/12/2010, Bouazizi has merely being referred anonymously by using the phrase 'a man' or 'a youth.'

اندلعت الاحتجاجات في سيدي بوزيد بعد أن أقدم شاب على إحراق نفسه بسبب البطالة  
*(Protests erupted in Sidi Bouzid after a young man burned himself due to unemployment)*

These news extracts strongly indicate that BBA does not pay much attention to Bouazizi and undermine his action of protest by merely referring to him anonymously without precisely referring to Bouazizi himself. Hence, BBA considered Bouazizi as unimportant, and his incident was a remote case took placed in the remote area of Tunisia which does not deserve much attention in their online news reports. This is to say, BBA has side-lined the protest made by Bouazizi, hence refused to provide many details on the incident although it was a significant event which marked the beginning of the 2011 TR. As a result, BBA on 24/12/2010 reported that the incident in Sidi Bouazid is a 'remote case' and does not deserve much media attention.

واكدت السلطات ان الصدامات لم تكن سوى "حادث معزول".  
*(Authorities said the clashes were "an isolated incident.")*



Once again on 27/12/2010, BBA once again tries to dismiss the importance of protests in Sidi Bouazid and try to accuse the antagonists, particularly the Tunisian oppositions for exploiting the incident for their benefits.

وقللت تونس في الأسبوع الماضي من شأن اشتباكات سيدي بوزيد واتهمت خصومها السياسيين باستغلال الحادث لأغراض سياسية والاثارة.

*(Tunisia last week reduced the clashes of Sidi Bouzid and accused its political opponents of exploiting the incident for political purposes and excitement.)*

By refusing to provide details on Bouazizi indicated that BBA was treating Bouazizi as a member of the 'out-group' which deserved to be marginalized in the online news report. Furthermore, by referring to Bouazizi with his social status, mainly using the label of 'unemployed Tunisian graduate' signalled that the outlet does not treat him with respect. Hence, revealed that BBA was considered Bouazizi as the 'out-group'. BBA only started referring to Bouazizi by his name on 29/12/2010 after President Ben Ali visited him at the hospital.

وقد قام بوعزيزي وهو شاب يعمل بائعا متجولا باحراق نفسه  
*(Bouazizi, a young man who works as a peddler, burned himself)*

However, BBA preferred to mention only his surname (Bouazizi), rather than stating his name in full, as being done by AJA. For instance, BBA reported on 5<sup>th</sup> January 2011 immediately after Bouazizi pass away:

وكان الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي قد زار البوعزيزي في المستشفى الاسبوع الماضي  
*(Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali visited Bouazizi in hospital last week)*

AJA on the other hand, since 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, utilised Bouazizi and his act of protest by referring to him specifically with his full name (name and surname). This indicated the outlet's interest in him by portraying him as a prominent figure which catalyst the protests during 2011 TR. By referring to Bouazizi with his full name and providing details on him indicated that AJA was treating Bouazizi with respect and considered him as the member of 'in-group'. Thus, the outlet acknowledges the importance of his act of protest by burning himself, which ignite the wave of mass protest in Tunisia.

Comparing between the outlets' strategy in referring to Bouazizi with the official Tunisian government reports as stated by the Tunisian government-owned television channel *Tunisie7*<sup>13</sup> and the Tunisian Ministry of Interior<sup>14</sup> revealed that BBA's strategy mirrors the official government report ([www.tap.info.tn](http://www.tap.info.tn)). During the early stage of protest in Sidi Bouazid, the Tunisian official provided very few details of the event, including the detail on Bouazizi<sup>15</sup>. The name Bouazizi only emerged when the government media (including *Tunisie7*) reported on Ben Ali visiting Bouazizi in hospital on 28<sup>th</sup> December 2010 (Gana, 2013). Thus, BBA strategy in referring to Bouazizi without his proper name during the early stage of the protest is similar to the Tunisian government report.

### 3) Protest vs Suicide

Both online news outlets not only differ in term of referring to Bouazizi himself, but they are also different in naming his 'strange' action on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 which not only caused a lot of media attention on him but also caused his death. A protest by setting self on fire is rare not only in Tunisia but also in the whole Arab region in the Middle East and Northern Africa dominated by Muslims (Ismail *et al.*, 2018). Islamic teaching prohibits suicide or self-immolation. By intentionally putting fire on oneself, it can be considered as suicide, and the latter is a great sin in Islam. Thus, AJA carefully labelled Bouazizi action on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 as a 'protest' (i'ḥtijāj) of the local authority after being prohibited from his business activities. In contrary, BBA labelled Bouazizi action as a 'suicide' (i'ntiḥār) which leads to his death.

AJA from the early stage of the 2011 TR has consistently named Bouazizi's action as a 'protest'. For instance, AJA reported:

---

<sup>13</sup> The channel changed its name to 'Watania1' in 2011 as the result of the Revolution ([www.watania1.tn](http://www.watania1.tn)).

<sup>14</sup> Please look for instance the Tunisian Government statement at (<http://opendata.interieur.gov.tn/2011>)

<sup>15</sup> *Tunisie7* provided only short news of the event during the 8p.m newscast.

إقدام شاب يدعى محمد البوعزيزي (26 عاما) على إحراق نفسه أمام مقر محافظة المدينة احتجاجا على تعرضه للضرب  
(Mohamed Bouazizi, 26, burned himself in front of the city's governorate headquarters in protest of being beaten) 20/12/2010

AJA in this news extract labelled Bouazizi's action by putting fire on himself as a 'protest'.

Similarly, in another online news report, AJA once again named Bouazizi's action as a 'protest' after being assaulted by the authority.

يرقد حاليا بأحد مستشفيات تونس العاصمة، لمعالجته في أعقاب محاولته حرقا بإضرار النار في نفسه احتجاجا على تعرضه للضرب

(He is currently in a Tunis hospital for treatment following a burning attempt to set himself on fire in protest against being beaten.) 29/12/2010

In contrast, BBA from the early stage of the uprising has termed Bouazizi's action as a 'suicide'. For example:

وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر / كانون الاول إثر محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها جامعي تونسي

(The governorate of Sidi Bouzid has been plagued by social unrest since December 19 following a suicide attempt by Tunisian universities)

24/12/2010

BBA in this news extract has labelled Bouazizi's act as trying to commit suicide. In another news report, BBA also mentioned that Bouazizi was trying to commit suicide.

وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر / كانون الثاني بعد يومين من محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها بائع متجول

(The province of Sidi Bouzid has been plagued by social unrest since December 19, two days after a street vendor attempted suicide.) 26/12/2010

Ultimately, after he died on 4<sup>th</sup> January 2011, BBA directly mentioned that Bouazizi had committed suicide. BBA reported, for instance:

أن عدد ضحايا الاضطرابات -التي اندلعت في السابع عشر من شهر ديسمبر / أيلول بعد انتحار شاب حرقا- ارتفع "بشكل مأساوي."

(The number of victims of the unrest, which erupted on December 17 after a young man's suicide, rose "dramatically") 11/1/2011

It is noticed from this news extract, after the death of Bouazizi, BBA no longer named Bouazizi's action as 'trying to commit a suicide' but the outlet has directly named his action as a 'suicide'. This was different from AJA's approach, which strategically highlighted Bouazizi's

action as the inspiration for the wave of protest in Tunisia immediately after his death. AJA once reported in detail on Bouazizi's action, which caused the wave of mass protest:

وسكب الشاب الذي يدعى محمد البوعزيزي (26 عاما) البنزين على جسمه وأضرم النار في نفسه أمام مقر ولاية سيدي بوزيد. وقد فجرت هذه الحادثة موجة احتجاجات  
(*The young man, Mohamed Bouazizi, 26, poured gasoline on his body and set himself on fire in front of the Sidi Bouzid governorate headquarters. The incident sparked a wave of protests*)  
9/1/2011

Again, the use of term 'suicide' by BBA in referring to Bouazizi's action matched the Tunisian government report of the incident. *Tunisie*<sup>7</sup> the television channel owned by the government, for instance, used the same wording of suicide in portraying Bouazizi's action which caused his life (www.watania1tn). The same wording also can be traced in the Tunisian government statements released by the Interior Minister of Tunisia (<http://opendata.interiur.gov.tn/2011>). By labelling to Bouazizi action on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 as a 'protest', AJA focused on the aim of his action which is to show his protest and dismissed about the details which may indicate negative connotation (setting self with fire) of his actions in showing his dissatisfaction against the local authority. On the other hand, BBA opted to highlight Bouazizi action by causing his death after setting fire on himself and did not pay much attention to the reason and aim of his 'strange' action (according to the local culture). Furthermore, the use of 'protest' by AJA in referring to Bouazizi's action was aimed to defend by reasoning his brutal and strange action.

Thus, AJA selected to be with Bouazizi's side by defending his action against the local authority as Bouazizi has suffered too much and he does not have any other way to show his anger except setting fire on himself. BBA, in contrast, opted to be with the local authority side by naming Bouazizi act as 'suicide'. By framing Bouazizi's act as suicide, BBA not only portrays the 'strange' action as wrong but also unacceptable among the Arab and Muslim communities. Also, the word 'suicide' not only carry a huge negative connotation as it is clearly against the Islamic teaching and Arab culture but also indicates Bouazizi's action on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 was useless and worthless. Thus, by naming Bouazizi action as a 'protest' and

provide details on the reasons for his action, which sacrificed his life, AJA has treated Bouazizi as the 'in-group' while BBA has considered Bouazizi as the 'out-group' by not only dismissing the importance of his action in causing the wave of mass protest in Tunisia but also by promoting a negative connotation of his action.

#### **4) The protest, Demonstration vs Chaos, Clashes, vandalism and Violent**

No doubt that both Arabic online news outlets of AJA and BBA have widely reported on the 2011 TR particularly during the time of crisis from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011, which is the focus of my analysis. However, each online news outlet has its strategy in reporting the events. AJA named Tunisian mass gathering in various cities of Tunisia during the 2011 TR at least during the early stage of the 2011 TR as 'demonstrations' *Muḏāharāt* مظاهرات and 'protests' *iḥtijājāt* احتجاجات. In comparison, BBA prefers to label the same events during 2011 TR with 'chaos' *fawḏā* فوضى, 'clashes' *muṣādamāt* مصادمات, 'vandalism' *shaghāb* شغب and 'violent' *unf* عنف.

By labelling the event with 'demonstrations' and 'protests', AJA opted to soft-toned the events with more positive names. This reflects AJA supports for the Tunisian people for having their right to voice out their opinions through peaceful demonstrations and protests. Moreover, AJA also named the events as 'people protest' *احتجاجات شعبية* and 'society/community protests' *احتجاجات اجتماعية* to show that the events were originated and participated by the people of Tunisia themselves. Completely differs from AJA, BBA since the beginning of mass protests in Tunisia used more negative terms to label the mass gathering of Tunisian to show their anger during the 2011 TR by utilising terms such as 'chaos' *fawḏā* فوضى, 'clashes' *muṣādamāt* مصادمات, 'turmoil' *اضطرابات*, 'vandalism' *أعمال الشغب*, 'fights' *اشتباكات* and 'violent' *أعمال العنف*. If AJA used the term of 'society protests' to indicate that the people of Tunisia participated the protest, BBA,

in contrast, used the term 'society turmoil' اضطرابات اجتماعية which indicated that the society has suffered from disorders and disturbances caused by the mass protests and demonstrations.

AJA, for instance, positively portrayed the protests in Tunisia as 'popular movement':  
ودخلت المظاهرات المساندة للتحركات الشعبية بسيدي بوزيد يومها الحادي عشر

*(Demonstrations supporting popular movements in Sidi Bouzid entered its eleventh day)*

28/12/2010

Similarly, the outlet labelled the demonstrations as 'protests' which have reached many Tunisian cities. The outlet reported in 28/12/2010:

كما جابت مظاهرات احتجاجية مدن القصيرين في الوسط،  
*(There were also demonstrations in the cities of Kasserine in the central region of Tunisia,)*

Furthermore, the demonstrations have been described positively by AJA using the predicate of 'peaceful'. Hence labelled the uprising event in Tunisia as 'peaceful demonstrations'. AJA reported, for example:

وحذر سياسيون معارضون من مخاطر اللجوء إلى القوة لقمع المظاهرات السلمية  
*(Opposition politicians have warned against the dangers of resorting to force to suppress peaceful demonstrations)* 28/12/2010

Besides, AJA also termed the uprising in Tunisia as 'popular protests' and 'society/community protests'. AJA reported:

وقد فجرت هذه الحادثة موجة احتجاجات اجتماعية في عدة أنحاء من البلاد.  
*(The incident triggered a wave of social protests in several parts of the country.)* 9/1/2011

In another news extract, AJA named the protests as 'popular protests':

البدء فوراً بإجراء تحقيق واف ونزيه بالوفيات والإصابات التي وقعت خلال الاحتجاجات الشعبية  
*(Immediately begin a thorough and impartial investigation into the deaths and injuries that occurred during the popular protests)*  
7/1/2011

In the opposite direction, BBA has opted to highlight the negative side of the uprising events by focusing on the adverse impact of the mass protests. Hence, BBA was keen to describe the event as 'violent' and 'chaos'. For instance:

لجوء "اطراف غير مسؤولة" الى العنف والفوضى  
*("Irresponsible parties" resort to violence and chaos)* 26/12/2010

BBA opted to highlight the casualties among the protestors and the police, who have been wounded and killed. Hence, named the protests as 'clashes' and 'fights':

قتيل وجرحى في اشتباكات بين متظاهرين والشرطة في تونس

*(Killed and wounded in clashes between protesters and police in Tunisia)* 24/12/2010

With the sharp increase in the number of casualties during the protests, BBA named the protests as 'violent clashes' as being reported by the outlet two days later (on 26<sup>th</sup> December 2010)

تجددت المواجهات العنيفة ليل السبت الاحد في ولاية سيدي بوزيد

*(Violent clashes resumed Saturday night in Sidi Bouzid province)* 26/12/2010

In contrast to AJA, which named the protests as 'society protests', BBA selected to name the protests as 'social unrest'.

وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر/ كانون الاول

*(Sidi Bouzid's state has been plagued by social unrest since 19 December)* 24/12/2010

Besides, BBA named the protests as 'riots' and highlighted that Tunisia was free any riot until the uprising started in Tunisia. BBA, for example, mentioned in the online news report:

وتُعد أعمال الشعب نادرة الحدوث في تونس

*(Riots are rare in Tunisia)* 27/12/2010

It is worth to note that after almost three weeks of peaceful demonstration and protests, it is noticed that AJA has started to use the term 'violent clash' when the peaceful protests have turn into violent, and many people have been killed. Thus, on 7<sup>th</sup> January 2011, AJA used the term 'violent clashes' to indicate that the peaceful protest has turned ugly.

أن مواجهات عنيفة دارت ليلة أمس ومازلت مستمرة حتى الآن

*(That violent confrontations took place last night and continue until now.)*

Furthermore, on 9<sup>th</sup> January 2011, AJA once again used the term 'violent clashes' in its online news report:

اندلعت مواجهات عنيفة بين قوات الأمن التونسي ومتظاهرين بولاية القصرين

*(Violent clashes broke out between Tunisian security forces and demonstrators in Kasserine state)*

Ultimately on 14<sup>th</sup> February 2011, AJA used another the term which is 'turmoil' to portray that the protest has turned into the worst.

ودعا في الوقت نفسه إلى وقف إطلاق النار على المحتجين، في محاولة لوقف الاضطرابات التي تشهدها تونس منذ شهر.  
(*At the same time, he called for a ceasefire on the protesters in an attempt to stop the unrest in Tunisia a month ago.*)

It is also found that based on the statically evident, AJA utilised positive names more frequently to name the protest events compared to BBA. The following table lists the frequency of the positive names which have been used by the outlets to label the protests in Tunisia:

Names	Frequency in AJA	Frequency in BBA
Peaceful protests	6	0
Popular protests	10	2
Society protests	9	0

Table 6.1: The Frequency of Positive Names Associated with the Protests

The table shows that AJA has utilised positive labels to name the protests such as 'peaceful protests' and society protests' while BBA avoided using the same labels. Also, the name 'popular protests' was used more frequently in AJA compared to BBA. In contrast, BBA utilised negative names more frequently to name the protest events compared to AJA. The following table (Table 6.2) lists the frequency of the negative labels which have been used by the outlets to label the protests in Tunisia:

Names	Frequency in AJA	Frequency in BBA
Clashes	4	14
Violent	39	60
Chaos	13	22
Turmoil	31	72
Fights	29	41

Table 6.2: The Frequency of Negative Names Associated with the Protests



Hence, the table indicates that BBA has used negative names such as 'turmoil', 'violent' and 'fights' and their derivatives more frequently compared to AJA. It is also revealed that the label of 'turmoil' was the most common name used to term the protests followed by 'violent'.

All in all, by utilising positive names to label the protests in Tunisia, indicated that AJA has showed support to the Tunisian antagonists and considered them as the 'in-group'. Hence, the outlet has provided positive names and labels to promote positive connotations on the protests and the protestors. BBA, on the other hand, opted to highlight the dark side of the protests, which caused many unrest situations in Tunisia. Thus, BBA frequently used negative names to label the protests, which revealed that the outlet has considered the Tunisian antagonists as the 'out-group'. Hence negatively described in the online news reports.

### **5) Protestors, Demonstrators vs Troublemakers, Attackers and Angry Youths**

Once again AJA shows its supports to the people of Tunisia who come down to the street showing their protests during the 2011 TR by purposely labelling them as 'protestors' muḥtajjūn محتجون and 'demonstrators' mutazāhirūn متظاهرون. By using these labels, AJA has recognised the right for the people of Tunisia in expressing their voice through the peaceful gathering. Furthermore, AJA wanted to highlight that these group of people who participated in the mass rally, were merely involved in showing their protests and critics towards the authorities. In contrast to AJA, BBA opted to be with the Tunisian authorities and negatively labelled the group of people who involved in the mass gathering during the 2011 TR as 'troublemakers' muthīrū al-shaghāb مثيرو الشغب, 'attackers' muhājimūn مهاجمون, 'angry youth' shabāb ghazībīn شباب غاضبين. It is also found that based on the statistic evident, AJA utilised positive names more frequently to name the protestors compared to BBA. The following table lists the frequency of the positive names which have been used by the outlets to label the protestors in Tunisia:

Names	Frequency in AJA	Frequency in BBA
Protestors	61	24
Demonstrators	115	47

Table 6.3: The Frequency of Names Associated with the Protestors

The table shows that AJA has utilised more frequent positive labels to name the protestors compared to BBA. Hence, the word ‘protestors’ and ‘demonstrators’ and their derivatives occurred in AJA news reports almost double compared to BBA. In contrast, BBA utilised negative names more frequently to name the protestors compared to AJA. The following table lists the frequency of the negative labels which have been used to label the Tunisian protestors:

Names	Frequency in AJA	Frequency in BBA
troublemakers	0	11
attackers	0	7
angry youth	2	5

Table 6.4: The Frequency of Negative Names Associated with the Protestors

Hence, the table indicates that BBA has used the label ‘angry youth’ more frequently compared to AJA in naming the Tunisian's protestors. It is also revealed that the label of ‘troublemakers’ was the most common negative name used by BBA to term the protests followed by ‘attackers’. While AJA has avoided using these two names to label the protestors. Hence, AJA positively named the protestors as ‘youth protestors’ as mentioned in the online news report dated 20<sup>th</sup> December 2010:

وشهدت أحياء متفرقة من المدينة يوم الأحد اشتباكات متفرقة بين شبان محتجين وقوات الأمن

(Sporadic clashes in the city on Sunday saw sporadic clashes between young protesters and security forces) 20/12/2010

In another news report dated 28<sup>th</sup> December 2010, AJA named the protestors as ‘demonstrators’:

وطالب المتظاهرون بتحقيق فرص تنمية وضمان الحق في العمل

(Demonstrators demanded opportunities for development and the guarantee of the right to work)

In contrast, BBA labelled the protestors as ‘troublemakers’:

ان شخصين من بين "مثيري الشغب" قتلوا الاحد في القصيرين واصيب ثلاثة اخرون

*(On Sunday, two rioters were killed in Kasserine, and three others were wounded)*

9/1/2011

In another news report, the protestors were labelled as 'anger youth':

تفيد الانباء بوقوع مواجهات عنيفة ليل السبت واستمرت الاحد بين قوات الامن ومئات الشبان الغاضبين

*(Violent clashes were reported Saturday night and continued Sunday between security forces and hundreds of angry youths)* 19/12/2010

The protestors also being named as 'attackers' who started to attack the security personnel who forced to defend on themselves.

واضاف البيان ان عناصر الحرس الامني اضطروا بعد ان سعوا الى ردع المهاجمين الى اللجوء الى السلاح في اطار الدفاع المشروع عن النفس.

*("After seeking to deter the attackers, the security guards were forced to resort to weapons as part of legitimate self-defence," the statement said.)* 24/12/2010.

This is to say; BBA utilised the negative side of the uprising events to make a negative generalisation not only on the people who participated in the demonstrations but also on the series of peaceful demonstration events during the 2011 TR itself. By focusing on the negative side of Tunisian uprising events, BBA has distracted from reporting the primary purpose of holding the demonstrations or the reasons for doing it. In addition, BBA was focusing on the destruction, and chaos resulted from the demonstrations rather than demonstrators demands to portray the protest and the protesters negatively at least during the early days of 2011 TR. AJA, on the other hand, detailly reported on the demonstrations by focusing on the demands of protestors, especially for the issues of unemployment among the youth and the resignation of Ben Ali later on. Thus, AJA was focusing on their online news reports on the reasons for the people of Tunisia went out to the street and voice out their dissatisfaction towards the government. Hence, once again revealed that AJA had treated the protestors as the 'in-group' by not only using positive names to label them but also provided details on their actions and listed all their demands. On the other hand, BBA considered the protestors as the 'out-group',

thus labelled them with negative names and highlighted the wrongdoings practised by several protestors during the mass protests. Hence, it promotes negative connotations on the protestors.

#### **4.4 Naming Strategies for the Egyptian Revolution**

The most crucial time during the 2011 ER was the early stage of the uprising when the people of Egypt started to march on their streets and voice their protest against President Mubarak and his government. Thus, this section will examine the Arabic online news articles published by two online news outlets of AJA and BBA from 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 this time frame which constitutes the ‘time of crisis’ for the 2011 ER has been extended to add an extra fourteen days after Mubarak resignation on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011 and fourteen another days before the mass gathering started in Tahrir Square the capital city of Egypt. This extension of the time frame is essential in order to give enough time to trace the discourse change. This means that the time of crisis for the 2011 ER has been slightly expanded in order to track if the two online news outlets have changed their discourse strategy after the change of power took place in Egypt after the resignation of Mubarak. The extra two weeks before the start of first mass gathering at Tahrir Square has also been added to the ‘time of crisis’ of the 2011 ER to provide better coverage of the Egyptian Revolution which was influenced by the change of power in the 2011 TR.

It is observed that the ‘time of crisis’ for the 2011 ER started almost immediately after the 2011 TR reached its peaks when president Ben Ali of Tunisia fled to Saudi Arabia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011. No doubt that the success of 2011 TR in bringing down president Ben Ali from his power after ruling Tunisia for almost 23 years has inspired Egyptian to start their uprising against president Mubarak who was in charge of ruling Egypt for almost 30 years. Thus, it is no surprise for the online news outlets of AJA and BBA to make some changes in their

reporting strategies for the events in 2011 ER based on the result from the 2011 TR. BBA, in particular, has slightly changed their naming strategy to slightly become more neutral without showing any apparent bias in taking side with either one of the two large opposing groups in the vast power clash during the 2011 ER. As a result, the Arabic online news produced by AJA and BBA during the time of crisis for the 2011 ER showed many similarities in the naming strategies utilised by both Arabic online news outlets. The details on these similarities between AJA and BBA are as follow:

### **The Clash of Two Powers.**

The social actors during the time of crisis for 2011 ER can be divided into two large opposing groups. The first group consisted of Mubarak and his allies. Mubarak's main allies namely are his cabinet members, his family particularly his wife, his two sons Alaa and Gamal and the NDP party. The NDP party is the largest political party in Egypt during the time of crisis and hold the power of governing Egypt from 1981 until 2011. Although protests and demonstrations are quite often in Egypt before the 2011 ER, particularly during the 2010 Egyptian Parliament Election, Mubarak and his allies faced a considerable challenge which something unseen before from his antagonists during the 'time of crisis'. These group of antagonists during the 'time of crisis' for ER mainly consists of Egyptian who marched against Mubarak during the uprising, the Egyptian oppositions particularly the largest Egyptian opposition group Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and its political wings of Liberal and Justice Party, various Egyptian political and non-political movements which loudly criticise Mubarak and NDP such as National Council for Change, Kifayah Movement, The 6<sup>th</sup> April Movement and the 6<sup>th</sup> April Youth Movement, We are Khalid Said Movement, human rights, law and social activists and many more.

In a nutshell, during the time of crisis in Egypt, Mubarak and his allies faced severe challenges over their dominant power from the Egyptians who showed their protests and asked Mubarak to step down. Concerning this, the reference strategy (naming strategy) utilised by both online news outlets of AJA and BBA can be critical analyses to reveal the stand of each news outlets during the time of crisis in Egyptian Revolution. Thus, the Arabic online news articles published by AJA and BBA related to the uprising events in Egypt can be examined to identify the position of each online news outlets during the crisis whether they are supporting Mubarak or choose to be with the Egyptian antagonists against Mubarak or taking a neutral stand.

Slightly different from the naming strategies utilised by both online news outlets in their news coverage of the 2011 TR, the online news reports on the 2011 ER by AJA and BBA shared at least two common features in labelling the details of the event. Hence, revealed similar naming strategy used by the online news outlets. These two features are: First, naming the protestors and the protests. Secondly, labelling the critical figures of the revolution.

### **Naming the Protests and Demonstrations in Egypt**

From the Arabic online news articles published by AJA and BBA during the time of crisis, it is found that AJA and BBA named the mass gathering participated by the Egyptian in Cairo and other Egyptian towns as such as Alexandria, Tanta and Damanhur as ‘protests’ ihtijājāt and ‘demonstrations’ muẓāharāt. AJA, for instance, reported:

"تعم المظاهرات والاحتجاجات جميع أنحاء مصر  
(*"Demonstrations and protests pervade all over Egypt*) 28/1/2011

AJA named the protests as ‘protests’ and ‘demonstrations’. Similarly, the term ‘demonstration’ has been used to name the event in another news report:

نجح التدخل الأمني في إجهاض العديد من المظاهرات بمحافظة الإسكندرية

*(The security intervention succeeded in thwarting many demonstrations in Alexandria Governorate) 26/1/2011*

On the same approach, BBA also opted to use the same terms. For instance, BBA reported that the ‘protests’ and ‘demonstrations’ have continued after the Friday prayer:

تواصلت التظاهرات الاحتجاجية في عدد من المدن المصرية بعد صلاة الجمعة  
*(Protests continued in many Egyptian cities after Friday prayers) 28/1/2011*

Similarly, both ‘protests’ and demonstrations’ have been used in BBA’s news report dated 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

واحتشد الالاف من المتظاهرين وسط القاهرة مواصليين احتجاجاتهم وتظاهراتهم ضد الحكومة المصرية  
*(Thousands of demonstrators gathered in downtown Cairo, continuing their protests and demonstrations against the Egyptian government)*

It is also found that BBA has already used the name ‘protests’ to label the mass protests since the first day of the 2011 ER. This can be found in the online news report on the first mass protests in Egypt dated 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

اندلعت الاحتجاجات يوم الثلاثاء 25 يناير / كانون الثاني  
*(Protests broke out on Tuesday (January 25th)*

The similarity between the two outlets continues as both AJA and BBA labelled the people who participated in that mass gathering during the Egyptian Revolution as the ‘protestors’ and the ‘demonstrators’ المتظاهرون. For instance, AJA reported:

وخرج المتظاهرون عقب صلاة الجمعة من المساجد، في العاصمة القاهرة وعواصم المحافظات  
*(After Friday prayers, the demonstrators left mosques in the capital Cairo and provincial capitals) 28/1/2010*

The news extract indicates that AJA named the Egyptian protestors as ‘demonstrators’. In another news report, the name ‘protestors’ has been used:

حيث ردد المحتجون "يا جمال قول لأبوك.. كل الشعب بيكرهوك"،  
*("Jamal tells your father, the people hates him" the protesters chanted.) 28/1/2011*

BBA also named the Egyptian protestors as ‘protestors’ and ‘demonstrators’. BBA, for example, mentioned:

وجاء رد الشرطة على المتظاهرين برشقهم بقنابل الغاز المسيل للدموع

*(Police responded to the demonstrators with tear gas canisters) 1/2/2011*

In another news report by BBA, the name 'protestors' has been used:

وواصل المحتجون منذ ذلك الوقت مظاهراتهم الضخمة بشكل يومي

*(Protesters have since continued their massive demonstrations daily) 1/2/2011*

It is noticed that BBA has changed their naming strategy in their online news reports for the events during the time of crisis in Egypt to become not much different from AJA by labeling the mass gathering as 'protests' and 'demonstrations' rather than 'turmoil', 'chaos', 'riots' and 'clashes' as BBA did in their news reports of the Tunisian Revolution. BBA shared with AJA in naming the antagonists which gathered to show their protests against Mubarak as the 'protestors' and the 'demonstrators', rather than labelling them as 'troublemakers', 'anger youth' and 'attackers' which have been used by BBA in labelling the demonstrators in the 2011 TR news coverage.

### **Labelling the Key Social Actors of the 2011 ER**

Furthermore, BBA utilised the same naming strategy with AJA in referring to key figures from both sides of two opposing groups during the 2011 ER. This is significantly different from both news outlets naming strategy found during the TR. AJA was keener in highlighting their sympathy and support towards the Tunisian opposition banned groups, whereas BBA opted to show their support towards the Tunisian ruling and legitimised groups. In the 2011 ER, both AJA and BBA choose to use a neutral approach to refer to the members of two opposing groups by not using any distinctive label to differentiate any of these two groups further. For instance, both outlets were using the same label to refer to Mubarak as the 'Egyptian President' and mentioned his name as 'Hosni Mubarak'. AJA reported:

تعهد الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك بتكليف حكومة جديدة اليوم



(*Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has pledged to appoint a new government today*)  
29/1/2011

BBA also reported in the same date:

أن منصب رئيس الجمهورية شاغر منذ تولي الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك الحكم  
(*The post of President of the Republic has been vacant since Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak took office*) 29/1/2011

For instance, both outlets were using the same label to refer to Omer Suleiman, the then Vice President of Egypt. AJA, for instance, reported on the formation of the representative of Egyptian opposition to meet with Suleiman:

وشكلوا وفدا لمقابلة عمر سليمان نائب الرئيس  
(*They formed a delegation to meet Vice President Omar Suleiman*) 4/2/11

The same title of Suleiman position (the Vice President) has also being used by BBA. For example:

أعلن نائب رئيس الجمهورية المصري عمر سليمان  
(*Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman announced*) 4/2/2011

The same approach also being applied in referring to other Mubarak's cabinet members. For instance, his Defence Minister Hussein Tantawi. AJA once reported:

بعث الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك وزير دفاعه محمد حسين طنطاوي إلى واشنطن  
(*Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has sent his defence minister, Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, to Washington*) 28/1/2011

BBA also addressed the then Egyptian Defence Minister with the same title of his position in Mubarak's government.

واحتفظ عدد من الوزراء بمناصبهم وهم وزراء الدفاع محمد حسين طنطاوي  
(*Several ministers have retained their posts, likes Defense Minister Mohamed Hussein Tantawi*) 1/2/2011

The same also applied in referring to the critical figures in the antagonist's group. For instance, ElBaradei has been referred to as 'the Egyptian Opposition' by AJA and BBA. AJA, for example, reported:

يرى المعارض المصري والمدير العام السابق للهيئة الدولية للطاقة الذرية محمد البرادعي  
(*The Egyptian opposition and former Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency Mohamed ElBaradei sees*) 25/1/2011

BBA also refer to him with the same information by describing him as the Egyptian Opposition and former Director of IAEA.

وقال المعارض المصري محمد البرادعي والمدير العام السابق للوكالة الدولية للطاقة الذرية في تصريحات صحفية  
(*"Egyptian opposition leader Mohamed ElBaradei and the former director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said in press statements," he said*) 29/1/2011

However, BBA and AJA have utilised slightly different naming strategy when it comes to labelling the Islamic groups in Egypt. BBA seems to limit the use of predicate 'banned' to label the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) only as can be seen in the online news reports on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011

وشارك في المباحثات ست مجموعات معارضة ... وممثلو حركة الإخوان المسلمين المحظورة  
*Six opposition groups and representatives of the banned Muslim Brotherhood movement took part in the talks*

Another example from the online news text can be found in the article dated 6<sup>th</sup> February 2011:

وكانت جماعة "الإخوان المسلمون" المعارضة المحظورة في مصر قد أعلنت عن قبولها بالتحاور مع الحكومة  
(*The opposition group, the banned Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, has announced its acceptance of dialogue with the government*)

In comparison, AJA does not highlight the 'banned' on MB as been found in the online news report on the same date as BBA (6<sup>th</sup> February 2011)

جددت حركة الإخوان المسلمين تمسكها  
(*The Muslim Brotherhood renewed its commitment*)

In another example dated 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011, the label of 'banned' has not been applied to MB. AJA reported:

أن القيادي في جماعة الإخوان عبد المنعم أبو الفتوح  
(*That the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Abdel Moneim Abul Fotouh*)

The differences between AJA and BBA in naming the so-called the 'Islamist groups' further expand at least during the early stage of uprising. This is the time when AJA pays more attention compared to BBA in naming the Islamic scholars and preachers who have a huge influence in motivating the protestors. Thus, AJA always uses the title 'sheikh' *al-Shaykh* الشيخ

before mentioning the name of Islamic scholars or preachers such as El-Qardawi, Mohamed Jibrail, El-Himlawi and Muzhir Syahin as can be seen from these examples:

وأكد الشيخ جبريل أن المتظاهرين سيبقون في ميدان التحرير  
(*Sheikh Jibril confirmed that the demonstrators would remain in Tahrir Square*) 25/2/2011  
دعا رئيس الاتحاد العالمي لعلماء المسلمين الشيخ يوسف القرضاوي  
(*The President of the World Federation of Muslim Scholars called Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi*)  
29/1/2011

ودعا خطيب الجمعة في ميدان التحرير الشيخ مزهر شاهين المتظاهرين إلى الصبر  
(*Friday's preacher in Tahrir Square, Sheikh Mezher Shahin, called on the demonstrators to be patient*) 4/2/2011

In contrast, BBA not always uses the same title to refer to these scholars and preachers. For instance, BBA in the news report dated 19<sup>th</sup> February 2011, does not use the title 'sheikh' when referring to El-Qardawi:

لم يعبر كثيرون عن قلقهم علنا من حضور القرضاوي شخصيا  
(*Many have not publicly expressed concern about Qaradawi's personal presence*)

The title of 'sheikh' according to Modern Arabic Dictionary refers to the honorific title in Arabic language (Omar, 2008). The term means a man of vast power and nobility, and it is used strictly for the royal families of the Middle East, particularly in the Arabian Gulf countries. The title can be used religiously by Muslims to designate a learned person, as an Arabic word it is mostly independent of religion. BBA, on the other hand, only uses the title 'sheikh' to refer to Sheikh of El-Azhar who holds the highest position in El-Azhar university. For example, BBA reported:

كما اصدر شيخ الأزهر بيانا دعا فيه إلى وقف إراقة الدماء.  
(*He also issued a statement calling for an end to the bloodshed.*) 29 /1/2011

In another online news report, BBA also used the title of 'sheikh' to refer to Sheikh of El-Azhar:

قد حمل شيخ الأزهر احمد الطيب الشرطة والجيش مسؤولية  
(*Al-Azhar Sheikh Ahmed al-Tayyib has blamed the police and the army for responsibility*)  
25/2/2011

Similarly, AJA also utilised the same title to address him. For example, AJA reported:

(*Al-Azhar Sheikh Ahmed Tayeb said*) 27/1/2011

The same approach also being used in another news report by AJA:

انتقد شيخ الأزهر أحمد الطيب حديث البعض

(*Al-Azhar Sheikh Ahmed al-Tayeb criticized the hadeeth of some*) 17/2/2011

El-Azhar is a well-known Islamic institution not only in Egypt but also in the Islamic world. It is worth to note that the Mubarak government has recognised the position of Sheikh of El-Azhar. Thus, BBA only uses the 'sheikh' title to refer to someone that has been recognised by the Egyptian government. AJA on the other hand, not only limit the title to the Head of El-Azhar but also extend the used of this title to Islamic scholars from the antagonists' group who preached Egyptian to rise against Mubarak. Hence, revealed that, although BBA shared similarities with AJA in naming and labelling the critical figures of the 2011 ER, AJA tends to show apparent support toward the so-called the Egyptian 'Islamist groups' compared to BBA. Meanwhile, BBA opted to exclude these 'Islamist groups' which have a good relationship with MB. Thus, the outlet only focuses on the groups recognised by the Egyptian authority. Therefore, revealed that BBA was reluctant to include these 'Islamist groups', their scholars and MB in the outlet 'in-group'. AJA, on the other hand, not only provided details on these groups but also acknowledged their essential rules in the Egyptian's uprising. Hence, indicated that AJA was treating these 'Islamists groups' as the 'in-group'.

Despite these similarities between AJA and BBA in the naming strategy for the mass gathering, the people who participated in the protests and the label used to describe the two clashed groups the Egyptian authorities and the antagonist, the two online news outlets have many differences in utilising the strategy which indicated the different in ideology for each of online news outlets. Hence, revealed that each of online news outlets had taken their side between the two clash groups during the 2011 ER. My discussion on the differences in naming strategy utilised by AJA and BBA are as follow:

## 1) Revolution vs Protest

Although both AJA and BBA named the mass gathering in many Egyptian towns during the time of crisis as 'protests' and 'demonstrations', AJA went another step further by labelling the events as the 'revolution' *al-Thaura* الثورة since the beginning of the mass protests in Egypt on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. BBA, on the other hand, was reluctant to name the event as 'revolution' and preserved to label it as 'protests'. Thus, the term 'revolution' occurred in AJA corpus data for the time of crisis 434 times compared to only 199 times in BBA. The evidence on this can be seen from the following examples:

ولا يعلم على وجه التحديد إلى أين ستفضي الثورة الشعبية في مصر  
(He does not know exactly where the popular revolution in Egypt will lead) 28/1/2011  
وأشارت إلى أن البرادعي يعتبر أحد قادة الثورة الشعبية الملتهبة في مصر  
(She pointed out that ElBaradei is considered one of the leaders of the inflammatory popular revolution in Egypt) 2/2/2011  
وهم يحملون الأعلام المصرية ولافتات التضامن مع الثورة المصرية  
(They carry Egyptian flags and signs of solidarity with the Egyptian revolution) 5/2/2011

In contrast, seven days after the first mass gathering was held (the first mass gathering was on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011) to protest against Mubarak, BBA still looking for the possibilities either the protests might turn to 'revolution', which indicated that BBA had taken a safer approach in their naming strategy of the event by not showing their full support to the protestors demand for Mubarak to step down because the demand might not be fulfilled. BBA, for instance, reported on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

إذا ما تحولت الاحتجاجات إلى ثورة تطيح بنظام الحكم في مصر  
(If the protests turn into a revolution that topples the regime in Egypt) 29/1/2011

BBA is looking either the protests will turn into a revolution, which will result in power change in Egypt. Three days after that (1<sup>st</sup> February 2011) BBA once again are struggling to look after the possibilities if the protest will turn into revolution in Egypt:

إذا انقلب الاضطرابات في مصر إلى ثورة، فإنها قد توجه ضربة قاصمة إلى عملية السلام  
(If unrest in Egypt turns into a revolution, it could deal a severe blow to the peace process)

By not naming the events as 'revolution' and opted to wait for the result of the protests to be fulfilled shows that BBA doubts that the protests in Egypt will result in huge power change as been seen in Tunisia. As a result, BBA chooses to wait for a suitable moment to change their naming strategy and show their support to the protestors' demands. The use of the term *Revolution* implies a massive social movement in which people of the different social class participate "to alter drastically or replace totally existing social, economic, or political institutions" (Defronzo, 1991: 8). Furthermore, the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, which ended several days before the beginning of Egyptian uprising has successfully topped down President Ben Ali of Tunisia. Using the 'revolution' term as in Tunisia acknowledges the massiveness of the protests and their demand for grassroots social change and triggers the recent Tunisian model in Egypt.

All these are something BBA want to avoid or at least has less confident that it will happen in Egypt. BBA only started to change its naming strategy by changing from 'protests' into 'revolution' when Mubarak received enormous pressures from the Western countries several days before his resignation (6<sup>th</sup> February 2011 and afterwards). Finally, on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011, after the 'revolution' has successfully forced Mubarak to step down, BBA ultimately used the 'revolution' label the protest.

وترددت اصدااء انتصار الثورة المصرية في معظم العواصم العربية  
*(The victory of the Egyptian revolution was echoed in most Arab capitals)*

BBA changed to name the protests as a 'revolution' on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011 after the fall of Mubarak regime. Furthermore, a day after that (12<sup>th</sup> February 2011), the outlet labelled the Egyptian protests as the 'biggest revolution' in modern Egyptian history.

كما عُقدت حلقات الرقص والدبكة في الشوارع والساحات فرحاً بـ "أضخم ثورة تشهدها البلاد في تاريخها الحديث".  
*(Dance and dabke were held in the streets and squares in the joy of "the largest revolution in the country in its modern history".)*

Hence, revealed the shift in naming the event from 'protests' and 'demonstration' to reluctant in naming it as 'revolution' and finally BBA has labelled the event as the 'biggest revolution' recorded in Modern Egypt.

In contrary to BBA, AJA since the success of first mass gathering in Tahrir Square and other major cities of Egypt on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011 has named the protests in Egypt as the 'revolution'. This can be observed on the online news report starting from 27<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Thus, AJA has shown their support to the protestors' demands asking for a major change of power in Egypt and opted to be with the protestors' side in the conflict. Furthermore, by using the term 'revolution', AJA not only promoting power change in Egypt but also indicates AJA's confident of fulfilling the protestors' demands as happened in the Tunisian Revolution. Hence, revealed that the outlet was looking for power change in Egypt as it has happened in Tunisia before.

## 2) Milyūniyya vs Few Hundred Thousand

The series of mass gathering during the 2011 ER has grown in term of participants and events locations from the success of first mass gathering in Tahrir Square on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. As a result, AJA used the term *milyūniyya* مليونية, which derived from the Arabic word of مليون, million. Hence, the word and its derivative appear in the sub-corpus data of AJA during the time of crisis 127 times. In Arabic Modern Dictionary, the term 'milyūniyya' مليونية referred to the call to assemble the largest number of people in a certain place and a certain time to demonstrate (Hazm, 2013). Therefore, AJA used the term to label the mass gathering based on the huge number of participants in the event. It is aimed to portray that the gathering has succeeded in attracting millions of supporters. Thus, AJA wanted to give a positive picture by showing that the mass gatherings have received an overwhelming response from the people of Egypt. By naming the mass gathering with 'milyūniyya' AJA once again used their naming strategy to show their support for the people of Egypt and their demands for power change in

Egypt which was the main target from organising the 'milyūniyya' events. For instance, AJA reported:

وأمس الثلاثاء، تظاهر نحو ثمانية ملايين شخص بالقاهرة وسائر أنحاء مصر، في أضخم احتجاجات  
(On Tuesday, about eight million people demonstrated in Cairo and across Egypt, in the most  
massive protests) 2/2/2011

Subsequently, the term 'milyūniyya' has been used to label the mass protests:

جمعة مليونية تطالب برحيل مبارك  
(Friday million demanding the departure of Mubarak) 4/2/2011  
وسط دعوات من المتظاهرين إلى مظاهرات مليونية أيام الأحد والثلاثاء والجمعة  
(Amid calls from the demonstrators for the demonstrations of millions on Sundays, Tuesdays  
and Fridays) 4/2/2011

In contrast, BBA refused to use the 'milyūniyya' term at least during the early stage of the Egyptian uprising. Hence, the word and its derivative only being used in the sub-corpus data of BBA 33 times. During the early stage of mass protest in Egypt, BBA opted to stick with the use of 'protests' and 'demonstrations' in referring to the mass gathering. BBA mentioned in their online news reports dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011 that the protests were participated by 'few hundred thousand' which contradicted with AJA's reports on the same day indicated the event had gathered eight million protestors. BBA reported:

وكان مئات الآلاف من المصريين تجمعوا في احتجاجات في أنحاء البلاد  
(Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians gathered in protests across the country) 2/2/2011

Similarly, on 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011, another 'hundred thousand' have gathered in Tahrir Square

احتشدت في ميدان التحرير وسط القاهرة أعداد ضخمة قدر عددها بمئات الآلاف من المحتجين  
(Hundreds of thousands of protesters gathered in Tahrir Square in central Cairo)

Up until 9<sup>th</sup> February BBA still described the mass protests have only managed to attract 'hundred thousand protestors.

وكان مئات الآلاف من المحتجين المصريين قد احتشدوا  
(Hundreds of thousands of Egyptian protesters had gathered) 9/2/2011

### 3) The Fridays

Another term directly associated with the mass gathering events during the 2011 ER is the series of 'Fridays'. It is referred to the mass protest events held on Friday, particularly after the



Friday prayer. Friday also has been set by the organiser of mass protest events as a due date or time limit for Mubarak to fulfil the protestors' demands. It is also the central theme or aim of organising the mass protest. Also, the mass protests held on these Fridays can be considered as special events or the peak events of other mass protests held days before the 'Fridays'. There are several 'Fridays' reported by both AJA and BBA during the time of crisis for the 2011 ER namely: the 'Anger Friday' 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011 جمعة الغضب, 'Departure Friday' 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011, 'Friday Crawl' 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011, 'Friday of Success' جمعة النصر 18<sup>th</sup> February 2011 and 'Friday of Clearance' جمعة التطهير 25 February 2011.

For example, AJA mentioned about these Friday's protests in its news reports:

وكانت اعتداءات طالت أمس خلال جمعة الغضب  
(*The attacks affected yesterday during Friday anger*) 29/1/2011

AJA directly name the protest on the first Friday as the 'Anger Friday'. Then, for the following Friday, AJA once again directly labelled the second Friday's protest as the 'Departure Friday':

حيث دعا المعتصمون الشعب إلى التظاهر في جمعة الرحيل  
(*Protesters called on the people to demonstrate on Friday*) 4/2/2011

BBA, on the other hand, does not name these Friday protests directly but opted to mention these names as the antagonists named it. Hence, indicated that the outlet had distanced itself from naming these events. For example:

تلبية لدعوة القوى المعارضة للحكومة تصعيد حركتهم فيما أطلق عليه اسم "جمعة الغضب".  
(*At the invitation of the opposition forces, the government escalated their movement in what was called "Friday of anger."*) 28 /1/2011

This news extracts indicated that BBA opted to mention that the Egyptian oppositions named the mass gathering of protest as the 'Angry Friday'. Similarly, the name of the next mass protest after this first Friday protest also mentioned in BBA news report as the opposition termed it:

حيث امضى آلاف منهم ليلتهم استعدادا لما بات يعرف بـ "جمعة الرحيل".  
(*Thousands of them spent the night preparing for what became known as the "Friday of departure"*). 4/2/2011

It is noticed from these examples of online news from both online news outlets, AJA directly used these name of 'Fridays' in their reports on the events which revealed their support towards the protestors and the organizer of mass protest events. AJA was trying to promote the events by using the exact name as it is used by the mass gathering's organisers (the Egyptian's antagonists). BBA, on the other hand, preferred not to label the mass protest with any particular term neither the protest which was held on Friday nor other days of the week. In several occasion, BBA indirectly mentioned about these Fridays but refused to use these unique names of 'Fridays protests' directly. Instead, BBA mentioned that these different names of 'Fridays protests' are made up by the Egyptian oppositions.

Thus, it is revealed that by using the exact terms promoted by the protests' organisers for the series of Friday protests during the 2011 ER, AJA has shown their supports to the antagonist and their demands for a revolution to take place in Egypt. The use of the specific term to refer specifically to the mass protest events which was held on every Fridays during the time of crisis also indicated that AJA try to highlight that the Friday events are essential and need special attention because they are the climax of series of another protest which was held days before the Friday events.

#### **4) Martyr vs Killed**

AJA and BBA differ in their naming strategy to refer to the people who died during the mass protests of 2011 ER. BBA used the term 'killed' *qatīl* قاتل and its derivatives, including 'victims' *ḍahāyā* ضحايا in referring to the people who have been killed during the event. In comparison, the term 'martyr' *shahīd* شهيد, which has a positive religious connotation, used by AJA to refer to the person who has been killed in the same event. Hence, the term and its derivatives have been used 36 times in the AJA sub-corpus data. In contrast, the same word repeated 11 times

in the BBA sub-corpus data, and most of it was found in online news articles after the resignation of Mubarak.

وأشار بشارة إلى أن مبارك لم يعتذر أو يأسف في خطابه لمقتل 200 شهيد في الاحتجاجات  
(Bishara pointed out that Mubarak did not apologize or regret in his speech for the killing of 200 martyrs in the protests) 2/2/2011

معتبرين أن الرئيس تنكر في خطابه لدماء الشهداء الزكية.  
(Considering that the president denied in his speech to the blood of the martyrs.) 11/2/2011

BBA, on the other hand, labelled the person who died during the mass protests as 'killed' or 'victim'. BBA mentioned this in the online news report dated 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

واجملت وكالة عن مصادر في وزارة الصحة المصرية عدد ضحايا مظاهرات الجمعة بـ 38 قتيلا  
(A total of 38 people were killed in Friday's protests, the agency said) 29/1/2011

Similarly, BBA also terms the person who has been killed in the protests as 'victims':

إن المعتصمين في ميدان التحرير أطلقوا دعوة إلى حمل أكفان ضحايا المظاهرات  
(The protesters in Tahrir Square called for the shrouds of the victims of the demonstrations) 31/1/2011

ان المتظاهرين أقاموا صلاة الغائب على أرواح قتلى الاشتباكات مع قوات الامن.  
(The demonstrators held prayers absent on the lives of those killed in clashes with security forces.) 31 /1/2011

BBA strategy in using the wording of 'killed' is closely related to the Egyptian government source as reported by Al-Ahram the news agency controlled by the Egyptian government. For instance, Al-Ahram reported on 5/2/2011:

...حتي لا تتكرر المأساة التي شهدتها مصر مساء يوم الأربعاء الماضي والتي سقط فيها نحو عشرة قتلى.  
... to avoid the tragedy that Egypt witnessed last Wednesday in which ten were killed

Similar to BBA, Al-Ahram only started to refer to those who killed during the uprising as Martyr after Mubarak has stepped down. Al-Ahram, for instance on reported on 12<sup>th</sup> Feb 2011 a day after Mubarak resignation:

...شهادتنا الأبطال  
... our hero martyrs  
...صور شهداء الأحداث الأخيرة  
... photos of the martyrs of the latest events

There are significant differences between the term of 'killed', 'victim' and 'martyr'. The word شهيد in Arabic, which translated to martyr in English carries a distinctive meaning from the word of 'killed'. A martyr carries an ideological connotation and means one who sacrifices his life for the sake of principle or someone who willingly accepts being put to death for adhering to religious beliefs. Thus, the use of 'martyr' to refer to people who have been killed during the 2011 ER by AJA indicated that the online news outlet tries to exploit the religious meaning of the word which cannot be achieved from the word 'killed' or 'victims'. This is to say, by naming the people who died during the mass protests as 'martyr', AJA tried to portray them as religious warriors who have been killed during the holy war for defending their beliefs or protecting their rights. According to Islamic teaching, the 'martyr' and his family not only received higher regard by the Muslim society, but the martyr's body received special treatment compared to the ordinary death body. In short, by naming the people who killed during the mass protests of 2011 ER with the unique title of 'martyr', AJA has given their special recognition to the people who fall as a victim in the event which eventually show the strong support from AJA to the people of Egypt who rise against Mubarak.

### 5) The Activists

Another significant difference between AJA and BBA in the naming strategy for the Egyptian Revolution is the label of the active participant during the time of crisis. AJA labelled those who actively participated in the mass gathering as 'activists' نشطاء or in singular form 'activist' ناشط and its derivative. Hence, the term repeated 63 times in the sub-corpus data with 46 of them in the plural (activists) while another 17 times the singular form of the word (activist) has been used.

كما طالب نشطاء آخرون بمحاكمة الرئيس جراء ما اقترفه من "جرائم" بحق الشعب المصري.  
(Other activists also demanded that the president be tried for "crimes" committed against the Egyptian people.) 2/2/11  
وقال نشطاء بميدان التحرير للجزيرة إن أعدادا كبيرة من المحتجين مازالت تتوافد على الميدان بمعنويات وصفوها بالعالية.  
(Activists at the island's Tahrir Square said large numbers of protesters were still arriving on the ground with high morale.) 4/2/11

وقال نشطاء في الإسكندرية والأقصر والمنصورة للجزيرة إن النشطاء سيخرجون إلى الشوارع في مظاهرات ضخمة للمطالبة بإسقاط مبارك بعد صلاة الجمعة.

(*Activists in Alexandria, Luxor and Mansoura said the activists would take to the streets in huge demonstrations to demand the fall of Mubarak after Friday prayers.*) 5/2/11

In singular form:

واتهم الناشط الحقوقي عصام سلطان وزير النقل الحالي بإدارة ما وصفها بغرفة عمليات من تحت مترو الإنفاق في القاهرة،  
(*Human rights activist Issam Sultan accused the current minister of transport of running what he called an operating room from under the Cairo subway.*) 3/2/11

وأشارت الناشطة السياسية نوارا نجم من ميدان التحرير للجزيرة إلى أن المعتصمين لن يخافوا البلطجية  
(*Political activist Nawara Najm from Tahrir Square on the island said protesters would not be afraid of the thugs*) 4/2/11

Again, BBA (at least during the early stage of the uprising) in contrast, does not use any specific term or name to label this group of participants in the mass protests in order to differentiate them from other ordinary participants. However, BBA has started to intensify the used of the term 'activist' after Wael Ghonim, one of the internet activists who worked with Google, has been released from detention on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2011. For example:

وقد رحبت جموع المتظاهرين المحتشدة في ميدان التحرير بوائل غنيم، الناشط الذي "اختفى" على أيدي قوات الامن المصرية قبل 12 يوما واطلق سراحه امس.  
(*A crowd of protesters in Tahrir Square welcomed Wael Ghoneim, an activist who "disappeared" by Egyptian security forces 12 days ago and was released yesterday.*) 8/2/11

Subsequently, the term once again has been used to report on Mubarak final speech before his resignation. Hence, indicated the acknowledgement of the existence of this group of participants during the mass protests.

أثنى الرئيس في كلمته على الناشطين الشباب الذين يحلمون بغد أفضل ووصف طلباتهم بأنها "مشروعة"،  
(*In his speech, the President praised young activists who dream of a better tomorrow and described their requests as "legitimate".*) 11/2/11

The word ناشط *nashīt activist* has positive connotations in Arabic; the Dictionary of Contemporary Arabic defines it as someone who works hard to achieve something (Omar, 2008). Furthermore, the term refers to one who is politically active in the role of a citizen or campaign for change (ibid.). Thus, the labelling presents opposition groups positively as advocates of political change, implicitly legitimising their actions. As a result, in recognising

the critical role of this group of people during the mass protest events, AJA opted to use the specific name in order to highlight the importance of this 'activists' group compared to other typical participants.

Therefore, by using this specific term which positively refers to this group of protestors, AJA showed that they are taking side with the antagonists in their struggle against Mubarak. It is worth to note that, most of these 'activists' are the front liners which are responsible for organising the mass protest events and coordinating the protestors. They are also actively promoting the event to the Egyptian in order to attract more crowd to join the protest. As a result, these 'activists' have been detained by the Egyptian police for various charges, particularly for disobeying the emergency laws.

In short, the analysis has revealed that BBA has slightly change its naming strategy for the outlet's coverage of the ER. BBA has started to name the protestors with the term 'demonstrators' and 'protestors', and dropped the negative terms such as 'troublemakers' and 'angry youth' which have been used previously to refer to the Tunisian protestors. However, unlike AJA, BBA was reluctant to use the term 'revolution' during the early stage of uprising in Egypt. Moreover, AJA paid a lot of attention to the Islamist groups and the Islamic scholars by providing detail description on them.

## **4.5 Presupposition Strategy**

### **Introduction**

Presuppositions are what encoders treat as common ground and are known by decoders. In making presuppositions, a speaker/writer asserts the content of the utterance and considers it unchallenged and taken for granted. Wodak (2007: 214) argues that "presupposed content is,

under ordinary circumstances, and unless there is a cautious interpretive attitude on the part of the hearer, accepted without (much) critical attention (whereas the asserted content and evident implicatures are normally subject to some level of evaluation)." Therefore, an analysis of presuppositions reveals encoders' beliefs as well as what they want their recipients to take as a given (van Dijk 1998). Thus, the analysis of Arabic online news from AJA and BBA during the time of crisis has revealed that the two online news outlets have strategically employed presupposition strategies in their coverage either by reporting on the other sources or in authorial voice. In the following section, the discussion will focus on the presupposition strategy employed by AJA for the Tunisian Revolution first, before comparing it with the same discourse construction strategy utilised by BBA. After completing the discussion on the presupposition strategy used by two online news agencies for the coverage of 2011 Tunisian Revolution, the discussion will move into the result of analysis in the use of presupposition strategy for online news coverage of 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

#### **4.6 Presupposition Strategy in the online coverage of the Tunisian Revolution**

The two online news outlets utilised a distinctive strategy in using presupposition to report on the 2011 TR events. Although AJA and BBA have strategically used presupposition strategies to assert the content of the utterance, each of the outlets has utilised the strategy for different purposes. Hence, presuppose different meaning according to the journalists' beliefs. Thus, my analysis of presupposition strategies in the 2011 TR online news coverage will reveal how presupposition has been utilised by AJA and BBA to report on their own 'in-group' and 'out-group'. Hence, revealed the online news outlet's side during the time of conflict in Tunisia. In the following section, I will highlight how the presupposition strategies have been utilised by AJA to positively portray the Tunisian antagonist, while the Tunisian government under the leadership of President Ben Ali has been described negatively. The analysis then will move to

focus on how BBA utilised the presupposition strategies in the opposite direction to AJA by treating the Tunisian antagonists as the 'out-group' hence negatively described in the news report, while the Tunisian authority has been positively portrayed and consider as the 'in-group'.

### **Presupposition strategies in AJA online news coverage.**

AJA has strategically utilised presupposition strategies to support the protestors and promote the protests during the 2011 TR. Hence, presupposition strategies have been used by the outlet's journalists to portray the Tunisian antagonists positively. On the other hand, presupposition strategies have been used by the outlet's journalist to provide a negative impression on President Ben Ali and his allies. Thus, revealed that the outlet has considered the Tunisian antagonists as the 'in-group'. My discussion in this section will begin with the outlet's strategic used of presupposition strategies on its 'in-group'. Then my analysis will move to the use of presupposition on the 'out-group'. It is found that AJA utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose positive statements on the Tunisian antagonists in four elements, namely:

- 1) Positive descriptions on the protestors and the protests.
- 2) A widespread of the protests all over Tunisia.
- 3) Tunisians were practising their rights through the protests.
- 4) Promote sympathy to the casualties among the protestors.

In general, AJA employed presupposition strategy to positively describe the protestors and the protest events, which lead to the power change in Tunisia during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution (TR). The Tunisian government, particularly President Ben Ali, on the other hand, have been negatively portrayed by AJA using presupposition strategy. As a result, AJA used presupposition strategy to describe the protests and protestors positively. In another news



report, AJA utilised presupposition to presume that the protestors are determined and committed with their demands, hence provided a positive description of the protestors:

وأكدت الحملة عزمها مواصلة الاعتصام والاحتجاج

*The campaign confirmed its intention to continue the sit-in and protest*

7-1-11

Closely related to this, presupposition strategy also has been used to presume that the protests have successfully achieved its target. Hence the protestors are determined to continue their protest until their demands have been fulfilled.

إن الإضراب الذي دعا إليه الاتحاد التونسي للشغل حقق نجاحا كبيرا، مؤكدا استمرار الحركة الاحتجاجية

*The strike called for by the Tunisian Labor Union was a great success, confirming the continuation of the protest movement (3-1-11)*

In another news report, AJA utilised presupposition to presume to the readers that the protests have been held since the last two weeks and the protestors are determined to continue with their protests:

أن التحركات الاحتجاجية استمرت لما يقارب الأسبوعين

*The protest movements continued for nearly two weeks (1-1-2011)*

Secondly, the presupposition strategies have been used to presuppose that the protests have been widespread all over Tunisia. Hence, it shows that the protests no longer take place in the remote area of Tunisia (limited in Sidi Bouazid area only) but also has reached many Tunisian cities. It also highlights that the protests have successfully attracted many Tunisian to participate in the mass protests. For example, AJA utilised presupposition strategy to presuppose that the protests have been held previously and continue to attract many participants in most Tunisian cities:

تواصلت التحركات الاحتجاجية أمس الثلاثاء في معظم ولايات البلاد،

*Protest movements continued on Tuesday in most of the states of the country, (29-12-10)*

Similarly, the verb ‘continue’ has been used in another news extract reported by AJA to presuppose the meaning that the protests have already reached many Tunisian cities and districts:

تواصلت المظاهرات في عدة ولايات ومدن تونسية.  
*Demonstrations continued in several Tunisian states and cities. (30-12-2010)*

Besides, AJA employed the presupposition strategy to promote protest events positively. This is done by positively describe the success of protests in gathering a massive number of participants during the first ten days of the uprising in Tunisia (the first demonstration started on 18/12/2010). Therefore, the presupposition was used to give an assumption that the success of protests will continue in the events of the upcoming protests in gathering more crowd. Furthermore, the protests have been framed by AJA as widely spread all over Tunisia, and the protest has entered the capital city of Tunis. For example, AJA reported on 29/12/2010 almost ten days after the first demonstration was held in Tunisia, which marked the beginning of the Tunisian Revolution by saying:

توسعت الاحتجاجات التي تشهدها تونس منذ اندلعت شرارتها الأولى في ولاية سيدي بوزيد وسط البلاد  
*Protests in Tunisia have expanded since its first spark in the central province of Sidi Bouzid*

Further news report by AJA, more than a week, later also employed the same presupposition strategy to positively promoting the protest events by triggering the presupposition on the success protest events. For instance:

إن الإضراب الذي دعا إليه الاتحاد التونسي للشغل حقق نجاحا كبيرا، مؤكدا استمرار الحركة الاحتجاجية  
*The strike called for by the Tunisian Labor Union was a great success, confirming the continuation of the protest movement (6-1-2011)*

Another example from AJA news report two days later also indicated the same presupposition.

أكد الاتحاد العام التونسي للشغل (منظمة نقابية) اليوم الجمعة أنه سيواصل تنفيذ الإضراب العام الذي دعا له في وقت سابق لمواصلة التحركات الاحتجاجية  
*The Tunisian General Labor Union said Friday it would continue to carry out a general strike called earlier in support of protest movements. 8-1-2011*

Thirdly, it is presumed from AJA online news report of the 2011 TR that the protests since the beginning of uprising on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010, merely an option for Tunisian to practice their human rights by freely express their opinions through the peaceful gathering. The presupposition strategy further assisted by predictions such as 'peaceful', 'popular' and 'people' protests to positively framed the protest events as being held peacefully and participated by a vast crowd of Tunisian people. For instance, AJA reported:

ومع استمرار المظاهرات انطلق مئات التونسيين في مسيرة سلمية  
*As the demonstrations continued, hundreds of Tunisians embarked on a peaceful march*  
31-12-10

Furthermore, AJA employed the presupposition strategy to positively framed the protests as its aimed for Tunisian to raise their voice in order to achieve their legal rights, enjoy a better life and the freedom in expressing their opinions. For example, AJA reported on 7/1/2011:

ودعا جميل الشعب التونسي للاستمرار في رفع صوته عاليا لنيل حقوقه المشروعة في العمل والعيش الكريم وحرية الرأي  
*Jameel called on the Tunisian people to continue to raise their voices to gain their legitimate rights to work, to live a decent life and to freedom of opinion.*

Thus, it is presumed that the protest will continue with its noble aims to fight for Tunisian legal rights and enjoy a better life for their future. The predication of 'high' and 'legitimated' was used to give very positive connotation on the aims of organising the protest events which reflect the full support for the protestors' demands. Furthermore, the predication 'legitimated' give the impression that the protestors' demands are legally recognised and should be accepted.

Finally, the presupposition strategies have been used to promote sympathy to the victims of the mass protests, particularly the casualties among protestors. As mentioned before, AJA utilised the predications of 'peaceful' and 'popular' to describe the protests. Hence, presuming to the readers that the protests received massive support from the majority of Tunisian. Moreover, presuming that the protests have been held peacefully. Thus, it denies the allegation made by the Tunisian authority that the protests were participated by 'troublemakers' which aimed to make 'chaos' and 'vandalism'. In return, AJA presupposed that the protests

have become ugly when the police started to shoot at the protestors as happened in the city of Menzel Bouziane. AJA stated in its online news report:

يشار إلى أن الاحتجاجات الاجتماعية بلغت ذروتها يوم 24 ديسمبر / كانون الأول الماضي عندما فتحت الشرطة النار على متظاهرين في مدينة منزل بوزيان

*Social protests culminated on December 24 when police opened fire on demonstrators in the town of Menzel Bouziane. 28-12-2010.*

Hence, it is presupposed that before the Tunisian police started to shoot at the protestors, the protests are calm and peaceful. It is also presupposed to the readers at least three things. First: acknowledge the shooting has happened. Secondly, the protestors have been shot, and finally, the shooters are the Tunisian police. Later on, AJA further reported that the protests had been completely changed from peaceful protest into huge chaos and police killed many people using live bullets.

بدأت تتجه نحو فوضى عارمة مع سقوط مزيد من القتلى برصاص الشرطة  
*As police bullets killed many people, the situation began to descend into chaos. 11-1-2011*

The presupposition was employed by using the change of verb 'begin' which give an assumption that the protest was peaceful or at least not so bad previously. The presupposition is further emphasised by the use of predication 'more' to give strong connotation on the increasing number of casualties caused by the police action. Thus, the presupposition strategy has been utilised to describe the protests positively and promoted sympathy for the protestors, because they have been treated violently by the Tunisian police.

All in all, the 'in-group' in AJA's news report which being positively described by using the presupposition strategy consisted of the protestors which participated in the demonstration to raise their demands which subsequently challenge the domination of Ben Ali. On the other hand, the 'out-group' namely President Ben Ali and the Tunisian government have been portrayed negatively by the strategic use of presupposition strategy. It is found that Ben Ali and his allies have been negatively prescribed using presupposition strategies in the following aspects:

- 1) Presuming the social and political issues which caused the uprising.
- 2) Highlighting the restrictions forced by the government on the Tunisian.
- 3) Acknowledging the violent approaches in dealing with the protestors.

As a result, AJA employed the presupposition strategy to negatively highlight on the social and political issues which derive the 2011 TR. Thus, the issues of unemployment, poverty or low income, high inflation, corruption, misconduct and limitation of political freedom in Tunisia have been presented by AJA using the existential assumptions as they are taking place in Tunisia. The following examples of AJA news showed the use of presupposition strategy to provide negative assumptions on social and political issues in Tunisia.

(a) وطالب المتظاهرون بتحقيق فرص تنمية وضمان الحق في العمل، كما أدانوا ما وصفوه بالفساد، ولجوء السلطات للأسلوب الأمني في التعامل مع المحتجين.

*Demonstrators demanded opportunities for development and the guarantee of the right to work, condemned what they called corruption, and the authorities' use of security in dealing with protesters. 28\12\10*

(b) انتقدت تغطية قناة الجزيرة للاحتجاجات التي تشهدها البلاد ضد تفشي البطالة والفساد و"التنمية غير العادلة"، (The group) criticised Al-Jazeera's coverage of protests in the country against widespread unemployment, corruption and "unfair development." 29/12/10

(c) البوعزيزي توفي الثلاثاء بعد أن حرق نفسه احتجاجا على التهميش والبطالة  
*Bouazizi died Tuesday after burning himself to protest against marginalisation and unemployment. 6/1/11*

(d) في هذه الأثناء، تصاعدت موجة الاحتجاجات على البطالة وتكاليف المعيشة في تونس اليوم  
*Meanwhile, protests against unemployment and the cost of living in Tunisia have escalated today. 7\1\11*

It is observed from the examples (a) to (d) of AJA's news extracts mentioned above, the social and political issues surrounding Tunisia during the revolution have been presented by using the existential assumptions to give an assumption that the issues exist, and they have been acknowledged. For instance, in the example (a) which highlighted the issues of unemployment, corruption and mishandled of peaceful protest have been described using the definite article (the). Hence, acknowledge the existence of these issues in Tunisia. Thus, promoting to the readers to take it as taken for granted without much questioning. The example (b), (c) and (d) provide assumptions that the problems of unemployment, injustice, unbalanced development,

and high inflation are the serious issues in Tunisia which reflect the failure of the Tunisian government and President Ben Ali in particular. These issues have been stated using the definite article 'the'. Hence, presuppose the existence of these problems in Tunisia even before the uprising has started. Thus, the Tunisians went out to the street, demanding for a change.

Secondly, AJA employed the presupposition strategy to negatively describe the unfair policy forced by the Tunisian government on the people of Tunisia. For instance, AJA presupposed negatively of the policy of security closure and the policy of threatening, which widely being practised by Tunisian authorities. Thus, AJA reported on 7-1-2011:

وأكدت الحملة عزمها مواصلة الاعتصام والاحتجاج لفضح ما أسمتها سياسة الحصار الأمني المضروبة على الشعب التونسي  
*The campaign confirmed its intention to continue the sit-in and protest to expose what it called the policy of security siege on the Tunisian people.*

Moreover, the use of predication 'being forced' on Tunisians provide connotations that the policy has been used by force and struggle, which does not suit people demands. Another example from AJA shows that the presupposition was employed to provide an assumption that the Tunisian authorities practised the approach of threatening Tunisian with severe punishment to shut their mouth. However, this policy is not useful anymore when the revolution started. Hence, the phrase 'no longer success' presumes that the approach has been used before to prevent Tunisian from criticizing the government. AJA reported on 15-1-2011:

ولم تفلح سياسات الوعيد والتهديد، كما لم يخف الناس عدد القتلى المتصاعد.  
*The menacing policies have not worked, and people have not concealed the rising death toll.*  
15-1-11

The Tunisian government also being negatively described in AJA using presupposition for prohibiting fair media access, limiting freedom of speech and internet monitoring. Ultimately, the Tunisian government and Ben Ali, in particular, have been given a negative assumption for his approach of political closure aimed to eliminate his political enemies. For example, AJA reported on 14-1-2011:

ودعا الحكومة التونسية إلى احترام حرية التعبير، وإطلاق سراح المعتقلين من المدونين والصحفيين وسجناء الرأي.

*He called on the Tunisian government to respect freedom of expression and the release of bloggers, journalists and prisoners of conscience.*

The online news report negatively presupposes that the Tunisian government does not allow freedom of speech. In addition, the news report also presupposed that many journalists and bloggers had been detained for having different views from the government. Another news report by AJA dated 14-1-2011 pointed directly to President Ben Ali, as he w negatively described for his political closure and the limitation of political freedom and democratic practices in Tunisia.

إن النخبة السياسية تطالب بضمانات لتطبيق ما وعد به بن علي في ما يتعلق بإنهاء الانغلاق السياسي.  
*The political elite is demanding guarantees to implement what Ben Ali promised in terms of ending the political closure.*

The verb 'to stop' has been strategically utilised in this news extract to presuppose the acknowledgement of the political restriction in Tunisia. In the same news report, AJA provided further details on the restrictions and limitation forced by Ben Ali's government on Tunisian people which presumed that the issues of political closure, the limitation of democratic practices, the limitation of media access and internet monitoring really exists in Tunisia and have been acknowledged by the Tunisian government themselves. Thus, the presuppositions were strategically employed by AJA in this news report dated 14-1-2011:

إنه قرر توسيع المشاركة السياسية أمام جميع مكونات المجتمع المدني بهدف تعزيز الديمقراطية, وإعطاء الحرية الكاملة للإعلام بكل وسائله, والتوقف عن فرض الرقابة على الإنترنت.  
*He decided to expand political participation to all components of civil society in order to promote democracy, give full freedom to the media by all means, and stop censoring the Internet.*

Similarly, the presuppositions also have been used to acknowledge the media restriction in Tunisia, which has been reported using the voice of Tunisian journalists:

قال عدد من الصحفيين الأعضاء في نقابة الصحفيين التونسيين في بيان إنهم اعتصموا أمس الاثنين أمام مقر النقابة "للاحتجاج على التعتيم الإعلامي الممارس على الاحتجاجات."  
*Several members of the Tunisian Journalists Syndicate (SJT) said in a statement that they staged a sit-in on Monday in front of the union's headquarters. 28/12/2010*

The limitation of freedom of speech which prevents Tunisian from participating in peaceful protest has been mentioned by AJA using the presupposition strategy:

المتظاهرون حاولوا كسر الحاجز الأمني للتظاهر في قلب العاصمة

*The demonstrators tried to break the security barrier to demonstrate in the heart of the capital*  
28/12/2010

By strategically using the definite article in 'the media restriction' and 'the safety barrier' indicated to the readers that the Tunisians have been prohibited from having the freedom of speech and have been receiving limited media access.

Thirdly, AJA strategically utilised presuppositions to presuppose that there are civilians been killed and the number of casualties is increasing. The Tunisian government not only being negatively described by AJA for their 'undemocratic' policies and 'unfair' restrictions which limit the freedom of Tunisians but also being blamed for using violent approaches in dealing with 'peaceful' protests. For instance, AJA reported dated 13-1-2011:

وأعربت في بيان لها عن بالغ قلقها إزاء ارتفاع عدد القتلى المدنيين، وارتفاع حدة العنف الذي تمارسه الحكومة.

*In a statement, it expressed grave concern at the high number of civilian deaths and the high level of violence by the Government.*

Furthermore, the news report also presupposes that the Tunisian government was practising violent on the protestors before and level of violent approaches used by the authority is increasing in more recent protest events. In another online news report, AJA reported that the foreign authority (Norway) is monitoring closely on the situations in Tunisia, which caused many lives every day. At the same time, Norway gives their grave concern on the increasing number of casualties with the ongoing chaos and protests taken place in Tunisia.

أن الخارجية النرويجية تراقب عن كثب من خلال التقارير أحداث العنف التي تمر بها تونس، وسقوط عشرات القتلى والجرحى بشكل يومي، والخوف من زيادة العدد مع تواصل الاضطرابات والاحتجاجات.

*The Norwegian Foreign Ministry is closely monitoring reports of violence in Tunisia, daily scores of deaths and injuries, and the fear of increasing numbers as unrest and protests continue.* 14/1/2011



The news report presupposes that the violence has happened in Tunisia, which caused many casualties during the mass protest. Furthermore, the use of the verb 'increase' and 'continue' acknowledge the victims of violent incidents during the protests and presume that the chaos is widespread in Tunisia. Furthermore, AJA also blamed President Ben Ali for not taking serious action to handle the protests from the very beginning which leads into more chaos and many civilians were killed during almost a month of long protest against Ben Ali's government:

أنه كان يتعين على الرئيس التونسي أن يتخذ مبكرا إجراءات أكثر جرأة حقنا للدماء  
*The Tunisian president should have taken bolder measures early on. 14/1/2011*

It is presupposed that Ben Ali failed to take proper action to deal with the protestors' demands which could avoid many people being killed during the demonstration. The predication of 'early' and 'more' were used to indicate the action taken by Ben Ali was too late, and he was taking the protest and the protestors' demands so lightly by not providing a rapid response to their demand or an appropriate solution on the issues raised by the protestors. Thus, it is revealed that AJA strategically employed the presupposition strategy to presuppose negative descriptions on Tunisian government, particularly President Ben Ali himself, which make Ben Ali and the Tunisian authority as the 'out-group'. In contrast, the 'in-group' which consists of the antagonists, mainly the protestors were treated as the 'in-group' which received positive description by using presupposition strategy.

### **Presupposition Strategies in BBA's online news reports**

Moving into BBA online news reports on the 2011 Tunisian revolution, it is found that in the opposite direction of AJA, BBA strategically utilised the presupposition strategy to positively describe Tunisian government and President Ben Ali while negatively presuppose the protestors and their mass protest events during the Tunisian revolution. Thus, BBA has opted to make Ben Ali and Tunisian government as the 'in-group' which received positive

descriptions by using presuppositions. On the other hand, the 'out-group' which consists of the protestors who participated in the mass protests against the Tunisian government have been described negatively by BBA at least at the beginning of uprising up until 14/1/2011 when President Ben Ali left Tunisia and marked the fall of his government. Hence, the outlet utilised presupposition strategies to describe the protests and the protestors as:

- 1) Breaking the laws
- 2) Caused violent, chaos and vandalism

In presuming to acknowledge that the protestors are lawbreakers, BBA has employed the presupposition strategy to describe the protests and protestors negatively. This has been done by presuming the dark side of the protest. For instance, after a week since the beginning of protests in Tunisia, BBA reported on 25/12/2010 by saying:

غير ان مئات المتظاهرين تحدوا مجددا مساء الاثنين حظر التجول  
*But on Monday night, hundreds of demonstrators again defied the curfew*

In this news report, BBA uses presupposition to presume that the protestors have previously broken the law by disobeying the restriction and once again continue to break the law and challenge the government action to safeguard the place. The presupposition strategy further being enhanced by the use of predication 'once again'. Hence, it gives an assumption that the protestors have challenged the Tunisian authority on the enforcement of restriction before. Thus, the protestors are continuing to disobey the laws. The online news report further continues by mentioning:

واصطدمت جهود الحكومة لاعادة البلاد الى السكة بـ"اضراب مفتوح" لمدرسي التعليم الابتدائي والاعدادي  
*The government's efforts to get the country back on track have run into an "open strike" for primary and lower secondary teachers*

It is noticed that the news report cleverly employed presupposition strategy to provide a positive image to the Tunisian government and at the same time give negative descriptions on the protestors. Presupposition in the news extract was used to provide an assumption that Tunisia was a peaceful country before the revolution, and the Tunisian government has tried

very hard to bring back 'peace' to Tunisia. However, the government faced obstacles from the protestors who launched 'open riot' which also can be assumed as trying to fail the government's efforts and caused 'chaos' into Tunisia. Hence, presupposes that the situations in Tunisia were awful since the beginning of the protests. It is also noticed that the government effort in bringing peace to Tunisia is expressed by using the metaphor of bringing back Tunisia in to 'the track' which refers to the ordinary situation in Tunisia where people live in peace and harmony.

Secondly, presupposition strategies also being deployed by the outlet to presume that protests and the protestors were the cause for the widespread of violent, burglary, chaos and vandalism all over Tunisia. Examples of an online news report which revealed the strategic use of presupposition strategy to provide negative descriptions on the protestors and the protest events are as follow:

a)

وذكرت الانباء ان مئات من قوات الشرطة وصلت الى مدينة سيدي بوزيد الاحد لتعزيز الاجراءات الامنية واعادة الهدوء للمدينة خشية انفجار الوضع مجددا في اي وقت.

*Hundreds of police reportedly arrived in the city of Sidi Bouzid on Sunday to reinforce security and restore calm to the city, fearing the situation could explode again at any time.*

19/12/2010

b)

السلطات الجهوية وعدتنا بالتدخل والافراج عن المعتقلين شرط انتهاء العنف.

*The regional authorities promised us to intervene and release the detainees, provided that the violence was ended.*

19-12-10

c)

تجددت المواجهات العنيفة ليل السبت الاحد في ولاية سيدي بوزيد في وسط تونس

*Violent clashes erupted overnight in the central province of Sidi Bouzid*

26/12/2010

d)

وتجددت في ثلاث مدن هي القصرين وتالة والرقاب (وسط غرب البلاد) أعمال العنف والشغب التي تهز تونس منذ منتصف ديسمبر/ كانون الأول

*Violence and riots have rocked Tunisia since mid-December in Kasserine, Thala and Raqab (center-west).*

10/1/2011

e)

وهدف خطاب بن علي إلى إنهاء الاضطرابات الاجتماعية التي تواصلت لمدة شهر

*Ben Ali's speech aimed to end the month-long social unrest*

14/1/2011

Example (a) was aimed to presuppose that the protestors have caused troubles and chaos in the city of Sidi Bouazid, which forced the government to send more police and security unit to safeguard the place. At the same time, it is presupposed that the government has already reacted by sending security men to the place, but the situation is getting worse and needs more security troops to be employed there. Thus, the government has doubled its effort in dealing with the chaos caused by the protestors. These presuppositions were done by using verbs 'to enhance' and 'bring back' and the phrase 'once again'. The example (b) and (c) further provided assumptions that the protestors have caused 'violent'. In example (b), it is presupposed that many protestors have been arrested after involving in violent activities during the protests. Thus, the government is ready to release the detainees if the violence has stopped. Hence, the verb 'stop' presupposes that the violence has happened during the protests. Not only provide an assumption to the readers that the protestors have caused the violent, but BBA also presupposed that the protestors had caused 'burglary' and 'vandalism' on public properties as can be seen in the example (d). This has been done through the strategic use of the verb 'renews'. Thus, presumes to the readers that the burglary and vandalism had occurred previously in three big Tunisian cities. Furthermore, it is also mentioned that the burglary, vandalism and violence have occurred since the middle of December 2010 which indicated that the protests in Tunisia since the very beginning (18/12/2010) only bring trouble into Tunisia.

On the other hand, BBA strategically utilised the presupposition strategies to presume positive descriptions on the 'in-group' which mainly consist of the Tunisian government and President Ben Ali. Thus, Ben Ali and his government have been positively portrayed using presupposition strategies in three main aspects, namely:

- 1) Tunisia was a better country compared to other Arab countries.
- 2) Ben Ali and his government have done a lot of good things for Tunisia.
- 3) The Authority was responding to the protestors in the right way.

First thing first, BBA presupposed that Tunisia is a quiet and peaceful country as protests and riots rarely happened in Tunisia before the revolution started compared to other neighbouring countries. BBA, for instance, stated in an online news report dated 11/1/2011 :

ان تونس كانت عادة اكثر هدوءا من دول عربية كثيرة

*Tunisia was usually quieter than many Arab countries*

Not only the presupposition was used to give an assumption that the protests only bring chaos and trouble into Tunisia, but the news example also utilised the predication of 'normally' and 'more' which give strong connotation that Tunisia is better than other Arabian neighbouring countries most of the time. Thus, Tunisia has jumped into trouble, and the situation in the country become worse than other Arabian countries when the protests started.

Secondly, BBA has strategically employed presupposition strategy to give the assumption that President Ben Ali has made a lot of reasonable efforts to tackle the most prominent issue raised by the protestors since the beginning of the revolution which is the issue of unemployment. For instance, BBA reported on 19/12/2010 a day after the first demonstration started in Sidi Bouazid:

ويعتبر توفير فرص عمل لحاملي الشهادات العليا من اكبر التحديات التي تترك الحكومة التونسية، التي تسعى لتوفير مزيد من فرص العمل في بلد تصل فيه معدلات البطالة الى 14 في المئة

*One of the biggest challenges for the Tunisian government, which is seeking to create more job opportunities in a country where unemployment is as high as 14 per cent, is to create job opportunities for graduates.*

Hence the word 'more' has been strategically utilised in the news extract to presuppose that Ben Ali's government has already provided job opportunities to the Tunisian youth. A similar news report was found in the BBA news report dated 28/12/2010 when the protests were spread into many Tunisian cities. BBA reported that:

لكنه وعد في الوقت نفسه باتخاذ المزيد من الإجراءات الحكومية لتدعيم خلق فرص عمل جديدة في البلاد.

*Nevertheless, at the same time, he promised more government measures to boost job creation in the country.*

In these two examples, it is presupposed that the Tunisian Government (in the first example) and President Ben Ali (in the second example) have previously done many initiatives to tackle

the issue of unemployment. The presuppositions also supported by the predications of 'more' and 'new' to emphasise that many efforts have been provided. Moreover, the government will continue to give more to overcome the issue of unemployment. Another related example can be found in the BBA's news report dated 10/1/2011, which presupposes that the continues efforts made by Ben Ali to provide more job opportunities in many different fields had already begun:

وأوضح بن علي مؤكدا: "مضاعفة طاقة التشغيل وإحداث موارد الرزق وتنويع ميادينها ودعمها في كل الاختصاصات  
*Ben Ali explained: "doubling the operating capacity and the creation of livelihoods and diversification of fields and support in all disciplines*  
10/1/2011

Furthermore, BBA reports on President Ben Ali promises have been done by strategically utilised presupposition strategy to positively portray Ben Ali and his government. For instance, the BBA online news report presupposes that Ben Ali had already welcomed freedom of speech and works effortlessly to support democratic practices in Tunisia long before the demonstration started. For instance, BBA reported on 13/1/2011:

وأكد في هذا الاطار انه سيتم "فتح المجال من الان لحرية التعبير السياسي ومزيد من العمل على دعم الديمقراطية وتفعيل التعددية".  
*In this context, he said, "we will open the way for freedom of political expression and further work to support democracy and activate pluralism".*

In the same news report, BBA further used presuppositions to provide an assumption that President Ben Ali has already practised democratic approaches in Tunisia. Therefore, Ben Ali offers his promise to continue with his excellent policy by providing more open policies and opportunities which encourage the democratic practices in Tunisia. In another news report by BBA:

ويقول المراقبون إن كلمة الرئيس بن علي كانت تصالحية وتعهد فيها بالمزيد من الانفتاح والديمقراطية.  
*Observers say President Ben Ali's speech was conciliatory and pledged more openness and democracy.*  
13/1/2011

Thirdly, BBA also utilised the presupposition strategy to presuppose that the Tunisian government since the beginning of the Tunisian Revolution has always listened to the protestors' demands. BBA, for instance, reported on 12/1/2011:

كما يؤكد أن الحكومة أبدت منذ اندلاع "الأحداث استعدادا للإنصات إلى التظلم، مؤكدة أنها توصلت بالرسالة".  
*He also stresses that the government has shown since the outbreak of "events in preparation for listening to the grievance, stressing that it reached the message."*

BBA not only provide presupposition to support Ben Ali and Tunisian government policies and approaches but also utilised the presupposition to defend the stiff actions taken by Tunisian police or security unit in dealing with the protestors. As a result, BBA gives a positive description of the security forces' actions while providing negative connotation on the protestors. For instance:

واضاف المصدر ذاته "تصدى أعوان الامن للمهاجمين لمنعهم من اقتحام المركزين اللذين تمت محاصرتهما من قبلهم وتم تحذيرهم اكثر من مرة باطلاق النار في الهواء  
*"The security officers confronted the attackers to prevent them from storming the two positions they were besieged and were repeatedly warned to shoot in the air," the source said. 11-1-2011*

The news report presupposes that the Tunisian security has previously warned the protestors from breaking into the two police stations, but the protestors disobey the order. It is also presumed that the protestors have tried and managed to capture the two police stations, which is against the law. Predication of 'more' was used to provide that the security forces had made several warnings before more straight action was taken to deal with the protestors who started to attack the security man. Hence, the presupposition strategies have been strategically utilised by the outlet to acknowledge that the Tunisian security has taken a stiff action against the protestors who disobey the warning for not attacking the police stations. Thus, provide a good impression on the Tunisian security while the protestors have been negatively portrayed in this news report.

#### **4.7 Presupposition strategy in the Egyptian Revolution Coverage.**

Both AJA and BBA have strategically utilised the presupposition strategies in their online news reports of the 2011 ER. This strategic use of presupposition in the online news aims to assert the content of the utterance, hence make the readers believe that it is unchallenged and considered it as real or true. Therefore, my analysis of presupposition strategies in the 2011 ER online news coverage will reveal the journalist's beliefs (also his/her online news agencies' believe). The analysis also will highlight what the journalists and their news agencies want their readers to take to utilise without too much critical attention. Thus, AJA and BBA continue their presupposition strategies to portray their 'in-group' positively. While providing negative images on the 'out-group'. In the following section, I will discuss in detail the presupposition strategies utilised by AJA to show their support to the Egyptian antagonists, while the Egyptian government which was treated as the 'out-group' by the news outlet was negatively portrayed in the online news coverage by using presupposition strategies. The analysis then will move to examine the presupposition strategies used by BBA to support their 'in-group' while the news outlet was giving the 'out-group' bad images.

### **Presupposition strategies in AJA online news coverage.**

It is found that AJA continues to strategically utilises the presupposition strategies to show their support to the protestors and promoting the protests as being found in the online news reports of TR. Hence, the outlet has utilised the presupposition strategies (PS) to positively portray the Egyptian antagonists during the 2011 ER, particularly the protestors, activists and the Egyptian oppositions. Thus, AJA considered them as the 'in-group'. In contrast, the Egyptian government, particularly President Mubarak and his supporters were treated as the 'out-group'. Hence, presupposition strategies have been strategically used by AJA to portray them negatively. My discussions in this section will focus first on the online news outlet strategic use of presupposition strategies on their 'in-group', before moving into the discussion



on the use of same discourse strategy on their 'out-group'. The 'presupposition strategies' in the AJA online news coverage were used to provide positive statements on the Egyptian antagonists in four aspects, namely:

- 1) Portray the protestors and the protests positively
- 2) Promoting for more and bigger protestors.
- 3) Highlight the protestors' demands.
- 4) Refute the Egyptian government's allegation.

On the other hand, AJA strategically used presupposition strategies to negatively portray the Egyptian government by focusing on four main elements:

- 1) Social and Economic issues in Egypt.
- 2) Various restriction forced on Egyptian by the Mubarak's regime.
- 3) The bad policies of Mubarak's regime.
- 4) The way in dealing with the protestors and their demands.

To portray the protestors and the protests positively, AJA provided positive statements on the protestors and the protest events by using the presupposition strategies. It is aimed to pursue the readers to believe that the protestors are good and innocent people, and the protests are being held peacefully to voice out their demands. For instance, AJA reported on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011

واصل المتظاهرون بقاءهم في الشوارع حتى ساعات الفجر الأولى مطلقين دعوات للنزول للشارع مجددا اليوم، فيما دام انقطاع الاتصالات الهاتفية وخدمات الإنترنت.

*Demonstrators continued to stay in the streets until the early hours of the morning, launching calls to take to the street again today, as long as the interruption of telephone communications and Internet services continue.*

In this news extract, the verb 'continue' was strategically being selected to presuppose the meaning that the protests since the beginning are being done peacefully as the protestors selected to remain calm and stay at the Tahrir Square until morning. Furthermore, the word 'again' presupposes that the protestors since day one were committed with their demands and

encourage more people to join the protest. Similarly, in another news report, AJA strategically utilised presupposition strategies to positively portray the protestors for their continuous effort and determinations in calling for the resignations of Mubarak despite having to face violent action by the authority and Mubarak supporters. AJA reported:

وجدوا تمسكهم بتحتي مبارك عن السلطة

*They reiterated their adherence to the demand for Mubarak stepping down from power*  
2-2-2011

In a different example, the word 'continue' has been used to presuppose that the protest has been held in other Egyptian cities for four days. Hence, provide a positive impression on the protestors for their determination to voice out their demands and the protest will only stop after their demands have been fulfilled.

AJA also strategically used presupposition strategies to promote more people (Egyptian in particular) to join the protest by presupposed that the protests have successfully attracted more crowd. Hence, proved that the protests had put more pressures on the Egyptian government to fulfil the demands of the protestors. For instance:

واصل المتظاهرون المصريون تدفقهم على ميدان التحرير بوسط القاهرة تشبثا بمطالبهم في رحيل نظام الرئيس حسني مبارك

*Egyptian protesters continued to pour into Tahrir Square in central Cairo, clinging to their demands for the departure of President Hosni Mubarak's regime.* 2-2-2011

It is found that the presupposition strategies have been used to portray that the protestors had gathered at Tahrir Square before, and they continue with their protest to raise out their demand. Concerning this news extract, two days later, AJA reported on the 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011 that the number of participants who join the mass protest at Tahrir Square had increased dramatically since early in the morning.

يواصل حشود المحتجين التوافد على ميدان التحرير وسط القاهرة بأعداد متزايدة وكبيرة منذ الصباح

*Crowds of protesters have continued to arrive at Tahrir Square in central Cairo in increasing numbers since the morning*

Also, the use of verb 'continue' was aimed to presuppose that the protestors have been gathered at Tahrir Square to voice out their demands. Then, they once again gathered at the Square with

much bigger participants. Hence, indicated that the protests successfully attracted many Egyptian to join the protests and support the demands of the protestors. Ultimately, AJA reported on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011 (several days before Mubarak stepped down) that the 'people revolution' has spread all over Egypt since the first mass protest started at Tahrir Square on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

اتسع نطاق الثورة الشعبية المصرية المتواصلة منذ أكثر من أسبوعين بعد توجه آلاف المتظاهرين لحصار القصر الرئاسي في مصر الجديدة

*The Egyptian popular revolution has continued for more than two weeks after thousands of demonstrators marched to besiege the presidential palace in Heliopolis.*

In this news extract, there are three words which have been used to presuppose positive meanings on the protest, namely; the verb 'spread', secondly 'continue' and finally 'since'. These three words were carefully selected by the journalist to presuppose that the continues protests have transformed into a revolution. Furthermore, the word 'revolution' has been used using the definite article (the revolution) which once again presuppose that 'the Egyptian Revolution' exists and the AJA want the readers to acknowledge it. Besides, the word 'Revolution' has been attached to the predication of 'populist' الشعبية of the Egyptian people. Hence, presupposes that the Egyptians have successfully started a revolution to bring massive change for their country. All in all, these presuppositions were strategically being employed to positively promote the protests in Egypt as it was successfully attracted massive crowds and eventually will bring massive reforms for Egypt after the protestors' demands being fulfilled.

In other news extracts, AJA utilised presupposition strategies to show support for the protestors, particularly those who have been killed during the clash with the authority. AJA reported 'Ghanim regrets the killing of innocent'. In this news extract, it not only presupposes that the protestors have been killed but also by describing the protestors as 'innocent', the journalist tried to involve a sense of sympathy with those protestors who lost their lives. Hence, revealed the journalist attitude towards the protestors by supporting and showing his sympathy

for them. In contrast, those who killed the 'innocent protestors' are guilty of committing the crime of killing 'innocent people'.

The presupposition strategies were strategically utilised to highlight the protestors' demands. In general, the online news reports presuppose that the protestors are insisted with their demands from the first day of the mass protests until Mubarak declares his resignation. Hence, revealing the online news outlet attitude towards the protestors and their demands. AJA, for instance, reported.

ويشكو المحتجون في مصر من ارتفاع الأسعار واتساع الفجوة بين الأغنياء والفقراء، ويطالبون بنظام سياسي جديد،  
*Protesters in Egypt complain about high prices and the widening gap between rich and poor and demand a new political order. 31-1-2011*

It is noticed from this news extract that presupposition strategies were strategically being utilised to presuppose that the protestors' demands of tackling the inflation, and minimise the enormous gap between poor and the rich are taken for granted as it the issues are real and have been acknowledged. Also, the word 'new political system' presupposes that the 'old regime' is terrible and need to be replaced. In another news extract of AJA's report on the event.

ومع ذلك تزايد الضغط من أجل الإصلاح، وكل يوم أصبحت الأسعار المرتفعة .  
*However, the pressure for reform has grown, and everyday prices are high. 30-1-2011*

In addition to the use of definite nouns to strategically presuppose that protestors' demands on the issues of inflation, lack of economic chances and political freedoms are taken granted, the verb 'become' has been used to acknowledge these issues. Therefore, the protestors were right to went down to the street and voice out their demands. Furthermore, the verb 'increase' and the word 'the pressure' which comes with definite form presuppose that the protests had happened before and continue to gain its massive wave during the revolution. Hence, caused massive pressure for the Egyptian government to fulfil the protestors' demands. Concerning this, AJA reported on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

وأصبح الشارع هو الوسيلة الوحيدة لتحقيق التطلعات الشعبية  
*The street has become the only way to achieve popular aspirations*

The verb 'become' has been strategically used to presuppose that going down to the road and voice out their demands happened in Egypt. On top of that, the expression 'the only way' presupposes that the protest is the only tool for the government to hear protestors' demands. In contrast, the 'other' ways done previously have led to failure. Furthermore, it is noticed that the protestors' demands have been mentioned as 'the populist vision' which not only utilises the definite form but also used the predication of populist. Hence, presuming to the readers to acknowledge the demands of the protestors and accept it as the Egyptian vision.

With the increasing number of protestors during the time of crisis in the Egyptian revolution, AJA reported that the Egyptian government understand the demands of Egyptian youth.

بيد أن عدد المحتجين واستمرار التظاهر دعا قيادات الحزب الحاكم الخميس إلى إصدار بيان  
*However, the number of protesters and the continued demonstration called on the ruling party leaders on Thursday to issue a statement. 28-1-2011*

Once again the verb 'continue' and definite article for the word 'the protest' presuppose that the protests have been held and continue to gain support from many Egyptian which caused the government to immediately announce that they are listening to the protestors' demands, particularly the demands made by the Egyptian youth. Ultimately, AJA positively reported that the revolution would continue in other Arab countries after it has successfully brought power change in Tunisia and Egypt:

وأكد المتظاهرون أن الثورة مستمرة ولن تقف عند مصر  
*The demonstrators stressed that the revolution is continuing and will not stop with Egypt*  
 11-2-11

The word 'the revolution' and verb 'continue' were strategically being used in this news extract to acknowledge the revolution in Egypt and presuppose to the readers that the revolution had happened previously in Tunisian and it is happening in Egypt. Then it will continue to cause a change in power in other Arab countries. It is worth to mention that the change of power by dethroning Mubarak and his allies is one of the main priority in protestors' demands. Hence,

when the protest has transformed into revolution, it shows that protestors' demands of the fall of Mubarak's regime have been fulfilled.

Finally, the presupposition strategies have been used by AJA to refute the allegation made by the government against the Egyptian antagonists. In other words, the presupposition strategies have been strategically being utilised in the news report to defend the antagonist group from the allegation made by the Egyptian government. Most of these presupposition strategies have been reported using the voice of Egyptian opposition leaders. For example, AJA reported on ElBaradei's word as he defends the MB from being labelled as violence and terrorism by the Egyptian government.

وأوضح أن الإخوان ابتعدوا عن العنف منذ نصف قرن ويركزون على الإصلاح والتغيير وليس على الوصول للسلطة،  
*He pointed out that the Brotherhood has moved away from violence for half a century and focuses on reform and change, not on reaching power. 25-1-2011*

In this news extract, presupposition strategies have strategically been utilised to portray the MB positively. For instance, the verb 'distanced' which come in the form of 'past tense' presuppose that MB may involve in violent before but now has avoided it. Furthermore, the phrase 'since half-decade' provide a connotation of a very long time ago, in which the MB has stopped from being 'violent'. In contrast, the MB, according to ElBaradei, focuses on 'the reform' and 'the change'. Again, both word 'reform' and 'change' were used with the definite article 'the' to presuppose for the reader to acknowledge the efforts made by MB for the 'reform' and 'change' in Egypt.

In a similar example, MB once again has been positively portrayed by AJA using presupposition strategies. This time the online news was reported using the voice of one Egyptian opposition leader. AJA reported:

دعا المعارض المصري للتوقف عن "شيطنة الإخوان وتخيير المصريين بين أمرين كلاهما خطأ هما قمع نظام حسني مبارك وفوضى الحكم الديني المتعصب."  
*He called on the Egyptian opposition to stop "demonising the Muslim Brotherhood and forcing the Egyptians to choose between two things, both of which are wrong: the suppression of Hosni Mubarak's regime and the chaos of religious fanaticism." 25-1-2011*

The verb 'stop' in this news extract as being reported by AJA, was strategically being selected to presuppose that the Egyptian government had started to spread the propaganda to tarnish the image of the Muslim Brotherhood. Hence, the opposition calls for this propaganda to be dismissed.

Presupposition strategies not only being used to positively portrayed AJA's out-group. This has been done to presuppose that the economic and social issues in Egypt during the time of crisis are real, and the readers must take it for granted without too much critical questioning. Hence, negatively portrays President Mubarak and his government for their failure in governing Egypt and caused people to protest against the government. It is worth to note that most of these economic and social issues have been highlighted during my discussion on the strategic used of presupposition strategies to report on the protestors' demands. Thus, the following examples of news extracts from AJA will focus only on the use of presupposition strategies to presuppose that these issues are real, hence leads the readers to acknowledge it unchallenged. For instance, AJA reported on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

وكل يوم أصبحت الأسعار المرتفعة والركود الاقتصادي والسياسي والفقر والبطالة والفساد الرسمي والمراقبة أقل وأقل  
احتمالا

*Every day, high prices, economic and political stagnation, poverty, unemployment, official corruption, and surveillance are becoming less and less likely.*

In this news extract, the presupposition strategies have been by using the verb 'become'. The use of the definite article 'the' for every issue mentioned in the news report also indicates presupposition. Finally, the strategic use of the phrase 'more' at the end of the news extract also indicates presupposition. The verb 'become' presuppose that these issues are happening, and the definite article 'the' furthermore acknowledge the existence of issues, namely inflation poverty, unemployment, corruption. Hence, Egyptian have lost their patience with the government and started to participate in mass protest. Finally, the word 'more resistance' presupposes that the resistance happened, and the challenge to the government increased during the revolution. In another news reported, AJA on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011 reported that Mubarak said:

وقال مبارك إنه سيواصل إجراءات الإصلاحات السياسية، وسيستمر في خطوات جديدة بهذا الاتجاه، مشيراً إلى أن إجراءات جديدة ستتخذ لمساعدة الفقراء.

*Mubarak said that he will continue the political reform measures and will continue in new steps in this direction, noting that new measures will be taken to help the poor.*

Although this news extract mentions on Mubarak's promises to the protestors to calm their waves of anger, it is, however, has been strategically to presuppose that the issues of lack of political freedom and poverty which have been raised by protestors are real. In other words, Mubarak himself has acknowledged that Egypt needs political reform and seriously deals with the issue of poverty. This has been done by strategically reporting Mubarak's speech using presupposition strategies of the verb 'continue'. The verb presumes that the steps towards political reform have been carried out in the past and it is to be taken more seriously this time. Furthermore, the adjective 'new' in 'new steps' for the political reform and 'new procedure' in dealing with poverty presupposes that the old steps and procedures carried out by Mubarak and his government previously have failed to overcome the issues. All in all, these presuppositions not only presuppose that Mubarak himself acknowledges the lack of political freedom and issue of poverty in Egypt but also lead the readers to assume that the protestors were rights in their demands calling for the government to bring political reform and seriously deal with the poverty. Hence, the presupposition strategies have been strategically being utilised to positively portray the protestors, while Mubarak's regime has been negatively painted in the online news report.

The outlet's journalist also carefully selected the presupposition strategies to negatively report on various restrictions and limitations forced by the regime on the Egyptian, particularly during the time of crisis. For instance, AJA reported:

فيما دام انقطاع الاتصالات الهاتفية وخدمات الإنترنت.

*As long as the interruption of telephone communications and Internet services. 29-1-2011*

In this news extract, the presupposition strategies have been utilised to presuppose that the telephone communication and internet services banned previously and continue to be restricted



during the uprising. In another news report, the presupposition strategies have been used to presuppose the continuity of the implementation of emergency law in Egypt:

وجددت القوات المسلحة في بيان تلقت الجزيرة نت نسخة منه دعوتها إلى ضبط النفس والتزام حظر التجول  
*And renewed the armed forces in a statement received by Al Jazeera Net a copy of its call for restraint and commitment to curfew. 29-1-2011*

Hence, the verb 'renews' presupposes that the implementation of emergency law happened before. Hence, Egyptians continue to suffer from this law, which restricted their movements, and many were detained without trial. In another news report, AJA highlighted the restrictions in Egypt through the voice of an activist of labour union:

قال مقرر لجنة الحريات بمجمع النقابات المهنية المهندس ميسرة ملص إن عهد مبارك هو عبارة عن "ثلاثين سنة من القمع المتواصل لكافة الحقوق والحريات الأساسية للشعب المصري."  
*The reporter of the Committee of Freedoms at the Professional Syndicates Complex, Engineer Maisara Malas, said that the Mubarak era is "thirty years of continuous repression of all the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Egyptian people". 1-2-2011*

In this news extract, the presupposition strategies have been carried out by using the phrase 'continues' and the definite article of 'the'. Hence, presuppose that the 30 years of Mubarak in power, people have suffered a lot for the lack of freedom and the violation of human rights. Closely related to this, AJA reported using the voice of the protestors on the violation of human rights:

ونطالب بالتوقف عن انتهاك حقوق الإنسان، ومراعاة مستقبل البلاد، وإنهاء الظلم والاستبداد بشكل كامل"، على حد تعبيره.  
*We demand that the violation of human rights to stop, that the future of the country must be respected, and that injustice and despotism are to be entirely ended, "he said. 25-1-2011*

Thus, the use of the phrase 'to stop' presupposes for the readers to assume that the violation of human rights which restricted Egyptian from the freedom of expression happened in Egypt.

Finally, the outlet also utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose that the Egyptians have lived all this time in depressions and fears caused by various restrictions forced on them by the regime. AJA reported in 30/1/2011:

وبدت شرعية مصر محررة من مخاوفها القديمة وصحت فجأة على مصيرها المتغير  
*Egypt's legitimacy seemed free of its old fears and suddenly corrected its changing destiny*

Hence, the use of adjective 'old' in this news extract presuppose that the Egyptians live in fears and pressures under the Mubarak's regime. However, the situation has gradually changed as people marched towards reform for their country.

Thirdly, the online news outlet negatively portrayed Mubarak and his government using presupposition strategies by presupposing the acknowledgement of bad policies and wrongdoing practised by the regime. For instance, AJA reported using the voice of the then Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq:

يأتي ذلك بينما جدد رئيس الوزراء الجديد أحمد شفيق التأكيد أمس الأحد أن مبارك باق في منصبه حتى نهاية ولايته في سبتمبر/أيلول المقبل موعد الانتخابات الرئاسية.

*This comes as the new Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq reiterated on Sunday that Mubarak would remain in office until the end of his term in September which is the next date for presidential elections. 7-2-2011*

The verb 'renewed' has strategically chosen by the journalist to report on Syafeq's word to presuppose that the regime is clinging to the power. Hence, Mubarak repeatedly refused to step down although the pressure has mounted on him to have immediately. In another online news report, AJA reported using the voice of protestors to highlight on the policy of unjust' violent and autocratic by reporting:

"ونطالب بالتوقف عن انتهاك حقوق الإنسان وإنهاء الظلم والاستبداد بشكل كامل".

*"We call for an end to the violation of human rights and an end to injustice and totalitarianism".*  
25-1-2011

Again, the definite article 'the' in 'the unjust' and 'the autocratic' presupposes that these harmful policies and practices are being carried out in large by Mubarak's regime. Furthermore, the verb 'stop' presupposes that 'unjust' and 'autocratic' had happened in the past and needed to be ended immediately. Closely related to this, presupposition strategies were used to presuppose that the Egyptian arm force has taken the wrong policies in the past by supporting the regime. Thus, it is time for the Egyptian army to make the right decision and grab the opportunity to fix the crisis in Egypt. AJA, for instance, reported on 3/2/2011:

ورأى أن الجيش المصري أمامه الآن فرصة ذهبية لتصحيح مواقفه السلبية في الأيام الماضية، والقيام بتدخل مرحب به داخليا وخارجيا لإنهاء المأساة الجارية في مصر الآن.

*He considered that the Egyptian army now has a golden opportunity to correct its negative positions in the past days and to make a welcome intervention internally and externally to end the tragedy that is going on in Egypt now.*

Ultimately AJA on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2011 provides a headline mentioning:

ديكتاتورية مبارك يجب أن تنتهي

*Mubarak's dictatorship must end*

It is found that the verb 'must' and 'stop' provide a meaning that presupposed Mubarak was governing Egypt with dictatorship, hence, this dictatorship must be stopped. Thus, the headline presupposes that Mubarak is a dictator, and the readers have been directed to acknowledge this fact as taken for granted. Therefore, portrayed Mubarak as a corrupt dictator who needs to be removed immediately.

Finally, the presupposition strategies were strategically being utilised in AJA online news report to presuppose the wrongdoing by the regime in dealing with protestors and their demands. Hence, the outlet highlights on the negative side of the Egyptian government in handling the uprising and the protestors' demands. Thus, it reveals the outlet biased toward the protestors by supporting them while the Egyptian government was treated as the 'out-group' by portraying them negatively. For instance, AJA reported on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011:

المحتجون في ميدان التحرير رأوا أن مبارك يقدم مرة أخرى استجابة بطيئة ومتأخرة لمطالبهم  
*Protesters in Tahrir Square saw Mubarak once again providing a slow and belated response to their demands*

The news extract indicates the strategic use of presupposition strategies to presuppose that Mubarak has previously delayed his response to the demands of the protestors. This has been done through the use of the phrase 'once again'. Hence, presupposes to the readers that Mubarak does not provide an immediate answer to the protestors' demands as he did it before. Similarly, in another news report, AJA reported on 2-2-2011:

للمرة الثانية، يختار الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك الانتظار إلى وقت متأخر من الليل ليخاطب الشعب  
*For the second time, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak chooses to wait until late at night to address the people*

Again, the strategic use of the phrase 'for the second time' by the AJA's journalist in this news extract was aimed to presuppose that Mubarak has previously used the same strategy by waiting until midnight before addressing his people. Hence, showing that he was delaying in his response to the protestors' demands. Thus, in these news extracts the presupposition strategies has been strategically being utilised to negatively portray Mubarak by presupposing to the readers that Mubarak has not provided rapid response to the protestors' demands. In another news report by the outlet presupposition strategies also been utilised to presuppose that Mubarak continues to show that he does not understand the people's anger.

فإن الكثيرين استقبلوا خطاب مبارك بمزيج من الفتور والإحباط والرفض، ورأوا أن ما جاء فيه يؤكد مجدداً أن الرئيس لا يدرك حجم الرفض الشعبي  
*Many people received Mubarak's speech with a mixture of lukewarmness, frustration and rejection. 2-2-2011*

Thus, the phrase 'again' presupposes that Mubarak had shown his ignorance of the people's anger in the past, and he is using the same strategy when dealing with the protestors' demands. Hence, Mubarak negatively as he is always showing his ignorance of the people's demands. AJA also utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose negative meaning on Mubarak in dealing with the protestors' demands using the voice of Egyptian oppositions. For instance, AJA reported from the source of opposition leader el-Baradaei on 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011:

البرادعي: كلما استمر مبارك في عناده استمرت حالة الاحتقان والشلل بمصر  
*ElBaradei: Whenever Mubarak stubbornly persists, the state of congestion and paralysis in Egypt continues*

The use of the verb 'continues' presuppose that Mubarak had previously shown his stubborn by refusing to listen to people's demands. Hence leads the readers to consider that Mubarak does not listening to his people's needs. Thus, promote negative impression on Mubarak for not taking proper action in dealing with his own people's requests. Last but not least, AJA not only utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose a meaning that Mubarak was not listening

to the protestors' demands, but also presuppose that the protestors always being treated with violence for merely voicing out for their right. For instance, AJA reported on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

تجددت المواجهات العنيفة صباح اليوم

*The violent clashes renewed this morning.*

It is noticed in this news extract that there are at least two linguistic elements have been used to presuppose negative meaning on the Egyptian government. First, the verb 'renewed/continued' promotes in the reader to presume that the clashes had happened in the past. Secondly, by using the definite article, 'the violent clashes' presupposes that the violent clashes which cost many casualties do happen several times during the uprising. All in all, these example of online news extracts from AJA, reveal that the presupposition strategies have been strategically utilised to presuppose that Mubarak and his regime were not taking an immediate action to fulfil the protestors' demands. In contrast, the protestors were treated violently by the authorities and Mubarak supporters which caused many casualties among the protestors. Hence, negatively portrays the Egyptian government for their failure in dealing with the protestors' demands since the early stage of the mass protest. As a result, the protests intensified, and the pressure against the government mounted high.

### **Presupposition strategies in BBC Arabic online news report.**

Comparing between the use of presupposition strategies in AJA online news report on the Egyptian Revolution and BBA online news report of the same event reveals that both online news outlets have used a very similar strategy. Hence, presupposition strategies have been used to presuppose positive assumptions on the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' was given negative assumptions. However, each of AJA and BBA has their own 'in-group' and 'out-group'. This is to say, while AJA considers the Egyptian antagonists as the 'in-group' and utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose positive things on them, BBA treated the Egyptian

antagonists as the 'out-group' and presuppose negative connotations on them at least during the early stage of the uprising. Similarly, BBA considers the Egyptian government as the 'in-group', while, AJA treats the Egyptian government as the 'out-group' hence presuppose negative meaning on them since the beginning of the uprising. Therefore, my discussion in this section will highlight the use of presupposition strategies in BBA online news report to support their 'in-group' and 'attacking' the 'out-group'.

Furthermore, my analysis will compare the use of presupposition strategies in BBA news with the same strategy used by AJA in their online news report of the Egyptian Revolution. It can be sum up that the use of presupposition strategies in BBA online news provides positive presuppositions on the 'in-group' are centered on four main themes, namely:

- 1) The Egyptian government has answered the demands of the protestors.
- 2) President Mubarak and his government's policies and approaches.
- 3) The way government was dealing with protestors.
- 4) The government efforts in controlling the situation in Egypt.

In the first theme, BBA has strategically utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose that Mubarak and his government has already taken serious actions to fulfil the demands of the protestors. Hence, positively portrays Mubarak and the government for their continued efforts to bring a better life for Egyptian. Thus, revealed the outlet biased towards Mubarak and the Egyptian government by treating them as the 'in-group'. BBA, for instance, reported indirectly using Mubarak voice on his clear intension not to contest in the next presidential election.

واكد مبارك مجددا على انه لايعتزم الترشح للرئاسة مرة اخرى او ان يخلفه نجله جمال

*Mubarak reiterated that he did not intend to run for President again or be succeeded by his son Gama. 13-1-2011*

It is observed from this news extract, the outlets' journalist has carefully selected the presupposition strategies in reporting on Mubarak's intention not to extend his presidency term or to appoint his son as his successor. This has been done through the word 'again' and 'once

again'. Hence, presuppose to the reader that Mubarak has previously stated that he will not become the Egyptian President in the next term. Therefore, it indicates that Mubarak is entirely determined that he is clinging to power. Thus, it provides a firm answer to one of the primary demand made by the protestors.

Similarly, BBA reported on 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011 using the then Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmed Syafeq, highlighting that the Egyptian government has already fulfilled most of the protestors' demands:

وقال شفيق لبي بي سي انه تمت الاستجابة الى 80 بالمئة من مطالب المتظاهرين  
*Shafiq told the BBC that 80 per cent of the protestors' demands had been met*

Again, the presupposition strategies have been strategically utilised through the verb 'has completed' to presuppose that the Egyptian government has worked continuously to fulfil the demands of the protestors since the mass protests started. Hence, the government has managed to fulfil 80 per cent of the demands.

Moving into the second theme, which revealed that presupposition strategies have being utilised strategically by the outlet to provide a positive impression on Mubarak and his government policies in governing the country. By using the presupposition strategies, it is presupposed that Mubarak and his government have done a lot of changes and reforms in various economic, social and political issues. Hence, acknowledges the governments continue efforts to fix the situation in Egypt. BBA, for instance, reported:

وتعهد مبارك بمواصلة الاصلاح ومكافحة الفساد في مصر بعد ايام من الاحتجاجات غير المسبوقة ضد نظامه التي اعتبر  
انها "عن تطلعات مشروعة لمزيد من الديمقراطية."  
*Mubarak vowed to continue reform and fight corruption in Egypt after days of unprecedented protests against his regime, which he said were "legitimate aspirations for more democracy".*  
29-1-2011

By strategically utilising the verb 'continue', and definite article in 'the reform' presupposes that Mubarak had already brought reform and fight corruption in Egypt. Hence, Mubarak will continue his useful approaches to provide a better Egypt in the future. Thus, the presupposition strategies in this news extract have been carefully selected to make the readers acknowledge

the efforts made by Mubarak to reform his country. As a result, Mubarak's reform was taken for granted by the readers. Similarly, BBA reported on 31<sup>st</sup> January 2011 that Mubarak had set the priority for the 'new government' under the leadership of Ahmed Shafeq as the Prime Minister is to bring back peace and stability to the country.

إن مبارك حدد خلال الاجتماع أولويات الحكومة القادمة وفي مقدمتها استعادة الأمن والاستقرار.  
*During the meeting, Mubarak set the priorities of the next government, first and foremost, restoring security and stability.*

In this news extract, the verb 'bringing back or return' has been strategically selected to presuppose the meaning that securing peace and stability is the main priority for Mubarak and his government. Hence, Egypt was peaceful, and Egyptian can enjoy the stability of their country in the past until the protestors started their mass gathering and ruin the country by bringing chaos and fears. Thus, the presupposition strategies have been utilised to portray Mubarak and his government positively. While the protestors have been represented negatively for bringing troubles to the country.

BBA also reported positively on Mubarak using the presupposition strategies to acknowledge his effort in making Egypt as a democratic country. This utterance has been reported from the word of the then President of America Barrack Obama:

إنه تحدث مع الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك وحثه على الوفاء بوعوده بشأن العمل على تحقيق مزيد من الديمقراطية  
*He spoke with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and urged him to deliver on his promises to working towards greater democracy. 29-1-2011*

By using the word 'more democratic' strategically presuppose to the reader that Obama acknowledges Mubarak efforts in the past for making Egypt a democratic country. Hence, Obama urges Mubarak to continue his excellent policy towards more democratic approaches in Egypt as real without too many critical questionings.

In the third theme, presupposition strategies have been used to presuppose the meaning that the Egyptian authority has taken proper actions in dealing with protestors during the mass



protests. Hence, positively portrayed the Egyptian authority and painted the protestors negatively for breaking the laws and causing chaos and fears. BBA reported for instance,

يناشد الشباب بالعودة إلى منازلهم لتتمكن الدولة من تنفيذ مطالبهم دون إضاعة الوقت.  
*It calls on young people to return to their homes so that the state can fulfil their demands without wasting time. 3-2-2011*

The implicative verb 'to ensure' in this news extracts presupposes that the Egyptian government is eager to fulfil the protestors' demands. Therefore, the authority has urged the protestors, particularly the Egyptian youths, to return home immediately. Hence, the government will have the opportunity to answer the demands of the protestors.

Closely related to the third theme, BBA also utilised presupposition strategies to positively portray the Egyptian government efforts in controlling the intensified of the protests. BBA, for instance, reported on 31<sup>st</sup> January 2011:

الجيش للمصري يدفع بالمزيد من تعزيزات امنية .  
*The Egyptian army is pushing more security reinforcements.*

The phrase 'more' in this news extract was aimed to presuppose that the Egyptian army was controlling the chaos caused by the mass protest by sending more security personnel to a various location where the protestors gathered. Hence, acknowledge the reasonable efforts made by the Egyptian army in overcoming the issues of theft and vandalism during the mass protest. Similar to this, BBA reported that local communities made their efforts in securing houses and properties from being robbed by the protestors. BBA reported, for instance:

جاء ذلك بينما استمرت لليوم الثاني على التوالي دوريات اللجان الشعبية من المواطنين في حراسة المنازل والممتلكات.  
*This came as the patrols of people's committees of citizens in guarding houses and property continued for the second day in a row. 31-1-2011*

Again, the verb 'continue' was strategically being used in this news extract the presuppose that the local communities previously has set up their security team in their effort to secure their belongings. Hence, acknowledge the local community's effort to overcome the issue of theft happened during the mass protest in Egypt. In another news report, BBA once again utilised

presupposition strategies to positively portray the Egyptian army for their continues efforts in controlling the critical situation during the mass protests.

ويقول مراسل بي بي سي انه عقب المواجهات الدموية التي شهدتها ميدان التحرير والمنطقة المحيطة به، كثف الجيش من تواجده، وعزز القوة المنتشرة في انحاء مختلفة من الميدان للسيطرة على الموقف ومنع اندلاع الاشتباكات مجددا.  
*After the bloody clashes in Tahrir Square and the surrounding area, the army has stepped up its presence and reinforced force across the field to control the situation and prevent further clashes. 4-1-2011*

It is observed that the verb 'intensified' and 'enhanced' were carefully selected by the journalist in this news extract to presuppose that the Egyptian army existed at Tahrir Square before. Thus, the army was intensified their control of the Tahrir Square after the considerable clash between the protestors.

All in all, the outlet has strategically utilised presupposition strategies to positively portrayed Mubarak and his government by presupposing the reader to acknowledge that Mubarak efforts in answering most of the protestors' demands and continues Mubarak's good policies in bringing reform for Egypt. Presupposition strategies were also being used to highlight positively on the way the Egyptian authorities deal with the protestors and to presume that the authorities are in control of the critical situation despite the protests have attracted much more crowds indicated.

In contrast to the Egyptian government, the Egyptian antagonists were treated as the 'out-group' by the online news outlet. This has been done by utilising presupposition strategies to presuppose the negative side of the protests and the protestors. Hence, presupposition strategies in BBA online news reports have been strategically used to highlight four significant issues caused by the protests, namely: 1) Theft and vandalism, 2) Protests severely affected social and economic activities, 3) The protests caused many casualties and 4) The existence of inciters.

By presupposing that the theft and vandalism widely separated in major Egyptian cities during the protests, BBA has highlighted the dark side of the protest events, hence portrayed the

protects and the protestors negatively. Thus, the protestors are being blamed for causing chaos and fears in Egypt. BBA, for instance, reported on this issue using presupposition strategies:

أن حالات السلب والنهب استمرت طوال الليل

*The looting continued throughout the night* 29-1-2011

In another news report, BBA reported that the theft, robbery and vandalism continue in major Egyptian cities.

أثار استمرار فوضى ونهب وتحريب طالت العديد من المراكز التجارية الكبرى وكذلك العديد من المحلات والمنازل في كثير من مناطق القاهرة والاسكندرية والسويس

*Continued chaos, looting and smuggling affected many major commercial centres as well as many shops and houses in many areas of Cairo, Alexandria and Suez.* 31<sup>st</sup> January 2011.

Hence, presupposes that theft and vandalism had occurred since the beginning of the mass protest, and now it widely separated into many business centers and houses in the cities of Cairo, Alexandria and Sues.

The second theme, which focuses on the negative effect of the mass protests closely related to the first theme of theft and vandalism. In other word, mass protests have caused theft and vandalism; hence, people live in chaos and fear. As a result, normal daily life activities in Egypt had severely affected by the mass protests, in which schools have been closed, and business have shut their premises. Thus, it made the economic and social condition in Egypt worse than before. Therefore, BBA strategically utilised presupposition strategies to negatively portrayed the protest by presupposing that it has paralysed economic and social activities in Egypt. Hence, acknowledge that the protests have severely affected Egyptian daily life. BBA, for instance, reported on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011

وقال مراسلنا في القاهرة ان مشاهد الفوضى قد أصبحت بادية في المدينة

*Our correspondent in Cairo said scenes of chaos had become apparent in the city*

The verb 'become' has been used to presuppose that chaos occurred in Cairo since the mass protest started, and now the chaos has surrounded the Egyptian's capital. Hence, once again presuppose a meaning aims to portray the protest negatively and blamed it for causing chaos and fears which severely affected daily activities in the Egyptian capital city Cairo.

In the different report dated 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011, BBA utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose that the protests have brought chaos and disorder into Egypt:

استمرار مظاهر الاضطراب في مصر

*Continuing unrest in Egypt*

The verb 'continue' presuppose that the protest used to cause chaos in the past. Hence, the reader will readily accept that the protests in Egypt have resulted in disorder in the country. BBA once again (in a news report dated 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011) reported on this, as the protestors are insisted with their demands by mentioning:

واستمرار الاعتصام يعني استمرار الشلل

*Continued sit-in means paralysis.*

Again, in this news extract, presupposition strategies have been used to negatively portray the mass protest by presupposing that the protests have already caused a lot of social and economic activities in Egypt to become portrayed. Hence, the protestors have been blamed for causing much damage to the country.

Moving into the third theme, it is found that the outlet has strategically utilised presupposition strategies presume that the protests have caused many casualties. BBA, for instance, strategically utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose the fight between the protestors and the Egyptian authority had occurred during the protest in a news report dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011:

تواصلت طيلة يوم الأربعاء الاشتباكات في ميدان التحرير والمناطق المجاورة وسط القاهرة

*The clashes continued Wednesday in Tahrir Square and adjacent areas in central Cairo*

The use of the definite article in 'the fight' presupposes the fight between protestors and the authorities has occurred and acknowledge it. The presupposition strategies furthermore being given a stronger impression with the use of the verb 'continue'. The verb indicates a change of state verb. It is worth to note that this 'fight' has caused many casualties, including many, have lost their life. Hence, acknowledging that the protests have caused violent fights is very important in highlighting the negative side of the protest. Therefore, BBA once again utilised

presupposition strategies to negatively portray the protests in Egypt by mentioning that it has caused six people died.

وكانت التظاهرات قد تواصلت الخميس في اليوم الثالث من الاحتجاجات التي خلف ستة قتلى حتى الان  
*The demonstrations continued on Thursday on the third day of protests, which left six people dead so far. 28-1-2011*

Thus, the verb 'continue' which indicates a change of state verb has been carefully selected by the journalist to presuppose that the protests had occurred previously. Hence, by continuing the protests, many casualties have been recorded as a result of the clash between protestors and the authority as BBA reported on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

تجددت المواجهات في ميدان التحرير بين المتظاهرين وقوات الأمن صباح اليوم  
*Clashes broke out in Tahrir Square between demonstrators and security forces this morning*

Closely related to this, BBA reported on the voice of the United States's official for his call to all parties of the protestors and the authorities to remain calm. 30<sup>th</sup> January 2011

وكان المتحدث باسم البيت الأبيض روبرت جيمس قد حث على استمرار ضبط النفس.  
*White House's spokesman Robert James had urged continued restraint.*

Again, the verb 'continue' has been used to presuppose that the protestors and the authorities had lost their calm. Hence, a clash between them is inevitable. Thus, Robert James urged all parties to remain calm; otherwise, the fight will resume. BBA also reported that the Egyptian army had intensified their existence at Tahrir Square after the 'Deadly clashes' between the protestors and Mubarak supporters.

ويقول مراسل بي بي سي انه عقب المواجهات الدموية التي شهدتها ميدان التحرير والمنطقة المحيطة به، كثف الجيش من تواجده.  
*After the bloody clashes in Tahrir Square and the surrounding area, the army has stepped up its presence. 4-1-2011*

The use of the definite article in 'The deadly clashes' in this news extract presuppose that the clashes are real, and many people have suffered severe injuries, and many more have lost their lives. Hence, presume to the readers that the protests have resulted in many casualties. Thus,

revealed the outlet strategic use of presupposition strategies to lead the readers to consider the fact that the protests have caused many casualties as taken for granted.

Finally, BBA has carefully utilised presupposition strategies to presuppose to the reader the existence of 'inciters' which was widely being blamed for causing chaos and disorder in Egypt. BBA, for instance, reported:

واضاف المسؤول المصري ان "تعهدات رئيس الجمهورية للشعب فى خطابه مساء الثلاثاء ... ارسى خارطة طريق واضحة لتنفيذ المطالب الشعبية بما يقطع الطريق تماماً امام مساعي بعض الأطراف والقوى للاستمرار فى اشعال الاوضاع الداخلية فى مصر."

*The Egyptian official added that "the President's pledges to the people in his speech on Tuesday evening ... laid a clear roadmap for the implementation of popular demands, which completely blocks the way for the efforts of some parties and forces to continue to ignite the internal situation in Egypt." 2-2-2011*

It is observed that the phrase 'to continue' in this news extract has been utilised to presuppose that the inciters are exits. Hence, acknowledge their rules as they have done it before in promoting violent and disorder among the protestors. Thus, more clashes and fights occurred during the mass protests. Similarly, the definite article 'the' has been carefully selected by the outlet in reporting Omer Suleimen's (the then Vice President of Egypt) words on his advice to the Egyptian youths and urging them to return home and stop the protest.

9<sup>th</sup> February 2011

وجه خطابه الى الشباب قائلا "يا شباب مصر عودوا الى دياركم واعمالكم ولا تنصتوا لمحاولات اشعال الفتن والاذاعات والفضائيات التي تسعى لاضعاف مصر."

*Addressing the youth, he said, "Egypt's youth, return home and your work and do not listen to attempts to ignite strife, radio and satellite channels that seek to weaken Egypt."*

Hence, the use of the definite article 'the inciters' aims to acknowledge the existence of inciters who work very hard to encourage Egyptian youth to rise against their government. In another news report, the Egyptian authority has emphasised their commitment to punish everyone involved in inciting the recent clashes between the protestors and Mubarak's supporters:

واضاف انه تقرر الافراج الفوري عن جميع الشباب المعتقلين غير المتورطين في أعمال إجرامية، متعهدا بمعاقبة كل من تورط في اشعال المواجهات الاخيرة.

*He added that it was decided to immediately release all young detainees who are not involved in criminal acts, vowing to punish all those involved in igniting the recent clashes. 4/2/11*

Again, the definite article in 'the inciters of recent fights' presupposes to the readers not only the clashes have occurred, but also the people who work very hard by inciting the people to participate in the fights also exists. Hence, the reader will treat the existence of inciters and the occurrence of fights without too much critical questioning.

In short, BBA has utilised presupposition strategies to cast harmful lights on the antagonist, particularly the protestors by presupposing the existence of the negative side of the mass protest. Hence, the outlet has strategically used presupposition strategies to acknowledge that the mass protest has caused theft, vandalism and resulted in many casualties. Furthermore, presupposition strategies have been used to presume that Egypt has been paralysed after the protestors decided to hold more protests until all their demands have been fulfilled. Finally, the presupposition strategies also being used by the outlet to acknowledge 'the inciters' as the leading group who has the responsibility for encouraging people to cause chaos and fears.

Despite the differences between AJA and BBA in using the presupposition strategies to report on the uprising events, both share at least two similarities in utilising the presupposition strategies. Hence, it is found that both AJA and BBA have utilised the presupposition strategies to highlight the restrictions forced by the Mubarak government on the Egyptians. Secondly, the presupposition strategies have been used to acknowledge that the protest has attracted more crowd day by day since the beginning of the mass protest on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Hence, revealed the similarities between the two online news outlets in utilising the presupposition strategies.

Even though BBA positively portrayed Mubarak's and his government policies and approaches using presupposition strategies, it is interesting to found that, BBA used the same strategy to criticise restrictions in Egypt. This restrictions, according to the outlet's news report, are against human rights. It is also important to note that, most of the critique on the limitation of freedom and violating the human rights in Egypt were reported by the outlet using the voice

of 'Western's leaders'. For example, BBA reported on the then United Kingdom Prime Minister, David Cameron urging the Egyptian government to bring reform for the Egyptian political system and enhance human right practices in the country. 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011

واضاف انه "طالما حثت بريطانيا الحكومة المصرية على اتخاذ تغييرات شاملة لاصلاح سجل حقوق الانسان في مصر ووضع المجتمع المدني وحقوق احزاب المعارضة المختلفة."

*"Britain has long urged the Egyptian government to make comprehensive changes to reform Egypt's human rights record, the status of civil society and the rights of various opposition parties," he said.*

This news extract presupposed that Egypt has a bad record on human rights; hence, it needs to fix thoroughly. Furthermore, the use of the definite article in 'the civil society rights' and 'the opposition rights' presuppose that the lack of civil rights existed in Egypt and acknowledges that the oppositions faced many restrictions in Egypt. BBA also reported on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011 using the voice of German Chancellor Angela Merkel calling the Egyptian government to allow peaceful gathering:

وكذلك حثت المستشار الألمانية أنجيلا ميركيل الحكومة المصرية على السماح بالمظاهرات السلمية.  
*German Chancellor Angela Merkel also urged the Egyptian government to allow peaceful demonstrations.*

The verb 'allows' which provide a meaning of a change of state verbs presuppose to the readers that the Egyptian was prevented from organising a peaceful gathering. As a result, many have been arrested after participated in the mass protests. Hence, the European Union urged the Egyptian government to release the protestors immediately, as been reported by BBA on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011:

وفي بروكسل دعت مفوضة العلاقات الخارجية في الاتحاد الأوروبي كاترين أشتون الحكومة المصرية الى إطلاق سراح المعتقلين في الحال.  
*In Brussels, EU External Relations Commissioner Catherine Ashton called on the Egyptian government to immediately release the detainees.*

It is observed that the use of definite article 'the detainees' and verb 'release' presuppose that there are people that have been arrested and they need to be released immediately. Ashton also criticised the violent approach used by the police against the protestors as reported by the outlet on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011:



وأضافت أشتون قائلة "ان استمرار استخدام الشرطة للقوة ضد المتظاهرين هو شيء مزعج."  
*"The continued use of force by police against demonstrators is disturbing," Ashton said.*

The verb 'continue' used in this news extracts leads the readers to assume that the Egyptian police has previously treated the protestors with violent. Hence, the readers will consider the issue of violent approaches towards the protestors as taken for granted. Similarly, BBA also reported that David Cameron has emphasised on the same issue:

وأكد كامبيرون على أن مواجهة الاحتجاجات السلمية بالعنف غير مقبول، وحث مبارك على اتخاذ الإجراءات الكفيلة بتسريع الإصلاحات.  
*Cameron stressed that confronting peaceful protests with violence was unacceptable and urged Mubarak to take measures to accelerate reforms. 29/1/11*

Finally, BBA has utilised the voice of the then President of America to highlight the lack of human rights in Egypt:

وعبر أوباما خلال حديثه مع الزعماء عن معارضته للعنف ودعوته لضبط النفس ودعمه لحقوق الإنسان وبينها حق الاحتجاج السلمي والتجمع وحرية التعبير.  
*Speaking to leaders, Obama voiced his opposition to violence and his call for restraint and support for human rights, including the right to peaceful protest, assembly and freedom of expression. 31/1/11*

Again, the presupposition strategies have been deployed to presuppose that Egyptians have been restricted from having their rights. Egyptians are not allowed to hold a gathering or participate in peaceful protests and have been prohibited from voicing out their opinion freely. Furthermore, the phrase 'his objection of the violent' presume to the readers that there is violent take place in Egypt, where the protestors have been treated violently.

BBA's news reports on the issues of human rights particularly on the restriction of peaceful gathering and violent approaches against the protestors during the Egyptian uprising showed that the outlet had reduced its support towards Mubarak. Although, the outlet continues to consider Mubarak as the 'in-group' and the Egyptian antagonists were treated as the 'out-group', the news report on the issue of human rights revealed that the outlet had not supported the regime in every issue. Furthermore, BBA has utilised the voice of international leaders, mainly from the west to put pressure on Mubarak and his government in bringing reform for

Egypt. Finally, the reports on human rights issues in Egypt which has many similarities with AJA's reports indicated that BBA is preparing to change side if the mass protests successfully dethrone the regime as happened before in Tunisia. Hence, with the protests have been attracting much bigger crowds and many protestors have been detained after four days of mass protest, BBA has started to include more voice of international leaders criticising the Egyptian government's approaches against the protestors.

This has led us to another shared feature between BBA and AJA in utilising presupposition strategies. Like AJA, BBA also utilised presupposition strategies to report on the success of protests in Egypt in attracting bigger crowds, day by day since the beginning of first protest on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. For instance, BBA positively reported on the protestor's determination to continue with their protests against Mubarak: 29<sup>th</sup> January 2011

تصاعدت وتيرة التظاهرات في مصر واحتشد الآلاف من المتظاهرين وسط القاهرة مواصليين احتجاجاتهم وتظاهراتهم ضد الحكومة المصرية

*Thousands of demonstrators gathered in central Cairo, continuing their protests and demonstrations against the Egyptian government.*

Hence, verbs 'increased' and 'continue' have been carefully selected to presuppose that the wave of protests existed, and the protestors committed to their demands. BBA also reported that the protests had reached many Egyptian towns:

تواصلت التظاهرات الاحتجاجية في عدد من المدن المصرية بعد صلاة الجمعة  
*Protests continued in several Egyptian cities after Friday prayers. 28-1-2011*

Again, the state of change verb 'continue' has been strategically used in this news extract to presume that the protests had reached many Egyptian cities outside Cairo when the protests resumed after the Friday prayer. In another report by BBA, the protests have been described as successful in bringing together thousands of Egyptian to protest against Mubarak's government.

عاود الآلاف من المصريين الاحتشاد في ميدان التحرير وسط القاهرة، مواصليين احتجاجاتهم ضد نظام الرئيس المصري مبارك.

*Thousands of Egyptians rallied in Tahrir Square in central Cairo, continuing their protests against the regime of Egyptian President Mubarak. 31-1-2011*

The news extract presupposes that thousands of Egyptians have already gone down to the street in Cairo, demanding the regime to dissolve.

In short, the analysis of presupposition strategies in BBA revealed that the outlet has slightly reduced its support to Mubarak and his government. This reduction in support has been made by using the presuppositions to highlight the issues of restrictions in Egypt. Presuppositions have also been used to promote that the protests gained positive momentum through the increasing number of participants in every protest organised by the protestors.

#### **4.8 CONCLUSION**

The present chapter deals with the first dimension of the Fairclough's analysis framework which focuses on the textual level. Specifically, the chapter analyses two linguistics features; First, lexicalisations and predication and second the presupposition. The textual analysis of the two outlets online news coverage on the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions revealed a consistency practice of group polarisation into two opposing groups namely: the 'in-group' and the 'out-group'. Hence, the outlets have strategically utilised ideological structures such as negative and positive lexicalisation and prediction, detailed description, attribution to personality and argumentative support in reporting the two revolutions events. For instance, the naming of Tunisian opposition parties during the uprising can be seen as an example of the structure of group polarisation. The Tunisian opposition parties which opposing Ben Ali such as Ennahda and the Tunisian communist party have been mentioned in the news texts with the label 'banned party'. While the Tunisian opposition parties which worked closely with Ben Ali carry the label of 'legalised' political party. Moreover, BBA labelled the protestors with negative names such as 'troublemakers', 'criminals' and 'outlaws' which indicated that the outlet was treated the protestors as the 'out-group'. In contrast, AJA named the protestors as 'demonstrators' and 'protestors'.

AJA also provided details description on the Tunisian and Egyptian opposition leaders such as, Marzouki, Rasheed Ghanouchi, Najeb Sheby, ElBaradei, Ayman Nour and the leaders from MB. In contrast, BBA opted to provide detail story on Ben Ali's achievement of developing Tunisia to become an example of moderate country in the region. Besides, BBA also highlighted the detail on Mubarak critical role in the peace process between Israel and Palestine. Moreover, BBA described the protestors as violators of norms and values. The Tunisian protestors, in particular, have been described by the outlet as making troubles and breaking laws, causing destruction, turmoil and chaos. This never happened before as the mass protest rarely occurred in Tunisia before the revolution. The Egyptian protestors also being negatively described as disobeying the enforcement of emergency law, halting traffic movements in Cairo and the other Egyptian cities, throwing stones and glasses at security forces, causing fire, damaging government offices, looting and robbery and threatening the security of local resident. Unlike BBA, AJA emphasized on the peaceful nature of the protests and portrayed the protestors as practicing their right for freedom of expression.

The analysis of presuppositions also revealed the group polarisation in the outlets' news coverage of the events. BBA utilised the presuppositions to promote the continues of chaos, violent, clashes, disruption and turmoil during the protests. Moreover, it highlights the continues efforts taken by Ben Ali and Mubarak to fulfil the protestor's demands. All these indicated that BBA was treated the government of Ben Ali and Mubarak as the 'in-group', while the protestors were considered as the out-group. In contrast, AJA utilised presuppositions to positively portrayed the protests and the protestors. AJA strategically employed positive presupposition to promote the determination of protestors in expressing their demands. Also, presupposition was used to highlight the wrongdoing and misconduct of the former governments. Hence, revealed that the outlet was considered the former Egyptian and Tunisian governments as the out-group.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **RESULT ANALYSIS OF VERBAL PROCESS**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter aims to answer the sub-research question two (SR2) which deals with the strategies in discourse construction around the Arabic online news coverages of the so-called 'Arab Spring' in Tunisia and Egypt. This chapter closely related to Chapter Four in examining the data textually by looking at the textual features level. While Chapter Four focuses on two textual strategies; Firstly: lexicalisation and secondly: presupposition, the present chapter will complete the analysis of textual strategies by focusing on the third strategy utilised by the two outlets namely the verbal process. Thus, in the following, I will present the detail textual analysis of the verbal process before moving into analysing the discursive practice of intertextuality in Chapter Six.

#### **5.1 Verbal Process.**

In this chapter of analysis which focuses on verbal process, I explain how the two Arabic online news outlets AJA and BBA reported on the two sides of conflict namely the government and the antagonists with an attitude; that is, how the two news outlets employed positive, neutral, and negative verbal processes differently. Halliday (1994) states that experiential meanings are represented by six different processes in the transitivity system. Relevant to my analysis in this section is a verbal process which relates to "any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning" (Halliday,1985:129). An analysis of verbal processes in media discourse is essential in that it shows how reporters utilise verbal processes to emphasise specific meanings and marginalise others and push readers' understanding of verbiage in a particular direction. Thus, verbal

processes not only introduce what is said but also reveal the reporter's attitude toward what is said (Fowler, 1991)

The Modern Standard Arabic online news of AJA and BBA were analysed, and the three types of verbal process; positive, negative and neutral verbal processes used in the online news texts were recorded. It is important to note that my analysis will be cast more light on the two types of verbal process, namely the positive and negative verbal process compared to the neutral verbal process. The neutral verbal process carries no indication of the author's attitude towards the speaker whose words being reported. In contrast, both positive and negative verbal processes somehow promote in the reader certain impression (either good or bad) on the person whose word is reported. Hence, the positive and negative verbal process will be the centre of my analysis to reveal the two online news outlets' attitudes towards the speaker of the word being reported. Concerning this, individual instances of positive, negative and neutral verbal process were then qualitatively analysed in detail by looking at the context of the online news article in which they occurred. This analysis of verbal processes examines what they revealed about the attitude of the journalist towards those whose words were being reported. Moreover, the analysis looks at how the journalist might be trying to push the reader's perception of a text and of the participants whose words are reported in that text in a certain direction. My analysis also shed light on how the dramatic content of the text, and the sense of conflict and tension between participants, can be enriched and heightened by the journalist choosing certain verbal processes rather than others.

In short, the analysis aims to reveal how the journalist of AJA and BBA encoded their experiences and understanding of reality and their attitudes toward the speakers representing different sides of the conflict, which their word being reported. The claim is that the consistent use of a type of verbal process, whether positive or negative, with a particular group, is a trace of the journalist's stance toward that group and, hence, reflected the online news outlet's

ideology about the government and the antagonists during the time of crisis. Finally, I discuss how verbal processes – neutral, positive, and negative – were used by the two outlets in the coverage; the aim is to shed light on how social actors on both sides of the conflict were reported. Thus, my analysis will reveal how AJA and BBA employed the verbal process differently to positively portray their in-group and negatively portray whom they considered as the out-group.

## **5.2 Verbal Process in Tunisian Revolution Coverage**

It is found that both AJA and BBA strategically utilised the positive verbal processes to positively portray what they considered as the ‘in-group’, while what has been labelled as the ‘out-group’ was negatively portrayed in their news coverage the time of crisis of Tunisian Revolution. BBA opted to consider Ben Ali and his allies of the Tunisian government as the in-group. Therefore, Ben Ali and the Tunisian authorities during the Tunisian Revolution have been positively portrayed by BBA at least from the start of the first protest in Tunisia (19/12/2010) up until 14/1/2011 the day Ben Ali left Tunisia and live in exile Saudi Arabia. Thus, by opting to be on Ben Ali's side during the time of crisis, BBA was trying to preserve the hegemony of Ben Ali on Tunisia, which received a significant challenge from the antagonists. In contrast to BBA, AJA opted to be on the antagonists’ side by positively portrayed them as the in-group. By considering the antagonists as the in-group and Ben Ali as the out-group, AJA was trying to counter-hegemony on the domination of Ben Ali after being in dominant power on Tunisia for almost 23 years.

Therefore, my analysis in this section on AJA and BBA news reports during the time of crisis will reveal how the two online news outlets utilised the verbal process through the consistent use of a type of whether a positive or negative verbal process with their in-group and out-group. Hence, the analysis will disclose the news agency's ideology about the antagonists

whether to support the hegemony or to launch the counter-hegemony and overcome the dominance of Ben Ali in Tunisia.

### **Verbal Process in AJA Online News Reports of the Tunisian Revolution**

The corpus data of AJA news articles during the time of Tunisian crisis shows that the outlet has utilised all the three subcategories of verbal process. Table 7.1 below provides detail information on the total number of occurrences for each subcategory of the verbal process and the total percentage of every subcategory of the verbal process in the outlet news texts.

<b>Sub-category</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>	<b>% of total verbal process</b>
Neutral	1667	67.74
Positive	563	22.88
Negative	231	9.38
Total	2461	100

Table 5. 1: Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the corpus of online news texts.

The neutral verbal process recorded the most occurrences in the corpus data at 1667 out of 2461 total number of the verbal process occurred in the data. While negative verbal process recorded the least with only less than 10% of the total verbal process occurred in the corpus data. Meanwhile, a positive verbal process managed to record 563 number of occurrences which represent almost 23% of the total number of the verbal process occurred in the corpus data. Table 5.2, on the other hand, lists ten most occurred verbal process for each of the verbal process subcategory. The list also provides the total number of occurrences for each of the verbal process. It is found that the neutral verbal process of 'said' recorded the highest number of occurrences, while the negative verbal process of 'blamed' only occurred in the corpus data five times. The most occurred positive verbal process in the corpus data is 'emphasised' followed by 'announced', 'ordered' and 'promised'. In contrast, the verbs 'refused' 'warned' and 'denounced' were the most negative verbal process occurred in the corpus data.



Positive	Neutral	Negative
emphasised (133)	said (611)	refused (46)
announced (127)	called upon (206)	warned (41)
ordered (63)	pointed out (131)	denounced (38)
promised (50)	requested (121)	accused (26)
decided (45)	described (78)	criticised (21)
explained (42)	indicated (76)	admitted (16)
pledged (25)	mentioned (67)	condemned (12)
urged (21)	asked (53)	denied (10)
echoed (18)	commented (13)	threatened (7)
reminded (15)	told (11)	blamed (5)

Table 5. 2: Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of AJA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category.

AJA utilised all three types of verbal process positive, negative and neutral in reporting the two sides of the conflict during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution. However, the use of positive verbal process associated with Ben Ali and other Tunisian authorities was limited to the news reporting on Ben Ali's promises during his speeches in order to calm the anger of protestors. In contrast, the use of the negative verbal process is the most dominant on Ben Ali and his allies. For example, AJA on 29/12/2010 reported:

بن علي يتوعد "مثيري الشغب"

*Ben Ali threatens the troublemakers*

The use of the verb 'threatens' in this news report does not give a good impression on the sayer (Ben Ali) as he needs to appear steady and firm in dealing with the so-called 'troublemakers'. Instead, the negative verbal process of 'threats' makes Ben Ali weak, powerless and out of control in handling the situations in Tunisia (massive amount of protests against his government). The same verb also being utilised with Ben Ali in another report by AJA dated 11/1/2011:

وتوعد بن علي "كل من يعتمد للنيل من مصالح البلاد"

*Ben Ali threatened "anyone who deliberately undermines the interests of the country"*

Once again, the author opted to use the verb 'threatened' in this news report by AJA to give an impression that Ben Ali is weak, as he no longer holds the upper hand in dealing the antagonists

who try to challenge his power. Besides, this negative verbal process also does not make Ben Ali appear like a wise man or someone who capable of governing his country. In another report by AJA, the negative verbal process of 'accused' was utilised to portray Ben Ali negatively. For instance, AJA reported on 29/12/2010:

اتهم الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي في خطاب -على خلفية الاحتجاجات التي تشهدها البلاد- أطرافا سياسية وإعلامية بتوظيف الاحتجاجات وتضخيم أبعادها

*Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali accused in a speech - at the backdrop of the protests in the country - political parties and media for employing protests and amplifying their dimensions.*

The verb 'accused' carries negative connotations and gave a bad impression. When the verb attached to President Ben Ali, who is the most crucial person in Tunisia at that time, it gives an impression that Ben Ali is powerless in dealing with the protests against his government. Moreover, Ben Ali being portrayed in this example as does not has a better solution rather than blaming others for the uprising in Tunisia. In another news report by AJA when the protests have spread all over Tunisia, the journalist continues to utilise the same negative verbal process to portray Ben Ali negatively. For instance, AJA reported:

وفي أول رد فعل رسمي للحكومة على التحركات الشعبية التي تعم البلاد، اتهم الرئيس التونسي في خطاب بث أمس أطرافا سياسية وإعلامية

*In the first official response for the government on the popular movements which pervade the country, the Tunisian president accused in a speech broadcast yesterday political parties and media...29/12/2010*

Thus, it is evident that the verbal process of 'accused' used in this news reports does not give a good impression on Ben Ali. Ben Ali supposed to look firm in his stance, wise and powerful in dealing with the antagonists, particularly his political enemies, the Tunisian oppositions. Instead, the negative verbal process was utilised to provide an impression that Ben Ali is powerless in dealing with his rivals. These negative impressions cannot be obtained if the author opted to use a positive verbal process such as 'declared' or 'announced' which in return gives positive impressions on Ben Ali as the influential, powerful and strong leader of Tunisia. The similar example can be found in another news report by AJA dated 30/12/2010:

زين العابدين بن علي اتهم بعض الأطراف بالتوظيف السياسي للأحداث  
*Zine El Abidine Ben Ali accused some parties of exploiting the events politically.*

In this example once again, Ben Ali appears so weak and unwise through the utilise of the negative verbal process, as he wildly blames other without specifically mentioned or named the side which he accused responsible for the chaos. AJA also utilised the verbal process to portray Ben Ali's associates negatively. For instance, the negative verbal process of 'accused' was used to report on The Green party, which enjoyed a good relationship with Ben Ali's political party of DCA. AJA reported on 28/12/2010:

كما اتهم حزب الخضر للتقدم الجزيرة "بتضخيم الأحداث والتركيز على البث المتكرر طيلة أيام  
*The Green Party also accused Al-Jazeera of "exaggerating events and focusing on repeated broadcasts for days.*

The negative verbal process of 'accused' in this news report provides a negative impression on the actor (The Green Party) by portraying the party only capable of blaming other (Al-Jazeera news) for providing news coverage on Tunisian Revolution. Another related example also can be found from the AJA's news report, which provided a negative impression on different social actors from Ben Ali's side. AJA on 29/12/2010 reported that the Tunisian Parliament which dominated by DCR representatives and other Tunisian 'legal' oppositions 'criticised' Al-Jazeera for their coverage of the protests in Tunisia.

وكان مجلس النواب التونسي وأحزاب سياسية تونسية قد انتقدت تغطية قناة الجزيرة للاحتجاجات  
*The Tunisian House of Parliament and Tunisian political parties have criticised Al-Jazeera coverage of the protests.*

The verb of 'warned' which give negative connotation also being utilised to negatively portray the Tunisian authority (security personnel) in AJA news report dated 7/1/2011:

أن أغلب مقرات المؤسسات العمومية بمكثرت حرقها أو تدميرها، محذرا من أن المقاربة الأمنية تقود البلاد إلى نفق مظلم.  
*Most of the public institution's headquarters have been burned or destroyed, (giving) a warning that these incidents will lead the country to a dark tunnel.*

Furthermore, the same negative verbal process of 'warned' was also associated with the Tunisian army in the news report dated 15/1/2011:

كما حذر الجيش السكان في ضاحية المرسى من مسلحين على متن سيارات مستأجرة

*The army also warned residents in the Marche district of shooters onboard rented cars.*

Despite these negative verbal processes which aim to portray Ben Ali and his associates negatively, AJA tries to provide balanced coverage on the Tunisian revolution events by utilising some positive and neutral verbal process on Ben Ali's side. It is observed that the use of the neutral verbal process is more dominant during the early stage of uprising compared to the positive verbal process, while the use of negative verbal process on Ben Ali's side is still the most dominant as mentioned before. The example of the neutral verbal process associated with Ben Ali is:

وقال بن علي في مستهل خطابه إنه يأسف لما خلفته تلك الأحداث  
*Ben Ali said at the start of his speech that he feels sorry about the incidents. 29/12/10*

In this news report by AJA on the first official response from Ben Ali after the protests have entered almost every famous city in Tunisia, the author opted to utilise the neutral verbal process of 'said' which offer neither negative nor positive impression on the sayer (Ben Ali). Instead, the focus on this news example was given to the verbiage, which mentioned that Ben Ali regrets the incidents happen in Tunisia during the protests. The same neutral impression on Ben Ali was also being reported using a verbal process in this second example:

وقال بن علي إنه يقدر شعور أي عاطل عن العمل  
*Ben Ali said he appreciated the feeling of any unemployed. 29/12/2010*

The neutral verbal process 'said' in this news report by AJA only provide neutral connotation on Ben Ali, which supposed to be portrayed as an important and strong leader of Tunisia. However, the author of the news chooses only to use the neutral verbal process in his report on Ben Ali. In contrast, if the author utilised positive verbal process such as 'emphasised' or 'confirmed' or 'pledged' it will portray Ben Ali differently as a strong, wise and influential leader of Tunisia. Another example of utilising neutral verbal process on Ben Ali, which provides neither a good nor bad impression on Ben Ali can be found in the example below:

كما طالب بن علي المسؤولين بالمرونة في التعامل مع المواطنين.  
*Ben Ali also called upon the officials to be flexible in dealing with citizens. 30/12/10*

The author of this news report utilised the neutral verbal process of ‘called upon’ which provide neither negative nor positive impression on the sayer (Ben Ali). Thus, the news report was aimed to cast more light on the verbiage without paying much attention to the sayer. Also, the use of the neutral verbal process in this news report gives the impression that Ben Ali was not so serious in asking the Tunisian authorities to deal with the people nicely. In return, the verbal process is not providing enough impression that Ben Ali is taking the matter (protestors' demands) so seriously. Another example which also utilised the neutral verbal process to report on Ben Ali is found the AJA news report dated 10/1/2011 as stated below:

ودعا الرئيس التونسي نواب الشعب وأعضاء مجلس المستشارين والأحزاب السياسية لتكثيف اتصالاتهم بالمواطنين  
*The Tunisian president called on people's representatives, members of the House of Councilors and political parties to intensify their contacts with citizens.*

The neutral verbal process of ‘called’ in this news report neither provided an impression on Ben Ali as the influential leader of Tunisia nor an impression of his weaknesses. Thus, the neutral verbal process used in this news report does not portray Ben Ali, neither negatively nor positively.

The use of the positive verbal process in reporting on Ben Ali is rare to found in AJA news report, particularly before 9/1/2011 when the protests almost reached the highest level since the beginning of the Tunisian uprising. On this rare occasion, AJA reported on 7/1/2011:

وعد الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي مساء الخميس في خطاب للشعب بإصلاحات ديمقراطية وإرساء الحريات العامة،  
*Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali promised Thursday evening in a speech to the people on democratic reforms and the establishment of public freedoms,*

‘Promised’ is a positive verb as it gives a good impression that the actor is strong, powerful and capable of fulfilling his promises. It is also indicated that the actor is taking the matter seriously. Thus, in this among rare example found in AJA news report, the author utilised the positive verbal process of ‘promised’ to give a good impression on Ben Ali that he sincerely wants to bring political reforms in Tunisia and provide more freedom to the Tunisian. At the same time,

this positive connotation on Ben Ali reflected that the protestors have successfully delivered their demands and forced Ben Ali to fulfil his promises.

When the uprising entered its final stage several days before the departure of Ben Ali (9/1/2011 onwards, approximately five days before the departure) the use of positive verbal process on Ben Ali was limited to news reporting on Ben Ali's promises in his final efforts to calm the anger of protestors. The examples of the use of positive verbal in reporting Ben Ali's promises taken from AJA's news report are as follow:

1)

وأكد بن علي تمسك حكومته بسياساتها التعليمية رغم صعوبات التشغيل  
*Ben Ali stressed his government's adherence to its educational policy despite the difficulties of finding jobs. (10/1/2011)*

2)

وأعلن الرئيس التونسي خمسة قرارات تتمثل في مضاعفة طاقة التشغيل وتنويع ميادينها خلال عامي 2011 و2012  
*The Tunisian President announced five decisions to double the capacity of job opportunities and diversify the fields of employment in 2011 and 2012. (11/1/2011)*

3)

كما قرر عقد ندوة وطنية خلال الشهر القادم تشارك فيها مؤسسات رسمية وأخرى أهلية لطرح تصوراتها بشأن تشجيع التشغيل خلال السنوات القادمة.  
*He also decided to hold a national symposium next month in which the participation of both government and non-governmental institutions will present their views on promoting job opportunities in the coming years. (11/1/2011)*

4)

وأكد بن علي في خطاب بثته التلفزة التونسية أنه لن يغير الدستور للسماح له بخوض انتخابات الرئاسة  
*Ben Ali emphasised in a televised speech that he would not change the constitution to allow him to run for president (13/1/2011)*

5)

ووعد بن علي بأنه سيطلب من لجنة تحقيق مستقلة التحقيق في مسؤولية كل الأطراف بدون استثناء  
*Ben Ali promised that he would ask an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the responsibility of all parties without exception (13/1/2011)*

These five examples of the positive verbal process were used by AJA to report on Ben Ali's promises. In the AJA's attempt to provide balanced coverage of both sides in the Tunisian conflict, AJA provided good representations on Ben Ali even when the pressure on him was reaching its peak, days before his departure by utilised positive verbal process. From another

perspective, these Ben Ali's promises have shown that the protestors' demands have been successfully delivered to the government and President Ben Ali himself has shown his effort to fulfil all the demands. It is noted that there are four positive verbal processes found in these five examples namely: the verb of 'stressed' as in example (1) and (4), 'announced' in example (2), 'decided' in example (3) and 'promised' in example (5). The use of positive verb of 'stressed' in example (1) positively portrays Ben Ali as he is seriously focused on the education issues which provided an impression that he is the one who holds the authority on the issue by not taking the matter lightly. The same also applied in the example (4) as Ben Ali stressed that he would not change the Tunisian constitution to allow him in clinging to his position. The example (2) furthermore used the positive verbal process of 'announced' which optimistically portray Ben Ali as a stable and influential leader because only someone who has the 'power' enough is capable of providing more jobs opportunities within one to two years for the Tunisian. Meanwhile, the two verbs of 'decided' and 'promised' in example (3) and (5) give an impression that Ben Ali is an influential leader in Tunisia by planning to organise a national forum in searching for better solutions to unemployment issues and forming independence body to investigate the misconducts happened during the Tunisian uprising.

AJA also utilised the positive verbal process to show their support to the antagonists and considered them as the 'in-group'. For instance, AJA reported on the protestors' demands by saying:

وطالب المتظاهرون بتحقيق فرص تنمية وضمان الحق في العمل، كما أدانوا ما وصفوه بالفساد،  
*The protestors demanded opportunities for development and guaranteed the right to work, and condemned what they described as corruption, 28/12/2010*

The two verbs used in this example 'demanded' and 'condemned' may seem negative, particularly the second verb as condemnation is usually attached with a negative connotation. However, the two verbs provide positive meaning to the actors by making them look big and forceful in dealing with the pressure from the Tunisian government. In other word, the

protestors are too small in term of number and power which they have compared to the Tunisian government. Despite this deficit, the protestors were portrayed in this news report as being able to demand the government for providing more jobs and condemn corruption. Thus, the two verbs of 'demanded' and 'condemned' give positive connotations on the sayer (the protestors) by portraying them as big and forceful in dealing with the government which is far more powerful than the protestors.

On the other hand, the two verbal processes used in this news extract have transformed the Tunisian government to look weak and under heavy pressure from the protestors' demands and condemnations. Thus, the two verbs of 'demanded' and 'condemned' have fulfilled the task to positively portray the 'in-group' (the protestors) and negatively portray the 'out-group' (the Tunisian government). Besides, these positive meanings given by the author through the utilising of the verbal process will not be fulfilled if the author opted to use a neutral verbal process like 'said' or 'called' to replace the verbs of 'demanded' and 'condemned'.

AJA also utilised the same strategy to positively portray the banned Tunisian oppositions by making them look significant, robust and influential when dealing with the government. It is worth to note that, before the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, Ben Ali and his political party of DCR were the dominant power in Tunisia. In contrast, many opposition parties, particularly those who openly criticise Ben Ali, have been barred from any political activity. Thus, before 2011, Ben Ali and DCR enjoy the privilege of power dominant in Tunisia and receive minimum threat from the oppositions. Therefore, it is observed that during the 2011 Tunisian revolution, AJA tries to utilise the positive verbal process to empower the antagonists particularly the powerless Tunisian oppositions by giving an impression which portrays them as big, strong and influential in the fight against the dominant of Ben Ali and DCA party. For instance, AJA utilised the positive verbal process in its news report on Ennahda by saying:



كما حذرت حركة النهضة -المحظورة أيضا- من تداعيات الأحداث

*The Ennahda movement - also banned - warned of the repercussions of the events (20/12/2010)*

The verb 'warned' may seem negative, but in this news extract, it provides a positive impression to the actor (Ennahda movement) in their fight with the Tunisian government. This positive impression will not be achieved if the journalist opted to use a neutral verbal process such as 'called upon' or 'mentioned' which does not have a strong positive impression on Ennahda. Thus, the author chooses to use the strong instructional verbal process aimed to give an impression that Ennahda is significant, robust, vital and has a massive influence over what is happening at that time (the widespread of protests against the government) in Tunisia. After all, not everyone can issue a warning as it required the strong, powerful and influential actor to warn others from doing something prohibited. Another similar example can be found in AJA's news report when the author tries to give a positive impression to another banned Tunisian opposition known as Tunisian Workers' Party.

من جهته أدان حزب العمال الشيوعي التونسي المحظور بدوره، خيار القوة المتنامي لفرض ما سماه الأمر الواقع.

*The banned Tunisian Communist Workers' Party, in turn, condemned the growing power of imposing what it called as the 'real situation'. 21/12/10*

Although the Tunisian Workers' Party is relatively small party compared to Tunisian ruling party of DCR during that time of crisis, AJA has utilised the verbal process of 'condemned' to positively portray Tunisian Workers' Party. Thus, the verb 'condemned' gives an impression that the actor (Tunisian Workers' Party) is strong as it has the strength to condemn the dominant power in Tunisia for imposing people with something against their need. In another example, AJA tries to provide a good impression on the Tunisian oppositions regardless of their political stance as long as they stand against Ben Ali in the 2011 Revolution by positively portrayed them as big and robust coalition against the dominant power in Tunisia. AJA reported on 28/12/2010:

وحذر سياسيون معارضون من مخاطر اللجوء إلى القوة لقمع المظاهرات السلمية، وطالبوا بالإفراج عن المعتقلين وفك الحصار الأمني المفروض على سيدي بوزيد والمناطق المجاورة.

*Opposition politicians warned of the dangers of resorting to force in suppressing peaceful demonstrations. They also demanded the release of detainees and lifted the security siege imposed on Sidi Bouzid and neighbouring areas.*

It is noticed that the author has utilised the two verbs of ‘warned’ and ‘demanded’ to give a positive impression on the actors (politicians from Tunisian oppositions). Thus, the politicians in this news report have been portrayed as someone strong, wise and influential. In this news report, the opposition politicians are influential because they have the strength to warn the government, which has more power compared to them. The politicians are wise because they suggest a better solution in dealing with a peaceful demonstration. The politicians also being portrayed in this news report as influential as they are capable of delivering the Tunisian demands to the government for realising the detainees and lifting the siege imposed on Sidi Bouzid. Furthermore, the verbal processes used in this news extract positively portrayed the Tunisian oppositions by making them appear as one strong coalition as they can agree with each other despite the differences in political stances. Once again, the analysis of verbal process revealed that AJA has strategically utilised the verbal process to positively portray Tunisian antagonists by giving positive impressions on them and in contrast, AJA provides negative impressions on DCA and their allies which are the dominant power in Tunisia during the 2011 revolution.

AJA not only provides a positive impression on Tunisian opposition through the utilise of the verbal process but also use the same strategy to positively portray the Tunisian non-political groups and Tunisian unions during the time of crisis in the 2011 Tunisian revolution. These non-political movements and unions have shown their strong support towards the protestors' demands. It is also worth to note that, these Tunisian non-political groups particularly the Tunisian professional and workers unions such as the Labour Union, the Teacher Union, the Lawyer Union, the Miners Union were among the earliest groups who directly show their support to the protesters. Their supports and active participants in the protest

events can be traced back since the first day of protest a day after Bouazizi burned himself on 18/12/2010 which is far earlier than the participation of the Tunisian opposition in the protest events. AJA, for instance, positively reported on one of the Tunisian unions on 29/12/2010 by mentioning:

وأضاف المكتب (المكتب التنفيذي للنقابة الوطنية) أنه يدين "منع وعرقلة زملاء الصحفيين والاعتداء على بعضهم أثناء أداء واجبهم المهني  
29/12/10

*The office (the executive office of the National Union) said it condemns "preventing and hindering journalists and assaulting some of them while performing their professional duties*

Condemnation may seem negative; however, it can give a positive impression on the sayer for his courage to condemn something, particularly when the verbiage is deserved to be condemned. Thus, in this example taken from AJA online news report, the sayer (The Executive Officer of Tunisian National Workers Union) has been portrayed as wise and strong by using the verbal process of 'condemned' for having the courage to condemn Tunisian government terrible policies.

On the other hand, the verbiage which referred to the Tunisian government's approaches in prohibiting the media coverage of the protest events was negatively portrayed in the news report. Therefore, the Tunisian government policy in denying the freedom of media access is deserved to be rebuked, hence provides an excellent impression to the sayer as he is a wise person. On the next day (30/12/2010) AJA published more news on the same issue, which deals with the limitation of media coverage on the uprising events.

أدانت نقابة الصحفيين التونسيين أمس الأربعاء "التعتيم الإعلامي" الذي رافق بداية الأحداث في منطقة سيدي بوزيد،  
*The Tunisian Journalists Union on Wednesday condemned the "media blackout" that accompanied the beginning of events in the Sidi Bouzid region,*

In this news report, AJA reported that the Tunisian Journalists Union also 'condemned' the Tunisian authorities for preventing them from doing their job in reporting the events during the Tunisian revolution. Although, the Tunisian Journalists is relatively small in term of number and power compared to the Tunisian authority, the author of this news extract has utilised the

verbal process of ‘condemned’ to provide a positive impression on the sayer (the Tunisian Journalists Union). The positive impression of strong and firm in their stance will not be achieved if the author substituted the verb ‘condemned’ with another neutral verb such as ‘called upon’ which does not give a much strong impression on the sayer compared to the verb ‘condemned’.

A similar example which also revealed that AJA strategically utilised the verbal process to positively portrayed the Tunisian unions who support the protestors’ demands during the revolution can be found in the news report dated 7/1/2011 as mentioned below:

وأشار النقابي التونسي إلى أن "المسيرات الشعبية العفوية السلمية انطلقت منذ أمس للمطالبة بالتشغيل والتنمية العادلة" منتقدا "القمع الشديد" الذي حولها إلى مواجهات عنيفة.  
*The Tunisian trade union pointed out that "peaceful popular rallies began peacefully yesterday to demand employment and fair development," criticising the "severe repression" which led to violent confrontations.*

The positive verbal process of ‘criticise’ used in this news report provides a good impression on the Tunisian Unions for showing their courage in criticising the Tunisian government for not taking proper action in dealing with peaceful protests. Because of violent approaches used by the Tunisian government, the protests have turned into intensive fights between the protestors and the security personnel. Thus, the use of the verbal process in this news extract aimed to portray the Tunisian unions positively and considered them as the ‘in-group’, while the Tunisian authority has been negatively portrayed and treated as the ‘out-group’.

AJA not only utilised the positive verbal process to give an impression which make the antagonists (as a group) appeared in its online news report as a big, wise and influential group, but also utilised the same strategy to provide the same positive impression for the leaders (as an individual) of these antagonist groups. This is to say, AJA not only utilised the positive verbal process to portray the antagonists as a group positively but also used the same strategy to portray the antagonists as an individual positively. As a result, these individuals (mostly the

antagonist's leaders) appeared in AJA news reports as someone who has a good quality of leadership such as an influential, wise, strong and powerful person. For instance, AJA reported

وندد رئيس الرابطة التونسية لحقوق الإنسان مختار الطريفي بإيقاف المحامي العيادي  
29/12/2010

*The president of the Tunisian League for Human Rights, Mokhtar Tarifi, condemned the suspension of lawyer Ayadi*

1)

وطالبت حركة التجديد (الحزب الشيوعي سابقا) في بيان بفك الحصار الأمني على مدينة سيدي بوزيد وإطلاق سراح  
الموقوفين فوراً، ودعت إلى رفع التعتيم الإعلامي.  
20/12/10

*The el-Tajdid movement called upon for the renewal of the security siege on the city of Sidi Bouzid and the release of the detainees immediately and called for lifting the media blackout.*

2)

من جهته طالب الحزب الديمقراطي التقدمي في بيان له الحكومة التونسية أيضا بسحب قوات الأمن فوراً من مدينة سيدي  
بوزيد ومحيطها.  
20/12/10

*For its part, the Progressive Democratic Party (PDP) called upon the Tunisian government to withdraw security forces immediately from the city of Sidi Bouzid and its surrounding.*

The two examples of (1) and (2) dated 20/12/2010 was taken from among the earliest online news reports by AJA on the protests in Tunisia. Both examples used the neutral verbal process 'called upon' in reporting the actors which are from the antagonists for their supports towards the protestors namely the El-Tajdid (Reform) Movement in example (1) and the Democratic Progress Party in example (2). Besides, the example (1) contains two neutral verbal processes 'called upon' and 'called' to stress on the peaceful nature of the request made by the sayer to the Tunisian authority. Thus, the neutral verbal processes used in these two examples provide an impression that the sayer is trying to deliver his request accurately without any pressure or violent. In other words, the author has utilised the neutral verbal process to give a good impression on the Tunisian antagonists during this early stage of the protest by portraying them as using non-violent approaches in delivering their request to the Tunisian authority. Examples (3) to (9) as stated below, on the other hand, represent the middle stage of the Tunisian revolution because they were reported by AJA approximately ten days after the first protest was recorded in Sidi Bouzid. During this middle stage, the protests have entered the Tunisian capital and all major Tunisian cities. It is noticed that AJA still using the neutral verbal process in

reporting on the antagonist's demands even though the wave of protests in Tunisia has gained massive support by the Tunisian.

3)

وطالب المتظاهرون بتحقيق فرص تنمية وضمان الحق في العمل

28/12/10

*The protestors called upon for the achievement of development opportunities and ensured the right to work*

4)

وهتف المتظاهرون في المسيرة بشعارات معادية للتمديد مثل "حريات حريات.. لا رئاسة مدى الحياة"،

28/12/10

*The demonstrators chanted slogans against the extension of the extension, such as "freedom of freedoms .. not a presidency for life,*

5)

وطالبوا برفع القيود عن الحرية وتشغيل عاطلين هاتفين "شغل.. حرية.. كرامة وطنية"،

28/12/10

*They called upon for the lifting of restrictions on freedom and the job opportunities for the unemployed, calling for "occupation, freedom, national dignity,*

6)

قال عدد من الصحفيين الأعضاء في نقابة الصحفيين التونسيين في بيان إنهم اعتصموا أمس الاثنين أمام مقر النقابة "للاحتجاج على التعطيم الإعلامي

28/12/10

*Journalists from the Union of Tunisian Journalists said in a statement that they gathered on Monday in front of the union headquarters" to protest against the media blackout'.*

7)

طالب الأمين العام السابق للحزب الديمقراطي التقدمي أحمد نجيب الشابي السلطات بالتعامل مع المتظاهرين بما يقتضيه القانون وليس بالعنف والقمع

29/12/10

*Former Secretary-General of the Democratic Progressive Party Ahmed Najib al-Shabi called upon the authorities to deal with the demonstrators according to the law, not violence and repression*

8)

وقال رئيس حركة النهضة المحظورة راشد الغنوشي إنه من واجب التنظيمات السياسية والحقوقية أن تتحمل مسؤوليتها

29/12/10

*The head of the banned Ennahda movement, Rashid Ghannouchi, said it was the duty of political and human rights organisations to take the responsibility*

9)

وطالب المتظاهرون في مناطق فقيرة وخاصة من سيدي بوزيد

30/12/10

*The protestors in poor areas, especially from Sidi Bouzid called upon...*

Examples (3) to (9) contain many neutral verbal processes, namely: 'called upon', 'said' and 'called'. The neutral verb of 'called upon' is the most frequent neutral verbal process used in these examples and can be found in the example (3), (5), (7) and (9). The example (6) and (8) on the other hand utilise another neutral verbal process, namely 'said', while the example

(4) used a neutral verb ‘called’. It is also worth highlighting that the example (3), (4), (5) and (9) showed the neutral verbal processes were used to report on the protestors’ demands, for instance, more job opportunities in example (3) and (5) and demand for more freedom and better human rights in examples (4) and (5). The examples (7) and (8) on the other hand, revealed that similar neutral verbal processes were used in reporting the demands made by antagonist leaders namely Najeb Shabi in example (7) and Ghannouchi from el-Nahdah in example (8). All in all, these examples clearly indicated that the author has opted to preserve the use of neutral verbal processes in reporting the demands made by the antagonists to the Tunisian authority during the uprising, even though the protests have successfully gathered massive crowd from the Tunisian and strongly backed up Tunisian opposition and other Tunisian non-political groups. Therefore, AJA has strategically utilised the verbal process to support its approach to portraying the protests as non-violent protests and the demands made by the protestors are legal and acceptable. Hence, provide positive representations of the protestors and their demands.

It is not surprising to found that AJA sticks to its approach in using the neutral verbal process when reporting on the protestors' demands event days before the departure of Ben Ali. This is to say, AJA preserved to utilise the neutral verbal process in reporting the protestors' demands even at the final stage of the uprising. For instance, these news extracts were reported on the day Ben Ali left Tunisia:

وتجاهل المعتصمون برودة الجو ورفعوا لافتات وصورا وأعلاما تونسية، وتطالبه بالتناحي عن السلطة  
14/1/11

*The protesters ignored the cold air and raised banners, pictures and Tunisian flags, calling upon Ben Ali to step down*

وقد احتشد عشرات الآلاف من المحتجين في مظاهرة أمام مقر وزارة الداخلية بالعاصمة تونس، وطالبوا برحيل الرئيس بن علي ومحاسبة المسؤولين عن الفساد.  
14/1/11

*Tens of thousands of protesters rallied in front of the Home Ministry in Tunis, calling upon the departure of President Ben Ali and holding accountable those responsible for corruption.*

وشهدت سوسة الواقعة جنوب العاصمة تظاهرة ضخمة عبر المشاركون فيها عن عدم الثقة بالرئيس بن علي وطالبوا برحيله.  
14/1/11

*Sousse, south of the capital, witnessed a massive demonstration through which participants expressed distrust of President Ben Ali and called upon his departure.*

كما شهدت ولاية القصرين الواقعة وسط غرب تونس مسيرة كبيرة تطالب برحيل بن علي

14/1/11

*The Kasserine province in central-western Tunisia also witnessed a significant march calling upon the departure of Ben Ali*

It is indicated from these examples that AJA utilised the neutral verbal process of 'called upon' to report on the protestors' demands up until the final day before Ben Ali departed Tunisia. It is also found that, during this final stage of protest, the demands were centred on Ben Ali's resignation. Hence, this provides another positive impression on the protestors for being able to unite and peacefully present their demands. Also, at the background of the news on the uprising, AJA utilised the neutral verbal process to report on foreign leaders mainly from the US and the EU. Thus, AJA once again strategically utilised the neutral verbal process on the requests made by the US and EU leaders to the Tunisian government which go in line with the same strategy used by AJA to report on protestors' demands. Hence, its provide positive connotations that the protestors' demands not only being supported by the US and EU leaders but also give a good impression that the demands itself can be appropriately realised without chaos or violence. For instance, AJA reported:

14)

ودعا المسؤول الأمريكي الحكومة التونسية إلى حماية الحريات المدنية وإلى ضبط النفس من قبل جميع الأطراف.

9/1/11 -

*The American official called on the Tunisian government to protect civil liberties and restraint by all parties in Tunisia.*

15)

من جانبها دعت فرنسا إلى الهدوء، وعبرت على لسان الناطق باسم الخارجية برنارد فاليرو أيضا عن الأسف لأحداث العنف،

10/1/11 -

*For its part, France called for calm, and the Foreign Ministry spokesman Bernard Valero expressed his regret on the events of violence,*

16)

دعا الاتحاد الأوروبي إلى إطلاق سراح المعتقلين على خلفية هذه الأحداث.

10/11/11

*The European Union called for the release of the detainees against the backdrop of these events.*

17)



وقالت أشتون إن الاتحاد الأوروبي يدعو لإطلاق سراح الصحفيين والمدونين والمحامين وبقية المعتقلين على خلفية الاحتجاجات.

10/11/11

*Ashton said the EU called for the release of journalists, bloggers, lawyers and the rest of the detainees on the backdrop of the protests.*

In line with AJA's approach in providing a positive representation of the protest and the protestors, the neutral verbal process has been used in reporting on the support shown by foreign leaders to the protestors' demands. From the examples (14) to (17); it is noticed that the neutral verbal process of 'called upon' was the most frequently used in giving the neutral impression as it can be found in the example (14), (15) and (16). While the example (17) utilised verb 'said' in providing a neutral impression on the sayer. All these neutral verbal processes provide neither strong impression nor bad connotation on the sayer as can be accomplished from the use of the positive or negative verbal process. In another word, the neutral verbal process used in these examples provides a neutral impression on the antagonist' demands as the demand itself can easily be seen as harmful and violent particularly if the demand comes from the opposing group to challenge the hegemony of ruling power. Thus, in order to preserved to a positive representation of the protest and the protestors themselves, AJA carefully utilised the neutral verbal process in reporting on the protestors from the early stage of Tunisian revolution until the departure of Ben Ali. By preserving the use of the neutral verbal process, particularly during the final stage of the protests, AJA has portrayed the protests as peaceful events, and the protestors' demands are valid. Hence, highlighted the positive sides of the protests and dismissed the negative issues surrounding the event such as violent clashes between the police and protestors, riots, chaos, many have been killed or seriously injured or have been detained.

### **Verbal Process in BBA Online News Reports of the Tunisian Revolution**

BBA utilised all the three subcategories of a verbal process in reporting the event of the 2011 TR. However, the total number of occurrences for each of these three sub-categories differ, as shown in Table 5.3.

Sub-category	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Neutral	1153	65.29
Positive	476	26.95
Negative	137	7.76
Total	1766	100

Table 5.3: Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the corpus of online news texts.

The subcategory of the neutral verbal process recorded the highest number of occurrences with 1153 of almost 66% while positive verbal process recorded 476 number of occurrences (27%) and the negative verbal process was recorded the least number of occurrences at 137 or 7.8%. The **Table 5.4** furthermore provided ten verbal processes for each of the three sub-categories, which recorded the highest number of occurrences in the corpus data.

Positive	Neutral	Negative
announced (152)	said (569)	accused (34)
emphasised (87)	called upon (131)	refused (30)
ordered (45)	mentioned (84)	insisted (14)
promised (39)	requested (64)	blamed (13)
pledged (38)	asked (55)	denied (12)
decided (37)	indicated (35)	admitted (8)
explained (36)	pointed out (29)	criticised (8)
echoed (18)	described (23)	condemned (7)
urged (14)	commented (12)	warned (7)
declared (13)	told (9)	claimed (3)

Table 5.4: Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of BBA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category.

The neutral verbal process of 'said' recorded the highest number of occurrences at 569 times while the negative verbal process of 'claimed' recorded the least number of occurrences as it only occurred three times. Comparing with the similar list for AJA (Table 5.2) it is found that, the neutral verbal process of 'said' also recorded the highest number of occurrences in AJA's lists. In contrast, the most occurred positive verbal process in AJA is 'emphasised' while the

verb 'announced' was the most utilised positive verbal process in BBA's corpus data. Besides, the verb 'accused' was the most occurred negative verbal process in BBA's list compared to the verb 'refused' which recorded the highest number of occurrences in AJA's corpus data.

Moving into a more specific analysis of the BBA online news reports during the time of crisis for the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, revealed the online news outlet utilised the positive verbal process to positively portray Ben Ali and his allies hence considered them as the 'in-group'. In contrast, the antagonist, particularly the protestors and the Tunisian opposition, were treated as the 'out-group' by using the negative verbal process to report on them. It is also found that the Tunisian authority which consisted of Ben Ali and his allies were the dominant voice in BBA online news reports since the early stage of Tunisian uprising up until 9/1/2011 in line with the online news outlet's approach in retaining the hegemony of existing dominant political power in Tunisia by President Ben Ali during that time. However, this approach was started to change after 9/1/2011, when the protests intensified, and foreign countries particular the US and EU have started to express their concern about the situations in Tunisia. Hence, BBA has started to bring more antagonist's voice in its report and slightly reduced the dominance voice of Ben Ali and Tunisian authority. Therefore, the period between 9/1/2011 and 14/1/2011 has shown that BBA slightly changes their approaches by trying to provide more balanced coverage on both sides of the conflict. Finally, when Ben Ali left Tunisia on 14/1/2011, BBA changes its side to be with the antagonists and provide more report on them. All these can be seen in detail through the analysis of verbal process utilised by BBA in its online news reports.

Before 9/1/2011, when the voice of Ben Ali and Tunisian authority were the most dominant in BBA's online news reports, BBA strategically utilised the positive verbal process to give a good impression on Ben Ali and his allies. Thus, BBA considered Ben Ali as the 'in-group', while the antagonists were treated as the 'out-group' and they have been described by using negative verbal process. For instance, BBA positively portrays Ben Ali in his efforts to

deal with the protestors' demands by using positive verbal processes. BBA reported on 28/12/2010:

وعد في الوقت نفسه باتخاذ المزيد من الإجراءات الحكومية لتدعيم خلق فرص عمل جديدة في البلاد.  
*At the same time, he promised to take more government measures to boost the creation of new jobs in the country.*

In this online news extract, it showed among the earliest official respond by President Ben Ali on the widespread protests in Tunisia. The author opted to use the positive verbal process of 'promised' in reporting on Ben Ali respond to the protests. Hence, the author has strategically utilised the positive verbal process to give a positive impression on Ben Ali by portraying him as a wise and influential leader of Tunisia. In addition to the strategic use of the verbal process of 'promised,' Ben Ali appeared in this news report as a wise leader because he provided details on his promise to solve the issue of unemployment in Tunisia. Furthermore, it takes the only strong and powerful leader to handle such a big issue of unemployment in Tunisia. These positive impressions of the wise and influential leader of Ben Ali will not be fulfilled if the author opted to use another verbal process such as neutral verbal process like 'said' or 'mentioned' which does not provide a much positive impression on the sayer compared to the verb 'promised'. Another example which revealed that BBA consistently utilised the positive verbal process to provide a strong positive impression on Ben Ali can be seen in another news report by BBA dated 29/12/2010 as mentioned below:

ففي خطاب متلفز ألقاه الثلاثاء، أكد بن علي "إن مثيري أعمال الشغب سوف يُعاقبون بشدة".  
*In a televised speech Tuesday, Ben Ali stressed that "rioters will be severely punished".*

In this second example, the verb 'stressed' has been utilised to provide a positive impression on Ben Ali hence portraying him as a stable and influential leader in dealing with the 'troublemakers'. During the Tunisian uprising, Ben Ali faced a severe challenge from the antagonists, which demanded him to step down. In answering to this challenge and preserving the dominant power over Tunisia of Ben Ali, BBA has utilised the positive verbal process to positively portray Ben Ali as an influential leader who has full control over Tunisia by

emphasising that he will take firm action against anyone who tries to bring chaos into Tunisia. In another example taken from BBA online news report, Ben Ali was once again being portrayed as a stable and influential leader of Tunisia in dealing with antagonist's challenge to his power:

وكان الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي قد صرح في وقت سابق من يوم الاثنين بالقول: "إننا نقول لكل من يعمد إلى النيل من مصالح البلاد  
4/1/2011

*Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali declared earlier on Monday: "We say to anyone who deliberately undermines the interests of the country"*

This news example from BBA reported on one of Ben Ali's speech to the Tunisian in response to a series of protests against his government. Despite facing a serious challenge from the protestors during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, the author opted to utilise the positive verbal process of 'declared' to positively portray Ben Ali as a strong leader who has a firm stance in facing the challenges on his government. In contrast, the right impression of a strong leader with a firm stance will not be achieved if the author substituted the verb 'declared' with another verb such as 'mentioned' or 'said'. Hence, the positive verbal process of 'highlighted' has been strategically used in this news report to provide a positive impression on Ben Ali and at the same time give bad connotation on the antagonists who try to exploit the situation in Tunisia during the uprising for their political interest.

لكنه أكد في الوقت نفسه أن "أعمال الشغب تضر بصورة البلاد لدى السياح والمستثمرين، وأن القانون سيطبق بحزم ضد أقلية من المتطرفين."  
9/1/11

*However, he stressed that "the riots are damaging the image of the country to tourists and investors, and that the law will be firmly enforced against a minority of extremists."*

In addition to Ben Ali, BBA also utilised Positive verbal process to provide good descriptions on Ben Ali's allies. For instance, Ben Ali's Prime Minister since 1999, Mohamed Ghannouchi was positively portrayed by BBA through the utilisation of positive verbal process. BBA reported on 11/1/11:

وطلب الغنوشي "من جميع الجهات التحلي بالروح الوطنية."  
".Ghannouchi asked, "all sides to show patriotism"

The verbal process of 'asked' has been strategically utilised by the author of the news to provide a significant-good impression on Ghanouchi. As a result, Ghanouchi has been portrayed in the news as a strong and powerful leader in Tunisia. However, these impressions of a strong and powerful leader cannot be fulfilled if the author changes the verb 'asked' into the neutral verbal process such as 'called upon' or 'said'. Therefore, the verb 'asked' has been strategically utilised in the news to portray Ghanouchi positively, hence revealed BBA's bias toward the Tunisian authority during the 2011 revolution.

Furthermore, the task carried by Ghanouchi, as reported in the news is huge. It takes an extraordinary man who has the capability of asking everybody to remain calm and put their love to Tunisia as the priority in finding a solution during the time of crisis. Thus, Tunisian Prime Minister, during the time of crisis, has been positively portrayed by BBA in this online news report to has these good qualities hence qualified to become a suitable leader of Tunisia. In another example, Ghanouchi being portrayed as a wise and influential leader in dealing with massive pressure from the protestors.

وأعلن رئيس الوزراء التونسي محمد غنوشي نبأ إقالة وزير الداخلية رفيق بلحاج قاسم والافراج عن جميع الموقوفين.  
*Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Ghannouchi announced the sacking of Interior Minister Rafik Belhadj Kacem and the release of all those arrested. 12/1/11*

In this online news report of BBA, the author has utilised a positive verbal process of 'declared' which provide a positive impression on Ghanouchi. Hence, the use of the verb 'declared' not only portray the declaration is official because it comes from the Prime Minister of Tunisia, but also it highlights the high position of the announcer (Ghanouchi). After all, it takes the only leader of the highest rank to declare the resignation of Ben Ali's senior minister (his Home Minister) which deals directly with the protestors during the uprising and the release of protestors after being detained by the authority. In the third example below, Ghanouchi was reported during his speech which highlighted his pledge to protect the Tunisian constitution and bring political and social reforms in Tunisia.

تعهد الغنوشي "باحترام الدستور" والقيام "بالاصلاحات السياسية والاجتماعية"  
*Ghannouchi vowed to "respect the constitution" and undertake "political and social reforms".*  
13/1/11

Again, the positive verbal process of 'pledged' was used to positively portray Ghanouchi for his promises in dealing with the anger of Tunisian over the government. Thus, during his speech, he pledged to protect the constitution and bring changes to the political and social system in Tunisia. Hence, provided a good impression on Ghanouchi as an influential leader of Tunisia for his determination in bringing back peace into Tunisia and fulfilling the protestors' demands.

Ghanouchi was not only Ben Ali's minister being positively portrayed by BBA using positive verbal process. BBA was positively reporting other Tunisian ministers. Tunisian Communication Minister during the 2011 Revolution, for instance, has been positively portrayed by BBA in its online news report dated 10/1/2011 as mentioned below:

وأوضح وزير الاتصالات التونسي سمير العبيدي في تصريح لقناة الجزيرة ان ارسال وحدات من الجيش الى هناك تقرر  
"بغرض حماية المباني الحكومية"  
*Tunisian Communications Minister Samir Obeidi told Al-Jazeera television that army units were sent there to protect government buildings*

The positive verbal process of 'explained' used in this online news report provides a positive impression on the sayer as a wise leader of Tunisia. Thus, the Tunisian Communication Minister in this news extract has clearly explained the reason for sending army troop to protect the government's building from being vandalised by the protestors. In another example, the Tunisian Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education were both being positively portrayed by BBA in its news report dated 11/1/2011:

وأعلنت وزارتا التربية والتعليم العالي في بيان مشترك  
*The ministries of education and higher education announced in a joint statement*

The verb 'announced' which used to report on the two Tunisian Ministries namely: Minister of Education and Minister of Higher Education has provided a good impression on the ministries as the central authorities which have the power in making important decisions related to the

educational system in Tunisia. Both ministers have declared to adjourn the learning session until the situation has returned to calm.

Furthermore, BBA also strategically utilised the verbal process to give positive descriptions of the Tunisian government in general. The examples below show that positive verbally processes were strategically utilised to give a good impression on the Tunisian government during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution:

1)

أعلنت الحكومة التونسية التونسية مقتل ثمانية أشخاص في المصادمات بين قوات الأمن والمتظاهرين المحتجين  
*The Tunisian government announced the death of eight people in clashes between security forces and protesting protesters*

9/1/11

2)

الحكومة التونسية تقرر إغلاق جميع المدارس والجامعات  
*The Tunisian government decides to close all schools and universities*

10/1/11

3)

وكانت الحكومة التونسية قد أعلنت يوم الاثنين عن غلق المدارس والجامعات في كافة أنحاء البلاد "حتى إشعار آخر".  
*On Monday, the Tunisian government announced the closure of schools and universities across the country "until further notice."*

11/1/11

The verb 'announced' was used in the example (1) and (3), while the example (2) utilised verb 'decided'. These verbs provide a good impression on the Tunisian government despite being heavily criticised by the protestors during the 2011 Revolution. Thus, by providing a good impression on the Tunisian government, BBA has shown its support toward the Tunisian authority and considered them as the in-group. Hence, BBA maintained to positively portray Ben Ali's government as the legitimate authority of Tunisia. Therefore, the Tunisian government has the authority to officially declare the decision to adjourn the learning process in school and university during the uprising, as mentioned in the example (2) and (3). Also, the example (1) revealed the official number of casualties during the fight between the Tunisian security personnel and protestors. Hence, denying any other number of casualties claimed by different parties, as the Tunisian government has the authority to declare the official number.



Although there is not much being reported on the antagonist's voice by BBA during the early stage of the revolution, it revealed that negative verbal process had been utilised to give a bad impression on the antagonists particularly the Tunisian illegal oppositions. Thus, the oppositions were negatively portrayed using verbal process; hence, BBA considered them as the out-group. For instance, BBA reported that the Tunisian opposition had been blamed for inciting the riots which were denied by them.

ترفض المعارضة اتهامات الحكومة بإزكاء الاضطرابات

*The opposition rejects government accusations of fueling the unrest*

8/1/11

The opposition in this news report has been portrayed as weak and powerless through the utilisation of negative verbal process of 'denied'. However, if the author substitutes the verb with another verb which provides strong impression in denying the accusation on the Tunisian opposition such as 'condemned' or 'criticised', it will give a good impression on the opposition. Hence, the negative verb 'denied' was strategically utilised by the author to give an impression of weakness to the Tunisian opposition. Concerning this, BBA once again reported on the same issue in its online news by mentioning:

لكن المعارضة رفضت تلك الاتهامات قائلة إن الدافع وراء الاحتجاجات هو البطالة،

*Nevertheless, the opposition rejected the accusations, saying the protests were motivated by unemployment.*

9/1/11

Again, the oppositions have been portrayed as weak in dealing with the government of Tunisia because they were not being able to refute the accusation for causing riots in Tunisia. Thus, the author does not provide ample chance for the opposition in this news report to defend themselves by providing less description from the opposition's side while the government was given full details. Therefore, it reveals that the Tunisian opposition was treated as the 'out-group' by BBA.

The analysis of the utilisation of verbal process by BBA in its online news coverage of 2011 Tunisian Revolution had revealed that BBA continues to use the positive verbal process

in reporting about Ben Ali event after 9/1/11 when the protests in Tunisia almost reached its peak. Thus, BBA continues to show its support to Ben Ali, and the Tunisian government up until Ben Ali departed Tunisia on 14/1/2011. For instance, BBA utilised positive verbal processes to positively portray Ben Ali between 10 January and 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, particularly in reporting about Ben Ali's speeches to Tunisian by saying:

1)

والرئيس التونسي يتعهد بتوفير 300 ألف وظيفة في ظرف سنة  
10/1/11

*The Tunisian president pledges to provide 300,000 jobs within a year*

2)

وفي المقابل وعد الرئيس في خطاب تلفزيوني بتوفير 300 ألف فرصة عمل جديدة قبل 2012.  
11/1/11

*In return, the president promised in a televised address to provide 300,000 new jobs by 2012.*

3)

وأكد انه ملتزم بتعهده لدى توليه الحكم في عام 1987 بأنه "لا رئاسة مدى الحياة",  
*He stressed that he was committed to his pledge when he came to power in 1987 that "no presidency for life",*

4)

إن كلمة الرئيس بن علي كانت تصالحية وتعهد فيها بالمزيد من الانفتاح والديمقراطية.  
13/1/11

*President Ben Ali's speech was conciliatory and pledged more openness and democratic practices in Tunisia.*

5)

وأمر بن علي الذي تولى الرئاسة منذ عام 1987 بتخفيض أسعار بعض المواد الغذائية الضرورية.  
ووعد بن علي بمجتمع ديمقراطي أكثر في تونس.  
14/1/11

*Ben Ali, who took office since 1987, ordered a reduction in the prices of some essential foodstuffs.*

These five news extracts taken from BBA news report dated between 10<sup>th</sup> January and 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 strategically utilised several positive verbal processes to provide positive connotations on Ben Ali. These positive verbal processes are: 'pledged' as can be found in the example (1) and (4), 'promised' in example (2) and (5), 'stressed' in example (3), and 'ordered' in example (5). In the example (1) for instance, the positive verbal process of 'pledged' has provided a good impression on Ben Ali by portraying him as an influential leader of Tunisia for having the authority to work on providing a vast number of job opportunities (300,000) for Tunisian within a year. The same news was also reported by BBA on the next day (11<sup>th</sup> January

2011) by using another a positive verbal process, namely 'promised'. Once again, the verb 'promised' has provided a positive impression on Ben Ali as only a strong and determined leader can deliver the promise to create 300,000 new jobs for Tunisian. The example (3) furthermore, portray Ben Ali as a wise leader for keeping with his promises. This positive impression has been achieved from the use of the positive verbal process of 'stressed' which shows Ben Ali's commitment in keeping with his words. However, if the author substituted the verb 'stressed' with a neutral verbal process such as 'mentioned', it will not provide a good connotation on Ben Ali as provided by the use of the verb 'stressed' found in the news extract. The example (4) and (5) provided more evident which show that BBA continues to be on Ben Ali's side even when the massive pressure on Ben Ali to resign has been build up days before his departure. During these remaining days before Ben Ali's departure, BBA was positively described Ben Ali on his promises for more openness and more democratic practices in Tunisia. BBA also positively portrayed Ben Ali as a leader that has enormous influential power in Tunisia for his excellent efforts to lower the essential foods price, which a task only can be done by an influential leader.

All in all, these examples indicate that BBA opted to be with Ben Ali's side up until the day he departed Tunisia by continue to provide a positive impression on him through the strategic used of positive verbal processes. Even though BBA does not immediately change its policy, we have noticed that BBA has slightly changed its strategy starting from 9<sup>th</sup> January 2011 by bringing more antagonist's voice in its report and slightly reduced the dominance voice of Ben Ali and Tunisian authority. Thus, BBA gradually changed its approaches by providing more balanced coverage on both sides of the conflict. This is to say, BBA does not immediately change its side to be on the antagonists' side, but the agency has started to reduce the dominant of Ben Ali and his associates by bringing reports on the antagonists. Hence, from 9<sup>th</sup> January until 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the antagonist's voices have been reported using neutral verbal

processes. The examples below indicate that neutral verbal processes were used by BBA to report on the process of saying made by the Tunisian antagonists:

1)

احتجاجات في تونس تطالب بإطلاق سراح معتقلين  
*Protests in Tunisia demand the release of detainees*  
9/1/11

2)

وذكر الناشط في نقابة المعلمين، بلقاسم سايجي، أن قوات الأمن أطلقت النار على المتظاهرين  
*Teachers' union activist Belkacem Sayhi said that security forces shot at the demonstrators*  
9/1/11

3)

وقال عبيد البريكي، نائب الأمين العام للاتحاد العام التونسي للشغل: "نحن ندعم مطالب الشعب .....  
*"We support the demands of the people," said Obeid Braiki, deputy secretary-general of the Tunisian General Labor Union.*  
10/1/11

4)

ودعا المسؤول الأمريكي الحكومة التونسية إلى حماية الحريات المدنية وإلى ضبط النفس من قبل جميع الأطراف.  
*The US official called on the Tunisian government to protect civil liberties and restraint on all sides.*  
10/1/11

5)

وطالب المتظاهرون بإنشاء نقابة للشرطة ورفع المظالم التي يقولون انهم يعانون منها لاعوام.  
*The demonstrators demanded the creation of a police union and the lifting of grievances they say they have been suffering for years.*  
11/1/11

These five online news extracts of BBA report on the Tunisian antagonist using neutral verbal process. The verb 'called upon' is found in example (1) and (5), while the verb 'mentioned' is used in example (2), the verb 'said' is used in example (3) and the verb 'called' is used to report on process of saying in example (4). By reporting on the antagonist using neutral verbal process, BBA does not clearly show its support to the antagonist's demands because the neutral verbal process provides neither a positive impression nor negative description on the actor. However, its clearly shows that BBA has started to change its approach toward providing more balanced news coverage of the Tunisian revolution by reducing the dominant of Tunisian authority's voice and bring some of the Tunisian's antagonist voice in BBA news report beginning from 9<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Hence, BBA reported on the protestors' call to release all the detainers using a neutral verbal process of 'called upon' as mentioned in Example (1). Besides, in the example

(5), BBA also reported on the protestors' request to establish a union for the police and overcome the injustice using the same neutral verbal process of 'called upon'. BBA has started to bring the activist's (from the antagonist's side) voice in its online report. In the example (2) for instance, BBA utilises the verb 'mentioned' to report on one of the activists from the Tunisian Teachers' Union.

Similarly, the example (3) the neutral verb of 'said' was used to provide an unbiased impression on the Deputy Secretary-General of Tunisian Labour Union. Interestingly, at the background of news coverage of Tunisian Revolution, BBA also utilised the neutral verbal process of 'called' in a report on the United States authority's call to protect civil rights in Tunisia as stated in the example (4). This call to protect civilian freedom was in line with the protestors' demand. All in all, although BBA only utilises neutral verbal processes in reporting on the antagonist beginning from 9<sup>th</sup> January 2011, which does not clearly indicate positive impression on the antagonist, but it can be considered as a significant transition made by BBA in response to the massive pressure on Ben Ali to step down after the protests in Tunisia have gained massive support from the people. Furthermore, the United States and the European countries have expressed their deep concern on the way the Tunisian government handle the protests with violence. Hence, BBA has started to change its approach in preparation for a possibility of change in power happen in Tunisia.

Ultimately, it is noticed that almost three days before Ben Ali's departure on the 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the positive verbal processes have started to emerge in BBA's news reports on the Tunisian's antagonists. For example:

1)

وحدث البريكي الحكومة على إجراء حوار مع الشباب "الساخط."  
*Buraiki urged the government to hold a dialogue with "disaffected" youth*  
 11/1/11

2)

وكان مصدر نقابي قد صرح بأن نحو 50 قتيلا سقطوا خلال الأيام الثلاثة الأخيرة في الوسط الغربي من البلاد  
*A union source has said about 50 people have been killed in the last three days in the centre-west of the country*

11/1/11

3)

وقد أكد صحة هذه الرواية مواطنان آخران يقطنان في نفس المنطقة

*This account was confirmed by two other residents of the same area*

12/1/11

4)

ورحبت المعارضة التونسية بحذر بإعلان بن علي أنه لن يرشح نفسه لفترة رئاسية أخرى

*The Tunisian opposition cautiously welcomed Ben Ali's announcement that he would not run for another term*

14/1/11

At the same time, BBA has started to utilise the neutral verbal processes in reporting on Ben Ali's side which comes in line with the agency's approach in bringing more balanced news coverage of both sides of Tunisian conflict during these final days before the departure of Ben Ali. The examples below clearly show that BBA has started to use neutral verbal processes in reporting on the Tunisian government, including their president Ben Ali:

1)

وقال بيان حكومي إن خمسة أشخاص قتلوا وجرح ثلاثة آخرون في المصادمات ببلدة تالة

*A government statement said five people were killed and three wounded in the clashes in Tala town*

9/1/11

2)

وقالت السلطات في السابق إن الشرطة تصرفت بضبط نفس

*Authorities had previously said police had acted with restraint*

10/1/11

3)

واعتبر الرئيس التونسي أن وراء أعمال الشغب هذه "مناوئون مأجورون"

*The Tunisian president said the riots were behind "waged opponents".*

11/1/11

4)

وقال بن علي كذلك "أتوجه اليوم إليكم على أثر ما شهدته بعض المدن والقرى بعدد من الجهات الداخلية من أحداث شغب  
*"I am addressing you today following the riots in some towns and villages in several local bodies," Ben Ali said*

11/1/11

5)

ودعا نائب برلماني أثناءها إلى الإنصات إلى الشباب وتوفير الخدمات للمواطنين.

*A parliamentarian called for listening to youth and providing services to citizens.*

12/1/11

6)

وتحدثت القناة عن أعمال العنف التي ارتكبتها "أعضاء عصابات ملثمون" في عدد من المدن التونسية،

*The channel talked about the acts of violence committed by "masked gang members" in some Tunisian cities,*

12/2/11

The neutral verbal process of 'said' is the most frequent neutral verbal process mentioned in these examples. It is mentioned in the example (1), (2) and (4). The verb 'said' provides neither a positive nor negative impression on the sayer. For instance, the example (1) and (2) both are reporting on the Tunisian government and the verb 'said' provide an unbiased impression on the government. In contrast, if the author changes the verb 'said' with a positive verbal process like 'declared', it will give a positive impression on the Tunisian authority as stable government and a reliable source of information.

Similarly, the neutral verbal process of 'acknowledged' was used in the example (3) which reports on Ben Ali in a balanced voice. If the author replaces the verb 'acknowledged' with the positive verbal process of 'stressed', it will provide a positive impression on Ben Ali and portrayed him as an influential leader of Tunisia. The verb 'called upon' used in the example (5) is another example of a neutral verbal process which provides an unbiased impression on a Tunisian member of parliament regarding his call to listen to the young people's demands. BBC also utilised a neutral verbal process in providing balanced news report about the Tunisian Television Channel (controlled by the government) by using the neutral verbal process of 'mentioned' as stated in the example (6).

In short, these online news extracts are taken from BBA's news report during the final days before the departure of Ben Ali, clearly, indicate that BBA has begun to change its strategy. When the protest started in Tunisia beginning from 18<sup>th</sup> December 2010, BBA has shown its full support to Ben Ali. However, several days before the departure of Ben Ali on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, BBA opted to provide more balanced coverage on the Tunisian crisis by not only reducing the dominant voice of the Tunisian authority but also providing more reports on the antagonist. Hence, BBA has begun to utilise unbiased verbal processes to report on both sides of the Tunisian conflict. Thus, BBA has started to reduce its bias to Ben Ali and the Tunisian authority.

## Changes in the Strategy of Utilising Verbal Process

Ultimately, when Ben Ali departed Tunisia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, BBA has switched its support to the antagonist in line with the power change taken place in Tunisia after the fall of Ben Ali's regime. Hence, after 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, Ben Ali was treated by BBA as the 'out-group' while the antagonist was considered as the 'in-group'. Thus, in this section, I will analyse several examples which show how BBA has changed its strategy in utilising the verbal process, hence revealed how the outlet had changed its side as a result of power change in Tunisia. The first group of these news extract taken from BBA at mentioned in Table 5.6 below show that the protestors are being positively portrayed in BBA online news report almost immediately after the departure of Ben Ali.

23/1/11	ورد المتظاهرون "الشعب يريد استقالة الحكومة". <i>The demonstrators chanted "The people want the resignation of the government"</i>
23/1/11	كما أعلن عن وضع عدد من المقربين للرئيس التونسي السابق زين العابدين بن علي رهن الإقامة الجبرية <i>It also announced that several close allies to former Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali were put under house arrest.</i>
23/1/11	غير ان المتظاهرين قالوا الاحد انه "يجب اسقاط الحكومة باسرع ما يمكن". <i>However, the demonstrators said on Sunday that "the government must be dissolved as soon as possible".</i>
24/1/11	وتحدى المتظاهرون حظر التجول المفروض ليلا وأعلنوا أنهم سيمضون الليل أمام مقر الحكومة مطالبين باستقالة حكومة محمد الغنوشي. <i>Demonstrators defied a night curfew and announced they would spend the night outside the government building demanding the resignation of the government of Mohamed Ghannouchi.</i>

Table 5.6: The Utilisation of Positive Verbal Processes on the Protestor's Words.

It is evident that the verb 'chanted' used by the journalist to report on protestors' word can be seen in Example (1) of the above table gives a positive impression on the protestors as strong and united. The verb chanted means saying repeatedly or sing loudly. By choosing this verb, the protestors are being portrayed as working closely with each other to voice out their demand for complete resignation of Tunisian government not only Ben Ali. The example (2) and (4)



also provide a positive impression on protestors through the use of the verb 'announced'. By choosing verb 'announced' in example (2) for instance, the journalist tried to cast a positive light on protestor and portrayed them as strong for announcing the arrest of Ben Ali's allies. The example (4) furthermore give another good impression of the protestors for their determination in demanding of Ben Ali's associates even though having to face the night curfew enforced by the authority to restrict the protestors' from joining the protest. In addition to this, the verb 'must be' has been strategically utilised by the journalist in example (3) to promote in the reader a feeling that the protestors are though, highly motivated and determine in bringing down the Tunisian government led by Ben Ali's allies as soon as possible. These positive verbal processes were not only being utilised to provide a good impression on protestors but also push the reader's perception towards the negative side of the Tunisian government led by the associates of Ben Ali. The positive verbal process also being used to cast a positive light on another antagonist group, particularly the Tunisian opposition and social activists from Tunisian non- political movements. For instance:

وفي تصريحاته للصحفيين بالمطار فور وصوله الثلاثاء وصف المرزوقي الحكومة الجديدة بأنها استمرار للديكتاتورية قائلا إنها يجب أن ترحل.
19/1/11 <i>Speaking to reporters at the airport on his arrival on Tuesday, Marzouki described the new government as a continuation of the dictatorship, saying it must leave.</i>
وكان عدد من قادة المعارضة التونسية قد أعربوا عن مخاوفهم من ان انهيار حكومة الوحدة الوطنية قد يؤدي إلى استيلاء الجيش على السلطة.
19/1/11 <i>Some Tunisian opposition leaders have expressed fears that the collapse of the national unity government could lead to the army's takeover of power.</i>
وقد أعلن عبد السلام جراد الأمين العام للاتحاد العام التونسي للشغل أن المنظمة ترفض "المشاركة في الحكومة الانتقالية التونسية،".
19/1/11 <i>Abdulsalam Jarad, secretary-general of the General Union of Tunisian Workers, declared that the organization refused to "participate in the Tunisian transitional government."</i>
من جهته أوضح وزير الدولة للشباب والرياضة والمعارض السابق سليم عمامو في حديث لبي بي سي إن الحكومة الانتقالية مهمتها الرئيسية هي الإعداد للانتخابات
19/1/11

<i>For his part, State Minister for Youth, Sports and Ex opposition Salim Amamou explained in an interview with the BBC that the transitional government's main task is to prepare for the elections</i>	
27/1/11	لكن الغنوشي أضاف أن زعيم حركة النهضة لن يستطيع العودة إلى تونس إلا بعد صدور قانون العفو.
<i>However, Ghannouchi added that the leader of the Ennahda movement would only be able to return to Tunisia after the pardon law was passed.</i>	
	وأضاف الغنوشي أنه لن يمارس العمل السياسي
	27/1/2011
<i>Ghannouchi added that he would not exercise political action</i>	

Table 5.7: The Utilisation of Positive Verbal Processes on the Opposition's Words

The two verbs 'described' and 'must' used in the example (1) from the table above provide a good impression on Muncéf Marzouki in this online news report on his arrival to Tunisia after living in exile. The verb 'described' used by the journalist to report on Marzouki's word promotes an impression that Marzouki is wise and well-thought, while the verb 'must' indicates him as a reliable and influential leader. These positive impressions cast on Marzouki through the choose of the positive verbal process cannot be achieved if the journalist opted to use the verb 'said' which not only neutral in tone but also does not promote any particular impression on Marzouki. Similarly, in example (2) from the list in the table above, the verb 'expressed' is strategically being utilised to give a good impression on Tunisian opposition leaders. Therefore, the oppositions are being portrayed in example (2) as wise and well-thought. Hence, the oppositions were able to deliver their view in detail about the risk of a military take over, if the transition government failed to deliver its task. The examples (4), (5) and (6) show other opposition leaders being positively portrayed by BBA through the use of the positive verbal process. The example (4) for instance, clearly portrayed Salim Amamou<sup>16</sup> as a wise, authoritative and benign leader. These positive impressions cast on Amamou has been made

<sup>16</sup> He was one of the Tunisian oppositions which been appointed as Minister of Youth and Sport in the Tunisian transition government after the departure of Ben Ali.

through the use of verb 'explained' which provide ample space for him in the news report to express in detail about his ideas on the main task of the Tunisian transition government<sup>17</sup>.

Moving into example (5) and (6) which revealed another evidence that the positive verbal process of 'added' has being utilised to cast a positive impression on El-Nahda leader Rasheed Ghanouchi. By using the verb 'added' to report on Ghanouchi's word as stated in example (5) and (6) the journalist tries to promote in the reader a feeling that Ghanaouchi is smart and well-thought for his ability to explain the detail of his idea about his political carrier in the future. In another hand, the example (2) of the above list, shows that the positive verbal process also being utilised by the online news outlet to promote positive feeling on Tunisian activist from non-political groups after the departure of Ben Ali. In BBA's online news report dated 19<sup>th</sup> January 2011 almost five days after the departure of Ben Ali as stated in example (2), Abdul Salam the Secretary-General of the General Union of Tunisian Workers has been positively portrayed through the use of the verb 'declared'. By using the verb, 'declared' the journalist aims to promote in the reader a feeling that Abdul Salam is tough, decisive and determine with the decision not to participate in the Tunisian transition government.

Ultimately, the departure of Ben Ali has resulted in the formation of a new government to fill the power gap left by the former president. This transition government was also being cast positively by BBA using the positive verbal process, as shown in the examples below:

المبزع وعد بالحوار مع القوى السياسية	19/1/11
<i>Al-Mebazaa promised dialogue with the political forces</i>	
وكانت الحكومة التونسية الانتقالية قد اعلنت الخميس الاعتراف بكل الأحزاب والحركات السياسية المحظورة في البلاد، بما فيها حركة النهضة الاسلامية.	21/1/11
<i>The Tunisian transitional government announced on Thursday recognition of all the banned political parties and movements in the country, including Ennahda.</i>	
بدورها تعهدت الحكومة الانتقالية بتقديم تعويضات مالية لعائلات ضحايا انتهاكات حقوق الانسان	21/1/11

<sup>17</sup> This transition government is widely known as the Tunisian National Unity Government.

<i>In turn, the transitional government pledged financial compensation to the families of victims of human rights violations</i>
وأكد أحمد إبراهيم زعيم الحركة ووزير التعليم العالي "لقد دخلنا الحكومة لتفادي حدوث فراغ تام". 24/1/11
<i>The leader of the Movement and the Higher Education Minister Ahmed Ibrahim emphasised that "We have entered the government to avoid a complete vacuum,"</i>
وفي لقاء مع بي بي سي، أكد عياض بن عاشور رئيس اللجنة العليا للإصلاح السياسي في تونس حاليا أنه لا توجد نية لإقصاء الحزب الحاكم سابقا نهائيا . 24/1/11
<i>In an interview with the BBC, Ayad Ben Ashour, head of the Higher Committee for Political Reform in Tunisia, emphasised that there is no intention to exclude the former ruling party definitively</i>

Table 5.8: The Utilisation of Positive Verbal Processes on the New Government's Words

In example (1) from the above table (Table 5.8), Fouad Mebazaa who replace Ben Ali as the (acting) President of Tunisia was positively portrayed in this news extract. By using the verb, 'promised' the journalist tries to promote in the reader a feeling that Mebazaa is an active and influential leader of Tunisia. Besides, the verb 'promised' provides impressions of authoritative and decisive which qualify him to negotiate will all sides of the Tunisian conflict and bring the best solution for a better Tunisia after the departure of Ben Ali. Another positive verb is found in the example (2) of the above table. In this example, the verb 'announced' is being chosen to provide an impression that the Tunisian transition government is authoritative, benign and decisive. The decision to recognise all Tunisian political parties is being portrayed as a vast and vital decision made the new government. Only the one with authority can announce to declare the lift of political restriction which was applied on the Tunisian opposition parties. Hence, the reader's perception toward this new government has been pushed away from following the footstep of former Ben Ali's government. Similarly, the transition government also being positively reported in the example (3) when the journalist opted to use the verb 'pledged' rather than, for instance 'said'. After all, providing financial compensation to the victim families cost a tremendous amount of money and only established, and stable government can carry this considerable task.

The verb 'emphasised' was utilised in example (4) and (5) to promote a positive impression on the speakers whose word has been reported in the online news extracts. In example (4) for instance, by using the verb 'emphasised' the journalist tries to promote a feeling to the reader that Ahmed Ibrahim<sup>18</sup> has the qualities of strength, determination and commitment in the decision to join the Tunisian transition government. Related to this, the same verb has been chosen to portray Ben Ashour, in example (5) positively. In this news report, Ben Ashour has been cast with positive impressions that he has the qualities of toughness and decisive in bringing political reform into Tunisia. However, these positive feeling on Ben Ashour and Ahmed Ibrahim will not be accomplished if the journalist substituted the verb 'emphasised' with the verb 'said' or 'mentioned'. Thus, by utilising the positive verbal process to report on the new transition government of Tunisia after the departure of Ben Ali, BBA has tried to push the reader's perception on the good side of this new government in bringing political and social reform for Tunisia. At the same time, the previous government of Ben Ali is being portrayed as harmful and corrupted with a lot of misconduct and crimes allegations.

All in all, BBA utilised a different strategy of using the verbal process to report on both sides during the Tunisian conflict. During the early stage of the Tunisian Revolution, the negative verbal process was strategically utilised by BBA to report on antagonist's word, which promotes the reader a bad impression on the antagonist. Furthermore, when the protest has been able to gather tremendous support from Tunisian, BBA has slightly changed its strategy by offering more report on the antagonist. It is observed that during this period, the neutral verbal process was widely used to report on antagonist's word. In contrast, when Ben Ali left Tunisia, which marked the success of massive protest against Ben Ali's regime, BBA immediately changes its strategy by utilising the positive verbal process to report on antagonist's word. Thus,

---

<sup>18</sup> the Leader of Tajdid Movement which was appointed as the Minister of Higher Education in Tunisian transition Government

the antagonist which previously treated as the 'out-group' by the outlet, has been considered as the 'in-group' when Ben Ali left the country. Hence, reflecting the change of discourse construction strategy as a result of the power change in Tunisia.

#### **5.4 Verbal Process in Egyptian Revolution Coverage**

Both online news outlets AJA and BBA continue with their approach to strategically utilise a verbal process in reporting the events of the Egyptian Revolution as they did previously during the outlet's coverage of the Tunisian Revolution. Hence, AJA and BBA used the positive verbal process to positively portray whom they considered as the 'in-group' by providing good and detail description on them. In contrast, the 'out-group' was negatively being represented by the outlets through the use of the negative verbal process. Looking into detail of each online news outlet's approach in utilising the verbal process for Egyptian revolution revealed that, AJA continues to show its solidarity to the Egyptian's antagonists as previously practised by the outlet during the Tunisian revolution. Thus, AJA once again chooses to acknowledge the Egyptian antagonist particularly the protestors and Egyptian oppositions as the 'in-group' since the early stage of revolution and maintain with the same strategy even after Mubarak declared his resignation. BBA, on the other hand, opted to be on the Egyptian authority's side at least during the early stage of Egyptian revolution up until 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011. BBA slightly change its strategy in utilising verbal process on 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011 onwards after the Western countries, mainly the United States, reduced its support to Mubarak. This once again shows that BBA used the same strategy in altering its approach according to the power changing process as happened previously in Tunisia.

In short, in utilising verbal process at least during the early stage of the Egyptian revolution, both AJA and BBA maintained with the same discourse construction strategy

previously been used in their coverage of the Tunisian revolution. This is to say, by considering the Egyptian antagonist as the 'in-group' and the Egyptian authority as the 'out-group', AJA launched counter-hegemony against the domination of Mubarak which hold the dominant power in Egypt for almost 30 years. AJA is doing this through the strategic use of positive verbal process since the very beginning of the Egyptian revolution. In contrast, Mubarak and his government were being negatively reported through the utilisation of negative verbal process. BBA, on the other hand, during the early stage of protests in Egypt, was showing its support to the Mubarak's government by positively portrayed them using positive verbal process. Hence, BBA was aimed to preserve the hegemony of Mubarak power domination in Egypt even though his dominant is under massive threat by the antagonist during the 2011 revolution.

Therefore, my analysis in this section on AJA and BBA news reports during the time of crisis in Egypt will reveal how the two online news outlets utilised the verbal process through the consistent use of a type of whether a positive or negative verbal process with their in-group and out-group. Hence, the analysis will disclose the journalist attitude, which subsequently carries the news agency's ideology about the antagonists whether to support the hegemony or to launch the counter-hegemony against the power dominance of Mubarak in Egypt.

### **Verbal Process in AJA Online News Reports of the Egyptian Revolution**

AJA utilised all three types of verbal process positive, negative and neutral in reporting the two sides of the conflict during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Although AJA tries to provide unbiased coverage on the event, it is evident that the use of positive verbal process was mostly being used to report on the Egyptian's antagonist which revealed the outlet biased to the protestors' demands. Statistically, the corpus data of AJA still shows that the neutral verbal process was the most occurred verbal process sub-category in the news texts of Egypt

Revolution at 61%. While a positive verbal process managed to record a total of 1224 occurrences or 26% negative verbal process was the least occurred in the corpus data at only 581 times or 12%.

Sub-category	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Neutral	2872	61.41
Positive	1224	26.17
Negative	581	12.42
Total	4677	100

**Table 5.9: Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the corpus of online news texts.**

The **Table 5.10** furthermore, lists ten verbal processes mostly occurred in the AJA's corpus data for each of three sub-categories of verbal process.

Positive	Neutral	Negative
emphasised (293)	said (1192)	refused (124)
announced (176)	called upon (635)	accused (120)
added (in details) (98)	pointed out (234)	blamed (73)
echoed (96)	requested (212)	insisted (67)
decided (69)	mentioned (183)	warned (48)
stressed (68)	described (137)	condemned (36)
promised (57)	asked (98)	denounced (22)
pledged (53)	commented (51)	denied (19)
issued (48)	indicated (46)	threatened (18)
urged (37)	told (27)	criticised (16)

**Table 5.10: Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of AJA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category.**

Unsurprisingly, the neutral verbal process of 'said' recorded the highest number of occurrences (1192 times) followed by 'called upon' (635 times). In contrast, the negative verbal process of 'threatened' (18 times) and 'criticised' (16 times) were among the verbal process which recorded the lowest number of occurrences in the corpus data. The verb 'emphasised' was the most occurred positive verbal process in AJA's news articles followed by the verb 'announced'. Meanwhile, in the sub-category of Negative verbal process, the verb 'refused' was the highest in the list followed by the verb 'accused', 'denounced' and 'blamed'.



In this section, I will present the examples taken from AJA online news during the time of crisis which reveals how the news outlet has a strategically employed verbal process to give a positive impression on the antagonist while giving a bad impression on Mubarak and the Egyptian authority. This discourse construction strategy is in line with AJA's stand to consider the antagonist as the 'in-group' and the Egyptian authority as the 'out-group'. As a result, almost all social actors and social groups of the antagonists namely: the protestors, Egyptian activists, the Egyptian oppositions and the non-political movements who showed their protests against Mubarak during the 2011 revolution had been positively portrayed by AJA using positive verbal process.

### Verbal Process on Egyptian Antagonist.

The antagonist in 2011 Egyptian revolution consists of several groups of social actors, namely: the protestors, the activists, Egyptian oppositions and Egyptian non-political movements. It is found that AJA strategically utilised the positive verbal process to promote good impression on all of these groups who participated actively in the protests demanding Mubarak to step down. Hence, revealed AJA's biased toward the antagonist and the outlet support the demand for Mubarak to step down. The table below lists examples which show the use of a positive verbal process to give a good impression on the protestors:

وصاح المحتجون "حكم الأب باطل.. حكم الأم باطل.. حكم الابن باطل" و "لا للتوريث." 28/1/11 <i>The protesters shouted "the rule of the father is an invalid mother .. the rule is invalid .. invalid rule son" and "No inheritance."</i>
إن المتظاهرين ردّوا هتافات تطالب بالتغيير، وأكدوا أن الخطاب لا يلبي الطموحات 29/1/11 <i>The demonstrators chanted slogans demanding change and stressed that the speech does not meet aspirations.</i>
وأكدوا أن الخطاب لا يلبي الطموحات لأن الحكومة الجديدة ستتشكل من نفس الرموز المتهمة بالفساد. 29/1/11 <i>They stressed that the speech does not meet the people's aspirations because the new government will be formed from the same accused of corruption symbols.</i>
يجب أن تنتهي ديكتاتورية مبارك الآن 30/1/11

<i>Mubarak's dictatorship must end now.</i>
وأكد المتظاهرون أن الثورة مستمرة ولن تقف عند مصر 11/2/11
<i>The demonstrators stressed that the revolution is continuing and will not stand in Egypt</i>

Table 5.11: Examples which utilise Positive Verbal Process on Mubarak's Words

These examples of online news reports from AJA show that the positive verbal process has been strategically utilised to promote in the reader with a positive impression on the protestors. The verb 'shouted' in example (1), provides in the reader a feeling that the protestors are strong-willed and determine with their demand in rejecting the idea of power inheritance from Mubarak, the father to his son. If the verb 'shouted' being replaced with 'said' for instance, the clause will be in a neutral tone and carry no indication of journalist's attitude towards the protestors. Concerning this, the verb 'chanted' used in the example (2) of the above table also being used to give a positive impression on protestors. The verb means a word that is repeated many times, or a phrase being shouted repeatedly in a sing-song tone (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). Thus, by choosing the verb 'chanted' the journalist tries to promote a feeling that the protestors have the qualities of determination, commitment and confidence. These good qualities cast on protestors will not be attained if the verb has been replaced by the verb 'mentioned' for instance, which carry a neutral impression on the protestors. Similarly, verb 'stressed' in example (3) furthermore revealed the journalist's biased towards supporting the protestors' demands. He or she could easily write: 'The protestors said...' which could carry the same meanings but would have been neutral in his attitude towards the protestors. By choosing the verb 'stressed' however, the journalist implies that the protestors' demands are essential; hence, it needs to be stressed out. Also, the verb 'stressed' promotes in the reader impressions of though and strong-willed on the protestors in expressing their demands.

The same also applies for the use of the same positive verbal process 'stressed' in example (5). Again, the verb in this news extract of AJA promotes in the reader that the protestors have the qualities of determination, commitment and strength. Hence, the protestors

in this news report have emphasised on their determination and confidence that the revolution will continue in other Arab countries after the protest has successfully gained its target in Tunisia and Egypt. Closely related to this, the verb 'must' used in the example (4) is another example which shows AJA's attitude to positively portrayed the protestors by using positive verbal process. Again, this positive verb has been chosen to cast a positive light on protestors for being though, strong-willed and fully dedicated to their demands for ending Mubarak's dictatorship in Egypt immediately. These positive impressions cast on protestors of the Egyptian revolution will not be attained if the journalist opted to say: 'The protestors called upon to end the dictatorship of Mubarak now'. This clause not only being delivered in a neutral tone but also carry no indication of the journalist's biased towards the protestors.

The second antagonist group which being positively portrayed by AJA through the strategic use of the positive verbal process is the activists. The table below list examples of news extracts by AJA, which clearly indicate the verbal process has been utilised to cast a positive light on the activist hence treated them as the 'in-group'.

وأكد أن شباب مصر يرفضون التدخل الأميركي والغربي في شؤون مصر، مشددا على أنه ليس للمتظاهرين حلف أو وصياء	
4/2/11	<i>He (Sheikh Munzhir) emphasised that the young Egyptians reject American and Western intervention in the affairs of Egypt, stressing that the demonstrators have no alliance or guardians</i>
كما أكد شعبية وسلمية الحركة التظاهرية وعدم وجود أيديولوجيات	
4/2/11	<i>He (Sheikh Munzhir) also emphasised the popularity and peacefully of the protest movement without any certain ideologies</i>
أكد منسق عام جماعة الإخوان بانتلاف شباب التغيير محمد عباس أن الشباب لم يفوضوا أحدا ليمثلهم أمام السلطات، وأنهم لم يجلسوا مع أي من رموز النظام.	
8/2/11	<i>The General Coordinator of the Muslim Brotherhood Youth Coalition for the Change, Mohamed Abbas, stressed that the youth did not delegate anyone to represent them before the authorities and that they did not sit with any of the symbols of the regime.</i>
وكان غنيم قد أكد أمس -في أول تصريح له بعد الإفراج عنه- أن التغيير قادم لا محالة.	
8/2/11	<i>Ghoneim had stressed yesterday - in his first statement after his release - that the change is coming.</i>
أكدت الناشطة نواره نجم أن الشعب لا يثق بسليمان، وأن جميع وعوده والنظام مجرد سراب.	
8/2/11	

<p><i>Activist Nawara Najm stressed that the people do not trust Suleiman and that all his promises and the regime are just mirages.</i></p>
--

**Table 5.12: Examples of utilisation the Positive Verbal Process on Activists' Words**

The verb 'emphasised' was chosen by the journalist in example (1) and (2) from the above table to promote in the reader a feeling that Sheikh Munzir<sup>19</sup> is wise, though, determine and confidence of his word. Hence, in example (1) the two positive verbal processes have been selected by the journalist, namely 'stressed' and 'emphasised' to report on Sheikh Munzir's word. By choosing these positive verbs, the journalist tries to promote in the reader a feeling that Munzir is tough, confidence and determination in rejecting any Western intervention in Egyptian affairs. Furthermore, in example (2) Munzir also being portrayed as though and confidence. These good qualities cast on Munzir are very much needed in denying the allegation that the protest was influenced by a particular ideology which encouraged chaos and violence in Egypt. The journalist might efficiently deliver the same surface meaning of the clause in example (1) and (2) by replacing verb 'stressed' with 'said'. However, it will not promote any positive impression on Sheikh Munzir because the verb 'said' is neutral in tone and provide an unbiased impression on the speaker whose word being reported in the news. Other social actors from the Egyptian activists also being positively portrayed by AJA through the strategic use of positive verbal process as being shown in example (3), (4) and (5) of the above table.

It is found that, the verb 'stressed' has been strategically utilised in these three examples to provide an impression in the reader that the person whose word being reported is harsh, strong-willed, determine and committed to his stand. In example (3) Mohamed Abbas from the Egyptian Youth Coalition for Change has been given an impression by the journalist as someone tough and strong-willed in coordinating his youth coalition. These positive impressions cast on Abbas is being fulfilled through the use of the positive verbal process of

---

<sup>19</sup> One of the Islamic preachers who delivered his speech during the mass protest in Tahrir Square encouraging the protestors to remain committed with the demand for the end of Mubarak regime in Egypt.

‘stressed’ to report on his word. Similarly, Wael Ghoneim is being promoted with the qualities of toughness, determine and confidence that the change will happen in Egypt as being reported in example (4) slightly after being released from prison. In comparison, these qualities promoted by the journalist on Ghoneim will not be attained if the journalist substituted verb ‘stressed’ in his news report with another verb such as ‘called’ or ‘said’. Finally, one of the female activists Nawarah Najm also being given a positive impression of toughness and determine in example (5). The positive impressions of toughness and determination portrayed on Nawarah have been achieved from the use of the verb ‘stressed’ by the journalist to report on her word which firmly rejects Omer Suleiman orders and promises.

The third group of Egyptian antagonists, which being positively portrayed by AJA, is the Egyptian oppositions. Thus, AJA promotes positive feeling in the reader towards the Egyptian opposition parties and their leaders particularly Morsi from Muslim Brotherhood, Egyptian most enormous opposition and El-Bardai who leads the coalition of oppositions and non-political movements during the Egyptian revolution. The examples of an online news report in the table below show that the positive verbal process has been strategically used to cast a positive impression on Egyptian oppositions.

1)	وقد أعلن الوفد في وقت لاحق تأييده لتشكيل حكومة إنقاذ وطني 26/1/2011 <i>The al-Wafd Party later announced its support for the formation of a national salvation government</i>
2)	وأكد الحزب استمرار ما وصفها بالانتفاضة حتى تحقيق مطالب الشعب 29/1/11 <i>The party stressed the continuation of what he described as the intifada until the people's demands are met</i>
3)	مؤكدًا أن المظاهرات كانت سلمية 100% إلا أن قوات الأمن هي التي بادرت باستخدام العنف. 29/1/11 <i>Emphasising that the demonstrations were peaceful 100%, but it was the security forces that initiated the use of violence.</i>
4)	وشدد البرادعي على الترحيب الكبير الذي لقيه الجيش من قبل المتظاهرين لدى نزوله إلى الشوارع 29/1/11

<i>ElBaradei stressed on the great welcome received by the army from the demonstrators during his visit to the streets (where the demonstration took place).</i>	
5)	<p>وشرح البرادعي تصوره للمرحلة المقبلة في حال تغيير النظام بقوله إن الجمعية الوطنية للتغيير التي تضم أطرافا سياسية واسعة في المجتمع المصري وضعت سبعة مطالب أساسية 29/1/11</p> <p><i>ElBaradei explained his vision for the next stage in the event of regime change by saying that the National Assembly for Change, which includes broad political cadres in the Egyptian society put seven basic demands</i></p>
6)	<p>وشدد عبد العال على أن المطلوب من مبارك هو الانصياع لإرادة الشعب والرحيل عن الحكم، من جهته وصف الأمين العام لحزب التجمع المعارض سيد عبد العال <i>Abdel-Al stressed that what is required of Mubarak is to comply with the will of the people and to leave the government,</i> 2/2/11</p>
7)	<p>وأكد مرسي أن "التعديلات التي أعلنها الرئيس المصري جاءت متأخرة للغاية، 2/2/11</p> <p><i>Morsi stressed that "the amendments announced by the Egyptian president came too late,</i></p>
8)	<p>وأكد أنهم وضعوا عدة شروط لبدء التفاوض، وعلى رأسها تنحي مبارك، 8/2/11</p> <p><i>He stressed that they set several conditions for the start of negotiations, led by Mubarak resignation,</i></p>

Table 5.13: Examples which utilise Positive Verbal Process on the Egyptian Oppositions' Words

These examples show that the Egyptian opposition, particularly ElBaradei and Morsi, were being promoted with impressions that they are wise, benign, tough, decisive, determine and confidence. Hence in example (3), (4) and (5) which reported on ElBaradei's word, the journalist strategically utilised positive verbal process 'emphasising', 'stressed', and 'explained' respectively. In example (3) for instance, the verb 'emphasising' provides an impression that ElBaradei is robust, reliable and full confidence that the protests in Egypt are peaceful. These positive impressions cast on ElBaradei in the news report will not be achieved if the journalist substituted verb 'emphasising' with 'saying'. The verb 'stressed' used in the example (4) furthermore promotes in the reader a feeling that ElBaradei is strong-willed and determine with the plan to organise much bigger protest after receiving excellent feedback from the protestors during his visit to Egyptian streets. By using the verb 'explained' followed by detail explanation on ElBaradei's vision of power change in Egypt as stated in example (5), the journalist is trying

to portray ElBaradei as wise, decisive and determined. In contrast, ElBaradei will appear in neutral if the journalist change verb 'explained' with 'said' which provides an only unbiased impression on ElBaradei. This is to say, while the verb 'said' may carry the same surface meaning of the clause in example (5), yet the verb 'explained' is powerfully different in promoting a positive impression of ElBaradei. Hence, revealed the journalist attitude towards ElBaradei, which has been treated as the 'in-group'.

The same strategy also being utilised on Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), which can be observed on the example (7) and (8) in the table above. By choosing the verb 'emphasised' to report on Morsi's word, the journalist tries to promote in the reader that Morsi has the qualities of strength, sturdy, determine and confidence. Hence, Morsi is portrayed as active and determine in rejection of Mubarak's promises as being reported by AJA in example (7). Besides, the verb 'emphasised' used in the example (8) provides an impression that Morsi is tough and decisive with the opposition's stand which demands Mubarak resignation before any negotiation with authority can properly begin. ElBaradei and Morsi are not only the opposition figures being cast positively by AJA. Other opposition leaders and their political groups also being treated as the 'in-group' by the online news outlet. For instance, the verb 'announced' was chosen by the journalist to report on the al-Wafd opposition party, in example (1). The verb 'announced' in this news extract promotes an impression that al-Wafd party is strict and highly determine the formation of transition government to safeguard the national interest in Egypt. In example (2) another Egyptian opposition, namely al-Ghad party, was also being cast with positive light using the verb 'emphasised'. Hence, the al-Ghad party has been portrayed in this news report as strongly dedicated to the Egyptian demand for significant political change in Egypt. Similarly, in example (3) by choosing verb 'stressed' to report on Abdel Al's of Tajammu Party word, the journalist aimed to portray the speaker whose word being reported as severe and determine with the demand for Mubarak to step down. In

comparison, if the journalist substitutes verb 'stressed' with 'said', the clause in the news report will not provide many positive impressions on Abdel Al as being provided from the choice of the verb 'stressed'.

AJA's biased towards the Egyptian antagonist furthermore can be seen from the choice of positive verbal process to report on the word of Egyptian non-political groups which directly show their support for the protestors' demands. Among these non-political groups which were treated as the 'in-group' by AJA is the National Assembly for Change, Kifayah Movement, workers' unions and human rights groups. The table below lists examples of AJA's news extract, which revealed that the positive verbal process had been strategically utilised by the journalist to promote positive impression on Egyptian non-political groups during the 2011 Egyptian revolution.

1)	مؤكداً أن الاحتجاجات لا تقودها -حسب قوله- أحزاب أو حركات بل نحو مائة ألف مصري، 26/1/11 - <i>Emphasising that the protests are not led - according to him - parties or movements, but about one hundred thousand Egyptians,</i>
2)	وأعلنت استمرار التظاهر حتى الاستجابة للمطالب 26/1/11 <i>(The National Assembly for Change) announced the continuation of the demonstration until the demands were met</i>
3)	واستنكر عمر السباخي - رئيس جمعية أنصار حقوق الإنسان - "الطريقة القمعية" التي تعاملت بها أجهزة الأمن مع المواطنين 27/1/2011 <i>Omar al-Sabakhi, president of the Association for Human Rights Defenders, condemned the "repressive method" that the security services dealt with citizens</i>
4)	وبدورها تعهدت الجمعية الوطنية للتغيير -في بيان نقله مراسل الجزيرة- بمواصلة الاحتجاجات، مطالبة الشعب المصري بحماية مؤسسات الدولة. 29/1/11 <i>In its turn, the National Assembly for Change pledged to continue the protests, demanding on the Egyptian to protect state institutions.</i>
5)	وفي السويس أيضاً أعلن عمال مصنع السويس للصلب إضراباً مفتوحاً حتى إسقاط النظام المصري. 29/1/11 <i>Also in Suez, the workers of the Suez Steel Factory announced an open strike until the Egyptian regime was toppled.</i>

Table 5.14: Examples of the Use of Positive Verbal Process on Egyptian Non-political Groups.



In example (1) from the table above, the journalist utilised verb 'emphasising' to report on Abdel Halim's<sup>20</sup> stressing that the protest is people-oriented and not following any political ideology. By using the verb 'emphasising' rather than neutral verb such as 'saying', the journalist aims to promote in the reader an impression that Abdel Halim is determined and confident of his word which firmly stands on his belief. Similarly, the National Assembly for Change was treated as the 'in-group' by AJA using the positive verbal process as found in the example (2) and (4) of the above table (Table 7.xx). By choosing the verb 'announced' in example (2), the journalist promoted an impression that the movement is authoritative and determined to continue the protest until their demands fulfilled. The selection of another positive verbal process 'pledged' in example (4) furthermore, promotes in the reader a feeling that the movement is strong-willed and benign in its stand to participate in the mass protest and protect the national interest. In comparison, these positive impressions cast on National Assembly for Change will not be fulfilled if the journalist opted to use the neutral verb 'said' in the place of the verb 'pledged'.

Closely related, the workers of the steel factory in Suez have been positively portrayed in example (5) using verb 'announced' rather than 'mentioned'. As a result, the journalist is somehow promoting an impression that these workers are conclusive and determining in their decision to launch an open strike until Mubarak's regime has been removed. Furthermore, the verb 'announced' carries a sense of authoritative, which means that the speaker whose word has been reported in the news article has the authority to declare on the strike on behalf of other workers. Moving into example (3) of the table above, although verb 'condemned' may seem contrary in meaning, it is carefully selected by the journalist to provide a good impression on the speaker, while giving the big feeling on the thing which has been condemned by the speaker. This is to say, the verb 'condemned' promotes in the reader that Mr Sabakhi (the president of

---

<sup>20</sup> The Coordinator of Kifayah Movement during the Egyptian Revolution.

human rights group in Egypt) is strong, though and determine with his stand to fight for human rights of the protestors. At the same time, verb 'condemned' which may sound negative, tries to push the reader perception towards the negativity of violent way used by the Egyptian authority in dealing with protestors. Hence, the Egyptian authority is deserved condemned for taking a violent approach in dealing with peaceful protest. Therefore, the verb 'condemned' has been carefully selected by the journalist to provide a good impression on Mr Sabakhi and treated him as the 'in-group', while the reader perception on the Egyptian authority has been pushed toward the negativity of bad way in dealing with protestors. Hence, considered the Egyptian authority as the 'out-group'.

It is interesting to note that, AJA provides a special report on Ahmed Zewail's<sup>21</sup> proposal to end the Egyptian crisis in the outlet online news report dated 7<sup>th</sup> February 2011. Although Zewail is not among the antagonist, the journalist has opted to report on Zewail's word using the positive verbal process as can be seen in the examples below:

أطلق العالم المصري أحمد زويل بعد لقائه ممثلين من كافة الأطراف السياسية في مصر مبادرة للخروج من الأزمة الراهنة،
<i>Egyptian scientist Ahmed Zewail, after his meeting with representatives from all political parties in Egypt, launched an initiative to get out of the current crisis,</i>
وأكد زويل أنه توصل إلى هذه المبادرة بعد استماعه لجميع الأطراف
<i>Zewail assured that he reached this initiative after listening to all parties</i>
كما أوضح في المؤتمر الصحفي الذي عقده مساء الأحد أنه التقى أيضا عمر سليمان نائب رئيس الجمهورية والأمين العام لجامعة الدول العربية عمرو موسى، وشيخ الأزهر أحمد الطيب.
<i>He also explained at a press conference held on Sunday evening that he also met with Omar Suleiman, Vice President of Egypt, the Secretary-General of Arab League Amr Moussa, and Sheikh Al-Azhar Ahmed Tayeb.</i>

Table 5.15: Examples of Positive Verbal Processes in reporting Zewail's Words.

The main reason which pushed the journalist to report on Zewail's word is his suggestions to end the Egyptian crisis mainly in line with the protestors' demands, notably the departure of Mubarak. Thus, the journalist treated Zewail as the 'in-group' although during that time when

<sup>21</sup> Egyptian well-known scholar who won the Noble Prize for chemistry in 1999 and holds significant influence among the Egyptian society.

he makes this proposal has not participated in any Egyptian antagonist group. From the three examples listed in table above (Table 5.15), it is noticed that several positive verbal processes have been choosing to report on Zewail's word namely 'launched', 'assured' and 'explained' respectively which obviously promote in the reader with positive impression on the speaker (Zewail) which his word has been reported in the news. Hence, these positive verbal processes aim to portray Zewail as wise, benign, well-thought, determine and confidence of his plan to provide the best solution to end the Egyptian crisis. In comparison, if the journalist opted to utilize the neutral verbal process of 'said' or 'mentioned' for instance, these positive qualities promoted on Zewail resulted in the use of verbs 'launched', 'assured' and 'explained' will not be fulfilled. Ultimately, by using these positive verbal processes to report on Zewail's word, the journalist tries to push the reader perception toward the legitimacy of protestors' demands which have been strongly supported by an internationally well-known figure such as Ahmed Zewail.

### **Verbal Process of Mubarak and the Egyptian Authority.**

In contrast to the Egyptian antagonists which treated as the 'in-group' by the online news outlet, the other side of Egyptian conflict which consisted of Mubarak and the Egyptian authority were treated as the 'out-group'. Hence in this section, I will analyse how the journalist of AJA has strategically utilised negative verbal process to cast a negative light on Mubarak and the Egyptian authority. Thus, it provides counter-hegemony discourses of Mubarak power dominance in Egypt. My analysis in this section furthermore will show how the journalist tries to push the reader's perception towards the negative representation of Mubarak and the authority, hence revealed the online news outlet biased towards the antagonist and their demands to topple Mubarak's regime. The table below lists examples of an online news report which highlight that negative verbal process has been strategically used to report on Mubarak's word while somehow promote bad impression on Mubarak himself.

طلب الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك من الحكومة التقدم باستقالتها 28/1/11 <i>Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has asked the government to resign</i>
واتهم مبارك في الوقت نفسه بعض الجهات -التي لم يحددها- بالاندساس بين شباب مصر للقيام بأعمال حرق وتخريب 29/1/11 <i>At the same time, Mubarak accused some of the parties, which he did not specify, of banding among the youth of Egypt to carry out acts of burning and vandalism</i>
أن مبارك أهان في خطابه ملايين المصريين واتهمهم بالسرقه والنهب. 2/2/11 <i>That Mubarak insulted in his speech millions of Egyptians and accused them of theft and looting.</i>
أخذت مجموعة من الفتيات بالبكاء وبعض النساء بالنحيب، معتبرين أن الرئيس تنكر في خطابه لدماء الشهداء الزكية. 11/2/11 <i>A group of girls were crying, and women were wailing, as they considered that the President denied in his speech the blood of martyrs.</i>

Table 5.16: Examples of the Negative Verbal Processes in Reports on Mubarak's Words.

In the example (1) of Table 5.16 above, the verb 'asked' has been chosen by the journalist to report on Mubarak's word regarding the resignation of the Egyptian government. Although, the verb 'asked' may carry an impression of 'power' and 'strong', but in this news report, it was not enough for Mubarak who has the highest authority in Egypt. By 'asked' government to resign, it promotes an impression that Mubarak is not serious and determine in dissolving his government which mainly consist of his strong allies. As the president of Egypt, Mubarak could dissolve the government immediately without waiting from the government to hand over their resignation to him. Similarly, by using the verb 'blamed' in example (2) to report on Mubarak's word, the journalist tries to promote in the reader a feeling that Mubarak is weak and querulous. As the president of Egypt, Mubarak is supposed to be strong and robust. However, it is an unwise decision for him to throw blind accusation and blame others for the situation in Egypt. In contrast, Mubarak will be cast with positive light and portrayed him as wise if the journalist utilises verb 'explained' rather than 'blamed'.

The same negative impression was provided from the use of the verb 'blamed' in example (3) which reported on Mubarak's accusation of thousands of protestors for theft and

looting. The neutral verb 'said' could easily be used in the news report as it carries the same surface meaning but it was not. By using the verb 'blamed' rather than 'said', the journalist aims to provide an impression that Mubarak is weak, unwise and querulous which are not the qualities of a president of a big country like Egypt. Furthermore, the example (3) contains another negative verbal process of 'insulted' which adds more negative impression on Mubarak. Hence, the reader's perception has been pushed to negatively portrayed him as a corrupt leader of Egypt for refusing to hear the demand of his people and blindly accused them without proper evidence. Thus, readers have been promoted with a sense of grievance towards the antagonist for being unfairly treated by Mubarak.

Ultimately, the verb 'denying' was selected by the journalist in example (4) to cast another negative light on Mubarak. By using the verb 'denying', Mubarak has been portrayed as irritable and unjust to those who killed during the protest. Thus, pushing the reader's perception towards the bad way used the authority in dealing with protestors which caused many casualties. Hence, emphasising the outlet strategy in supporting the protestors' demands and considered Mubarak and the Egyptian authority as the 'out-group'. It is important to note that, Mubarak was not only the target to be portrayed negatively by AJA through the strategic use of the negative verbal process. Mubarak's ministers were considered as the 'out-group' by the outlet. Hence, they have been cast with negative light in the online news. The table below lists another online news reports which show the negative verbal process has also been strategically utilised to promote negative impression on Mubarak's cabinet members.

وتوعدت وزارة الداخلية الليلة الماضية باتخاذ "تدابير حازمة" ضد المعارضين الذين ينوون تنظيم مظاهرات بعد صلاة الجمعة،	
28/1/11	
<i>The Interior Ministry threatened last night to take "firm measures" against the oppositions who were planning to hold demonstrations after Friday prayers,</i>	
كما حذر وزير الدفاع المصري من أن جماعة الإخوان المسلمين التي لم تشارك في المظاهرات، تنتظر الوقت المناسب للمشاركة والاستيلاء على البلاد.	
28/1/11	

<i>The Egyptian defence minister also warned that the Muslim Brotherhood, which did not participate in the demonstrations, was waiting for the right time to participate and take over the country.</i>
استبعد رئيس الوزراء المصري الجديد أحمد شفيق أن يفوض الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك سلطاته إلى نائبه عمر سليمان 4/2/11 <i>New Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq has ruled out that the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's transfers his power to his deputy Omar Suleiman.</i>

Table 5.17: Examples of The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Mubarak's Minister's Words.

The examples in Table (5.17) show the negative verbal process was utilised to report on several Egypt Minister's words in the exam (1) verb 'threatened' has been chosen by the journalist to report on Egyptian Interior Ministry. By choosing 'threatened' the journalist tries to promote that the Egyptian Interior Ministry, under the leadership of Habib El-Adly is impatient and unwise in choosing an appropriate approach to deal with demonstrations. The verb 'threatened' itself carries negative impression because it is likely to develop aggressive actions. Similarly, the journalist has utilized the verb 'warned' in example (2) to report on General Tantawi the Egyptian Mubarak to defending word. If the verb 'said' is used in the news rather than "warned" it the clause will be in a neutral tone and carries no indication of journalist's attitude towards General Tantawi. Egyptian Prime Minister during the doll crisis in Egypt Ahmed Shafiq also being cast with the negative impression in AJA's report. The journalist utilized verb 'ruled out' to report on Shafiq's word, as stated in example (3). By choosing to use the verbal process 'ruled out', the journalist implies that there is something that needs to be denied le that Mubarak transits his power to his debuting. Hence provide the impression that the speaker (Shafiq) is hiding the fact.

The following table furthermore shows another example of news extract from AJA, which revealed that negative verbal processes namely 'accused', 'demanded' 'played down', 'dismissed', 'denied' and 'accused' have been strategically used to promote negative impression on Egypt authority particularly the army, police and security forces.

وهوّن مسؤول لجنة السياسات في الحزب الوطني الحاكم محمد عبد السلام من وجود تداعيات سريعة للمظاهرات 26/1/2011 <i>The head of the political committee of the ruling party National Democratic Party (NDP), Mohamed Abdel Salam, played down the impact of the demonstrations</i>
لكن عبد السلام رفض مقارنة الوضع بتونس 26/1/2011 <i>But Abdel Salam dismissed to compare the situation in Tunisia</i>
فيما اتهمت قوات الأمن من أسمتهم بالمندسين بذلك 26/1/11 <i>While the security forces accused the so-called troublemakers of that (chaos and clashes)</i>
وطلب طنطاوي من إدارة أوباما مساعدة عاجلة من معدات عسكرية حديثة لمكافحة الشغب. 28/1/11 <i>Tantawi demanded from the Obama administration for urgent help from modern anti-riot military equipment.</i>
الحزب الحاكم نفى التورط في اشتباكات ميدان التحرير 3/2/11 <i>The ruling party denied involvement in the clashes in Tahrir Square</i>
وكان البرلمان المصري وعضو الحزب الوطني مصطفى الفقي قد اتهم في مداخلة على قناة الجزيرة أحد كبار رجال الأعمال -يتولى منصبا قياديا في الحزب الحاكم- بالوقوف وراء المظاهرات المساندة للرئيس حسني مبارك، 3/2/11 <i>The Egyptian parliamentarian and member of the National Party Mustafa al-Faki accused during an intervention on Al-Jazeera, a senior businessman – who has a high position in the ruling party - to stand behind the demonstrations supporting President Hosni Mubarak</i>

Table 5.18: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes to Report on Egyptian Authorities' Words.

Although the journalist chooses to report on Mubarak's word using negative verbal process, the positive verbal process was utilised on several occasions. This can be seen as the outlet try to provide balanced coverage of both sides of the crisis. However, the use of the positive verbal process to report on Mubarak's word is not so distinctive compared to the use of the negative verbal process. Among this occasion is when the outlet reported on Mubarak's promises, which mostly found in the news report during the early stage of protests. Hence, positive verbal process such as 'announced' and 'promised' were selected to report on Mubarak promises. For instance:

وكان مبارك أعلن في خطابه أنه لن يترشح في الانتخابات الرئاسية المقبلة 1/2/2011 <i>Mubarak announced in his speech that he would not run in the upcoming presidential elections</i>
كما وعد أيضا باتخاذ إجراءات لمكافحة الفساد،

2/2/2011
<i>He also promised to take action against corruption</i>

Table 5.19: The Use of Positive Verbal Process on Mubarak's Words

In another occasion, Mubarak's word also being reported by the journalist using a neutral verbal process such as 'pointed', 'said' and 'called'. For instance:

وأشار في هذا الإطار إلى أن الاحتجاجات والمظاهرات ما كانت لتتم لولا الحراك السياسي الذي تشهده مصر 29/1/2011
<i>He pointed out in this context that the protests and demonstrations would not have been possible without the political movement witnessed by Egypt</i>
وقال مبارك إن الحكومة "التزمت بتنفيذ تعليماتي بعدم استخدام العنف ضد المتظاهرين". 29/1/2011
<i>Mubarak said the government "committed to implementing my instructions not to use violence against demonstrators"</i>
ودعا الرئيس المصري في خطابه البرلمان الحالي -بمجلسيه الشعب والشورى- إلى مناقشة تعديل المادتين "76" و"77" من الدستور، 2/2/2011
<i>In his speech, the Egyptian president called on the current parliament - the People's Assembly and Shura Council - to discuss the amendment of articles 76 and 77 of the constitution,</i>

Table 5.20: The Use of Neutral Verbal Process on Mubarak's Words.

The selection of neutral verbal process by the AJA' journalist to report on Mubarak speech which contains his response and action indicated that the outlet was not paying much attention to Mubarak's word despite his position as the highest authority in Egypt during the time of crisis. Furthermore, the neutral verbal process does not give a strong impression on Mubarak, which suits his position as the President of Egypt. Thus, it was a piece of clear evidence that the outlet was treated Mubarak as the 'out-group' which was marginalized in the outlet online news report.

### Verbal Process in BBA Online News Reports of the Egyptian Revolution

The table (5.21) provides a general overview of the distribution of three subcategories of a verbal process in the corpus data of BBA during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. It is found that the neutral verbal process was the most occurred verbal process subcategory in the news texts



at 3549 or almost 63% of the total verbal process. In comparison, the subcategory of the negative verbal process only manages to record a total of 360 number of occurrences or only represent 6.33% of the total of verbal process. Also, a positive verbal process managed to record 1775 number of occurrences or 31% of the total verbal process recorded from the corpus data.

Sub-category	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Neutral	3549	62.44
Positive	1775	31.23
Negative	360	6.33
Total	5684	100

Table 5.21: Spread of verbal process according to its sub-category in the online news texts.

The table (5.22) furthermore, lists ten verbal processes mostly occurred in BBA' news articles for each of the three verbal process subcategories.

Positive	Neutral	Negative
added (in details) (381)	said (1775)	refused (82)
emphasised (306)	Called upon (563)	warned (80)
Announced (285)	requested (373)	<i>accused</i> (39)
Decided (122)	asked (220)	denied (32)
issued (93)	Pointed out (217)	insisted (29)
Promised (81)	mentioned (139)	criticised (25)
Pledged (65)	described (102)	condemned (19)
Echoed (57)	indicated (69)	admitted (18)
stressed (37)	commented (62)	denounced (9)
Ordered (28)	told (30)	blamed (7)

Table 5.22: Verbal Processes Found in the corpus of online News text of AJA for the Tunisian revolution according to verbal process sub-category.

Again, the neutral verbal process of 'said' recorded the greatest number of occurrences among the verbal process (1775 occurrences) followed by the verb 'called upon' (563 occurrences). In contrast, the negative verbal process of 'blamed' has the lowest number of occurrence (seven occurrences) followed by another negative verbal process of 'denounced' with nine occurrences. The verb 'added' was the highest positive verbal process occurred in the outlet corpus data followed by the verbs 'emphasised', 'announced' and 'decided'. Comparing with

the similar result of AJA's corpus data (Table 5.6) revealed that the neutral verbal process of 'said' also recorded the highest number of occurrences in AJA's online news articles followed by another neutral verbal process of 'called upon' in the second place. However, the negative verbal process of 'blamed' which recorded the lowest number of occurrences (seven occurrences) all among the verbal process in Table 5.22 for BBA, was recorded the third-highest number of occurrences among the negative verbal process in AJA's corpus data with (73 occurrences). In the subcategory. Despite this difference, the verb 'refused' was the most occurred negative verbal process in both AJA and BBA corpus data. In the subcategory of positive verbal process, the verb 'emphasised' was the most occurred verbal process in AJA's list, while verb 'added' was at the top of the list for BBA. Despite that, the positive verbal process such as 'announced', 'decided' and 'promised' were among the essential positive verbal process as the verbal process recorded a significantly higher number of occurrences in both AJA and BBA corpus data.

The success of TR in toppling President Ben Ali of Tunisia, BBA has slightly changed its strategy in reporting the event of Egypt Revolution. Hence, BBA tries to provide balanced coverage of both sides of the ER at least during the early stage of the protest. However, BBA online news report still dominated by the Egyptian authority, which consists of President Mubarak, his ministers, particularly Omar Suleiman the Vice President of Egypt, NDP Party, the army and Egyptian police. In contrast, during the early stage of ER, the voice of the antagonist is limited to particular antagonist's groups, namely ElBaradei of National Congress for change, MB, Kifayah movement and 6th April movement. When the protest has attracted massive support from the Egyptian, BBA has started to change its strategy in reporting the event. At the same time, the western countries, particularly the US, have started to pull their support of President Mubarak. Thus, my discussion of the use of the verbal process in BBA Online News Reports during the time of crisis in Egypt will be divided into two phases, namely:

1) The first stage during the early stage of protest: Between 25/1/2011, when the first mass protest started a Tahrir Square in the capital city of Egypt verbal process until 3/2/2011.

2) The secondary stage: Beginning from 4/2/2011 verbal process until the day Mubarak declared his resignation by handing his power to his deputy Omar Suleiman on 11/2/2011.

Pertaining the First stage; At the beginning of the ER, the massive wave of protest which will result in power change is yet to emerge. It is noticeable that the outlet has chosen to be with the Egyptian authority during the early stage of the ER. The voice of Egypt's government mainly President Mubarak, was the dominant voice in BBA online news report during this early stage of Egypt's uprising. It is found that BBA strategically utilised positive verbal process promote in the reader's good impression on Mubarak and his allies. Thus, revealed the outlet biased towards the Egypt government and considered them as the 'in-group'. In the following, I will show examples of online news which shows that the journalist of BBA has strategically utilised positive verbal process to cast a positive light on Mubarak and his allies. Table 5.23 below, list news extracts are taken from BBA online news which clearly shows the positive verbal process has been used to portray Mubarak positively:

28/1/11	أصدر الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك بصفته الحاكم العسكري في مصر قرارا بفرض حظر التجول
29/1/11	<i>Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, in his capacity as the military ruler in Egypt, issued a decree imposing a curfew</i>
29/1/11	واكد عزمه المضي قدما على طريق الاصلاح السياسي والاقتصادي
29/1/11	<i>He stressed his determination to move forward on the path of political and economic reform</i>
29/1/11	وكان مبارك اعلن في خطاب مساء الجمعة اقالة الحكومة
29/1/11	<i>In a speech on Friday evening, Mubarak announced he would sack the government and vowed "new steps" on the road to political, economic and social reform.</i>
29/1/11	وتعهد مبارك بمواصلة الاصلاح ومكافحة الفساد في مصر
29/1/11	<i>Mubarak pledged to continue reform and fight corruption in Egypt</i>
29/1/11	وشدد على ان هناك "خطا رفيعا يفصل بين الحرية والفوضى واننى انحاز الى حرية المواطنين."
29/1/11	<i>He stressed that there is "a fine line between freedom and chaos and that I stand by the freedom of citizens."</i>

وأوضح أنه بادر إلى تشكيل حكومة جديدة "بأولويات وتكليفات جديدة تتجاوب مع مطالب شبابنا"، 1/2/11 <i>He explained that he initiated the formation of a new government "new priorities and mandates that respond to the demands of our youth,</i>
كما أكد مبارك أنه لن يغادر البلاد وأنه "سيموت على الأرض المصرية"، 3/2/11 <i>Mubarak also stressed that he would not leave the country and he would "die on Egyptian soil"</i>

Table 5.23: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on Mubarak's Words

In the Example 1 of the Table 5.23, the journalist has opted to use the verb 'issued' to report on Mubarak Word Ordering to impose curfew in Egypt. It takes a man with power and authority to issue such an urgent order. The verb 'issued' also promotes in the reader an impression that Mubarak is robust and fully determine in his decision in dealing with the demonstration against his government. Furthermore, verb 'emphasised' was selected by the journalist to report on Mubarak word as stated in example (2) and (7). By using the positive verbal process of "emphasised" in example (2) for instance, the journalist tries to portray that Mubarak has the qualities of strength, determination, commitment, and confidence. Thus, in example (2) Mubarak has been positively portrayed as someone who has the strength to bring political and economic reform in Egypt. He also determines in bringing reform for Egypt and committed to his job. Hence, by stressing on his determination, Mubarak is confidence in his promise for better Egypt in the future.

Similarly, in example (7) the same verb 'emphasised' promotes impressions of tough, benign and commitments on Mubarak. By 'emphasizing' that he (Mubarak) will not run away from Egypt, Mubarak has been portrayed as unselfish and strong-willed to serve his country, hence shows his loyalty to his country. The neutral verb 'said' or 'mentioned' for instance could be used to reports on Mubarak's word in example (2) and (7), as is could have had the same meaning. However by using the negative verbal process like 'said' or mentioned instituted of 'emphasised' the two news extract of example (2) and (7) would have been neutral in its judgement of Mubarak. Thus, the users choice of the positive verbal process 'emphasised' has

been done purposely to cast positive lights on Mubarak and push reader's perception of Mubarak toward the good side of Mubarak in making all his efforts for Egypt. Similarly, in example (5). 'Stressed' tough, firm, determine.

The verb 'announced' has been chosen by the journalist, for example (3) to report on Mubarak's word. By using the verb, 'announced' rather than 'said' the journalist is promoting in the reader a feeling that Mubarak is wise, authoritative, benign and decisive. After all, on Mubarak as the POF Egypt can announce to sack the Egypt government. Hence, Mubarak is portrayed in this news report as someone who is determined, conclusive and can make a big decision effectively. Moving into example (4) of Table 5.23 the selection of verb 'pledged' was aimed to promote positive impression on Mubarak. By using the verb, 'pledged' rather than 'mentioned' of Mubarak is portrayed as someone who is in authority and has the commitment to continuing to bring more reform to Egypt. Furthermore, fighting corruption is a huge task; hence, it needs someone who has the strength and determination to do the job. All these good impressions of authoritative, commitment, strength and determination have been promoted in the reader as a result of the use positive verbal process. Hence, revealed the journalist biased toward supporting Mubarak and qualifying him to continue his position as the Egyptian President despite the call for his resignation. Moving into (example 6), by using the positive verbal process of 'explained' the journalist tries to promote in the reader that Mubarak is, the negative verbal process of 'said' could be used in the place of 'explained' as it could carry the same surface meaning, but the journalist did not choose it. Thus, the selection of the verb 'explained' followed by a long explanation of Mubarak's reasons for forming a new government in Egypt revealed the journalist biased towards supporting Mubarak.

BBA not only utilized the positive verbal process to cast positive lights on Mubarak, other Egypt Minister particularly Mubarak's key allies such as Egypt Vice President Omar Suleiman, Egypt Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq, the then Egypt Attorney General (Abdel Majid

Mahmud) as showed in the Table 5.24. In example (1) the journalist opted to use the positive verbal process of 'urged' to report on the then Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman's word. By using the verb 'urged' rather than 'called upon' the journalist has shown his attitude towards the speaker (Omar Suleiman). Verb 'urged' provide impressions that Suleiman has the qualities of benign and decisive in dealing with the protestors. In contrast, the negative verbal process of 'called upon' provides a neutral impression on Omar Suleiman and does not provide any indications of the journalist's stand toward the speaker whose word being reported in the news. About this, example (2) and (3) furthermore reveal the journalist of BBA attitude towards the one of Mubarak strongest allies Omar Suleiman. The positive verbal process of 'confirmed' has strategically been used to report on Suleiman's word in both examples (2) and (3). The selection of verb 'confirmed' somehow promote in the reader a feeling that Omar Suleiman is strict, authoritative, absolute confidence and determination. In example (2), which reported on Suleiman's response on the so-called 'battle of camel'<sup>22</sup> At Tahrir Square, shows that he is confident and determine that the clash was a deliberate conspiracy against the Egypt government. Furthermore, Suleiman was portrayed as tough, authoritative and decisive because of his word to take firm action on those who cause the massive clash between the protestors, which caused many lives. Similarly, the verb 'confirmed' in example (3) promotes that Suleiman has the authority to invite all protestor's representatives to participate in the dialogue with the Egypt government. Besides, the verb also shows that Suleiman is determined to include all the parties in the dialogue, and he is confident that all the representatives will participate actively in the dialogue to end the crisis immediately.

<p>حث عمر سليمان نائب الرئيس المصري جميع المتظاهرين على العودة إلى منازلهم 2/2/11</p>
---

---

<sup>22</sup> The so-called 'the Battle of Camel' was a massive clash between the pro-democracy revolution protestors with pro-Mubarak forces. The clash happens in Tahrir Square on 2 February 2011 and causes many casualties.

<i>Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman urged all demonstrators to return to their homes</i>
وأكد سليمان أن ما حدث يوم الأربعاء في ميدان التحرير كان مؤامرة وسيحاسب المسؤولون عنها 3/2/11 <i>Suleiman confirmed that what happened on Wednesday in Tahrir Square was a conspiracy and that those responsible would be held accountable</i>
عمر سليمان أكد مشاركة ممثلين عن المتظاهرين في الحوار 3/2/11 <i>Omar Suleiman confirmed the participation of representatives of the demonstrators in the dialogue</i>
وأوضح انه سيتم تعديل المادتين 76 و 77 من الدستور، كما ان بقية مواد الدستور مطروحة للتعديل ايضا. 3/2/11 <i>He explained that articles 76 and 77 of the Constitution will be amended and that the rest of the articles of the Constitution are also subject to amendment.</i>
قرر النائب العام المصري عبد المجيد محمود منع امين التنظيم السابق في الحزب الوطني الحاكم ووزراء السياحة والاسكان والداخلية وعدد اخر من المسؤولين من السفر وتجميد حساباتهم في البنوك. 3/2/11 <i>Egyptian Attorney General Abdel Majid Mahmoud affirmed to ban the former secretary of the ruling National Democratic Party, ministers of tourism, housing and interior and some other officials from travelling and freezing their accounts in banks.</i>

Table 5.24: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes to Report on Minister's Words.

The positive verbal process also strategically utilised to cast positive lights on Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmad Shafiq. The verb 'explained' for instance, was selected to provide positive impressions on Shafiq. By using the verb 'explained' to report on Shafiq word as in example (4), the journalist tries to promote in the reader that Shafiq is broad, benign and decisive. By explaining in detail about the plan to amend the Egypt constitution, Shafiq has been portrayed as wise. Also, the verb shows that Shafiq is benign and decisive in making such an important decision to amend article 76 and 77 of the Egypt constitution. Example (5) on the other hand, reveals that the positive verbal process was strategically being used to promote a positive impression on Egypt attorney general. Although Mahmoud is not one of Mubarak's key ministers, he holds a significant position among Mubarak's allies. Hence, Mahmoud was positively portrayed by BBA in the outlet's news report, as showed in example (5). The verb 'affirmed' was selected by the journalist rather than 'said' to promote that Mubarak's attorney general has the qualities of strength, determination and decisive. It is no doubt that the decision to take firm action against former Egyptian Leaders requires a lot of strength and determination.

Thus, the then-attorney general was decisive in making tough decision to ban those leaders from leaving Egypt and ordered to freeze their bank accounts. Hence, promoting a sense that Mahmoud is capable of carrying his duties as the attorney general of Egypt.

NDP party, the ruling and the most dominant political party in Egypt during the time of crisis also being treated as the 'in-group' by the news outlet. Thus, BBA strategically utilised the positive verbal process to report on NDP party and its leaders, as shown in the table below:

<p>وكان الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي الحاكم قد اعلن يوم الخميس أنه مستعد للحوار مع الشعب ومع المعارضة. 28/1/11 <i>The ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) said- on Thursday- it was ready to talk to the people and the opposition.</i></p>
<p>عقد صفوت الشريف رئيس مجلس الشورى المصرى مؤتمرا صحفيا أكد فيه احترام الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي الحاكم لحرية التعبير السلمى" 28/1/11 <i>Safwat al-Sherif, chairman of the Egyptian Shoura Council, held a press conference in which he affirmed the respect of the ruling National Democratic Party for the freedom of peaceful expression.</i></p>
<p>وكان رئيس مجلس الشعب المصري قد اعلن أن رئيس الوزراء احمد نظيف سيلقي بيانا أمام مجلس الشعب يوم الأحد حول الاضطرابات التي تشهدها البلاد. 28/1/11 <i>The head of the Egyptian People's Assembly has announced that Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif will deliver a statement to the People's Assembly on Sunday about the unrest in the country.</i></p>
<p>وقد أعلن الحزب الوطني الحاكم أنه قبل استقالة أحمد عز من أمانة التنظيم في الحزب 29/1/11 <i>The ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) announced that it had accepted the resignation of Ahmed Ezz from the party's organizational secretariat</i></p>

Table 5.25: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes to Report on NDP's Words.

In example (1) and (4) which reported on the NDP party positive verbal process of 'announced' was selected to report on the party's word. The journalist has the option to use the neutral verb of 'said' which carry no indication of his attitude towards NDP party, but it was not. Hence, by choosing the positive verbal process, it revealed that the journalist tends to bias towards the NDP party which ruled Egypt during the time of crisis. Thus, example (1) by choosing the positive verbal process of 'announced' the journalist tries to promote in the reader a feeling that NDP party is authoritative and benign. As the then ruling party, in Egypt, the NDP party has the authority to begin the dialogue with the oppositions. Furthermore, by willingly to start the



talk with the oppositions, NDP party is portrayed in the news report as gentle, kind and big-hearted. The same positive verbal process was also used in the example (4), which aims to promote a sense of authoritative and determination on NDP party in the decision to accept the resignation of Ahmed Ezz. After all, it takes only one who has the authority to declare the resignation of Ahmed Ezz, who is one of the senior members in the NDP party.

The same positive verbal process of 'announced' was also selected to report on Ahmed Fathi Sorour's word, in example (3). Sorour was the Speaker of the Egyptian People Assembly during the 2011 Egypt revolution. He also one of the NDP's senior leaders who hold ministerial post before appointed as the head of the Egyptian People's Assembly. Thus, instead of using the verb 'mentioned' which is neutral in tone and carry no indication of the journalist's stand toward Sorour, the verb 'announced' was selected to report on Soros's word. Hence, revealed the journalist's stand-in supporting Soros which hold the key position in the Egyptian government and the then Egyptian ruling party of NDP. In example (2) another positive verbal process 'affirmed; was selected to report on Safwat's word<sup>23</sup>. The outlet largely considered this statement made by Safwat as the first official response by the Egyptian authority toward the first mass protest on 25/1/2011. Hence, the verb 'affirmed' was strategically used to cast a positive impression on Safwat by portraying him as having qualities of strength, determination and confidence in dealing with massive pressure from the protestors. Thus, Safwat and NDP party need to be seen as having the strength and determination despite the protest against the Egyptian authority.

BBA's attitude towards supporting Egyptian during the early stage of Egypt revolution furthermore seeing in the use of the positive verbal process to cast a positive light on the security forces, Egyptian Army the police and Egyptian state television which show their support for

---

<sup>23</sup> Safwat was the Secretary-General of NDP party during the 2011 revolution and hold the position of head of Egyptian Shoura Council.

Mubarak during the revolution. The table below list examples of online news report indicates a positive verbal process was strategically used to report on Egyptian authorities' word:

28/1/11	وأكد مصدر أمني ان السلطات أمرت قوات الامن بحملة مدامات على الجماعة خلال الليل. <i>A security source confirmed that the authorities ordered the security forces to carry out raids on the group during the night.</i>
29/1/11	وأعلن التلفزيون المصري الرسمي عن ان الحكومة المصرية تقدمت باستقالتها رسميا الى رئيس الجمهورية بعد اجتماع عقدته صباح السبت. <i>Egyptian state television announced that the Egyptian government had officially submitted its resignation to the president after a meeting on Saturday morning.</i>
29/1/11	ضباط الجيش الموجودون في مدينة السويس اكدوا أن لديهم تعليمات بالتصدي لأعمال السلب والنهب <i>Army officers in the city of Suez confirmed that they had instructions to deal with looting</i>
30/1/11	وقد أعلن مصدر أمني أن قوات الشرطة المصرية بدأت في العودة اعتبارا من مساء الأحد إلى شوارع المدن لحفظ الأمن والنظام، <i>A security source announced that the Egyptian police forces began to return from Sunday evening to the streets of the cities to maintain security and order,</i>
1/2/11	وكان الجيش المصري قد أكد انه لن يلجأ للقوة ضد المتظاهرين المطالبين بتنحي مبارك. <i>The Egyptian army has confirmed that it will not resort to force against demonstrators demanding Mubarak step down.</i>

Table 5.26: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes to Report on Egyptian Authorities' Words.

It is found that two positive verbal processes were selected by the journalist to report on Egyptian authorities' word. These verbs are: 'confirmed' in the exam (1) (3) and (5) and 'announced' found in the example (2) and (4). The neutral verbal process of 'said' could have been used in each of these five news extracts but was not. By using positive verbal process, the positive impression of authoritative, determination and confidence were promoted on the speakers whose word being reported. In example (1) for instance, the selection of verb 'confirmed' to report on Egyptian security forces revealed the journalist biased toward supporting the authority during the time of crisis. The verb 'confirmed' somehow promotes in the reader a feeling that the speaker of Egyptian security forces is authoritative in providing information regarding the raids against troublemakers who were responsible for causing chaos in Egypt during the revolution. The same verb has also been chosen report on word of Egyptian

army offices in Suez, as mentioned in example (3). If the journalist used the neutral verb 'said' instead of 'confirmed', it will not reveal his or her attitude towards the army officers as the verb 'said' carry no indication on the journalist stand towards the speaker. However, the negative verbal process was selected, which aims to portray the army officers as harsh, determine and confidence in dealing with looting happened during the protests in Suez. Hence, the selection of positive verbal process, 'confirmed' over the negative verbal process 'said' revealed the journalist's biased towards the Egypt authority, particularly the arm forces.

Similarly, the verb 'confirmed' was also selected to cast positive impression of strength and determination towards the Egyptian army, as stated in Example (5). Once again, the journalist could quite easily use 'said' instead of 'confirmed', but it would have been neutral in his stance towards the Egyptian army. Hence, the selection of positive verbal process revealed that the journalist and subsequently, the online news outlet bias in supporting the Egypt authority during the early stage of the 2011 revolution. The positive verbal process of 'announced' was strategically used in the example (2) and (4). The verb 'announced' somehow promotes in the reader a feeling that the person whose word being reported is authoritative in the delivery of the official and credential information on the specific issue of the event. Thus, the Egyptian state television, which under the full control of the Egypt government, has been given an impression that it is the official and reliable source of information on the development of the Egyptian crisis. After all, only the speaker who has the authority can officially announce major vital events such as the government resignation. Similar to this, verb 'announced' also used to report on the return of Egyptian police to the streets for maintaining public safety. 'Said' could have been used in this the case as it also can deliver the same surface meaning but was not. Hence the selection of verb 'announced' which positively portray the speaker which word being reported indicates the journalist support towards the Egyptian police, which works closely with the Egypt government against the protestors.

All in all, BBA has strategically utilised positive verbal proses to cast a positive light on Mubarak and his allies during the early stage of 2011 Egypt revolution. Hence, revealed the online news outlet stand in supporting Mubarak and protect his dominance in Egypt. BBA has treated Mubarak and all his allies particularly Mubarak ministers, NDP party's leaders and authority including the army and police forces as the 'in-group'. The 'Logic of Equivalence' was utilised to group all these social actors and social groups in one group as they share the same stand in preserving in the hegemony of Mubarak in Egypt during the time of crisis.

### The Strategic Use of Negative Verbal Process on the Antagonist's Word.

The opposite side of the Egypt conflict stands the antagonist groups which mainly consist of the protestors, the Egypt oppositions and the activists. These social actors who rose against Mubarak during Egypt revolution were treated as the 'out-group' by the online news outlet. Hence, the negative verbal process was strategically utilised to report on their words, as stated in the table below:

<p>ان كثير ممن يقومون باعمال السلب والنهب هم ممن اسموهم "البلطجية" واتهموا بعضهم بالصلة برجال الامن. 29/1/11 – protestors <i>Those who carry out looting and robbery are those who called them "thugs" and accused some of them of links with security men.</i></p>
<p>واتهم المتظاهرون رجال شرطة بلباس مدني باقتحام الميدان والاعتداء على المتحجين على حكم مبارك 2/2/11 <i>Protesters accused plainclothes police of storming the square and attacking protesters over Mubarak's rule</i></p>
<p>في هذه الأثناء اتهمت اسر عدد من الشباب من قيادات حركات الاحتجاج الشبابية الشرطة المصرية باعتقال سبعة منهم 3/2/11 <i>Meanwhile, the families of several youth leaders of the youth protest movements accused the Egyptian police of arresting seven of them</i></p>
<p>المتظاهرون مصريون على مطلبهم برحيل مبارك ولا بديل لذلك. ولكن هناك خلافات بدأت تظهر بين الناشطين مع شعورهم باقترب هدفهم في إسقاط النظام. 3/2/11 – cast doubt on speaker <i>Demonstrators insist on their demand for the departure of Mubarak, and there is no alternative to that. Nevertheless, differences are emerging among activists with a sense of approaching their goal of overthrowing the regime.</i></p>
<p>المتظاهرون يقولون إنهم مصريون على التظاهر حتى رحيل مبارك وإسقاط نظامه.</p>

Demonstrators say they are determined to demonstrate until Mubarak's departure and topple his regime.
---

Table 5.27: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Protestors' Words.

All these online news extracts show the negative verbal process was utilised to promote negative impressions on protestors, hence, considered them as the 'out-group'. There are two negative verbal processes found in these examples, namely 'accused' mentioned in example (1), (2) and (3). While the verb 'insist' was used in the example (4) and (5). In example (1) for instances, the protestors accused the 'thugs' which have a connection with security men for carrying out looting and robbery during the protest. Instead of using the verb 'said' which carry no indication of journalist's attitude towards protestors, the negative verbal process of 'accused' was selected to report on protestors' word. Hence, it reveals the journalist attitude in promoting a negative impression on the protestors. The accusation, in general, carries a negative connotation and verb 'accused' promotes in the reader a feeling that the speakers are a weak. Besides, the choice of the verb 'accused' shows that the journalist is reluctant to report on the protestors' voice. Thus, show his stand, not in favour of the protestors' demands.

Similarly, the verb 'accused' also being used in the example (2) which reports that the protestors are accusing the plain – cloth police for attacking them. Once again, the verb 'accused' was selected to promote the sense of grievance and weakness towards the protestors. Hence, diverts the reader's attention towards the negative sides of the protests, which caused a lot of casualties and damages to public properties. The example (3) also shows that negative verbal process of 'accused' was selected to report on families of youth leader's word after the police have arrested those youth. By using the negative verbal process to report on speakers' word, the impression is given that these families are impatient and irritable after family's members have been arrested. They are hence promoting in the reader's perspective toward the dark side of the protest, which participated by many bad-tempered, disagreeable people who

tends to cause troubles with the authority. In addition to the verb 'accused' negative verbal process of 'insist' was strategically used in the example (4) and (5) to promote a more negative impression towards the protestors. The neutral verbal process of 'say' or 'said' could easily be used by the journalist in both examples, as it could have had the same meaning, but was not. By choosing to use verbal process 'insist', however, the journalist implies the speakers (the protestors) are on the defensive which required them to insist that there is no other alternative to their demands for Mubarak to step down as in example (4) and to continue with the protest until the fall of Mubarak's regime as mentioned in example (5). Furthermore, the verb 'insist' was carefully selected by the journalist in both examples to cast doubt on protestors' word is not necessarily be believed. Thus, the selection of negative verbal process of 'insist' revealed the journalist stand towards undermining the protestors' demands and treated them as the 'out-group'.

BBA also utilised the negative verbal process to cast negative impressions on the Egyptian oppositions. This can be seen from the news extracts in the table below:

وقال محمد البلتاجي، عضو البرلمان السابق عن الاخوان المسلمين: "نرفض اي نتيجة يمكن يخرج بها هذا الاجتماع"، 3/2/11 <i>Mohamed al-Beltagy, a former member of parliament for the Muslim Brotherhood, said: "We reject any outcome that could result from this meeting."</i>
واتهم حزب الوفد الحزب الحاكم بالوقوف وراء اعمال العنف تلك. 3/2/11 <i>The Wafd party accused the ruling party of being behind the violence.</i>
قال بيان صادر عن الحركة إن الإخوان "مصريون على مطالب ملايين المتظاهرين". 4/2/11 <i>A statement issued by the movement that the Muslim Brotherhood "insist on the demands of millions of demonstrators".</i>

Table 5.28: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Oppositions' Words.

Muslim Brotherhood (MB) Egyptian most massive oppositions are the main target to be treated as the 'out-group' by the online news outlet. Hence in the above table clearly shows that a negative verbal process was selected to report on Muslim Brotherhood's word, as stated in Example (1) and (3). Hence, promote negative impressions of Egyptian largest opposition group

and reveal the outlet stand towards the Egyptian oppositions. Looking into detail, the negative verbal process of 'reject' was mentioned in example (1) which reported on Mohamed al-Beltagy, a former member of the Egyptian parliament from MB. Rejection provides a negative connotation as it represents the act of refusing to accept and turning down an offer from others. It also promotes a sense that the person who rejects is not accommodating and gentle to others. Hence, the verb 'reject' mentioned in example (1) promotes in the reader an impression that the speaker (al-Beltagy of MB) is unkind and unobliging. On the other hand, the verb 'insist' was mentioned in example (1) which also reported on MB statement supporting the demands of millions of protestors. Verb 'insist' gives an impression that the speaker is on the defensive which demands him to insist that something is not the case. Therefore, the journalist in this news report tries to cast doubt on MB's stand supporting the protestors' demands. Hence, it promotes a sense of uncertainty in the reader about the MB.

Moving into example (2) which reported on the al-Wafd opposition party. It is found that the journalist chooses to use the negative verbal process of 'accused' to report on al-Wafd's party word instead of a neutral verb such as 'said'. By using negative verbal process, the journalist tries to cast the al-Wafd party with negative impressions of grievance and weakness. However, the al-Wafd party will be cast with positive light toughness and determination if the journalist substituted verb "accused" with the positive verbal process of 'stressed'. In the case, it will show that the journalist is supporting the al-Wafd party. However, it does not happen, as he opted to use the negative verbal process to report on al-Wafd's word.

In addition to this, the negative verbal process also strategically utilises by the journalist of BBA to promote negative impressions of Egyptian activists who actively participated in the protests against President Mubarak. For instance:

<p>ان الرجل يمتلك مطعما صغيرا ويشكو من ضيق ذات اليد وصعوبة الحصول على خبز مدعم</p>
--

25/1/11

The man owns a small restaurant and complains of tight hand and difficulty getting subsidized bread
واتهم القاضي حسام مكاوي في تصريح لبي بي سي عناصر من جهاز مباحث أمن الدولة بإحراق مستندات هامة
31/1/11
<i>In a statement to the BBC, Judge Hossam Makkawi accused members of the State Security Investigation Unit of burning relevant documents</i>

Table 5.29: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on the Activists' Words.

It is found that the example (1) used verb 'complaint', while example (2) used the verb 'accused' to report on two different Egyptian activists who participated in the protests demanding the fall of Mubarak's regime in Egypt. In example (1) mentioned about a man complained about his disability which makes hard for him to get the subsidised bread. The verb 'complaint' used in this news report promote in the reader an impression that the man is the week and querulous for complaining in a somewhat petulant and whining manner. The journalist could quite easily use neutral verbal processor 'say' or 'mention' in this case as it could carry the same surface meaning without providing any indication of his attitude toward the activists mentioned in the news. However, by choosing a negative verbal process to report on activist's word, it reveals the journalist's stand-in is marginalizing the activist's voice and undermining their demands.

The similar approach can be found through the selection or verb 'accused' in example (2) which reported on Judge Makkawi's (one of an al-Azhar scholar who actively participated in the protests at the Tahrir Square) word. In the news report, Makkawi was accusing the Egyptian State Security Investigation Unit of burning essential documents, which may be used as evidence of misconduct and corruptions practised by Mubarak's government. The accusation has a negative sense as it suggests negative information about another individual, regardless of the accuser's reputation. Furthermore, it can tarnish the reputation of that individual event after the accusation has been proven. Hence, by producing random accusation without proper evidence, the journalist tries to portray the speaker (Makkawi) as weak and irritable. Besides, it also revealed that the journalist tries to distance from the speaker who accused the authority



without proper evidence which shows that the journalist did not believe that Makkawi's had the strength or determination to provide a proper accusation against the authority. Thus, rather than focusing on the allegation of demolishing evidence of wrongdoing against the Egypt government, the journalist tries to push the reader's perception towards the credibility of the accuser who prefers to tarnish other's reputation.

Despite the strategic use of the negative verbal process to promote negative impressions towards the antagonist, the outlet has minimised it biased towards the Egyptian authority by utilising the neutral verbal process to report on the Egyptian antagonist. This is to say, BBA tries to provide more balanced coverage of both side of Egypt conflict by providing an unbiased report on the antagonist. Hence, the neutral verbal process is the suitable choice to report on the antagonist's word because it carries no indication of the online news outlet stand towards the antagonist's demands. At the same time, the general stand of the outlet in supporting Mubarak and Egypt authority during the early stage of the Egyptian revolution is well preserved. Thus, the table below list news extracts which show the voice of the antagonist, particularly their prominent leaders, have been reported through the use of the neutral verbal process.

28/1/11	ودعت حركة 6 ابريل الاحتجاجية الشبابية الى تظاهرات الجمعة
<i>The April 6 youth movement called for protests on Friday</i>	
	وقال القيادي في الجماعة سعد الكتاتني في تصريح بثه موقع الجماعة على الانترنت ان "الإخوان مشاركون مع كل القوى الوطنية المصرية
28/1/11	
<i>"The Brotherhood is involved with all the Egyptian national forces," said Saad al-Katatni, leader of the group, in a statement posted on the group's website</i>	
	وقال المعارض المصري محمد البرادعي والمدير العام السابق للوكالة الدولية للطاقة الذرية في تصريحات صحفية "سانزل اليوم لاشارك مع زملائي
29/1/11	
<i>"Today, I will be with my colleagues," Egyptian opposition Mohamed ElBaradei and former IAEA director-general said in a statement</i>	
	ودعا بيان للجماعات التي اطلقت على نفسها اسم قوى الاحتجاجات الى حل البرلمان ووضع دستور جديد للبلاد والجماعات المنضوية تحت هذه التسمية هي : حركة 6 ابريل، حركة كلنا خالد سعيد،
31/1/11	
<i>A statement by groups calling themselves the forces of protest called for the dissolution of parliament and the drafting of a new constitution for the country</i>	

وقال اسامة الغزالي رئيس حزب الجبهة الديمقراطية في حديث لبي بي سي إن هذه الاجراءات تشمل تشكيل حكومة انقاذ وطني
31/1/11 <i>Osama al-Ghazali, head of the Democratic Front Party, told the BBC that the measures included forming a national rescue government</i>
وقال متظاهرون إنهم احتجزوا بعض مثيري الشغب الذين يوصفون في مصر بـ"الباطنية". 2/2/11 <i>Protesters said they had detained some of the troublemakers who were described in Egypt as "thugs."</i>

Table 5.30: The Use of Neutral Verbal Processes on the Antagonists' Words.

It is evident from these online news extracts, that the word reported was delivered not only neutral in tone but also carries no indication of the journalist's attitude towards the speaker whose word being reported. Hence, it does not provide much input on the online news outlet's stand toward the speaker. For instance, in example (1) verb 'called' was selected to report on 6th April Youth Movement. By choosing to use neutral verbal process, the journalist shows his stand neither supporting the movement nor disagreeing with them. The neutral verbal process also does not give any strong impression of the speaker (6th April Movement). In contrast, if the verb 'called' being replaced by 'announced' for instance, it will provide a sense of strength and determination to the movement. Similarly, al-Katatni's (one of MB leader) word also being reported in example (2) using the neutral verbal process of 'said'. Again, the selection of the verb 'said' does not provide any indication to show that the journalist is supporting the MB rather than reporting on al-Katani's word. This will not jeopardise the outlet stand in supporting Mubarak and the Egypt government. However, if the journalist wants to cast a positive light on al-Katatni and reveals his support to the MB, he will use the positive verbal process of 'affirmed'. As a result, the reader will get the impression that al-Khatatni has the qualities of determination and confidence. Hence, the journalist will cast a positive light on al-Katatni and reveal his support to the MB.

Even word of big names among the antagonist such as al ElBaradei being reported by the outlet using the neutral verbal process as mentioned in example (3). Again, the verb 'said'

which is neutral in sound carries no indication of the journalist attitudes towards the speaker. ElBaradei would be given the impression of toughness if the verb 'said' being replaced by the verb 'declared' for instance. However, it was not being done by the journalist. Thus, it carries no indication that either the journalist is supporting ElBaradei or opposing him. Similarly, another opposition leader of the Democratic Front Party, Osama al-Ghazali also being reported by BBA using the neutral verbal process of 'told' example (5). By using neutral verbal process, the journalist does not show his biased toward the speaker who leads one of the vital opposition parties in Egypt during the crisis. It is no surprise to see that the journalist is sticking with the choice of neutral verbal process on reporting on antagonist's word even though the antagonist has gathered their support and formed allies of protestors in order to unite their demands as seen in example (4). This can be seen clearly in the selection of neutral verbal process of the verb 'called' to report on this group which consists of five main antagonist groups namely: The 6th April group, we all Khalid Said group, National Coalition for Change, 25th January Movement and the group of Egyptian scholars and journalists. By using the verb 'called' the journalist maintains his stand-in providing an unbiased impression on the antagonist even though they have gathered remarkable support from various antagonist groups. Hence, we can find the neutral verb also being used to report on protestors' word as mentioned in example (6) even though the news mentioned about the success in detaining troublemakers who were widely blamed for causing chaos and vandalism during the protest.

### **5.5 The Changes in Utilising Verbal Process**

In the early stage of the 2011 ER, the two outlets have shown they are biased toward one of the two sides in Egyptian conflict. Hence, AJA has treated the Egyptian antagonist as the 'in-group', while BBA opted to be with Mubarak and his government and considered them as the 'in-

group'. However, when the protest entered a new phase as the protest has managed to gather much support not only from the Egyptian but also attract supports from world's leader particularly from the United States and European countries, the two outlets have started to change their strategy in utilising the verbal process. Thus, the change of strategic use of the verbal process by the two online news outlets can be seen at the result of the power transition process taken place in Egypt during the time of the 2011 crisis. The change in utilising a verbal process for reporting both sides of Egyptian conflict can be divided into four elements, namely:

- 1- Started to report on the antagonist using positive verbal process
- 2- Started to report on Mubarak's word using neutral verbal process
- 3- Furthermore, ultimately reported on Mubarak's word using negative verbal process.
- 4- AJA intensified marginalising Mubarak and His government's word.

It is important to note that, BBA has recorded the most significant change in its strategy of utilising the verbal process compared to AJA. BBA was in favour of Mubarak during the early stage of protest, before gradually switching its support toward the antagonist when Mubarak lost his support, while the protestors gain their tremendous momentum to overthrow Mubarak. Therefore, the first three elements of change in the strategic use of the verbal process will be focused on BBA, while the fourth element focuses on AJA online news articles.

### **1- Started to report on the antagonist's word using positive verbal process.**

From the corpus data of BBA online news articles during the time of Egyptian crisis, it is found that the outlet has changed its strategy in utilising the verbal process to report on both sides of the conflict. Thus, approximately 3rd February 2011 onward, when the West particularly the United State has pulled its support toward Mubarak, and the protests have gathered a massive crowd in almost all Egyptian cities, BBA has started to reduce its support to Mubarak. This can be seen through the change of using the positive verbal process to report

on speakers' word from both sides of the Egyptian conflict. As a result of this change, it is found that the antagonist's word which was reported using negative verbal process has gradually changed to the positive verbal process beginning from 3rd February 2011, approximately eleven days after the first protest started at Tahrir Square. In this section, I will list, news extract taken from BBA corpus data, which show positive verbal processes were strategically utilised to cast a positive light on the Egyptian's antagonist which was previously during the early stage of protest was reported using negative verbal process. Hence, indicate the change in discourse construction strategy used by the outlet to mirror the process of power change in Egypt.

During the early stage of protest, the antagonist particularly the protestors, were marginalised by BBA and treated as the 'out-group'. Hence, the journalist was strategically utilised negative verbal process to report on protestors' word. However, when the protests have successfully attracted massive support from the Egyptian, BBA started to report on the protestors using positive verbal process. By using positive verbal process, the journalist has somehow promoted in the reader on the positive side of the protestors and the protest events. Hence, revealed the journalist and the online news outlet towards the protestors and considered them as the 'in-group'. This shows a significant change of the outlet strategy by changing side from supporting Mubarak and preserving his dominant to supporting the antagonist's demands of bringing down Mubarak's regime. The details of this change can be observed in the examples in the table below:

تعهد المتظاهرون باستمرار تنظيم المسيرات الحاشدة إلى أن تتحقق مطالبهم. 4/2/11
<i>The demonstrators vowed to continue organizing mass rallies until their demands were met.</i>
وتعهد المحتجون في ميدان التحرير بقلب القاهرة بالاستمرار في التظاهر الى ان يرحل مبارك. 5/2/11
<i>The protesters vowed in Tahrir Square, the heart of Cairo to continue to pretend to go around Mubarak.</i>
أعلن المسيحيون المشاركون في الاحتجاجات عن تنظيم قدّاس الأحد وسط الميدان بعنوان "الوفاء للشهداء"، للصلاة على أرواح 6/2/11

<i>The Christians participating in the protests announced the organization of the Sunday Mass in the centre of the field entitled "Wafaa al-Shuhada", to pray for souls</i>
واصل المتظاهرون اعتصامهم في ميدان التحرير وسط القاهرة، ودخلت احتجاجاتهم يومها الثالث عشر، مؤكدين عزمهم على تنظيم تظاهرات ثابتة أيام الأحد والثلاثاء والجمعة "حتى إسقاط الرئيس مبارك". 6/2/11
<i>Demonstrators continued their sit-in in the Tahrir Square in central Cairo, and entered their protests on the thirteenth day, stressing their determination to organize demonstrations on Sunday, Tuesday and Friday "until the overthrow of President Mubarak."</i>
وهتف المحتجون الذين تعهدوا بالبقاء في الميدان لحين ضمان تنفيذ المجلس الاعلى للقوات المسلحة طلباتهم. 13/2/11
<i>Protesters, who vowed to stay on the ground until the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces fulfilled their demands.</i>

Table 5.31: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Protestors' Words.

The Table (5.31) above lists five news extracts which indicate a positive verbal process has been carefully selected to report on protestors' word. There are three positive verbal processes found in these five news extracts name 'vowed' used in the example (1) and (2) 'announced' in example (3), 'stressing' in example (4) and 'chanted' in example (5). Moreover, the positive impressions were promoted toward the protestors through the selection of these positive verbal process. In extract (1) for instance, the verb 'vowed' somehow promotes in the reader a feeling that the protestors are tough and determine to organise more protests until their demands were met. Although, the same surface meaning may be achieved with other verbal processes like 'said', it, however, does not provide the impression of toughness and determination to the speaker as being provided from the use of the verb 'vowed'. Hence, the selection of positive verbal process 'vowed' indicated the journalist's attitude in supporting the protestors' demands. Similarly, the verb 'vowed' also been selected to report on protestors' word in the extract (2). Again, the selection of the positive verbal process to report on protestors revealed that the journalist is treating the protestors as the 'in-group' by casting positive lights on them. This rarely being found during the early stage of the protest.

Another positive verbal process, namely 'announced' was selected by the journalist in extract (3) to report on the Christian Protestors' word regarding the organising of Sunday special prayer for the victims of mass protests. By using the positive verbal process, the qualities of

strength and commitment have been promoted towards the Christian Protestors hence pushed the reader's perception of the news towards the positive side of the protestors which called for peaceful protest. At the same time, the reader's perception has been directed to the victims of mass protest after being unfairly treated by the authorities. These positive impressions cast on protestors will not be achieved if the journalist substituted verb 'announced' with the verb 'called upon'. 'Called upon' not only neutral in tone but also carries no indication of the journalist's attitude towards the Christian Protestors. By choosing the positive verbal process of 'stressing' in the extract (4), the journalist tries to promote in the readers an impression that the speaker (protestors) are tough and determine to continue with more upcoming protests until President Mubarak step down. Hence, it shows that the journalist is supporting the protestors' demands for Mubarak to resign from his office. The journalist could easily use the neutral verbal process of 'said' which, carry no indication of his attitude towards the protestors. However, it was not, thus, revealed that the journalist had shown his bias towards the protestors.

Similarly, the verb 'chanted' used by the journalist in the extract (5) provide an excellent impression to the speakers (the protestors) whose word being reported in the news. The verb 'chanted' was selected by the journalist over another neutral verb like 'said' the promote an impression that the protestors are united, strong-willed and committed with their demand for a peaceful process of power transition in Egypt after the resignation of Mubarak. Verb 'chanted' itself means the words being repeated many times and loudly, provides impressions that the speaker is strong and committed to his word. Furthermore, the verb also gives a sense that the speakers are working together closely to deliver their demands continuously and loudly. Thus, again, the selection of verb 'Chanted' by the journalist to report on protest's word in the extract (5) revealed his support towards the protestors. Hence, the readers' perception has been pushed towards the positive side of protestors who work together very hard to voice their demand for a smooth transition of power in Egypt.

Almost eleven days after the first mass protest started in Egypt during the 2011 Revolution, BBA's journalist has started to treat Egyptian oppositions as the 'in-group' by strategically utilise the positive verbal process to report on their word. The news extracts in the Table 5.32 below shows examples of the positive verbal process was carefully selected by the journalist to cast positive lights on the Egypt oppositions.

وقال المتحدث باسم الجماعة محمد المرسي في مقابلة مع بي بي سي إن الحوار يجب أن يكون على أسس واضحة. 4/2/11 <i>A spokesman for the MB group, Mohammed al-Morsi, said in an interview with the BBC that the dialogue must be on clear grounds.</i>
وكانت جماعة "الإخوان المسلمون" المعارضة المحظورة في مصر قد أعلنت عن قبولها بالتفاوض مع الحكومة بهدف البحث عن مخرج للزمة التي تمر بها مصر. 6/2/11 <i>The banned Muslim Brotherhood opposition in Egypt has announced its acceptance of dialogue with the government to find a way out of the crisis experienced by Egypt.</i>
أعلنت جماعة "الإخوان المسلمون" المعارضة المحظورة في مصر أنها قد وافقت على إجراء حوار مع الحكومة، 6/2/11 <i>"Muslims Brotherhood " the banned opposition in Egypt, announced that it had agreed to hold a dialogue with the government,</i>
وجدد البرادعي في تصريحاته اقتراحه بإطلاق مرحلة انتقالية يقود مصر خلالها مجلس رئاسي مؤلف من ثلاث شخصيات، بينها شخصية ممثلة للجيش. 6/2/11 <i>In his remarks, ElBaradei reiterated his proposal to launch a transitional phase in which Egypt would lead a three-person presidential council, including a representative of the army.</i>
أعلنت جماعة الإخوان المسلمين أنها لا تسعى للسلطة 13/2/11 <i>The Muslim Brotherhood has announced that it is not seeking power</i>

Table 5.32: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Oppositions' Words.

The news extracts in the table (5.32) indicate the use of the positive verbal process of 'must be', 'announced' and 'reiterated' to report on speakers of the Egyptians oppositions' word. In extract (1), Morsi's of MB word has been reported using the verb 'must be' to give an impression that he is tough, determine and confidence of his stand to underline a clear guideline before any severe talk could begin between the protestors and the government. The verb "announced" on the other hand, was used to report on MB, as mentioned in the extract (2), (3) and (5). In this case, MB, the largest opposition group in Egypt, was given positive impressions of authoritative and benign. Hence, reveal the journalist attitude towards MB, which supports



the protestors' demands for power change in Egypt. Furthermore, the positive verbal process of 'reiterated' was selected by the journalist to report on ElBaradei's word, as mentioned in the extract (4) of the above table. The selection of verb 'reiterated' which refers to a process of saying something several times to emphasise or clarify promotes in the reader a feeling that ElBaradei is wise and benign on his plan for a better Egypt after the resignation of Mubarak. All in all, the change from using negative verbal process into the positive verbal process to report on Egyptian opposition's word, revealed that the outlet had shifted its support from supporting the government to the Egyptian opposition. Hence, the opposition has been treated as the 'in-group' and received positive descriptions by the online news outlet.

The positive verbal process was not only being used to report on the two largest antagonist groups. The verb 'declared' and 'proclaimed' were also being used to cast positively light on the activists whose are among the important social actors who significantly contributed in the success of toppling down Mubarak's regime. This can be seen from the news extract below:

<p>وصرح النشطاء بميدان التحرير بأن " الهدف من مجلس الأمناء هو إجراء حوار مع المجلس العسكري 12/2/11 <i>Activists in Tahrir Square declared that "the objective of the Board of Trustees is a dialogue with the military junta</i></p>
<p>وصرح خالد عبد القادر عودة، أحد النشطاء، بأن "الهدف من تشكيل مجلس الأمناء هو دفع الثورة إلى الأمام خلال المرحلة الانتقالية". 13/2/11 <i>Khaled Abdel Qader Ouda, one of the activists, proclaimed that "the goal of the Board of Trustees is to push the revolution forward through the transitional phase."</i></p>

Table 5.33: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Activists' Words.

The verb 'declared' was selected to report on the activist' word in the extract (1). By using positive verbal process 'declared' the journalist tries to promote in the reader a feeling that the activists are authoritative and determine with the primary objective of having Board of trustees to deal with the Egyptian military council. The verb 'said' positive impression to the activists. Hence, the selection of the verb 'declared' showed the journalist's tendency to support

the activist by treating them as the 'in-group'. Furthermore, the verb 'proclaimed' was selected to report on Khaled Ouda's word regarding the next important step for the protestors after Mubarak has declared his resignation. By using the verb 'proclaimed' instead of 'mentioned' for instance, the Mr Ouda was given impressions of toughness and confidence which will not be achieved if the neutral verb "mentioned" was selected. Thus, clearly indicated the change of a journalist's attitude towards the activist immediately after the protest has successfully brought down Mubarak's regime in Egypt.

## 2- Started to report on Mubarak's word using neutral verbal process

On the other side of the Egypt conflict, the voice of Mubarak and the then Egyptian government have been reported using the neutral verbal process which carries no indication of the journalist's attitude towards the speaker. Hence, revealed that the journalist has started to withdraw his support towards Mubarak and the Egyptian government approximately eleven days after the first mass protest started at Tahrir Square. The table below lists news extracts shows that the BBA's journalist had switched to utilise the negative verbal process to report on Mubarak and his allies several days before Mubarak's declared his resignation. It is found that the neutral verbal process of 'expressed', 'said', 'pointed', 'called' and 'described' was selected by the journalist to report on Mubarak and his main allies several days before declaring his resignation on 11/2/2011.

<p>وكان مبارك قد أعرب عن تعازيه لأسر ضحايا الاحتجاجات.</p> <p>8/2/11</p> <p><i>Mubarak expressed his condolences to the families of the victims of the protests.</i></p>
<p>وكان نائب الرئيس المصري عمر سليمان قال ان لدى مصر خطة وجدولا زمنيا لعملية الانتقال السلمي للسلطة</p> <p>8/2/11</p> <p><i>Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman said Egypt had a plan and a timetable for the peaceful transition of power</i></p>
<p>أشار وزير الخارجية المصري أحمد أبو الغيط إلى إمكانية تدخل الجيش إذا حاول من أسماهم بالمغامرين الاستيلاء على السلطة في مصر،</p> <p>10/2/11</p> <p><i>Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit pointed to the possibility of intervention by the army if he tried to call the adventurers to seize power in Egypt,</i></p>

11/2/11	ودعا الشعب المصري إلى التصرف بوعي ومسؤولية.
11/2/11	ووصف ما أعلنه الرئيس مبارك بأنه "يؤكد حسه الوطني".
11/2/11	ووصف ما أعلنه الرئيس مبارك بأنه "يؤكد حسه الوطني".
11/2/11	Suleiman described that the president's announcement confirms his national sense.

Table 5.34: The Use of Neutral Verbal Processes on the Ministers' Words.

In extracts (1) verb 'expressed' was used to report on Mubarak's word in delivering his condolence to the victims' families caused by the violent clashes during the protests. The verb 'expressed' was used in a neutral tone and carry no indication of the journalist's attitude towards Mubarak. Hence, showed that the journalist is neither supporting Mubarak nor against him. Similarly, the verb 'said' was selected to report on Suleiman's word in the extract (2). If the journalist substituted the verb 'said' with 'announced', Suleiman will be cast with an impression of authoritative. Hence, revealed that the journalist is showing his support for Suleiman. However, it was not the case; the neutral verbal process of 'said' was selected instead of positive verbal process 'announced'. Thus, it indicated that the journalist had pulled his support towards Suleiman the then Vice President of Egypt.

The news extracts (4) and (5) furthermore showed that Suleiman's voices were reported using the negative verbal process of 'called' and 'described'. Hence, provide other evidence that the outlet has changed its side by no longer showing support toward Mubarak and his allies. In addition to Suleiman, another Mubarak's allies, the then Egypt Foreign Minister Abdul Gheit's word also being reported using negative verbal process. Extract (3) shows the verb 'pointed' was selected by the journalist to report on Abdul Gheit's word on the possibility of army intervention. Again, if the journalist wants to show his support to Abdul Gheit, he or she will use the positive verbal process of 'stressed' which will portray the speaker as tough and determine. However, by using the verb 'pointed' no indication has been provided that the journalist is showing his support to the speaker, which was one of the Mubarak's strongest allies.

All in all, the use of the neutral verbal process shows that the outlet has tried to hide its supports to Mubarak several days before Mubarak's resignation. This has been done through the strategic use of the neutral verbal process which carries no indication of the journalist's attitude towards the speaker whose word being reported in the news. The use of neutral verbal process also being seen as another strategy utilised by the outlet during the uncertainty of the protest's outcome whether the power change may happen in Egypt or Mubarak will remain resisted from the call for his resignation. Hence, the outlet was strategically utilised neutral verbal processes to report on Mubarak and his government's word. Ultimately, approximately a day before Mubarak declared his resignation, the outlet has started to utilise a more negative verbal process to report on Mubarak's word which reflected that Mubarak was facing his final days as the President of Egypt. This change will be shown in the following section.

### 3- It is ultimately reported on Mubarak's word using negative verbal process.

During the final days of Mubarak as the Egyptian President, BBA has shown that the outlet is ready for the power change in Egypt as a result of Mubarak's departure. Hence, the outlet has started to treat Mubarak and his associates as the 'out-group' by strategically utilising a negative verbal process to report on their word. For instance, the Table 5.35 below list example of news extracts dated 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 which show that the negative verbal process was strategically being utilised to promote negative impression on Mubarak.

<p>دحض الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك كل التوقعات بإصراره على عدم التنحي عن منصبه، على الرغم من المظاهرات الحاشدة المعارضة لحكمه.</p> <p><i>Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak refuted all expectations of his insistence on not stepping down, despite mass demonstrations opposing his rule.</i></p>
<p>انتقد الرئيس المصري السابق حسني مبارك، قبل يوم واحد من تركه منصبه، الولايات المتحدة وسعيها الذي وصفه بالمضلل</p> <p><i>Former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, a day before leaving office, criticised the United States and its misguided efforts</i></p>
<p>كما أعرب الرئيس مبارك عن أسفه العميق لأرواح الشباب التي أزهقت في الأحداث الأخيرة</p>

<i>President Mubarak also expressed sincere regret for the lives of young people who have been overwhelmed by recent events</i>
وقال مبارك في خطاب بثه التلفزيون المصري أمس الخميس إنه سيبقى في منصبه حتى يتم إختيار خلف له
<i>Mubarak said in a speech broadcast on Egyptian television on Thursday that he would remain in office until a successor is chosen</i>

Table 5.35: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on the Mubarak's Words.

From these four news extracts of BBA, it is found that two negative verbal processes have been selected by the journalist to report on Mubarak's word slightly before declaring the transition of his power to his deputy Omer Suleiman on 11/2/2011. These negative verbal processes are 'refuted' and 'criticised'. While verb 'expressed' used in the extract (3) and 'said' extract (4) carry a negative impression on Mubarak despite both verbs are neutral in tone. Looking at these news extracts, it is found that by using the negative verbal process of 'refuted' in the extract (1) the impression was given is the speaker (Mubarak) is irritable and unaccommodating for his insistence not to step down. Mubarak also being portrayed as selfish for showing his reluctance in fulfilling the protestors' demands. Hence, the use of the verb "refuted" cast negative light on Mubarak and the reader's perception has been directed toward the negative side of Mubarak on his effort clinging to power despite massive protests against him. The verb 'criticised' was used to report on Mubarak's word, as stated in the extract (2) of the above table. By using the negative verbal process of 'criticised' the journalist tries to promote the sense of grievance and weakness on the Mubarak. This is happening, a day before Mubarak stepped down when Mubarak tries to blame others, particularly his old leading supporter the United States, for no longer supporting him. Hence, it shows the weakness of Mubarak in dealing with the critical tense against him during the final days before his resignation.

Although verb 'expressed' and 'said' used in the extract (3) and (4) may carry a neutral tone, nut the context of the news is somehow promoted negative impressions on Mubarak. Both news extracts reported on Mubarak final speech during his vital effort to calm the anger of

protestors. Thus, it should be reported in positive tones by using the positive verbal process such as 'stressed' or 'announced' which provide the sense that Mubarak has the strength and determination towards his word. However, by using the neutral verbal process of 'expressed' and 'said' it revealed that the journalist did not believe that Mubarak had the strength or determination to fulfil the protesters' demand and end the crisis in Egypt as soon as possible. Thus, the verbs 'expressed' and 'said' indicated that Mubarak is no longer being considered as the 'in-group' by the outlet. In contrast, Mubarak has been negatively portrayed in the online news report slightly before announcing his resignation.

Mubarak was not only being treated as the 'out-group' by the outlet, but other Mubarak's allies have been considered as the 'out-group'. Hence, their word being reported using the negative verbal process as mentioned in examples below:

حذر نائب الرئيس المصري عمر سليمان من أن الحكومة لن تقبل باستمرار الاحتجاجات في ميدان التحرير لفترة طويلة 9/2/11 <i>Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman has warned that the government will not accept long-standing protests in Tahrir Square</i>
نفى وزير الصحة المصري أحمد سامح في اتصال مع بي بي سي اتهامات المنظمات الحقوقية للسلطات المصريو بمحاولة حجب الأرقام الحقيقية لضحايا الاحتجاجات في مصر. 9/2/11 <i>The Egyptian Health Minister Ahmed Sameh denied in contact with the BBC accusations of human rights organizations to the Egyptian authorities to try to withhold the real numbers of victims of the protests in Egypt.</i>
وحذر الحكومة المصرية من أن الفشل في التجاوب مع مخاوف حشود المحتجين "أن يؤدي سوى الى زيادة الاحتجاجات في القاهرة." 10/2/11 <i>He warned the Egyptian government that failure to respond to the concerns of crowds of protesters "will only increase the protests in Cairo."</i>
اتهم وزير الخارجية المصري احمد ابو الغيط في مقابلة مع قناة "بي بي اس" واشنطن بمحاولة "فرض" ارادتها على مصر بما طالبتها بتطبيق اصلاحات فورية. 10/2/11 <i>Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit accused the United States of trying to "impose" its will on Egypt, by calling for immediate reforms.</i>

Table 5.36: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on the Ministers' Words.

These news extracts in the above table show the BBA's journalist has strategically utilised negative verbal process to report on Mubarak's allies namely his Vice President Omer

Suleiman, Egyptian Health Minister, Egyptian Foreign Minister, and the Egyptian government. The selection of negative verbal process aims to cast a negative light on Mubarak's allies; hence, the verb 'warned' and 'denied' and 'accused' was used in these news extracts. In extract (1), by using the verb 'warned', the impressions are given that Omer Suleiman is impatient and unwise for his approach in dealing with the protests in Tahrir Square. The journalist may use the verb 'said' instead of 'warned' to deliver the same surface meaning, but it will not provide any negative impression on Suleiman. Hence, by using the verb 'warned' the journalist has indicated his attitude towards Suleiman. Similarly, the verb 'warned' also being utilised to report on Egyptian government in the extract (3). Again, the Egyptian government in this news extract has been portrayed with a negative impression of impatient and unwise. Besides, it also shows that the journalist does not believe that the Egyptian government had the determination to fulfil the protesters' demands.

Furthermore, the verbal process 'denied' was used to report on the Egyptian Health Minister's word in the extract (2) of the above table. Hence, portraying him as weak and querulous. In contrast, if the journalist substituted verb 'denied' with 'stressed', the reader will be given the impression that the speaker is sturdy and confidence in his word. Thus, it indicated that the journalist believes that the Egyptian Health Minister is capable of carrying his duty without compromise. However, the negative verbal process was selected by the journalist rather than the positive verbal process, hence clearly shows that the journalist no longer treated Mubarak's Minister as their 'in-group'. Another of Mubarak's cabinet member, Ahmed Abdul Gheit's word also being reported using negative verbal process during the final days before the resignation of Mubarak. The verb 'accused' was selected by the journalist rather than 'said' which promote negative impressions of grievance and weakness to the speaker. Hence, provide another clear evidence that the outlet has pulled its support from Mubarak by considering Mubarak and his key allies as the 'out-group',

#### 4- AJA intensified marginalising Mubarak and His government's words.

Since the beginning of the Egypt revolution, AJA has shown its biased toward the antagonist. Thus, the positive verbal process has strategically been utilised by the outlet to report on the antagonist's words. When, the 2011 Egypt revolution entered its second phase beginning from 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011, up until the declaration of Mubarak stepping down on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011, the outlet has intensified marginalising the word of Mubarak and his government. Hence, the outlet not only utilised a positive verbal process to report on the antagonist's words but also, the report on antagonist's speeches dominated the outlet online news. While the report on Mubarak and his associates were sided lines in the online news articles. The **Table 5.37** below lists example of the positive verbal process of 'emphasised', 'pledged' and 'decided' were strategically being used to report on the Egyptian antagonist's words.

5/2/11	في حين أكدت الناشطة إسراء عبد الفتاح اعتقال كثيرين من مناهضي مبارك اليوم بميدان التحرير. <i>While the activist Esraa Abdel Fattah confirmed the arrest of many of the opponents of Mubarak today in Tahrir Square.</i>
8/2/11	وعقب المظاهرات التي أطلق عليها "جمعة الرحيل", تعهدت قيادة الانتفاضة بمظاهرات مليونية أيام الأحد والثلاثاء والجمعة من كل أسبوع سعيا منها لزيادة الضغط على السلطات <i>Following the so-called "Juma'a al-Rahil" demonstrations, the leadership of the intifada pledged to demonstrate millions on Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays every week to increase pressure on the authorities</i>
9/2/11	إن المتظاهرين قرروا تنظيم اعتصام عند مبنى التلفزيون الرسمي تأكيدا لمطالبهم بتحية مبارك، <i>The demonstrators decided to organize a sit-in at the official television building to confirm their demands to oust Mubarak,</i>
11/2/11	وأكد المتظاهرون أن الثورة مستمرة ولن تقف عند مصر <i>The demonstrators stressed that the revolution is continuing and will not stand in Egypt.</i>

Table 5.37: The Use of Positive Verbal Processes on the Antagonists' Words.

By strategically using a positive verbal process to report on the activist and the protestors' word, the outlet tried to cast a positive light on the antagonist and treated them as the 'in-group'. Also, the use of the positive verbal process of 'decided' and 'pledged' in reporting protestor's word promotes in the reader with an impression of authoritative to the protestors, despite none of the protestor or their leaders hold any significant position in the Egyptian government.



Hence, by using positive verbal processes of 'decided' and 'pledged' the outlet has portrayed the protestors as having the authority to make a critical decision which carries huge impact during the 2011 Egypt revolution. Thus, promoting a counter-hegemony discourse against the dominant of Mubarak and his government during the most critical time during the 2011 ER.

Furthermore, the word of Mubarak and his government have been sidelined by the outlet. This has been done by briefly reported on their word before immediately criticised it. In another occasion, the word of the then Egyptian government was marginalised by highlighting the antagonist's firm respond particularly toward Mubarak's speeches and pledges which was aimed to calm the anger of protestors. For instance, AJA reported:

<p>ووصف المتظاهرون الخطاب بأنه حيلة من مبارك للتشبث بالسلطة، وأعلنوا أنهم لن يغادروا الميدان حتى يغادر الرئيس منصبه.</p> <p>7/2/11</p> <p><i>The demonstrators described the speech as a trick from Mubarak to cling to power and declared that they would not leave the field until the president leaves the office.</i></p>
<p>وفي أول رد على بيان سليمان -الذي قال فيه إن الرئيس تعهد بعدم ملاحقة المتظاهرين- أكدت الناشطة نواره نجم أن الشعب لا يثق بسليمان، وأن جميع وعوده والنظام مجرد سراب.</p> <p>8/2/11</p> <p><i>In the first response to Suleiman's statement - in which he said the president had vowed not to prosecute the protesters - Nawara Najm stressed that the people did not trust Suleiman and that all his promises and order were a mirage.</i></p>
<p>وفي ميدان التحرير الذي احتشد فيه اليوم نحو مليون مواطن بينهم نقابيون، ردد المحتجون المطالب السابقة برحيل رموز النظام، وأعلنوا رفضهم البيان الصادر عن عمر سليمان نائب الرئيس بشأن المرحلة الانتقالية.</p> <p>8/2/11</p> <p><i>In Tahrir Square, where some 1 million citizens, including unionists, gathered today, protesters echoed previous demands for the departure of the regime's symbols and declared their rejection of the statement made by Omar Suleiman, the vice-president, on the transition.</i></p>

Table 5.38: The Examples of Refuting the Government's Words.

It is evident from these news extract, the word of Mubarak and his government not only being reported using neutral verbal process but also has briefly mentioned in the news merely to criticise it. Besides, the criticism on Mubarak and Suleiman word by the activists and the protestors were reported using a positive verbal process such as 'described', 'announced' and 'emphasised'. Thus, it was evident that the outlet has intensified its support to the Egyptian antagonist. In contrast, the word of Egyptian government has been marginalised; hence, treated

as the 'out-group'. Ultimately, the outlet has utilised a more negative verbal process to report on Mubarak's word. The table below lists new extracts indicate the negative verbal process of 'claimed', 'believed' and 'denies', which strategically being used to promote in the reader with a negative impression on Mubarak.

ومقابلة مبارك المنتحبة مع مذبة شبكة أي بي سي نيوز الأميركية كريستيان أمانبور الأسبوع الماضي - التي زعم فيها أنه لم يرد أن يكون رئيسا لكنه اضطر للاستمرار لمدة سبعة أشهر أخرى لإنقاذ مصر من الفوضى - 6/2/11 <i>And Mubarak's interview with ABC News anchor Christian Amanpour last week - in which he claimed he did not want to be president but had to continue for another seven months to rescue Egypt from chaos -</i>
وهي نبرة شخص ما زال يعتقد أنه ما زال في وضعه السابق. 7/2/11 <i>A tone that someone still thinks is still in his former state.</i>
ودخل بعضهم في صراخ هستيري بينما أخذت مجموعة من الفتيات بالبكاء وبعض النساء بالنحيب، معتبرين أن الرئيس تنكر في خطابه لدماء الشهداء الزكية. 11/2/11 <i>Some of them entered hysterical screams while a group of girls were crying, and some women cried, considering that the president denies in his speech the blood of the martyrs.</i>

Table 5.39: The Use of Negative Verbal Processes on Mubarak's Words.

It can be observed from these news extracts that the negative verbal process not only been used to negatively portrayed Mubarak but also to put a distance which indicated that the journalist is not necessarily believed Mubarak's word or supporting his claimer. Hence, Mubarak's words on his final day as the President of Egypt have been marginalised. Hence, treated as the 'out-group'. Thus, AJA has strategically utilised negative verbal process to launch hegemony discourse against Mubarak and his government. This counter-hegemony discourse reached its peak during the final days before Mubarak resignation which has been done through the intensified of marginalising of Egyptian government's word and utilising more positive verbal processes to report on the Egyptian antagonist's word.

## 5.7 Conclusion

The present chapter highlights the results of verbal process in the corpus data of AJA and BBA online news coverage of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. The analysis examines how verbal processes – neutral, positive, and negative – were used by the two outlets in their

news coverage, to shed light on how social actors on both sides of the conflict were reported. Thus, my analysis reveals how AJA and BBA employed the verbal process differently to positively portray their in-group and negatively portray whom they considered as the out-group. It is found that both AJA and BBA strategically utilised the positive verbal processes to positively portray what they considered as the 'in-group', while what has been labelled as the 'out-group' was negatively portrayed in their news coverage of the Revolutions.

BBA opted to consider Ben Ali and his allies of the Tunisian government as the in-group. Therefore, Ben Ali and the Tunisian authorities during the Tunisian Revolution have been positively portrayed by BBA at least from the start of the first protest in Tunisia (19/12/2010) up until 14/1/2011 the day Ben Ali left Tunisia and live in exile Saudi Arabia. Hence, the outlet strategically utilised positive verbal processes to report on Ben Ali and his associates' words. Similarly, Mubarak and his followers were treated by BBA as the 'in-group' through the use of positive verbal processes in reporting their words. In contrast, the protestors and the oppositions were reported using negative verbal processes and the neutral verbal processes. Therefore, positive verbal processes such as: announced, declared, emphasised, elaborated, detailed and promised were most of the time associated with the government. In contrast, the negative verbal processes such as: condemned, denied and refused are mostly associated with the protestors.

Unlike BBA, AJA opted to consider the antagonists as the in-group and treated the government as the out-group. Therefore, AJA utilised the positive verbal processes to report on the protestors, the oppositions and the activists' words. The use of positive verbal processes also promotes positive impression on the speaker by portraying him or her as strong, wise, gentle, diligent and determine. In contrast, the use of negative verbal process casts negative light on the speaker by depicting him as weak, unwise and grumpy.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE RESULT ANALYSIS OF INTERTEXTUALITY**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The Chapter Six aims to answer the research question four (R4) and sub-research question four (SR4) which deal with the discursive practices around the Arabic online news coverages on the so-called ‘Arab Spring’ of Tunisia and Egypt. This chapter closely related to the Chapters Four and Five in examining the data textually and discursively by looking at the textual and discursive practice features. While the Chapter Four is focusing on two textual strategies; Firstly: lexicalisation and predication and secondly: presupposition, the Chapter Five expands the analysis of textual strategies by focusing on the third strategy utilised by the two online news outlets namely the verbal process. Thus, in this chapter, I will present the detail analysis of discursive practice by focusing in the intertextuality and interdiscursive found in the online news reports by AJA and BBA during the time of crisis in the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolution.

#### **6.2 Discursive Practise.**

In this chapter, I analyse the data discursively by explaining how intertextuality and interdiscursivity were used in the coverage of AJA and BBA. Specifically, I explain the inclusion and exclusion of different voices throughout the event and explain how different types of reporting, such as direct reporting, indirect reporting, and strategic reporting, were used with each side differently. Thus, I thoroughly discuss how the voice of certain social groups have been included and excluded in each outlets' coverage, and why certain groups were given more comprehensive access to the construction of online news, and the two online news outlets have

marginalised others. Throughout my textual and discursive practice analysis in Chapters Four and Five, I attempt to observe whether or not the use of different features was consistent in each outlets' reporting or whether there were points in time during the uprising where there were shifts in using different features. Overall, in the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 recorded a shift in the way of reporting the events particularly by the BBA which was standing with Ben Ali's side since the beginning of the uprising. On the other hand, in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011 marked a transition in BBA and AJA's reporting strategies both textually and discursively; hence certain features were more salient or manifested themselves differently after that date.

The discursive practice is the second dimension of Fairclough's framework and is concerned with the underlying notions and processes involved in news-making. Due to the significance of this aspect, I discuss the factors which govern the production of discourse and the role of media in establishing and sustaining social practices in this section. Specifically, I address the notions of ideology, power, and hegemony and how they play out in the media with particular focus on the two Arabic nations severely hit by the wave of so-called 'Arab-Spring' namely Tunisia and Egypt and its context before the 2011 Revolution. It is also essential to note that the present study addresses discursive practice as it pertains to news production, not consumption. Hence, it will only focus on the analysis of the processes involved in the production of Standard Modern Arabic online news.

"In its simplest form" Blommaert (2005: 46) explains "intertextuality refers to the fact that whenever we speak we produce the words of others, we constantly cite and recite expressions, and recycle meanings that are already available." The analysis of intertextuality falls under the second dimension of Fairclough's framework: discursive practice. Analysing how reported speech is selected and included in texts is an essential aspect of manifest intertextuality (Baynham and Slembrouck, 1999). In this study, the analysis of intertextuality

will help depict the way reporters of AJA and BBA produced their news stories regarding selecting what to report and whom they considered newsworthy. It would also reveal which group they identified as the in-group by referring to its members as authoritative social actors and which group they identified as the outgroup using marginalisation and delegitimisation. Moreover, even if news reports appear “balanced” and “objective” in the sense that they include both sides of the conflict, “it is often easy to divide voices into protagonists and antagonists” (Fairclough, 2003: 82).

### **6.3 Intertextuality in the Tunisian Revolution News Coverage**

In short, intertextuality refers to how texts are produced from already existing texts. It, therefore, pertains to how and why different voices are included or excluded in news items. Hence, I start by discussing how AJA and BBA reported the protagonists and antagonists during the Tunisian Revolution, and whether or not their reporting strategies were consistent throughout the days of the protests. I also discuss whether or not certain voices were emphasised and given prominence and others marginalised and excluded in the coverage of each outlet. In doing so, the aim is to show how hegemony is achieved by allowing certain groups access to media discourse and considering other groups as unreliable sources (van Dijk, 1998b).

It is found that AJA and BBA differ in reporting the voices of protagonists and antagonists in their news coverage of the Tunisian Revolution. BBA opted to consider Ben Ali and his allies of the Tunisian government as the in-group hence prefer to report on the authority voices rather than the antagonists. Therefore, Ben Ali and the Tunisian authorities during the Tunisian Revolution have widely reported directly and indirectly by BBA at least from the start of the first protest in Tunisia (19/12/2010) up until 14/1/2011 the day Ben Ali left Tunisia and live in exile Saudi Arabia. Thus, by opting to be on Ben Ali’s side during the time of crisis,

BBA was trying to preserve the hegemony of Ben Ali on Tunisia, which received a significant challenge from the antagonists. On the other hand, AJA opted to be on the antagonists' side by considering them as the in-group and bring a lot of antagonist's voices in the news report since the early stage of the Revolution. By considering the antagonists as the in-group and Ben Ali as the out-group, AJA was trying to counter-hegemony on the domination of Ben Ali after being in dominant power on Tunisia for almost 23 years.

### BBA Intertextuality of the Tunisian Revolution News Coverage

Therefore, at the beginning of my analysis, I will present how BBA has shown its biased toward the Tunisian authority particularly the Tunisian President during the time of crisis by reporting on the authority voices and marginalising the antagonist's voices. Hence, it indicated that the outlet is trying to defend the hegemony of Ben Ali in Tunisia. This can be seen as the outlet preferred to report on Ben Ali and the Tunisian authority using the direct quote as shown in news extracts in the table below:

<p>ففي خطاب متلفز ألقاه الثلاثاء، قال بن علي "إن مثيري أعمال الشغب سوف يُعاقبون بشدة".</p> <p>28/12/10</p> <p><i>In a televised speech on Tuesday, Ben Ali said, "The rioters will be severely punished."</i></p> <p>وكان الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي قد صرح في وقت سابق بالقول: "إننا نقول لكل من يعتمد إلى النيل من مصالح البلاد أو يغرر بشبابنا وبأبنائنا وبناتنا في المدارس والمعاهد ويدفع بهم إلى الشغب والفوضى، نقول بكل وضوح: إن القانون سيكون هو الفيصل."</p> <p>9/1/2011</p> <p><i>Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali had earlier said: "We say to anyone who deliberately undermines the interests of the country or lures our youth and sons and daughters in schools and institutes and drives them into riots and chaos. We say clearly: the law will be the determine."</i></p> <p>وقال بن علي "اتوجه اليوم إليكم على أثر ما شهدته بعض المدن والقرى بعدد من الجهات الداخلية من أحداث شغب وتشويش وإضرار بالأملاك العمومية والخاصة (...) قامت بها عصابات ملثمة أقدمت على الاعتداء ليلا على مؤسسات عمومية وحتى على مواطنين في منازلهم في عمل إرهابي لا يمكن السكوت عنه."</p> <p>10/1/2011</p> <p><i>"I am addressing you today, following the events of some towns and villages in some internal quarters, from rioting, confusion and damage to public and private property ... by masked gangs who carried out a nightly assault on public institutions and even citizens in their homes in a terrorist act."</i></p>
---

Table 6.1: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words.

These news extracts showed that BBA was bringing the authority voice by reporting the speeches of Ben Ali using a direct quote, particularly his promises to the Tunisian. Thus, this indicated that the outlet is emphasising in the importance of Ben Ali's speech as the official source of information to counter the other information come from the antagonist's side. Not only President Ben Ali voice was reported using a direct quote, the voice of other senior members of Tunisian government which included the Tunisian ministries and the security officials were also reported by BBA using a direct quote. Hence showing that the online news outlet is focusing on bringing the authority voice which holds the hegemony voice in Tunisia before the 2011 revolution. For example, BBA reported:

وأعلنت وزارتا التربية والتعليم العالي في بيان مشترك: "إثر الاضطرابات التي جرت في بعض المؤسسات فقد تقرر تعليق الدروس حتى اشعار آخر بداية من يوم الثلاثاء."	10/1/11
<i>The Ministry of Education and Higher Education announced in a joint statement: "Following the turmoil in some institutions, it was decided to suspend the lessons until further notice from Tuesday."</i>	
وأوضح وزير الاتصالات التونسي سمير العبيدي في تصريح لقناة الجزيرة ان ارسال وحدات من الجيش الى هناك تقرر "بغرض حماية المباني الحكومية وأنها لن تتدخل في مواجهة مع المحتجين."	10/1/11 -
<i>Communications Minister Samir al-Obeidi said in a statement to Al-Jazeera that sending army units there was decided "to protect government buildings and that they would not interfere in a confrontation with the protesters."</i>	
وجاء في بيان لوزارة الداخلية التونسية "شهدت مدينة القصرين صباح الاثنين اعمال شغب وحرق ومداهمات من قبل مجموعات استهدفت مركز الشرطة بحي النور وحي الزهور مسلحين بالعصي والزجاجات الحارقة وقضبان من الحديد."	11/1/11
<i>"The city of Kasserine on Monday morning witnessed riots, arson and raids by groups targeting the police station in Al-Nour and Al-Zuhour neighbourhoods, armed with sticks, Molotov cocktails and iron bars," the interior ministry said.</i>	
وفي بيان بثته وكالة الانباء التونسية الحكومية قالت وزارة الداخلية ان "مجموعات من الافراد أحرقت عربة قطار واشعلت النار في ثلاث سيارات للحرس الوطني ثم هاجمت مركزا للحرس الوطني في المدينة."	24/12/10
<i>"Groups of individuals burned a train and set fire to three cars of the National Guard and then attacked a National Guard centre in the city," the Interior Ministry said in a statement.</i>	
وقال مسؤول أمني إن "الشرطة فتحت النار على المحتجين دفاعا عن النفس، وذلك بعد أن كانت الأعيرة النارية التحذيرية التي أطلقت في الهواء قد فشلت بمنع حشد غاضب من مهاجمة المباني الحكومية."	9/1/11
<i>"The police opened fire on the protesters in self-defence, after the warning shots fired in the air failed to prevent an angry crowd from attacking government buildings," a security official said.</i>	

Table 6.2: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Tunisian Ministers' Words.



BBA emphasise in carrying the authoritative voices in its online news report during the time of crisis in Tunisia can be observed through the intensive use of indirect quotation, which utilised the positive verbal process. Thus, revealed the journalist's attitude in supporting the Tunisian authority. For instance:

24/12/10	واكدت السلطات ان الصدامات لم تكن سوى "حادث معزول".
24/12/10	<i>Authorities said the clashes were "an isolated incident."</i>
24/12/10	واضاف البيان ان عناصر الحرس الامني اضطروا بعد ان سعوا الى ردع المهاجمين الى اللجوء الى السلاح في اطار الدفاع المشروع عن النفس.
24/12/10	<i>The statement added that the security guards were forced after they sought to deter the attackers to resort to weapons within the framework of legitimate self-defence. "</i>
24/12/10	أكدت مصادر رسمية ان مواجهات عنيفة وقعت الجمعة بين متظاهرين والشرطة في مدينة منزل بوزيان في ولاية سيدي بوزيد في وسط غرب تونس مما أسفر عن مقتل شخص واصابة عدد آخر بجروح.
24/12/10	<i>A violent clash between demonstrators and police in the town of Bouziane in the central Tunisian state of Sidi Bouzid on Friday killed one person and wounded several others, official sources said.</i>
24/12/10	واكدت وزارة الداخلية التونسية مقتل شخص واصابة اثنين من بين الذين قالت إنهم "هاجموا" رجال الشرطة، وإصابة عدد من رجال الأمن، اثنان منهم في غيبوبة سريرية.
24/12/10	<i>The Tunisian Interior Ministry confirmed the death of one person and wounded two of those who said they "attacked" the police, injuring some security men, two of them in a coma.</i>
9/1/11	أعلنت الحكومة التونسية مقتل 14 شخصا في المصادمات بين قوات الأمن والمتظاهرين في مدينتي تالة والقصرين في وسط غرب تونس، بحسب حصيلة رسمية جديدة اعلنتها الحكومة الاحد.
11/1/11	<i>The Tunisian government has killed 14 people in clashes between security forces and demonstrators in the cities of Tala and Kasserine in central-western Tunisia, according to a new official toll announced by the government on Sunday.</i>
11/1/11	وصرح وزير الاتصالات التونسي سمير العبيدي بأن عدد قتلى خلال الأيام الثلاثة الماضية بلغ 21 قتيلا.
11/1/11	<i>Tunisian Telecommunications Minister Samir Obeidi vowed the number of people killed in the past three days was 21.</i>

Table 6.3: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Authorities' Voices.

Although the voice of Tunisian authorities was reported in these news extracts using an indirect quote, the journalist has strategically utilised positive verbal processes such as 'emphasised', 'declared' and 'vowed' which promoted positive impression on the speakers hence revealed the

journalist biased in supporting the speakers' words. The voice of President Ben Ali was also being reported using the indirect quote as can be seen in the example below:

<p>حذر الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي من أن الاحتجاجات العنيفة ضد البطالة، والتي شهدتها تونس مؤخرا، تُعتبر غير مقبولة وتضر بصورة البلاد.</p> <p>28/12/2010</p> <p><i>Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali has warned that violent protests against unemployment, which Tunisia has recently witnessed, are unacceptable and harm the image of the country.</i></p>
<p>ويأتي التعديل الوزاري غداة خطاب ألقاه بن علي مساء الثلاثاء اعلن فيه انه "يتفهم" الأوضاع التي أدت للاحتجاجات في منطقة سيدي بوزيد.</p> <p>29/12/2010</p> <p><i>The cabinet reshuffle came after a speech on Tuesday evening by Ben Ali saying he "understood" the situation that led to the protests in Sidi Bouzid</i></p>
<p>لكنه حذر من أن الاحتجاجات العنيفة ضد البطالة "غير مقبولة" وتضر بصورة البلاد.</p> <p>29/12/10</p> <p><i>However, he warned that violent protests against unemployment were "unacceptable" and damaging the image of the country.</i></p>
<p>وكان الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي قد زار البوعزيزي في المستشفى الأسبوع الماضي كما استقبل عائلته بقصر قرطاج وقال انه يتفهم احباط الشبان العاطلين.</p> <p>5/1/2011</p> <p><i>Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali visited Bouazizi at the hospital last week and also received his family at the Carthage Palace and said he understood the frustration of the unemployed youths.</i></p>
<p>إلا أنه قال إن الشغب يضر بصورة تونس لدى المستثمرين والسياح الاجانب.</p> <p>5/1/11</p> <p><i>However, he said the rioting harms Tunisia's image to foreign investors and tourists.</i></p>

Table 6.4: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words.

On the other side of the Tunisian Revolution, the voice of the antagonist does not receive much attention from BBA. Among the critical social actors of Tunisian antagonists during the 2011 Revolution, BBA only includes the voice of Tunisian's unions in its news report of the event particularly during the early stage of the protest. Hence, other social actors of Tunisian antagonists which include the protestors, the activists and the Tunisian 'illegal' oppositions were absent in the online news report of BBA. Furthermore, the voice of Tunisian's unions, which show their support to the protestors was reported using indirect quote most of the time. Hence, indicated that the outlet is marginalising the counter-hegemony voices which try to eliminate the dominant of the hegemony of Tunisian authority under the leadership of President Ben Ali. For instance, BBA reported on the Tunisian's unions and its leaders:

<p>وقال المسؤول النقابي ان الشرطة استقدمت تعزيزات من سيدي بوزيد حاصرت مدينة منزل بوزيان ومنعت الدخول والخروج منها. وأضاف ان الشرطة قامت باعتقال عدد كبير من الاشخاص.</p> <p>23/12/10</p> <p><i>The union official said the police had taken reinforcements from Sidi Bouzid, besieging the town of Bouziane and barred entry and exit. He said police had arrested a large number of people.</i></p>
<p>وقال مسؤول نقابي لوكالة فرانس برس ان المتظاهر القاتل محمد عماري يبلغ من العمر 18 عاما وانه توفي اثر اصابته برصاصة في صدره.</p> <p>24/12/10</p> <p><i>The dead man, Mohammad Amari, 18, died of a gunshot to the chest, a trade union official told AFP.</i></p>
<p>قال نقابي إن شبانا يطالبون بحقوقهم في العمل اضرموا النار في مصرف ومحكمة ودمروا مقهى</p> <p>26/12/10</p> <p><i>"Youths demanding their right to work set fire to a bank and a court and destroyed a cafe," he said</i></p>
<p>واستغرق الاعتصام حوالي ساعتين ألقى خلاله نقابيون كلمات دعوا فيها الأمن إلى إنهاء التعاطي الأمني مع المسيرات وإطلاق سراح كل المعتقلين الذين ألقى القبض عليهم في الاحتجاجات الأخيرة.</p> <p>28/12/10</p> <p><i>The sit-in took about two hours, during which trade unionists gave speeches calling on security to end the security deal with marches and to release all the detainees who were arrested in recent protests.</i></p>
<p>وكان المئات من أعضاء الاتحاد العام التونسي للشغل قد احتشدوا في العاصمة تونس للتعبير عن حزنهم على مقتل خمسة أشخاص على الأقل كانوا قد لقوا حتفهم في التظاهرات</p> <p>6/1/11</p> <p><i>Hundreds of members of the Tunisian General Union of Labour gathered in the capital Tunis to express their sadness at the deaths of at least five people who were killed in demonstrations</i></p>

Table 6.5: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Antagonist' Words.

These news extracts show that BBA marginalised the voice of the antagonist for not only being explicitly reported on the Tunisian unions but also were reported using the indirect quote. By using an indirect quote, it is open to any manipulation and the chance to not report in full and accurate. Furthermore, it is noticed that the journalist has strategically utilised neutral verbal process such as 'said' and 'called upon' to report on the union's leaders word which does not promote any unique impression on the speaker which his word being reported in the news article. This was the opposite practice when the journalist of BBA was reporting on the voice of Tunisian authorities which were reported using the positive verbal process to cast positive lights on the speaker.

## AJA Intertextuality of Tunisian Revolution News Coverage

Moving into AJA, it is found that the online news outlet prefers to bring the antagonist's voices rather than the voice of Tunisian authority. Hence, the outlet has clearly shown its agenda towards countering the hegemony of President Ben Ali in Tunisia during the 2011 Revolution. Thus, the voice of antagonists has been given extensive coverage by AJA in its online news articles of the 2011 revolution events. For instance, the voice of antagonists was reported using the direct quote as can be seen in the examples below:

<p>ورأت النقابة أن "غياب معلومة دقيقة ونقل موضوعي لما جرى خاصة في وسائل الإعلام العمومي فسخ المجال للتأويل والإشاعة".</p> <p>30/10/2010</p> <p><i>The union said that "the absence of accurate information and an objective transfer of what happened, especially in the public media, allowed the interpretation and dissemination".</i></p>
<p>كما أدانت النقابة في بيانها -الذي جاء بعد أكثر من أسبوع على الاشتباكات- "منع وعرقلة الزملاء الصحفيين والاعتداء على بعضهم أثناء أداء واجبهم المهني".</p> <p>30/10/2010</p> <p><i>The union also condemned in its statement - which came more than a week after the clashes - "preventing and hindering journalists and assaulting some of them while performing their professional duties."</i></p>
<p>وطالبت حركة التجديد (الحزب الشيوعي سابقا) في بيان بفك الحصار الأمني ... ودعت إلى رفع التعتيم الإعلامي و"فتح تحقيق عاجل للوقوف على أسباب هذه المأساة ومحاسبة المسؤولين عن ذلك".</p> <p>20/12/10</p> <p><i>The movement called for the renewal of the security siege and called for lifting the media blackout and "opening an urgent investigation to find out the causes of this tragedy and hold those responsible accountable.</i></p>
<p>وأضاف أن الخطاب كان خيبة أمل للبعض الذي كان يعتقد أن "هذه الانتفاضة، وصراخ مئات الآلاف من الشباب الثائرين، سيصل إلى الرئيس".</p> <p>30/12/10</p> <p><i>He added that the speech was a disappointment to some who believed that "this uprising, and the cry of hundreds of thousands of young rebellious, will reach the president."</i></p>
<p>وقال الزعيم التاريخي للحزب أحمد نجيب الشابي في مؤتمر صحفي "إن الحزب يدعو إلى إقالة وزير الداخلية والاتصال اللذين يرمزان إلى سياسة التصلب والعنف والتعتيم الإعلامي</p> <p>30/12/10</p> <p><i>The party's historic leader Ahmed Najib al-Shabi told a news conference: "The party calls for the dismissal of the ministers of interior and communication, which symbolise the policy of rigidity and violence and blackout media</i></p>
<p>وهتف المعتصمون بشعارات وأناشيد وطنية، ونددوا بـ"أعمال القمع المنظم الذي تمارسه الدولة، واستخدامها للتعذيب بشكل روتيني، وقمع حرية الرأي والتعبير، والضغط على الناس بقوتهم ورزقهم وحياتهم".</p> <p>12/1/11</p> <p><i>The protesters chanted slogans and national songs, condemning "systematic state repression, routinely used torture, repression of freedom of opinion and expression, and pressure on people with their power, livelihood and lives."</i></p>

Table 6.6: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Antagonists' Words.

It was evident from these news extracts of AJA that the voice of antagonists was actively reported by the online news outlets in contrast to BBA approach, which prefers the voice of authority. It is also important to note that, AJA brings the voice of antagonist not only focused on the Tunisian labour unions but also cover the voice of illegal Tunisian oppositions and its leaders such as Rasheed Ghanouchi and Najib Cheby as mentioned in the above news extracts. By using a direct quotation to report on these antagonists' social actors clearly shows that the outlet has announced its support to the protestor's demands in Tunisia for significant changes take place in Tunisia. Direct quotation of the antagonist's leaders indicates that their voice is necessary so that it needs to be reported in full and accurate.

Concerning the strategy utilised by the outlet to show its support of the protestors' demands, AJA prefers to specifically report of the slogan (mostly written on a placard) or chanted by the protestors during their mass rally using a direct quote or strategic quote. For instance, AJA reported:

<p>وهتف المتظاهرون في المسيرة بشعارات معادية للتمديد مثل "حريات حريات.. لا رئاسة مدى الحياة"، وطالبوا برفع القيود عن الحرية وتشغيل عاطلين هاتفين "شغل.. حرية.. كرامة وطنية"، ونددوا بلجوء الشرطة للقوة هاتفين "يا مواطن شوف شوف.. الإرهاب بالمكشوف".</p> <p>28/12/2010</p> <p><i>Demonstrators shouted slogans against the extension of the march, such as "freedom freedoms .. not a presidency for life," and called for lifting the restrictions on freedom and employment of the unemployed, calling for "freedom .. national dignity," and denounced the use of force by force. The terrorism is in the open".</i></p>
<p>ورفعت شعارات لخصتها إحدى اللافتات قائلة: "خبز وماء.. وبين علي لا".</p> <p>12/1/11</p> <p><i>...and slogans been raised, summarised one of the banners saying: "Bread and water... No to Ben Ali."</i></p>
<p>ورفع أحد المحتجين لافتة باللغة الفرنسية تقول "كاذب.. لم توقف إطلاق النار"، وهتف المتظاهرون "خبز وماء وبين علي لا" و"تونس حرة وبين علي بره" وهتفوا "يسقط جلال الشعب"، في إشارة إلى الرئيس بن علي.</p> <p>14/1/11</p> <p><i>One of the protesters raised a banner in French saying, "A liar. The fire did not stop." The demonstrators chanted "Bread, water, Ben Ali Ali", "Free Tunisia and Ben Ali Libra" and chanted "Kill the people," in reference to President Ben Ali.</i></p>
<p>وقد تجمع أبناء الجالية التونسية أمام سفارة بلادهم في لندن منذ الصباح وهم يحملون الأعلام التونسية، ورفعوا شعارات مثل "تونس حرة حرة، وبين علي بره بره".</p> <p>15/1/11</p>

<p><i>The Tunisian community has gathered in front of their embassy in London since the morning carrying Tunisian flags and raised slogans such as "Free Tunisia is free and Ben Ali Go Away".</i></p>
<p>وتجمع مئات المتظاهرين أمام مقر وزارة الداخلية بالعاصمة رافعين شعارات منها "الشعب يريد إسقاط الحكومة" و"السفاح في السعودية والحكومة هي هي" و"الرحيل الرحيل يا عصابة إسرائيل".</p>
<p>23/1/11</p> <p><i>Hundreds of protesters gathered in front of the Interior Ministry's headquarters in the capital, raising slogans such as "the people want to overthrow the government," "the thief in Saudi Arabia, the government is the same"</i></p>

Table 6.7: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Protestors' Demands.

The strategic quote of the slogan used by the protestors was aimed to highlight the demand of protestors' de and show the importance of these demands to be fulfilled. Also, by using the strategic quote, the journalist aims to direct the reader's attention to these slogans which contain the demands of protestors during the 2011 Tunisian revolution. Hence, AJA helped the antagonists' voice to be heard not only in Tunisia but all over the world. The AJA's emphasise in bringing the antagonist's voice in the online news reports of the event does not stop at using a direct quote but also being reported using indirect quotation without neglecting the verbal process for reporting the protestors' demands. For instance:

<p>إن الشعارات المرفوعة كانت تندد بالفساد وتنادي بخروج الرئيس زين العابدين بن علي من السلطة،</p>
<p>29/12/10</p> <p><i>The slogans raised were denouncing corruption and calling for the departure of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali from power,</i></p>
<p>كما رفع المحتجون شعارات ضد الفساد والمحسوبية واستهدف بعضها رموز السلطة في تونس.</p>
<p>5/1/11</p> <p><i>Protesters also raised slogans against corruption and nepotism, some of which targeted symbols of power in Tunisia.</i></p>
<p>أن مواجهات دارت ليلة أمس ومازالت مستمرة حتى الآن بين عناصر الأمن وعدد من المحتجين في مدينة مكتر والذين رفعوا شعارات تطالب بحل قضية البطالة.</p>
<p>7/1/11</p> <p><i>That confrontations took place last night and continue so far between security elements and some protesters in the city of Maktar, who raised slogans calling for resolving the issue of unemployment.</i></p>
<p>وهنف المعتصمون بشعارات وأناشيد وطنية، ونددوا بـ"أعمال القمع المنظم الذي تمارسه الدولة، واستخدامها للتعذيب بشكل روتيني، وقمع حرية الرأي والتعبير، والضغط على الناس بقوتهم ورزقهم وحياتهم."</p>
<p>12/1/11</p> <p><i>The protesters chanted slogans and national songs, condemning "systematic state repression, routinely used torture, repression of freedom of opinion and expression, and pressure on people with their power, livelihood and lives."</i></p>

Table 6.8: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Protestors' Words.

Concerning this, the antagonist's voices, particularly the voice of Tunisian workers unions were also reported using the indirect quotation without neglecting the verbal process. For instance, AJA reported:

<p>وقال سكان بالمدينة إن الشرطة أطلقت النار على المتظاهرين بعدما أحرقوا مقرّ "إدارة التجهيز" الحكومية في المدينة وهاجموا قوات الأمن بالحجارة،</p> <p>9/1/11</p> <p><i>Residents of the city said the police opened fire on demonstrators after burning the headquarters of the government "processing department" in the city and attacked the security forces with stones,</i></p>
<p>وأعلن عبيد البريقي مساعد الأمين العام للاتحاد أن النقابة تدعم مطالب السكان،</p> <p>9/1/11</p> <p><i>Obaid Al-Barriji, Assistant Secretary-General of the Union, said that the union supports the demands of the population,</i></p>
<p>كما استنكرت النقابة تعمد بعض القنوات العربية والأجنبية ممارسة التهويل والتحريف والفبركة في تغطيتها لأحداث</p> <p>– 30/12/10</p> <p><i>The syndicate also denounced the deliberate intent of some Arab and foreign channels to exercise intimidation, distortion and fabrication in their coverage of events</i></p>
<p>وعبر المكتب التنفيذي للنقابة في بيان حصلت وكالة الأنباء الفرنسية على نسخة منه عن استيائه الشديد من التعقيم الذي رافق بداية الأحداث في سيدي بوزيد.</p> <p>30/12/2010</p> <p><i>The Executive Office of the union in a statement obtained by Agence France-Presse, a copy of the intense dissatisfaction with the opacity that accompanied the beginning of events in Sidi Bouzid.</i></p>

Table 6.9: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Union's Leaders Words.

It is important to note that, AJA put extra effort in bringing the voice of Tunisian's illegal oppositions, particularly during the early stage of the revolution. Although the protests in Tunisia during this early stage was backed by the Tunisian non-political movements which mostly dominated by the member of Tunisian labour unions, AJA has taken extra effort in bringing the voice of Tunisian illegal oppositions whom most of their leaders live in exile outside Tunisia. Hence show that AJA is trying to include these Tunisian's oppositions in the fight against the hegemony of President Ben Ali. For instance, AJA brings explicitly the voice of Tunisian illegal oppositions in its news reports almost two days (20<sup>th</sup> December 2010) after the first protest started:

<p>دعت أحزاب تونسبة معارضة اليوم الاثنين إلى إطلاق سراح كافة الموقوفين الذين اعتقلوا على خلفية مشاركتهم في المظاهرات الاحتجاجية</p> <p><i>Tunisian opposition parties on Monday called for the release of all those detained for participating in the protests</i></p> <p>وطالبت حركة التجديد (الحزب الشيوعي سابقا) في بيان بفك الحصار الأمني على مدينة سيدي بوزيد وإطلاق سراح الموقوفين فوراً</p> <p><i>The Movement called for the renewal of the security siege on the city of Sidi Bouzid and the immediate release of the detainees.</i></p> <p>واعتبر الحزب الديمقراطي التقدمي أن أحداث مدينة سيدي بوزيد تعد عنواناً لحالة اليأس التي استولت على الشباب العاقل عن العمل في البلاد.</p> <p><i>The Progressive Democratic Party (PDP) said the events in the city of Sidi Bouzid were the epitome of the hopelessness that had gripped unemployed youth in the country</i></p> <p>وكان حزب المؤتمر من أجل الجمهورية المعارض -وهو حزب محظور- قد دعا إلى إضراب وطني عن الطعام اليوم الاثنين.</p> <p><i>The opposition Congress party for the republic, a banned party, called for a national hunger strike on Monday.</i></p> <p>كما حذرت حركة النهضة -المحظورة أيضاً- من تداعيات الأحداث، ودعت إلى حوار وطني حول أزمة البلاد الاجتماعية والسياسية المتصاعدة.</p> <p><i>Ennahda also warned against the repercussions of the events and called for a national dialogue on the country's escalating social and political crisis.</i></p> <p>من جهته أدان حزب العمال الشيوعي التونسي المحظور بدوره، خيار القوة المتنامي لفرض ما سماه الأمر الواقع.</p> <p><i>For its part, the banned Tunisian Communist Workers' Party, in turn, condemned the growing power of imposing what it called the 'real situation'.</i></p>
--

Table 6.10: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Oppositions' Words.

Another critical feature of intertextuality in AJA's online news report is, AJA tries to bring the voice of eyewitnesses in supporting the outlet's stands for the protestor's demands. Thus, most of the eyewitness voices were used to report negatively on the Tunisian government, while provided excellent descriptions of the protest's events. For instance:

<p>وقال شاهد عيان لوكالة يونايتد برس إنترناشونال إن نحو ثلاثة آلاف شخص خرجوا في مظاهرة سلمية جابوا خلالها شوارع مدينة سيدي بوزيد</p> <p>4/1/11</p> <p><i>An eyewitness told United Press International that some 3,000 people took part in a peaceful demonstration and walked through the streets of Sidi Bouzid</i></p> <p>وفي وصفه للمسيرة، قال النقابي وشاهد العيان كمال العبيدي إن أعدادا كبيرة من قوات الأمن "منعت باستعمال الضرب مشيبي الجنازة من المرور أمام مقر المحافظة."</p> <p>6/1/11</p>
---



<p><i>In his description of the march, the trade unionist and eyewitness Kamal al-Obeidi said that large numbers of security forces "were prevented by beating funeral mourners from passing in front of the governorate headquarters."</i></p> <p>قال شاهدا عيان لوكالة الأنباء الألمانية إن "قناصين من فرق مكافحة الشغب صعدوا فوق بنايات وصوبوا أعيرتهم النارية نحو محتجين وأردوهم قتلى".</p> <p>11/1/11</p> <p><i>An eyewitness told the German news agency that "snipers from the riot police moved up buildings and shot them to fire at protesters and killed them."</i></p>
<p>وجاء في روايات شهود عيان بتونس العاصمة أن قوات الأمن أطلقت النار أمس خلال اشتباكات بين الشرطة ومتظاهرين في حيي التضامن والانطلاقة بالعاصمة.</p> <p>11/1/11</p> <p><i>According to eyewitness accounts in Tunis, security forces opened fire yesterday during clashes between police and demonstrators in the solidarity and start-up neighbourhoods in the capital.</i></p>
<p>أفاد شهود عيان ومصدر طبي بأن أكثر من عشرة أشخاص قتلوا وأصيب أكثر من عشرة آخرين بجراح "خطيرة جدا".</p> <p>11/1/11</p> <p><i>Eyewitnesses and medical sources reported that more than ten people were killed and more than ten were injured "very serious".</i></p>
<p>تحدثوا إلى شرائح مختلفة من أهالي القصرين وشهود العيان والمصادر الطبية الذين وصفوا كيف أطلقت شرطة بن علي النيران والرصاص الحي على المتظاهرين</p> <p>12/1/11</p> <p><i>They spoke to different segments of the Kasserine people, eyewitnesses and medical sources who described how Ben Ali police fired live ammunition at demonstrators.</i></p>

Table 6.11: The Intertextuality of Eyewitnesses Voices

In the first extract, the eyewitness voice was used to report positively on the success of the protest event in Sidi Bouzid town, which recorded almost 3000 Tunisians went down to the street to show their protest. In contrast, the second extract highlighted in which the eyewitness voice was used to mention about the violent way of the Tunisian security officers in dealing with the people who participated in the funeral of Mohamed Bouazizi. Hence, provided a bad impression on the Tunisian authority. Furthermore, the third and fourth extracts of the table above, which carry the eyewitness voices revealed that the Tunisian Anti-Riot Police force has directed their shooting towards the protestors and caused several casualties. Ultimately, in the fifth extract, the eyewitness voice was used to report that the number of casualties among the protestors is more than ten and more than ten others were seriously injured. Hence, the voice of the eyewitness was used to portray a negative image of the Tunisian authority in dealing with

the protest by using live bullet and caused a significant number of casualties among the protestors.

### **Intertextuality of Tunisian Government in AJA**

It is obvious from the very beginning of the protests in 2011 Tunisian Revolution that AJA marginalised the voice of the Tunisian government, particularly the voice of President Ben Ali. Hence, revealed the online news outlet strategy in countering the hegemony of the Tunisian government dominant. This can be seen through the utilisation of intertextuality and interdiscursivity in reporting the voice of the Tunisian government. Although President Ben Ali is the most important and influential person in Tunisia during the time of crisis, his voice was reported by AJA most of the time using indirect quotation. Even, Ben Ali speeches which aimed to address all Tunisians and calm the protestors which many promises also being reported using indirect quotation and strategic quotation which will be showed in detail in the following section. Thus, it is shown that AJA is launching counter-hegemony towards the dominant of Ben Ali and his government by emphasising the voice of antagonists and marginalised the voice of the Tunisian government.

In the opposite side of the conflict, the voice of Tunisian authority does not receive much attention from the online news outlet. Hence the voice of authority is marginalised, as AJA considered them as the out-group. AJA only started to report on the authority voice about the protests on 25/12/2010, which is almost seven days after the first demonstration started in Tunisia. Furthermore, the first official response from President Ben Ali about the protests was only reported on 29/12/2010 more than ten days after the protest started. In that initial feedback from Ben Ali, AJA reported that the then President of Tunisia had accused his political opponents and foreign media for exploiting the protests to promote negative impressions on Tunisia. AJA reported on 29/12/2010:

وفي أول رد فعل رسمي للحكومة على التحركات الشعبية التي تعم البلاد، اتهم الرئيس التونسي في خطاب بث أمس أطرافاً سياسية وإعلامية بتوظيف الاحتجاجات وتضخيم أبعادها،

*In the first official reaction of the government to the popular movements that permeate the country, the Tunisian president accused in a speech yesterday broadcast political and media parties to employ protests and amplify their dimensions,*

The table below shows examples of AJA's news extracts reporting on President Ben Ali through the use of indirect quotation and indirect reporting. Indirect quotation focused only on the main idea of the reported speech and used the journalist's own words rather than the speaker's original words. Furthermore, the reader interpretation of the indirect quotation will be most influenced by the kind of verbal process utilised in the new text by the journalist. Indirect reporting, on the other hand, provides the summary of the speech by focusing on the particular part of the speech which the journalist might find relevant or interesting to be reported in the news. All in all, both the indirect quotation and indirect reporting indicate that the speech or voice which been reported is not being reported in full and might be influenced by choice of words by the journalist, which are not necessarily the original words from the speaker. Ultimately, the use of indirect quotation and indirect report by AJA to report on Ben Ali's words revealed that the outlet does not give much attention to his speech hence marginalised the voice of Ben Ali during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution.

<p>اتهم الرئيس التونسي في خطابه أمس أطرافاً سياسية وإعلامية بتوظيف الاحتجاجات وتضخيم أبعادها، 29/12/2010 <i>In his speech, the Tunisian president accused political and media parties of employing protests and exaggerating their dimensions,</i></p>
<p>وقال بن علي في مستهل خطابه إنه يأسف لما خلفته تلك الأحداث 29/12/2010 <i>Ben Ali said at the start of his speech that he regretted the events</i></p>
<p>وقال بن علي إنه يقدر شعور أي عاطل عن العمل، 29/12/2010 <i>Ben Ali said he appreciated the feeling of any unemployed,</i></p>
<p>وأردف أن المظاهرات والاحتجاجات وأعمال الشغب تضر بصورة تونس لدى المستثمرين وتؤثر على الاستثمارات فيها وعلى قطاع السياحة. 29/12/10 <i>Demonstrations, protests and rioting affected Tunisia's image among investors and affected investments in it and the tourism sector.</i></p>
<p>الرئيس بن علي قرر تعيين عبد الحميد العلوي واليا على سيدي بوزيد،</p>

30/12/10
<i>President Ben Ali decided to appoint Abdelhamid Al-Alawi as the Governor to Sidi Bouzid,</i>
وأعلن الرئيس التونسي خمسة قرارات تتمثل في مضاعفة طاقة التشغيل وتنويع ميادينها خلال عامي 2011 و2012، بمجهود من الدولة والقطاع الخاص والجهات المعنية،
11/1/2011
<i>The Tunisian President announced five decisions to increase the capacity of the operation and diversify its fields during 2011 and 2012, with the efforts of the State, the private sector and the concerned parties,</i>

Table 6.12: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words.

The first example shows that indirect reporting was used to report on Ben Ali speech during the early speech stage of the protest by providing a summary of the vital part of the speech. Hence, the journalist opted to highlight that Ben Ali is blaming others, particularly his political nemesis and foreign media for manipulating the protest. The examples 2, 3 and 4, on the other hand, show that indirect quotation was used to report on Ben Ali's speech during the early stage of the protest. The neutral verbal process of "Said" was mostly being used to report on Ben Ali's words which provide an unbiased impression of him. The example 6 on the other hand, shows that positive verbal process of "declared" was used to report on Ben Ali's speech days before his departure in his final effort to calm the anger of protestors. Example 5 utilises the method of transformed indirect quotation in reporting on Ben Ali's words. The method carries many similarities with an indirect quotation. However, the most obvious difference is the reporting clauses which show the words is being reported has been transformed into transitive verbs, as stated in example 5.

It is important to note that the report on Ben Ali's speeches in AJA's online news articles was aimed to critique and discredit Ben Ali and his government efforts in dealing with the protestors' demands. Hence, immediately after reporting on Ben Ali speeches, AJA provided with the contrast picture to provide an impression to the reader that Ben Ali's promises were no longer useful in calming the protestors. As a result, the protests were widely separated in Tunisia, and the number of participants in the mass protest increased dramatically. For instance, the following clause was mentioned immediately after the news extract (1) in Table 6.12, which

mentioned on Ben Ali accusing his political enemies and media of exploiting the protests for their interest:

من جهة أخرى تواصلت التحركات الاحتجاجية أمس الثلاثاء في معظم ولايات البلاد، وشهدت العاصمة مسيرة نظمها المحامون وتصدت لها قوات الأمن.

29/12/10

Hence, AJA immediately provides a contrast report to Ben Ali's speech which revealed that the protests have been widely separated and were led by labour unions such as the Tunisian lawyer union. Even Ben Ali speeches days before his departure, which carries full of promises to provide significant reforms for Tunisia also being marginalised by AJA. It has been done by criticising the Tunisian Government effort in failing to fulfil the protesters' demands. Thus, much more Tunisian went down to the street to show their protest. Immediately after briefly mentioning on Ben Ali's promises as stated in the extract (6) of Table 6.12, the outlet criticises the Tunisian government efforts by saying:

ورغم محاولة السلطات التونسية احتواء هذه الاحتجاجات، فإنها تتسع لتشمل مناطق أخرى، ففي مدينة بنزرت (شمال غرب)، خرج الطلبة في مظاهرات احتجاجية سلمية،

11/1/11

*Despite attempts by the Tunisian authorities to contain these protests, they have expanded to include other areas. In the city of Bizerte (north-west), students took part in peaceful protest demonstrations,*

Also, AJA utilised strategic quote to report on Ben Ali voices which shows that the outlet has put the distance between the online news agency and Ben Ali. Hence, revealed that the outlet considered Ben Ali as the 'out-group'. For instance, AJA reported on the first Ben Ali's speech (on 29<sup>th</sup> December 2010) in response to the spread of protests during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution has been done through strategic quote by selecting part of Ben Ali's speech or selecting certain words used by Ben Ali and not the complete clause of his speech as stated in the table below:

مشيرا إلى أن بلاده ستواصل ما سماه "السياسة التنموية ذات البعد الاجتماعي". <i>Pointing out that his country will continue what he called "development policy with a social dimension."</i>
--

<p>لكنه يرفض "التوظيف السياسي لبعض الأطراف" التي لم يسمها لهذه الأحداث،  <i>However, he rejects the "political recruitment of some parties" that he did not name for these events,</i></p>
<p>وكذلك ما قال إنه "تجن" يسيء لتونس "تبثه بعض التلفزيونات".  <i>He also said that he was "insulting" Tunisia, which was "broadcast by some television".</i></p>
<p>وأضاف أن بعض الأطراف تلجأ إلى بعض القنوات التلفزيونية الأجنبية التي تبث ما سماه "الأكاذيب والمغالطات دون تحرر بل باعتماد التهويل والتحريض والتجني الإعلامي العدائي لتونس".  <i>He added that some parties resort to some foreign television channels, which broadcast what he called "lies and falsehood without prejudice, but the adoption of intimidation and incitement and the media hostile to Tunisia."</i></p>
<p>كما شدد على أن لجوء "أقلية من المتطرفين والمحرضين المأجورين" ضد مصالح بلادهم إلى العنف والشغب في الشارع وسيلة للتعبير أمر مرفوض،  <i>He also stressed that the use of "a minority of extremists and instigators wage" against the interests of their country to violence and street riot means of expression is unacceptable,</i></p>

Table 6.13: The Use of Strategic Quote to Report on Ben Ali's Words.

The strategic quote which also known as scare quote is being used by AJA to report on Ben Ali's speech indicates that the outlet does not give the priority in delivering the hegemony voice of Tunisian government during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution. Instead, the outlet tries to distance from Ben Ali by not reporting his voice in full and selected part of his words. Furthermore, by putting Ben Ali's words between commas or utilised terms such as 'so-called' or 'he (Ben Ali) labelled as' indicates that the journalist of AJA does not necessarily believe of Ben Ali's words and not responsible of it. This can be seen for instance, in the use of scare-quote mentioning on Ben Ali's policies known as 'The Development Policies with Social Impact' as stated in the extract (1) of the above table.

All in all, during the time of crisis in the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, AJA had marginalised Ben Ali's voice and treated it as the voice of 'out-group'. This is being done by reporting on Ben Ali's words, particularly his speeches aim to calm the anger of protestors by using an indirect quotation, indirect report, transformed indirect quotation and scare-quotation. All these four methods utilised by the outlet show that AJA only focuses on the particular part of Ben Ali's voices or provides a summary of what was being said by Ben Ali's mostly using the journalist's own words rather than Ben Ali's original words. Furthermore, AJA only started to report on Ben Ali respond to the uprising of protests in Tunisia on 29<sup>th</sup> December 2010,

almost eleven days after the first protest started. On top of that, the reports on Ben Ali's speeches mostly aimed to critic and discredited his efforts in dealing with the protest against him. Hence, the coverage on Ben Ali's speeches in the online news is brief and mostly followed by critics from the antagonists on his promises.

It is unsurprisingly to found that the voice of members of the Tunisian government being marginalised by the outlet. Hence, treated as the voice of 'out-group'. This strategy applies to all social actors who choose to be with Ben Ali and opted to stand against the protestors' demands. Thus, the Tunisian ministers who are the key allies of Ben Ali are the loyal supporters of Ben Ali. Hence, their voices also being marginalised by the outlet during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution, as stated in the example below:

وأصدرت وزارة الداخلية بيانا مقتضيا قالت فيه إن أعوانها أطلقوا النار "دفاعا عن النفس" وقتلوا شخصا بعدما حاصر متظاهرون مقرا للحرس الوطني وقذفوه بزجاجات حارقة.	
25/12/10 <i>The Interior Ministry issued a brief statement saying its agents fired "in self-defence" and killed one person after demonstrators besieged the National Guard headquarters and threw it with Molotov cocktails.</i>	
وحاولت الحكومة امتصاص غضب أهالي سيدي بوزيد بعدما أرسل الرئيس زين العابدين بن علي، منذ يومين، وزير التنمية إلى الجهة للإعلان عن بعض المشاريع التنموية لامتصاص البطالة. لكن هذه الإجراءات لم تطفئ لهيب التحركات الاحتجاجية.	
25/12/10 <i>The government tried to absorb the anger of the people of Sidi Bouzid after President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, two days ago, sent the Minister of Development to the region to announce some development projects to absorb unemployment. However, these measures did not quell the protests.</i>	
وقال وزير التنمية والتعاون الدولي محمد النوري الجويني إن مطالب الشباب بحق الشغل مشروعة، لكن ذلك لا يبرر -وفق قوله- استعمال العنف في الاحتجاجات،	
26/12/10 <i>Minister of Development and International Cooperation Mohamed Al-Nouri Al-Juwaini said that the youth's demands for the right to work are legitimate, but that does not justify - he said - the use of violence in the protests,</i>	
وكشف الجويني للجزيرة أن الحكومة وضعت برنامجا بقيمة خمسة مليارات دولار لتحقيق التنمية الشاملة في جميع جهات البلاد،	
26/12/10 <i>Al-Juwaini revealed to the Al-Jazeera that the government has put in place a program worth five billion dollars to achieve comprehensive development in all parts of the country,</i>	

<p>من جهة أخرى أكد مصدر في وزارة الداخلية والتنمية المحلية التونسية في بيان أن مدينة القصيرين شهدت "أعمال شغب" وحرق ومداهمات من قبل مجموعات استهدفت مركزي شرطة</p> <p>8/1/11</p> <p><i>On the other hand, a source in the Ministry of Interior and Local Development of Tunisia in a statement that the city of Kasserine witnessed "riots" and the burning and raids by groups targeted police stations</i></p>
<p>قال وزير الاتصال والناطق الرسمي باسم الحكومة التونسية سمير العبيدي إن رسالة المحتجين وصلت.</p> <p>10/1/11</p> <p><i>Tunisian Minister of Communication and Spokesman Samir Obeidi said the message of the protesters had arrived.</i></p>

Table 6.14: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Ministers' Words.

The voice of Ben Ali's cabinet members being reported by AJA since the early stage of the protest using indirect quotation which can be seen from extract (3), (5) and (6) of the above table. Furthermore, scare-quote was utilised to distance the outlet from the speaker's voice through the use of specific terms such as "self-defend" in the extract (1) and "vandalism" in the extract (5). This is to show that the journalist is not essentially believed the speaker's words as been mentioned in the online news report. Thus, in the extract (1) the journalist is putting distance between AJA and the Tunisian Home Ministry claim that the Tunisian security officers have released fire towards the protestors as the act of "self-defend". In extract (5), the term "vandalism" was given a scare quote to show that the outlet is not attached to the Tunisian Home Ministry and Internal Development blame the protests for causing riot and vandalism. Hence, provide a sense of doubt to the readers who might think that the Tunisian government accusations towards the protestors are not valid.

Furthermore, the voice of Tunisian Ministries being marginalised by AJA through the use of transformed indirect report as stated in the extract (4) of the above table. Hence, the voice of the Tunisian Minister who in charge of development and international cooperation during the time of crisis, was reported by transforming the verbal process into a transitive verb. Finally, the report on the Tunisian Minister's voice by AJA was aimed to criticise and discredit the effort done by the respective minister. For instance, the summary of Tunisian Development



Minister's speech as mentioned in the extract (2) aimed to calm the anger of Sidi Bouazid residences has been discredit by AJA, as it failed to stop the residences from participating in the protests against the Tunisian government.

AJA also marginalised the voice of Tunisian authority in its news reports during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution. Similarly, the voices of government and the authority were reported through indirect quotation, scared quote, a summary of the speech and provide critiques against the government voice.

ويكتفي الإعلام الحكومي وحتى المستقل الموالي له بإصدار بيانات مقتضبة تبين وجهة نظر واحدة لهذه الاحتجاجات التي اعتبرها ناتجة عن حادث معزول أو أن سقوط قتلى وجرحى كان "دفاعا شرعيا عن النفس"، رغم تأكيد شهود عيان أن مظاهرات منزل بوزيان كانت سلمية،	
25/12/10 <i>The government media, and even the independent pro-government, are content to issue brief statements that show one view of these protests, which they considered to be the result of an isolated incident, or that the deaths and injuries were "legitimate self-defence," although eyewitnesses confirmed that the demonstrations in Menzel Bouziane were peaceful,</i>	
أعلنت الحكومة أنها ستواصل دعمها للمواد الأساسية.	
7/1/11 <i>The Government announced that it would continue to support essential materials.</i>	
مشيرا إلى أن بلاده ستواصل ما سماه "السياسة التنموية ذات البعد الاجتماعي".	
7/1/11 <i>Pointing out that his country will continue what he called "development policy of social dimension."</i>	
وقررت السلطات التونسية الاثنين إغلاق كافة المؤسسات التعليمية لمدة غير محددة.	
9/1/11 <i>Tunisian authorities on Monday decided to close all educational institutions indefinitely.</i>	
وأمرت الشرطة الناس عبر مكبرات الصوت بمدنيتي تالة والقصرين بملازمة بيوتهم.	
9/1/11 <i>Police ordered people through loudspeakers in the towns of Tala and Qusrin to remain in their homes.</i>	
أعلنت الحكومة التونسية أن عدد قتلى الاحتجاجات الاجتماعية في تونس خلال الأيام الثلاثة بلغ 21 قتيلا،	
10/1/11 <i>The Tunisian government announced that the death toll of social protests in Tunisia during the three days was 21,</i>	

Table 6.15: The Examples of Quotation Techniques for the Authorities' Words.

The examples of indirect quotation in reporting on Tunisian government voice can be found in the extract (2), (3), (5) and (6). The scare-quote by putting certain terms between two inverted

commas can be found in the use of “legally act of self-defence” found in the extract (1) and “the policy of development with social interest” used in the extract (3). Again, by putting these terms explicitly used by the Tunisian government. AJA has put a distance between the online news agency and the Tunisian government. Furthermore, the voice of the Tunisian government, which carries essential information through an official government announcement has been briefly reported by the outlet using a summary of the voice. This can be seen at extract (2) as the outlet briefly mentioning that the Tunisian government will continue to support the basic needs to curb the high inflation without giving much more details. Secondly, in extract (4) the authority announcement to close all schools until further notice also being reported in the news without providing more details. Hence, reveals that the outlet is marginalising the voice of the Tunisian government. Finally, the report on among the first official response from the Tunisian government regarding the protests as mentioned in the extract (1) was aimed to criticise and discredit the Tunisian authority by immediately providing the counter-narrative from the eyewitness which deny the authority’s claim of the event.

Finally, the voice of the Tunisian political party, particularly the Tunisian ruling party and its associates during the time of crisis also being marginalised by AJA. Most of the time, the voice of DCR Tunisian ruling party and associate's parties were reported by AJA using an indirect quotation as can be seen in the news extracts in Table 6.16.

<p>وقال الاتحاد الديمقراطي الوحدوي بدوره إن التناول الإعلامي لقناة الجزيرة لأحداث سيدي بوزيد وعدد من المدن الأخرى "لم يكن تعاطيا محترفا وملتزمًا بقيم ومبادئ العمل الصحفي".</p> <p>28/12/2010</p> <p><i>The Union Democratic Union said in turn that the media coverage of the events of Sidi Bouzid and some other cities "was not professional and committed to the values and principles of the press work</i></p>
<p>ووصف الحزب الاجتماعي التحرري تغطية الجزيرة بأنها "حملة إعلامية مشبوهة".</p> <p>28/12/2010</p> <p><i>The Liberal Social Party described Al-Jazeera's coverage as a "dubious media campaign."</i></p> <p>كما اتهم حزب الخضر للتقدم الجزيرة "بتضخيم الأحداث والتركيز على البث المتكرر طيلة أيام عديدة لصور غير موثوقة".</p>

28/12/2010
<i>The Green Party has also accused the island of "exaggerating events and focusing on repeated broadcasts over many days for unreliable images."</i>
وكان مجلس النواب التونسي وأحزاب سياسية تونسية قد انتقدت تغطية قناة الجزيرة للاحتجاجات التي تشهدها البلاد ضد نقشي البطالة والفساد و"التنمية غير العادلة"،
29/12/10 –
<i>The Tunisian House of Representatives and Tunisian political parties have criticised Al-Jazeera coverage of the protests witnessed by the country against the spread of unemployment and corruption and "unfair development."</i>
ورغم استجابة غالبية المحامين للحركة الإضرابية، فإن محامين أعضاء في حزب التجمع الدستوري الديمقراطي (الحاكم) عارضوا هذه الخطوة.
5/1/11
<i>Although most of the lawyers responded to the strike movement, lawyers from the ruling Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD) opposed this move.</i>

Table 6.16: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Ruling Party's Words

AJA also utilised strategic quote to select a specific part of the pro-Ben Ali parties' voice, as stated in the extract (1) and (3). Furthermore, scare-quote which utilised to build separation wall between the outlet and the speaker's words also being used in the extract (2) and (4) for the term labelled by Tunisian political parties as "dubious media campaign" and "Injustice Development". The report on DCA party by AJA also being marginalised as it was brief and short before providing another clause to discredit the Tunisian ruling party. For instance:

وحاول أنصار حزب التجمع الدستوري الديمقراطي الحاكم تسيير مسيرات مؤيدة لخطاب بن علي الذي ألقاه أمس، غير أنها كانت تنفض بسرعة بسبب الخوف من الناس المعارضين له، حسب المعلومات الواردة من هناك.

10/1/11

*Supporters of the ruling Constitutional Rally for Democratic Rally (RCD) tried to stage marches in support of Ben Ali's speech yesterday but were quickly shaken by fear of people opposing him, according to information from there.*

It is evident that the report on supporters of DCR party planning to organise a march to show their support for Ben Ali's speech was brief. On top of that, the report immediately followed by the report on the failure of organising the march which in turn not only discredit the Tunisian ruling party efforts but also provide an impression to the reader that DCR party has lost their influence and power under the massive pressure from the protestors.

To summarise, it is found that AJA utilised the same approach to report on the voice of Tunisian authority which mainly consist the voice of President Ben Ali, the voice of Ben Ali's senior ministers, the voice of DCR party and the voice of Tunisian government officers. AJA treated all these voices, which represent the voice of authority during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution as the out-group. Hence, the outlet tries to build the boundaries that separated the antagonists and the Tunisian authority with their different interests. The concept of "Logic of Equivalence" was deployed to constitute the social imaginary by relating all the Ben Ali's allies to a common goal and work together to defend the hegemony of Ben Ali in Tunisia. Furthermore, the differences between the antagonist and the Tunisian authority are being highlighted by the online news outlet to emphasise the contrast of the opposing camps during the 2011 Tunisian Revolution.

#### **6.4 Intertextuality in Egyptian Revolution News Coverage**

Again, as being highlighted during the discussion of Intertextuality in the 2011 TR online news, the analysis of intertextuality in the online news coverage by AJA and BBA for the 2011 ER will focus on how and why different voices are included or excluded in news items. Therefore, I start by discussing how the two online news outlets reported the protagonists and antagonists during the 2011 ER, and whether or not their reporting strategies were consistent throughout the days of the protests. I also highlight whether or not certain voices were emphasised and others marginalised in the coverage of each outlet. Which ultimately will reveal that the hegemony is being realised by allowing the 'in-group' access to media discourse and considering the 'out-group' as the unreliable source, hence been marginalised in the online news discourse. My discussion on the intertextuality in the ER online news coverage of AJA and BBA begins with the comparison of intertextuality by the outlets in the online news reports on the first day of mass protests in Egypt (25<sup>th</sup> January 2011) which marked the beginning of 2011

ER. This is to provide a general overview of the intertextuality strategies utilised by the two online news outlets before moving into the details of each news outlet intertextuality strategy in the following sections.

### Intertextuality in the News Report of the First Day Egyptian Revolution

The successful of TR in bringing power change in Tunisia also influenced AJA discourse construction strategies in reporting the events of 2011 ER. Hence, since the first day of mass protest in Egypt (25<sup>th</sup> January 2011) the outlet has intensified the online news report of the event by focusing on the antagonists' sources, while the voice of Egyptian authority was marginalised since the day one. In comparison, although BBA tries to provide balanced coverage of the 2011 ER events, the outlet online news report on the first day of protest revealed that BBA was still in favour of Mubarak and the Egyptian government. The tables (Table 8.xx and Table 8.xx) below show the comparison between AJA and BBA intertextuality for the news report on the first day of ER.

Voice	Example	Side
Protestors	وفي مدينة السويس هتف المتظاهرون قائلين "بن علي بيناديك، فندق جدة مستنيك"، في إشارة إلى هروب الرئيس التونسي من بلاده إلى السعودية في وجه مظاهرات احتجاج عنيفة. <i>In the city of Suez, demonstrators shouted "Ben Ali is calling you, Hotel in Jeddah is waiting for you," in reference to the Tunisian president's escape from his country to Saudi Arabia in the face of violent protests.</i>	Antagonist
Eyewitness	وقال شاهد إن المحتجين حاولوا تحطيم الصورة لكن قادة لهم هتفوا "سلمية سلمية". <i>Witnesses said the protesters tried to smash the picture, but their leaders shouted "peaceful and peaceful."</i>	Antagonist
Al-Jazeera correspondent	وقال مراسل الجزيرة في القاهرة إن آلاف المتظاهرين المحتشدين في ميدان التحرير بوسط العاصمة يعتزمون المبيت فيه، رافعين شعارات تندد بالفساد والاستبداد. <i>Aljazeera correspondent in Cairo said thousands of protesters gathered in Tahrir square of the capital planned to stay there, raising slogans denouncing corruption and oppression.</i>	Antagonist
Reuters	وتشير رويترز إلى أن مظاهرات يوم الغضب تعد اختبارا لمدى إمكانية تحويل النشطاء رسالتهم عبر الإنترنت إلى واقع في الشوارع.	Antagonist

	<i>Reuters notes that the Day of Rage demonstrations are a test of how activists can turn their online message into reality on the streets.</i>	
Activists	<p>وكانت أبرز المظاهرات الأخرى بالقاهرة في منطقة روكسي بمصر الجديدة القريبة من مقر إقامة الرئيس حسني مبارك، والتي قادها مجموعة من النشطاء منهم الخبير العالمي في الهندسة الدكتور ممدوح حمزة.</p> <p><i>The most prominent of demonstrations in Cairo was held in the Roxy area near the residence of President Hosni Mubarak. It was led by a group of activists, including the global expert in engineering Dr Mamdouh Hamza.</i></p>	Antagonist
Muslim Brotherhood	<p>وقالت الجماعة في بيان الاثنين إن مباحث أمن الدولة استدعت مسؤولي الجماعة في المحافظات وحذرتهم من النزول إلى الشارع.</p> <p><i>The group said in a statement Monday that the State Security Investigation summoned the group's officials in the provinces and warned them to go down the street.</i></p>	Antagonist
Home Minister	<p>يشار إلى أن وزير الداخلية حبيب العادلي قال في مقابلة مع صحيفة الأهرام إن "الأمن قادر على ردع أي خروج أو مساس بأمن المواطن".</p> <p><i>Interior Minister Habib al-Adli said in an interview with Al-Ahram newspaper that "security is capable of deterring any exit or prejudice to the security of the citizen."</i></p>	Egyptian Government
Security sources	<p>حيث قال مصدر أمني لروترز إن اللواء عبد الرؤوف عادل مساعد مدير أمن محافظة السويس ورئيس مباحث قسم شرطة مدينة السويس عاصمة المحافظة الرائد محمد عادل أصيبا بحجارة رشقها محتجون.</p> <p><i>A security source told Reuters that Major General Abdel Raouf Adel, Assistant Director of Security of Suez Governorate and head of investigations of the police station of the city of Suez, capital of the province Major Mohammad Adel Aseba were injured after being hit by stones thrown by protesters.</i></p>	Egyptian Government

Table 6.17: AJA Intertextuality in the Online News Report on the First Day of the ER.

In providing the news report on the first day of ER, AJA strategically utilised six sources which portrayed the event in favour of the antagonist. Hence, AJA strategically used the voice of protestors, eyewitness among the local Egyptian, Al-Jazeera Correspondent, and source from International News Agency of Reuters, the activist and Muslim Brotherhood to provide positive information on the protest events. For instance, the voice of protestors has been reported by focusing on the slogan chanted during the protest. The voice of eyewitness furthermore has been used by the outlet to portray that the protest was peaceful. Al-Jazeera correspondent, on the other hand, has reported on the success of protest in gathering thousands of protestors in Tahrir Square. AJA also reported on activists by highlighting on the success of organising protests in various strategic locations in Cairo under the leadership of internationally well-known figure such as Mamdouh Hamzah a well-known architect and geotechnical expert.

In contrast, AJA only provided two voices from the Egyptian authority, namely Egyptian Home Minister and Egyptian Security Sources, which provided information in favour of the Egyptian government. For instance, AJA reported about Habib Adily on his firm warn targeted towards the protestors, whom he blamed for causing chaos and breaking the laws. Also, the source from Egyptian security force has been included by AJA in the news report of the first day of protest to inform that that two Egyptian senior security officers have been hit with stones by the protestors.

Thus, it is revealed that since the first day of the 2011 ER. AJA has intensified the coverage of the event by bringing the antagonists' voices. In comparison, the voice of the Egyptian government has been put aside by the outlet. This has been done not only in term of number and frequencies six voices in favour of antagonists compared to only two sources in favour of Egyptian authority but also it is noticed that the only provide short and brief information of the authority voices while the antagonist sources have been given detail explanations in the news text. All in all, it is evident that since the early stage of ER, AJA has clearly shown its biased towards the antagonist by preferring to provide ample access for the antagonist voices in the online news discourse while the government voices were strategically marginalised with limited access to the construction of online news discourse. Hence, the construction of by giving ample access of antagonist voices in online news discourse, AJA was launching a counter-hegemony to the dominance of Egyptian government under the leadership of President Mubarak during the time of crisis.

Voice	Example	Side
Egyptian Government	<p>وكانت الحكومة المصرية قد حذرت النشطاء المعارضين بأنهم سيواجهون الاعتقال إذا قاموا بتنظيم مسيرات احتجاجية يوم الثلاثاء للمطالبة بإصلاحات ديمقراطية واجتماعية.</p> <p><i>The Egyptian government has warned opposition activists that they will face arrest if they organise protest marches on Tuesday to demand democratic and social reforms.</i></p>	Egyptian Government

Home Minister	من جانبه قال وزير الداخلية حبيب العادلي في مقابلة نشرتها صحيفة الأهرام المصرية الثلاثاء " أقول للرأي العام هذه الدعوة على الفيسبوك تأتي من شباب، وأطالب المثقفين بضرورة توعية هؤلاء وحب بلدهم". <i>Interior Minister Habib al-Adly said in an interview published in the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram Tuesday: "I tell the public this call on Facebook comes from young people, and I call on intellectuals to educate them and love their country."</i>	Egyptian Government
Security sources	وقال المصدر الأمني إن مساعد مدير الأمن أصيب بجروح في الوجه بينما أصيب رئيس المباحث بجروح في الرأس. <i>The security source said the assistant security chief was wounded in the face while the head of the investigation was wounded in the head.</i>	Egyptian Government
Eyewitness	وقال أحد الشاهدين ان المحتجين رشقوا الشرطة بالحجارة في مدينة بلطيم. <i>One witness said the protesters threw stones at the police in the city of Baltim.</i>	Egyptian Government
France Press	ونقلت وكالة فرانس برس عن مسؤول أمني أنه تم نشر أكثر من 20 ألف الى 30 ألف من رجال الشرطة في وسط القاهرة. <i>An AFP correspondent quoted a security official as saying that more than 20,000 to 30,000 policemen had been deployed in central Cairo.</i>	Egyptian Government
USA Foreign Secretary	وفي رد فعل عالمي قالت وزيرة الخارجية الأمريكية هيلاري كلينتون الثلاثاء ان الولايات المتحدة تعتبر ان "الحكومة المصرية مستقرة" رغم الاحتجاجات التي تدعو الى تنحي الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك. <i>In a global reaction, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said on Tuesday that the United States considers the Egyptian government "stable" despite protests calling for Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to step down.</i>	Egyptian Government
El-Baradei	بينما دعا محمد البرادعي، الرئيس الاسبق للوكالة الدولية للطاقة الذرية واحد زعماء حركة التغيير، المصريين الى المشاركة <i>Mohamed ElBaradei, the former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and one of the leaders of Change, called on Egyptians to participate</i>	Antagonist
Muslim Brotherhood	ولم توجه جماعة الإخوان المسلمين أكبر جماعة معارضة في مصر الدعوة لاتباعها للمشاركة. ولكنها قالت ان البعض سيشاركون فيها على مسؤوليتهم الشخصية، <i>The Muslim Brotherhood, the largest opposition group in Egypt, has not invited its followers to participate. However, she said some would take part in their responsibility,</i>	Neutral
Protestors	وردد المتظاهرون هتافات مثل "تونس هي الحل" و"تونس مش أحسن من مصر" و"يسقط يسقط حسني مبارك"، <i>The demonstrators chanted slogans such as "Tunisia is the solution", "Tunisia is not better than Egypt" and "Downfalls Hosni Mubarak."</i>	Antagonist
BBA correspondent	ويقول مراسلنا في القاهرة خالد عز العرب إن المظاهرة أمام دار القضاء العالي أكبر حجما من المعتاد واستطاعت للمرة الأولى كسر الطوق الأمني والتوجه إلى ميدان التحرير. <i>Our correspondent in Cairo, Khaled Ezz Al-Arab, says that the demonstration in front of the High Court of Justice is more extensive than usual and was able, for the first time, to break the security cordon and go to Tahrir square.</i>	Neutral



Amnesty	<p>من جانبها دعت منظمة العفو الدولية "السلطات المصرية إلى عدم قمع التظاهرات مشيرة إلى أن الناشطين المعارضين سبق أن "تم استدعاؤهم وتهديدهم بالسجن اذا استمروا في تحركهم."</p> <p><i>For its part, Amnesty International called on "the Egyptian authorities not to suppress the demonstrations, noting that the opposition activists had already been" summoned and threatened to prison if they continue to move. "</i></p>	Antagonist
---------	---	------------

Table 6.18: BBA Intertextuality in the Online News Report on the First Day of the ER.

Moving into BBA online news report on the first day of the protest revealed that the outlet has tried to provide more balanced coverage of the event compared to the outlet news coverage during the early stage of 2011 TR. It is found that BBA has included the voices from both sides of the Egyptian conflict in the online news report which reported on the first day of protest. Even though the outlet was trying to provide a balanced report on the event, by looking at the details revealed that BBA was still in favour of Egyptian government compared to the Egyptian antagonist as stated in the Table (8.xx). The outlet was still favouring to utilise the sources from Egyptian authority which carry the voice of the Egyptian government. Hence, the table shows that in the online news report of the first day of mass protest in Egypt, BBA reported on six voices which positively portrayed the Egyptian government compared to three voices in favour of Egyptian antagonist while another two voices provide neutral sources of information on the event.

The six voices which have been reported by BBA in favour of the Egyptian government are the Egyptian government itself, Egyptian home Minister during the time of crisis, Egyptian Security, Eye Witness and two from foreign sources namely France Press of France and United State Foreign Secretary. BBA, for instance, reported that the Egyptian government had warned the opposition activists from organising protests against the government, while the Egyptian Home Minister has been reported on his call to the intellectuals on the importance of teaching Egyptian youth for loving their country rather than causing chaos and disability caused by the mass protest against the government. Similarly, the voice of the eyewitness has been strategically utilised by the outlet to negatively portrayed protestors who stoned the police

during the protest. The foreign sources have also been deployed by the outlet to provide more positive voices to support the Egyptian government. Hence, the source of France Press has been used by BBA to report on deploying almost 30 thousand police in Cairo to secure the situation, while the United State Foreign Secretary has shown her confident that Mubarak government is stable despite facing pressures from the protest.

In contrast, BBA only reported from three sources which carry the antagonist voices. These three sources which provide information in favour of the Egyptian antagonist are ElBaradei, protestors and Amnesty International. For instance, the outlet has reported on ElBaradei's call for Egyptians to participate in the mass protest demanding for their rights. The outlet also reported on protestors' voices who repeatedly chanted for Egypt to follow Tunisia in bringing down the regime. The international source represented by the Amnesty International also being used to highlight the restriction of freedom of speech in Egypt, which caused many activists have been locked in prison. Although BBA has reported from the source of the Muslim Brotherhood the biggest Egyptian opposition group, it was not indicated that the group is supporting the protest or encouraging its members to participate in the event. Hence, the voice of the Muslim Brotherhood in BBA carries no direct indication to support the protest and the protestors. Similarly, the voice of BBA correspondent also provides unbiased information on the protest.

In short, by reporting on six sources which carry voices in favour of the Egyptian government in the online news report of the first-day event of ER, indicating that the outlet was emphasising on the hegemony. This has been done by allowing more access from the authority side to the online news discourse, while the antagonist voices have been given less access to the online news discourse. Hence, revealed that the outlet was treating the Egyptian government as the 'in-group'. In contrast, the Egyptian antagonist was treated as the 'out-group', even though the outlet has tried to provide more balanced coverage of both sides of the Egyptian conflict.

It is interesting to note that, despite the differences between the two online news outlets both AJA and BBA have started to provide an intensive and detail reports on the 2011 ER since the first day of protest (25<sup>th</sup> January 2011). Both AJA and BBA have learned from the 2011 TR which received worldwide attention, hence the outlets have recognised the newsworthy to provide every detail of the event in Egypt since day one. Previously in the 2011 TR, BBA only started to provide much more details news almost five days after the first protest started, while AJA only briefly reported on the event when it was first started.

All in all, it is no doubt that the success of the Tunisian Revolution in bringing down President Ben Ali on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 has significantly influenced the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. The 2011 Egyptian Revolution started on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011 (almost 11 days after the departure of Ben Ali from Tunisia) after the success of the first mass protest in Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt. In term of online news coverage of both events of Tunisian Revolution and Egyptian Revolution, the two online news outlets AJA and BBA preserved the same strategy utilised by each online news agency in reporting the events of the uprising in Tunisia and Egypt. However, some significant changes in the outlet's strategy have been observed after the success of the Tunisian Revolution. This is to say that the outlets have learned from the result of Tunisian Revolution in bringing down the ruling power in Tunisian, hence make some adjustment to their discourse construction strategy during the news coverage of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

Comparing the two online news outlets, BBA has made more changes in its discourse construction strategies for the Egyptian Revolution news reports compared to AJA. In contrast to the BBA's approach for the Tunisian Revolution news coverage, which revealed that the outlet remained loyal on Ben Ali's side up until the day he departed Tunisia. In other words, BBA has shown apparent support toward the hegemony of Ben Ali in their news coverage of 2011 TR up until the day Ben Ali left Tunisia for good. However, for the outlet coverage of

2011 ER, BBA has tried to hide its apparent support for Mubarak and Egyptian government by trying to provide more balanced coverage of both opposing sides of the Egyptian crisis. Hence, BBA has implemented several adjustments to its news reporting strategies for the ER, which will be given a detail explanation in the following section. AJA on the other hand, although does not implement significant changes to its discourse construction strategies, it is found that, as a result of the success of TR in countering the hegemony of Ben Ali in Tunisia, AJA has double its effort in providing more counter-hegemony discourses to challenge the hegemony of Mubarak during the 2011 ER. Thus, the voice of Egyptian's oppositions has been given more attention by the outlet since the very beginning of protest compared to the outlet coverage of the TR. The detail on this will be explained in detail in the analysis section below.

### **BBA Intertextuality of Egyptian Revolution News Coverage**

Although both AJA and BBA have slightly changed their discourse construction strategies in reporting the events of ER influenced by the result of TR, it is found that both outlets differ in reporting the voices of the protagonists and the antagonists in their news coverage during the time of crisis of 2011 ER. Despite trying to be more neutral in reporting from both sides of the Egyptian conflict, it is quite apparent particularly during the early stage of the protest that BBA still considered Mubarak and his allies of the Egyptian government as the in-group. Hence, the outlet prefers to report on the authority voices rather than the antagonists, which indicated that the Egyptian government had been given more access to the online news discourse compared to the antagonists. Thus, the voice of Mubarak and the Egyptian authority have been reported intensively by BBA at least from the start of the first mass protest in Egypt (25/1/2011) up until 4/2/2011 when the western leaders particularly the United States have expressed their deep concern of on-going violence in Egypt. By opting to be on Mubarak's side during the time of crisis, BBA was trying to preserve the hegemony of

Mubarak in Egypt despite Mubarak's dominant was facing a significant challenge from the antagonists.

Therefore, at the beginning of my analysis in this section, I will present how BBA has shown its biased toward the Egyptian authority particularly the Egyptian President by reporting the authority voices and marginalising the antagonist's voices. Therefore, the voice of the Egyptian government has been given ample space in the BBA online news coverage. It is found that the outlet prefers to report from sources of Egyptian government during the time of crisis which includes President Mubarak, Vice President Omer Suleiman, The Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq, senior Egyptian Ministers, Egyptian Arm Forces, Egyptian Police, the Egyptian ruling party of NDP and Egyptian official media outlets. Hence, indicated that the outlet is trying to defend the hegemony of Mubarak during the 2011 ER.

Looking at the reporting strategy utilised by BBA in reporting the voice of President Mubarak, particularly during the early stage of protests found that the outlet was so keen on reporting the President voices. This can be seen clearly as the outlet prefers to report on Mubarak using the direct quote as showed in news extracts in the table below:

<p>وقال مبارك مخاطبا الشعب المصري "استجابتي لصوتكم ومطالبكم لا رجعة فيه وعازم على الوفاء على ما تعهدت به."</p> <p>وأوضح "بدأنا حوارا وطنيا بناء يضم كافة القوى السياسية والحوار اسفر عن توافق مبدئي في المواقف ويتعين مواصلة للوصول الى خريطة طريق واضحة بجدول زمني."</p> <p>11/2/11</p> <p><i>"My response to your voice and your demands is irreversible, and I intend to fulfil what I have pledged," Mubarak told the Egyptian people.</i></p> <p><i>"We have embarked on a constructive national dialogue involving all political forces and dialogue, which resulted in a principled consensus in positions and should be continued to reach a clear roadmap with a timetable," he said.</i></p> <p>وقال مبارك في بداية كلمته "أتحدث إليكم في لحظات صعبة يتعرض فيها الوطن لأحداث عصية واختبارات قاسية بدأت بشباب ومواطنين شرفاء مارسوا حقهم في التظاهر السلمي تعبيرا عن مطالبهم في التغيير."</p> <p>وأضاف أن البعض سرعان ما استغل هذه المظاهرات "السعي لإشاعة الفوضى وللقفز على الشرعية الدستورية والانقضاض عليها."</p> <p>واعتبر مبارك أن التظاهرات تحولت إلى "مواجهات مؤسفة تحركها قوى سياسية سعت لصب الزيت على النار بأعمال إثارة وتحريض وسلب ونهب وإشعال للحرائق."</p> <p>2/2/11</p>
--

<p><i>Mubarak said at the beginning of his speech, "I speak to you in difficult moments in which the country is exposed to difficult events, and harsh tests began with young people, and honest citizens exercised their right to a peaceful demonstration to express their demands for change."</i></p> <p><i>He added that some quickly took advantage of these demonstrations "to create chaos and to jump on constitutional legitimacy and assault on them."</i></p> <p><i>Mubarak said that the demonstrations turned into "unfortunate confrontations driven by political forces sought to pour oil on fire acts of incitement and incitement and looting and looting and ignition of the fires."</i></p>
<p>قائلا "لم أكن يوما طالبا للسلطة أو الجاه."</p> <p>وأوضح أن مسؤوليته الأولى في الشهور المتبقية "استعادة أمن واستقرار الوطني لتحقيق الانتقال السلمي للسلطة في أجواء تحمي مصر والمصريين وتتيح تسليم المسؤولية لمن يختاره الشعب."</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p><i>Saying, "I have never been a student of power or ignorance."</i></p> <p><i>He explained that his first responsibility in the remaining months is "to restore national security and stability to achieve a peaceful transition of power in a climate that protects Egypt and the Egyptians and allows the handover of responsibility to the people chosen by the people."</i></p>
<p>قائلا "لا يهمني ما يقوله الناس عني. ما يهمني الآن هو بلادي، مصر تهمني."</p> <p>3/2/11</p> <p><i>"I do not care what people say about me, what interests me now is my country, Egypt."</i></p>

Table 6.19: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on Mubarak's Words

By using direct quotation of Mubarak's exact words, it is clear that the outlet was paying particular attention to Mubarak's voice in the outlet's news report. The use of direct quotation not only deliver the Mubarak's own words without any interferent by the journalist but also recognised Mubarak as the reliable source of information for the events happen during the uprising. Hence, Mubarak's words represent the authority sources used by BBA to portray the events in Egypt, which emphasise the hegemony of Mubarak in Egypt. It is also important to highlight that most of the time, BBA directly reports on Mubarak's voice without using third party sources, for instance, Egyptian television or Egyptian news agency. This shows that the outlet has direct access to gain the voice of Mubarak. Mubarak's voice was also being reported by the outlet using the indirect quotation as stated in the examples of news extracts below:

<p>ووعد أيضا باحترام أحكام القضاء المصري في الطعون بشأن الانتخابات البرلمانية الأخيرة</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p><i>He also promised to respect the rulings of the Egyptian judiciary in appeals over the recent parliamentary elections</i></p>
<p>واكد مبارك مجددا على انه لايعتزم الترشح للرئاسة مرة اخرى او ان يخلفه نجله جمال</p> <p>3/2/11</p> <p><i>Mubarak reiterated that he did not plan to run for president again or be succeeded by his son Gamal</i></p>
<p>وأوضح انه لم يكن ينوي الترشح لفترة رئاسية جديدة</p>

2/2/11	<i>He said he did not intend to run for a new term</i>
3/2/11	<i>Mubarak also said he would not leave the country</i>
3/2/11	<i>He explained that his first responsibility in the remaining months "restore national security and stability"</i>
11/2/11	<i>Mubarak announced in a televised address on Thursday that he would only step down in September after a new presidential election.</i>

Table 6.20: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Mubarak's Words

Although, indirect quotation of Mubarak's words does not carry the exact words used by Mubarak in his speeches, the reader's impression is much more influenced by the selection of verbal process in reporting Mubarak's words. Thus, the news extracts in the above table utilised positive verbal process such as "promised", "emphasised", "announced" and "explained" which promote good impression on Mubarak. Hence, portrayed him as a good leader of Egypt.

BBA also pay much attention in reporting the voice of Egyptian Vice President during the time of Crisis Omer Suleiman. As BBA has given the most influential person in Egypt after Mubarak and the most senior member among Mubarak's allies, Suleiman's voice ample coverage in its online news report. Hence, similar to Mubarak, Suleiman's words were reported using a direct quotation, which reports only the exact words used by Suleiman in his speeches.

For example:

وقال نائب الرئيس ان الحوار مع القوى السياسية الذي "يضطلع به بناء على تكليف السيد الرئيس يتطلب الامتناع عن التظاهرات وعودة الشارع المصري للحياة الطبيعية بما يتيح الأجواء المواتية لاستمرار الحوار ونجاحه".	2/2/11
<i>The vice president said that dialogue with the political forces, which "is carried out under the mandate of Mr President requires to refrain from demonstrations and the return of the Egyptian street to normal life, to provide an atmosphere conducive to the continuation of dialogue and success."</i>	
ونقلت وكالة انباء الشرق الاوسط المصرية عن سليمان قوله: "إن المشاركين في هذه التظاهرات قد وصلوا برسالتهم بالفعل سواء من تظاهر منهم مطالباً بالاصلاح بشتى جوانبه او من خرج معبراً عن تأييده للسيد رئيس الجمهورية وما جاء بكلمته لأبناء الشعب".	2/2/11

<p><i>Suleiman was quoted as saying by the Egyptian Middle East News Agency "The participants in these demonstrations have already reached their message, whether from pretending to call for reform in various aspects or out of expressing support for the President of the Republic and what came in his speech to the people of the people."</i></p>
<p>وقال سليمان "ان وجود المحتجين في ميدان التحرير وتداول بعض الفضائيات على مصر يثبط المواطنين الذي يرغبون بالتوجه للعمل، ولن نقبل بذلك لفترة طويلة."</p> <p>9/2/11</p> <p><i>"The presence of protesters in the field of liberation and the harassment of some satellite channels on Egypt discourages citizens who wish to go to work, and we will not accept this for a long time."</i></p> <p>ونقلت الصحف المصرية عن سليمان قوله إن "مصر دولة قوية ولم تنهار ولن تنهار"، مؤكدا أن "الحوار والتفاهم هو الطريقة الأولى لتحقيق الاستقرار في مصر والخروج من الأزمة الحالية التي تمر بها البلاد بسلام في إطار برنامج متواصل لحل جميع المشكلات."</p> <p>9/2/11</p> <p><i>"Dialogue and understanding is the primary way to achieve stability in Egypt and to get out of the current crisis that the country is going through peacefully in the framework of an ongoing program to solve all problems," Suleiman was quoted as saying in the Egyptian press.</i></p> <p>وجه خطابه الى الشباب قائلا "يا شباب مصر عودوا الى دياركم واعمالكم ولا تنصتوا لمحاولات اشعال الفتنة والاذاعات والفضائيات التي تسعى لاضعاف مصر."</p> <p>واضاف "فتحنا باب الحوار ووضعت خارطة طريق لتلبية المطالب ولا زال الباب مفتوحا."</p> <p>"انني ملتزم بتنفيذ كل ما يلزم لتحقيق الانتقال السلمي للسلطة"</p> <p>11/2/11</p> <p><i>He addressed the young people, saying: "Let the Egyptians return to your homes and actions and do not listen to attempts to ignite sedition, radio and satellite channels that seek to weaken Egypt." "We opened the door to dialogue and set a roadmap to meet the demands, and the door is still open," he said. "I am committed to doing everything necessary to achieve a peaceful transition of power."</i></p>

Table 6.21: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on Suleiman's Words

Again, the use of direct quotation to report on Suleiman's words throughout the time of crisis from the early stage of the protest up until several days before Mubarak declared his resignation shows that the outlet was very keen in reporting from the Egyptian authority sources. Hence, preserved the hegemony of Mubarak in Egypt despite the massive protests against Mubarak's government. In addition to the direct quotation, the voice of Egyptian Vice President also being reported in BBA's online news using an indirect quotation, which comes with the positive verbal process as stated in the following news extracts:

<p>حث عمر سليمان نائب الرئيس المصري جميع المتظاهرين على العودة إلى منازلهم والتقيد بحظر التجول من أجل استعادة الهدوء قائلا ان الحوار مع القوى السياسية مرهون بانتهاء الاحتجاجات في الشوارع.</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p><i>Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman urged all demonstrators to return to their homes and abide by the curfew in order to restore calm, saying dialogue with political forces depended on the end of street protests.</i></p> <p>وأكد التزامه بـ"الحفاظ على ثورة الشباب ومكتسباتها مع احترام الدستور".</p> <p>11/2/11</p>
--



<i>He stressed his commitment to "preserve the youth revolution and its gains while respecting the Constitution."</i>
<p>وكان نائب الرئيس عمر سليمان قد أعلن الاربعاء ان الحوار الذي يقوده مع القوى السياسية، بناء على تكليف من الرئيس المصري، "يتطلب الامتناع عن التظاهرات، 3/2/11</p> <p><i>Vice President Omar Suleiman announced Wednesday that the dialogue he is leading with political forces, at the behest of the Egyptian president, "requires abstaining from demonstrations,</i></p>
<p>كلمة أكد فيها أنه ملتزم بالعمل على الانتقال السلمي للسلطة وتحقيق مطالب الشعب من خلال الحوار الواعي المستنير 11/2/11</p> <p><i>A speech in which he stressed that he is committed to working on the peaceful transition of the stage and the realisation of the demands of the people through enlightened and informed dialogue</i></p>
<p>واوضح ان التظاهرات نجحت في احداث تغيير هام باتجاه الديمقراطية وبدأ التغيير. 11/2/11</p> <p><i>He explained that the demonstrations succeeded in making a significant change towards democracy and began to change.</i></p>

Table 6.22: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on Suleiman's Words

It is evident from these news extracts that the outlet has utilised the intertextuality of Suleiman's voice as the authorised source of information. This has been carried out through the selection of positive verbal process such as 'urged', 'stressed', 'announced' and 'explained' to cast positive lights on Suleiman, hence promotes an impression in the reader that Suleiman as the Vice President of Egypt is the man who holds high rank of authority in the Egyptian government. The list of intertextualities of Egyptian authority source continues with the direct quotation of the then Egyptian ministers particularly the then Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq and other Egyptian Senior Ministers such as Egyptian Foreign Minister and Egyptian Finance Minister. The voice of Mubarak's cabinet members was also reported by BBA using indirect quotation and promotes good impression on the speaker which his word being reported in the online news through the strategic use of the positive verbal process. The examples of intertextuality from the source of Mubarak's cabinet members using direct quotation and indirect quotation with strategic use of the positive verbal process can be seen in Table 6.23 (for direct quotation) and Table 6.24 (for indirect quotation) below:

<p>وقالت الوزارة في بيان "تعاود وزارة الداخلية التحذير من تلك التحركات والتأكيد على انه سوف يتم اتخاذ اجراءات حازمة في مواجهتها وفق ما يقضي به القانون." 28/1/11</p>
--

<p><i>"The Ministry of the Interior is reiterating the warning of these movements and stressing that firm measures will be taken to confront them as required by law," the ministry said in a statement.</i></p>
<p>وقال مجدي راضي الناطق باسم مجلس الوزراء: "إن الشرطة تحتفظ بأقصى درجات ضبط النفس، ولكنها ستتدخل عندما يقع أي اعتداء على الممتلكات وعندما يسلك البعض سبلا غير قانونية للتعبير (عن آرائهم)". 28/1/11</p> <p><i>"The police maintain the utmost restraint, but they will intervene when there is an attack on property and when some people resort to illegal ways to express their views," said Majdi Radi, a spokesman for the cabinet.</i></p>
<p>قال وزير المالية المصري الجديد، سمير رضوان، في مقابلة مع بي بي سي: "هناك أزمة، ما من شك في ذلك. لا يمكنني أن أنفي بأن الاقتصاد قد تضرر". 1/2/11</p> <p><i>Egypt's new finance minister, Samir Radwan, said in an interview with the BBC "There is a crisis, and there is no doubt about that, I can not deny that the economy has been damaged."</i></p>
<p>وقال المتحدث باسم الخارجية: "إن الاحتكام إلى الشارع في هذه اللحظة يظهر بشكل واضح أن المطالب التي يسعى البعض لترويجها سياسياً مثل المرحلة الانتقالية لا تحظى بإجماع شعبي، وإنها تشكل مطالب لأفراد وجماعات سياسية محددة". 2/2/11</p> <p><i>"The call to the street at this moment shows clearly that the demands that some seek to promote politically, such as the transitional period, do not enjoy popular consensus, and they constitute demands for individuals and specific political groups," the foreign ministry spokesman said.</i></p>
<p>وأوضح شفيق، في تصريحات لـ بي بي سي العربية، قائلاً: "لا أعذر لأنني مخطئ ولكنني أعذر عن الاحتكاكات التي وقعت". 3/2/11</p> <p><i>"I do not apologise because I am wrong, but I apologise for the frictions that have taken place," Shafiq told BBC Arabic.</i></p>
<p>وكان التلفزيون الحكومي المصري قد نقل عن شفيق قوله: "نجتمع اليوم مع ممثلي أحزاب المعارضة والقوى الوطنية لإيجاد مخرج من الوضع الراهن". 3/2/11</p> <p><i>"We are meeting today with representatives of opposition parties and national forces to find a way out of the current situation," Shafiq was quoted by Egyptian state television as saying.</i></p>
<p>وقال شفيق في مقابلة خاصة مع بي بي سي "سأطارد اللجنة يومياً كي تنتهي من عملها في أسرع وقت ممكن، هذا وعد مني للجبهة الداخلية كلها". 10/2/11</p> <p><i>"I will chase the committee every day to finish its work as soon as possible," Shafiq said in an exclusive interview with the BBC. "This promised me the whole domestic front."</i></p>

Table 6.23: The Use of Direct Quote to Report on the Egyptian Ministers' Words

Most of the intertextualities from the source of Egyptian ministers positively portrays the government efforts in dealing with protestors' demands. Hence, the intertextuality of the then Egyptian Prime Minister, for instance, positively reports on Syafiq's hard works in meeting with all Egyptian oppositions and find the best solution for the Egyptian crisis. Furthermore, the intertextuality from the Egyptian Home Minister and the spokesman of the Egyptian Prime Minister has been strategically used to negatively portrayed the protestors. The intertextuality of Egyptian Home Minister as stated in the extract (1) for instance, clearly warns any attempt

to cause chaos and violent during the protest. Besides, the intertextuality of Finance Minister in the extract (2) was used to highlight that the protests had damaged the Egyptian economy badly. Besides, the intertextuality of Egyptian Foreign Minister (extract 3) was strategically being utilised to blame the mass protests for seeking benefits of the certain political group. It is important to note that, most of the time, the outlet has reported on the voice of Mubarak's key ministers directly from the original sources. Hence, the intertextuality of Egyptian minister mostly come from the press conferences, press statements, an exclusive interview with BBA, while other was taken directly from the Egyptian official television which primarily owned by the Egyptian government. Beside utilising direct quotation to report on Egyptian minister's voices, BBA also utilised indirect quotation to report from the source of Mubarak's cabinet. This is found in these news extracts:

وأعلن شفيق قد أعلن بدء الحوار مع من وصفها بأنها "الأحزاب المعارضة والقوى السياسية". 3/2/11 <i>Shafiq announced the start of a dialogue with what he described as "opposition parties and political forces."</i>
وتعهد بعدم ملاحقة أي من المتظاهرين في ميدان التحرير. 5/2/11 <i>He vowed not to prosecute any of the protesters in Tahrir Square.</i>
ودافع شفيق عن موقف الجيش المصري من الأحداث واعتبره موقفا صحيحا يعزل المحتجين من احتمالات المواجهات العنيفة 10/2/11 <i>Shafiq defended the Egyptian army's position on the events and considered it a correct position that isolates protesters from the possibility of violent confrontations</i>
وأكد شفيق ان قناة السويس تعمل بشكل اعتيادي ولم تتأثر بالأحداث في القاهرة ومدن أخرى. 3/2/11 <i>Shafiq emphasised the Suez Canal was operating normally and was not affected by events in Cairo and other cities.</i>
في الوقت نفسه حذرت وزارة الداخلية المصرية من انها ستتخذ تدابير "حازمة" في مواجهة المتظاهرين المعارضين للحكومة . 28/1/11 - <i>At the same time warned the Egyptian Interior Ministry that it would take "firm" measures in the face of anti-government demonstrators.</i>
كما اعلنت عن عودة خدمة الانترنت جزئيا في القاهرة بعد قطعها لأكثر من five أيام. 2/2/11 <i>It also announced the partial return of Internet service in Cairo after cutting it for more than five days.</i>

Table 6.24: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on the Egyptian Ministers' Words

Once again, the positive verbal process such as 'announced', 'vowed', 'defended', 'emphasised' and 'warned' were strategically being selected by the journalist to promote positive impression on the speakers (the then Egyptian ministers). By using the positive verbal process, the online news outlet was trying to promote in the reader that the speakers have the authority as among the highest-ranking officer in the Egyptian government, hence their words are valid and were taken from authorised sources.

As the ruling party in Egypt during the time of crisis, the voice of NDP was widely reported by BBA. In fact, the outlet report on the earliest official respond towards the mass protest from the Egyptian government was centred on NDP's leaders. Hence, on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011, BBA reported that NDP party has announced that the party is ready to hold the dialogue with the people and the oppositions. Furthermore, Safwat Syarif one of NDP's senior leaders, was reported by the outlet that the party respect the freedom of speech but condemn the "trouble-makers" who aim to incite chaos and negative speculation. The following table contains news extracts using intertextuality from the source of the NDP party:

<p>عقد صفوت الشريف رئيس مجلس الشورى المصرى مؤتمرا صحفيا أكد فيه احترام الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي الحاكم لحرية التعبير السلمى، و متهمًا من سماهم "بدعاة الفوضى الخلاقة" وبعض القوى بالوقوف وراء الاحتجاجات العنيفة التى تشهدها البلاد، والسعى لإثارة الفوضى ونشر الشائعات.</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>Safwat al-Sherif, chairman of the Egyptian Shura Council, held a press conference in which he affirmed the respect of the ruling National Democratic Party for the freedom of peaceful expression. He accused those who called "creative messengers" and some forces of being behind the violent protests taking place in the country.</i></p>
<p>وكان الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي الحاكم قد أعلن يوم الخميس أنه مستعد للحوار مع الشعب ومع المعارضة.</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>The ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) said on Thursday it was ready to talk to the people and the opposition.</i></p>
<p>وقد أعلن الحزب الوطني الحاكم أنه قبل استقالة أحمد عز من أمانة التنظيم في الحزب،</p> <p>29/1/11</p> <p><i>The ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) announced that it had accepted Ahmed Ezz's resignation from the party's organisational secretariat,</i></p>
<p>قال امين التنظيم الجديد في الحزب الوطني ماجد الشربيني إن تشكيل الحكومة الجديدة سيعلن خلال ساعات.</p> <p>31/1/11</p> <p><i>"The formation of the new government will be announced in a matter of hours," said Majid al-Sherbini, secretary of the new NDP party</i></p>
<p>وقال حسام بدر اوي، عضو لجنة السياسات في الحزب الوطني الحاكم، إن أعمال العنف التي وقعت في ميدان التحرير في القاهرة هي من عمل قوى سياسية لا ترغب في انتقال سلمي للسلطة.</p>

3/2/11 <i>Hossam Badrawi, the member of the ruling National Party's policy committee, said the violence in Tahrir Square in Cairo was the work of political forces that did not want a peaceful transition of power.</i>
وأضاف في حوار مع بي بي سي إنه ليس من مصلحة الحكومة ولا المعارضة أن تحدث هذه الاشتباكات. 3/2/11 <i>He (Hossam Badrawi) added in an interview with the BBC that it is neither in the interest of the government nor the opposition to occur these clashes.</i>

Table 6.25: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report on NDP's Words

From these news extracts, it is found that BBA prefers to report on NDP source directly through the party press conference and special interview hosted by the news outlet. This is another evidence which exposes the outlet was very keen on reporting on the authority voices during the time of crisis in Egypt. Hence, the voice of the ruling party of NDP was reported by BBA through the intertextuality taken directly from the first-hand source. By favouring in the voice of the ruling party during the time of crisis in Egypt, it is revealed that the outlet is emphasising the Egyptian authority sources in reporting the event. Thus, it indicates that BBA was in favour of Mubarak. Hence, the outlet supports the hegemony of Mubarak during the 2011 ER.

The list voices of Egyptian authority in BBA's online news are uncompleted without reporting on the voice of the Egyptian Army. During the 2011 ER, the Egyptian Army played a crucial role not only in protecting general order but also formed the front line in dealing directly with the protestors. The Egyptian army has enormous influence in Egyptian society long before the 2011 ER started. Thus, the intertextuality of the Egyptian army in the online news report is very important. In line with the crucial role played by the Egyptian army during the time crisis and the vast influence own by them, BBA has strategically utilised the Egyptian army voices to support the Egyptian government. For instance:

وقال المتحدث إن الجيش يلتزم بأقصى درجات ضبط النفس في التعامل مع المتظاهرين مناشدا المواطنين بعدم الوقوف في تجمعات في الشوارع والمدن الرئيسية وتوعد المخالفين لحظر التجول بإجراءات صارمة. 30/1/11 <i>The spokesman said the army was strictly vigilant in dealing with the protestors, urging citizens not to stand in rallies in the streets and major cities and violators of the curfew were strictly implimented.</i>
--

وقد ناشد الجيش المصري المواطنين الالتزام بحظر التجول ودعا المتحدث العسكري اللواء اسماعيل عثمان المواطنين إلى التصدي لعمليات السلب والنهب.
30/1/11 <i>The Egyptian army appealed to citizens to abide by the curfew and called on the military spokesman General Ismail Osman citizens to address the looting.</i>
وكان الجيش المصري قد تعهد في وقت سابق بالامتناع عن استخدام القوة ضد المتظاهرين.
2/2/11 <i>The Egyptian army had earlier vowed to refrain from using force against demonstrators.</i>
وقال ناطق عسكري: "إن القوات المسلحة تتأشدهم، انتم الذين خرجتم للتعبير عن آرائكم، انتم الذين بامكانكم اعادة الحياة الى طبيعتها".
2/2/11 <i>"The armed forces are appealing to you, you who came out to express your opinions, you are the ones who can bring life back to normal," a military spokesman said.</i>
ودافع شفيق عن موقف الجيش المصري من الاحداث واعتبره موقفا صحيحا يعزل المحتجين من احتمالات المواجهات العنيفة
10/2/11 <i>Shafiq defended the Egyptian army's position on the events and considered it a correct position that isolates protesters from the possibility of violent confrontations</i>

Table 6.26: The Quotation Techniques Used to Report on the Army's Words

BBA's bias toward the Egyptian government in reporting the event of ER also can be found through the intensive report derived from the source of Egyptian official television and news agencies. In the corpus data, the Egyptian official television, which was own and controlled by the government, was mentioned 81 times. By favouring in reporting on the events through the source of Egyptian official television rather than independent television station, it is revealed that the outlet was emphasising of hegemony. This is being done through the outlet strategy in allowing the voice of authority to has broader access in the news discourse, while the source from independent television channel was marginalised in the online news report. For instance, BBA reported:

في الصباح، كانت الصحف الحكومية، تملأ صفحاتها الأولى والداخلية بصور الخراب الذي عم القاهرة والمحافظات، دون الحديث عن المظاهرات ومطالب المتظاهرين،
30/1/11 – <i>In the morning, the government newspapers filled their first and internal pages with images of the devastation that permeated Cairo and the provinces without talking about the demonstrations and the demands of the demonstrators.</i>
وافاد التلفزيون المصري الرسمي ان المتظاهرين احرقوا احدى سيارات الامن المركزي في الجيزة.
28/1/11 – <i>Egyptian state television reported that the demonstrators burned a central security vehicle in Giza.</i>

<p>وتحدثت قناة النيل الفضائية الرسمية عن وقوع احداث شغب في منطقة كورنيش النيل بعد سريان حظر التجوال،</p> <p>29/1/11  <i>The official Nile television channel reported the occurrence of riots in the area of Corniche Nile after the curfew,</i></p>
<p>وقال التلفزيون المصري الرسمي ان الرئيس مبارك قد عقد محادثات ازمة مع عدد من كبار المسؤولين المصريين في مقر الرئاسة المصرية.</p> <p>29/1/11 –  <i>Egyptian state television said Mubarak had held crisis talks with senior Egyptian officials at the Egyptian presidency.</i></p>
<p>وأفاد التلفزيون الرسمي المصري بأن مئات الآلاف من أنصار مبارك تدفقوا على ميدان التحرير.</p> <p>2/2/11 –  <i>Egyptian state television reported that hundreds of thousands of Mubarak supporters poured into Tahrir square.</i></p>
<p>الاعلام المصري الرسمي يحاول تقديم صورة سيئة للمتظاهرين. يبرزهم على انهم يعملون لاجندات خارجية ويتلقون تمويلا خارجيا. وعلى سبيل المثال بث التلفزيون الرسمي مقابلة اجرتها احدى القنوات الخاصة مع فتاة لم تظهر وجهها، وادعت انها تلقت تدريبا مع مؤسسة "فريدم هاوس" الامريكية على اشغال الحرائق واستخدام السلاح لقلب انظمة الحكم، وتلقت مبلغا كبيرا من هذ المؤسسة!</p> <p>3/2/11 –  <i>The official Egyptian media is trying to present a bad image of the demonstrators. They stand out as outsiders and receive external funding. For example, state television broadcast a private channel interview with a girl who did not show her face. She claimed that she had been trained with the US Freedom House to set fire and use weapons to overthrow the government and received a large sum from this institution!</i></p>

Table 6.27: The Use of Indirect Quote to Report from the Egyptian Official TV

It is no surprise that most of the report originated from the Egyptian official media was in favour of Mubarak and the Egypt government rather than supporting the protestors' demands. Hence, most of the report came from the Egypt government-owned media portrayed the authority positively while providing a negative connotation of the protestors. Therefore, Egyptian official television focused on its report on the severe damage caused by the protestors. At the same time, the official Egyptian television also reported that various efforts had been carried out by the government to fulfil the protestors' demands. Furthermore, the official television also focused on the march of Mubarak's supporters who went down on the street to show their support for their leader.

In addition to the outlet strategy in providing extensive coverage of the Egyptian government voices in the online news reports, BBA also utilised the concept of "logic of equivalence" to combine all other voices which stand in the side of the Egyptian government.

Hence constitute the social imaginary in the reader that the Egyptian government still hold the dominant power in Egypt despite facing a massive challenge from the antagonists during the uprising. Thus, the concept of "logic of equivalence" was strategically utilised by BBA to provide positive reports on the Egyptian government from non-Egyptian government sources. Therefore, in the following, I will disclose how BBA has strategically utilised non-Egyptian government voices in the outlet online news report to support the Mubarak's government.

The analysis of the corpus data found that the voice of eyewitness was reported 54 times in favour of the Egyptian government. Hence, making the voice of eyewitness who directly saw the uprising events as the most significant non-Egyptian government sources in BBA's news which were utilised to support the government. For example, BBA reported:

وتحدث شهود عيان عن مقتل احد المتظاهرين في السويس واطلقت قوات الامن المصرية الرصاص في الهواء في ميدان التحرير وسط القاهرة لتفريق المتظاهرين الذين ظلوا يرمون هذه القوات بالحجارة. 28/1/11 - negative <i>Eyewitnesses reported the death of one of the demonstrators in Suez and Egyptian security forces fired bullets into the air in Tahrir Square in central Cairo to disperse the demonstrators who were throwing stones at them.</i>
وقال شهود عيان إن النزلاء استولوا على أسلحة رجال الأمن وفتحوا باستخدامها أبواب الزنازين. 30/1/11 – <i>Witnesses said the inmates had seized the weapons of the security men and opened the doors of the cells.</i>
لكن تطورات الوضع الأمني كما رواها شهود العيان تشير إلى فارق جوهري بين ما حدث في مصر وما حدث في تونس في مراحل الانتفاضة الأخيرة. 30/1/11 <i>However, developments in the security situation as reported by eyewitnesses point to a fundamental difference between what happened in Egypt and what happened in Tunisia during the last intifada.</i>
ونقلت عن شهود عيان ان بعض المتظاهرين اعتلوا دبابات الجيش المصري التي انتشرت في شوارع السويس وان الجيش يحاول ازاحتهم. 29/1/11 - negative <i>Eyewitnesses reported that some of the demonstrators had boarded the tanks of the Egyptian army, which were deployed in the streets of Suez and that the army was trying to remove them.</i>
من جهة اخرى قال صحفيون وشهود عيان لبي بي سي العربية إن مدينة الخارجة بمحافظة الوادي الجديد تشهد انفلاتا امنيا غير مسبوق بعد انسحاب معظم القيادات الأمنية في المحافظة. 9/2/11 – chaos <i>On the other hand, journalists and witnesses told BBC Arabic that the city of Al-Kharga in the New Valley province witnessed an unprecedented security breach after the withdrawal of most of the security leaders in the province.</i>
ونقلت وكالة فرانس برس عن شهود قيام نحو ثلاثة الاف متظاهر من سكان حي الزرزاة العشوائي باقتحام المبنى وتخريب اثاثه قبل ان يقوموا باحراق سيارات للشرطة وسيارات خاصة لضباط الشرطة.



10/2/11

*Witnesses said about 3,000 demonstrators from the al-Zarzat neighbourhood raided the building and destroyed its furniture before burning police vehicles and private cars for police officers.*

Table 6.28: Examples of Intertextuality of Eyewitness' Voice

The news extracts in the above table, clearly indicate that the eyewitness voices were used to portray the protest and the protestors negatively. At the same time, the source of eyewitness also described that the authority, particularly the Egyptian army and police act according to after being provoked deliberately by the protestors as stated in the extract (1). Furthermore, the voice of the eyewitness was utilised by BBA to negatively portray the protests as it caused violent, chaos, vandalism and turmoil. Besides, the source of eyewitness also described the protestors as outlaws and troublemakers who caused the prisoners to escape, damage to public properties and burn the police cars.

The voice of activists, particularly during the early stage of protest, was also being utilised to support the Egyptian government. There are 31 times in which the source of activists was strategically utilised by BBA to support the Egyptian government and provide a lousy impression on the protest and protestors. Thus, revealed that the outlet had utilised the concept of the logic of equivalence to constitute a social imaginary by combining all social groups from different background towards one specific goal. As a result, the voice of activists in the BBA online news was strategically utilised to support the voice of Egyptian government hence constitute the hegemony of Mubarak's government in the online news discourse. This has been done by eliminating the differences between the Egyptian government and the activists and focusing only on the similarities between the two groups towards defending the hegemony of Mubarak's government. Hence, the voice of the activist in BBA online news was used to positively portray the Egyptian government while negatively portrayed the antagonists, mainly the protestors, as stated in the example below:

<p>واكد الناشط جمال الحراجي من مدينة الاسماعيلية في حديث مع بي بي سي وقوع هذه الاشتباكات عندما جاء الاف المتظاهرين من المنطقة الصناعية والاستثمارية على بعد 5 كيلومترات من المدينة وتجمعوا في ميدان الفردوس، حيث اصطدمت قوات الامن معهم.</p> <p>29/1/11 – Activist</p> <p><i>Jamal al-Haraji, from Ismailia, told the BBC that the clashes took place when thousands of demonstrators came from the industrial and investment zone, 5 km from the city, and gathered in Al-Fardous Square, where security forces clashed with them.</i></p>
<p>هناك مثلاً خلاف على اختيار محمد البرادعي لتمثيل قوى المعارضة، خاصة وان مجموعة كبيرة من الناشطين الذين دعوا لهذه التظاهرات من اعضاء حزب الغد، وويطالبون بان يتولى ايمن نور تمثيل قوى المعارضة.</p> <p>1/2/11</p> <p><i>There is, for example, a disagreement over the choice of Mohamed ElBaradei to represent the opposition forces, especially since a large group of activists who called for these demonstrations are members of the Ghad party and demand that Ayman Nour take over the opposition forces.</i></p>
<p>لكن تطورات الوضع الأمني كما رواها شهود العيان تشير إلى فارق جوهري بين ما حدث في مصر وما حدث في تونس في مراحل الانتفاضة الأخيرة.</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p><i>However, developments in the security situation as reported by eyewitnesses point to a fundamental difference between what happened in Egypt and what happened in Tunisia during the last intifada.</i></p>
<p>وبعد بدء سريان حظر التجول استمر اعتصام المحتجين في ميدان التحرير وسط القاهرة، وحتى بعد إلقاء مبارك كلمته قالت الناشطة بثينة كامل المعتصمة في الميدان لبي بي سي إن الشباب يصرون على رحيل مبارك عن السلطة فوراً.</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p><i>After the curfew went into effect, protesters continued to sit in Tahrir Square in central Cairo. Even after Mubarak's speech, activist Buthaina Kamel told the BBC that young people were insisting that Mubarak should step down immediately.</i></p>
<p>وكان ناشطون قد اقترحوا أن يكون المدير السابق لوكالة الطاقة الذرية محمد البرادعي زعيماً علمانياً انتقالياً لمصر ،</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p><i>Activists have suggested that former IAEA director Mohamed ElBaradei be a secular Egyptian leader,</i></p>
<p>وقال جورج إسحاق، أحد الناشطين المعارضين، إن هناك بياناً تم الاتفاق عليه مع الشباب من قادة الاحتجاجات يقضي بإبقاء الاعتصام في ميدان التحرير بوسط القاهرة بأعداد أقل من الموجودة حالياً،</p> <p>6/2/11</p> <p><i>George Ishaq, one of the opposition activists, said that there was a statement agreed upon with young protest leaders that the sit-in in Tahrir Square in central Cairo should be kept in fewer numbers than currently exists,</i></p>

Table 6.29: Examples of the Intertextuality of Activists' Voice

These examples of news extracts show that BBA has utilised the eyewitness as the source to support the Egyptian government and portrayed the protestors negatively. For instance, the voice of the eyewitness was used to report that the protestors disobeyed the curfew and started the provocation against the security personnel. Hence, lead towards the clash

between them. The voice of the eyewitness also being used to criticise the behaviour of Egyptian protestors who prefer violent and chaos compared to the Tunisians during the TR. Furthermore, BBA also strategically utilised the source of the eyewitness to report on the clashes among the antagonist groups in choosing their leaders. All in all, BBA has used the voice of activists to portray the antagonists negatively and strategically utilised it to support the Egyptian government. Thus, it revealed that the outlet has preferred to report on the pro-government activists, while the voice of pro-antagonist activists was marginalised in the online news discourse.

BBA also strategically utilised foreign media sources to portray the protestors and the protest events negatively. In order to support the negative report on the protestors and the protests, BBA used sources from major foreign media which also reported on the event such as the Reuters, France Press (AFP) and Associated Press. However, most of these foreign media sources were used by BBA to portray the protestors negatively mainly during the early stage of the uprising in Egypt. For instance, the corpus data shows that 41 times, the source from Reuters was strategically being used by BBA to misdescribe the protests. For instance, BBA reported:

<p>واجملت وكالة رويترز عدد الضحايا الذين سقطوا في تظاهرات يوم الجمعة بحوالي خمسة قتلى و 870 جريحا، بعضهم اصابتهم خطيرة ومنهم من اصاب بالرصاص حسب مصادر طبية مصرية.</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>The Reuters news agency reported the number of victims killed in demonstrations on Friday about five dead and 870 wounded, some of them seriously and some of them were shot, according to Egyptian medical sources.</i></p>
<p>بيد ان وكالة رويترز افادت بسماع اصوات اطلاق نار في شوارع القاهرة بعد سريان حظر التجوال ونقلت عن شهود عيان ان بعض المتظاهرين اعتلوا دبابات الجيش المصري التي انتشرت في شوارع السويس وان الجيش يحاول ازاحتهم.</p> <p>28/1/11 –</p> <p><i>However, the Reuters news agency reported that shots were heard in the streets of Cairo after the curfew went into effect and quoted witnesses as saying that some demonstrators had attacked Egyptian army tanks deployed in the streets of Suez and that the army was trying to remove them.</i></p>
<p>وافادت وكالة رويترز ان الجيش صد محاولة من مئات الاشخاص لاقتحام احد المباني التابعة للمصرف المركزي المصري في القاهرة.</p> <p>29/1/11 –</p> <p><i>Reuters reported that the army repulsed an attempt by hundreds of people to storm a building belonging to the Central Bank of Egypt in Cairo.</i></p>

<p>ففي مقابلة مع وكالة رويترز للأنباء، قال رئيس الشركة المذكورة، يونج مين كيم: "لقد تأثرت عملياتنا إما بسبب إغلاق مينائي بور سعيد والاسكندرية، 1/2/11 <i>In an interview with Reuters news agency, head of the company mentioned, Kim Young-Min said: "Our operations have been affected either due to the closure of the ports of Port Said and Alexandria,</i></p>
<p>ونقلت وكالة رويترز عن شاهد عيان قوله إن اربع قنابل حارقة على الأقل ألقيت على ميدان التحرير، وإن الجيش تحرك لاطفاء النيران. 2/2/11 <i>Reuters quoted a witness as saying that at least four incendiary bombs were thrown at Tahrir Square, and the army moved to extinguish the fire.</i></p>

Table 6.30: Examples of Intertextuality of Foreign Media (Reuters)

From the news extracts, it is evident that the outlet has utilised Reuters's report as a credible and robust source to portray the protest and protestors negatively. Hence, the outlet has used Reuters's reports which indicated that the protestors disobeyed the curfew and acted violently by hijacking the Egyptian army tanks, while others were trying to break in into the Central Bank of Egypt in Cairo. Furthermore, Reuters's reports also being used to show that the Egyptian army was acting accordingly to control the situation after the protestors have tried to create chaos and violence.

Finally, Reuters's report also being used to show the negative impact of the protest for the Egyptian economy, particularly after the protests badly hit the towns of Alexandria and Port Said. In addition to the sources from Reuters, BBA also strategically utilised news reports from the France Press (AFP) and Associated Press (AP) in providing adverse reports on the protestors and the protest. The corpus data shows that BBA used the reports from the France Press (AFP) 19 times to portray the protestors negatively, while the AP reports were mentioned 17 times to achieve the same purpose. For instance:

<p>وكالة الاسوشيتدبرس الى ان متظاهرين حاولوا اقتحام مبنى وزارة الخارجية المصرية ومبنى التلفزيون. 28/1/11 <i>The Associated Press reported that demonstrators tried to storm the building of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry and the television building.</i></p>
<p>وقال الصحفي أشرف سويلم مراسل اسوشيتد برس في سيناء في حديث مع بي بي سي ان بدو سيناء حاصروا قسم شرطة الشيخ زويد في سيناء ويطالبون القوات في القسم بالاستسلام وان المسلحين يسيطرون على مدخل مدينة رفح وتمكنوا من احتجاز رجال شرطة كرهائن. 28/1/11 –</p>

<p><i>Sinai deserters besieged the Sheikh Zuwaid police station in Sinai and called on the troops in the section to surrender, and the gunmen took control of the entrance to the city of Rafah and managed to hold police officers hostage, said Associated Press reporter Ashraf Sweilem in an interview with the BBC.</i></p>
<p>وذكرت وكالة اسوشيتدبرس ان مطار القاهرة في حالة من الفوضى مع تزامم الالاف على المطار للحاق باي رحلات طيران مغادرة، 31/1/11 <i>The Associated Press reported that Cairo airport is in a mess with thousands of people scrambling at the airport to catch up with flights departing flights,</i></p>
<p>وفي أحدث تطور قالت مصادر أمنية لوكالة فرانس برس إن 13 شخصا قتلوا في اشتباكات بين الشرطة ومحتجين في مدينة بني سويف جنوب القاهرة 29/1/11 <i>In the latest development, security sources told AFP that 13 people were killed in clashes between police and protesters in the city of Beni Suef, south of Cairo.</i>  وقال أحد نشطاء اللجان الشعبية لوكالة أنباء فرانس برس إن اثنتين من أصل 14 جثة تعود لرجال شرطة والباقي لنزلاء. 30/1/11 – nega <i>A Popular Committee activist told France Press that two of the 14 bodies belonged to police officers and the rest to guests.</i> وقال مصدر أمني لوكالة فرانس برس ان بضعة آلاف من السجناء تمكنوا من التغلب على حراسهم والفرار من سجن وادي نطرون. 30/1/11 – <i>A security source told France Press that several thousand prisoners managed to overcome their guards and flee from Wadi Natroun prison.</i> ونقلت وكالة فرانس برس عن شهود قيام نحو ثلاثة الاف متظاهر من سكان حي الزرزاة العشوائي باقتحام المبنى وتخريب اثائه قبل ان يقوموا باحراق سيارات للشرطة وسيارات خاصة لضباط الشرطة. 3/2/11 – <i>France Press quoted witnesses said about 3,000 demonstrators from the al-Zarzat neighbourhood raided the building and destroyed its furniture before burning police vehicles and private cars for police officers.</i></p>

Table 6.31: Intertextuality of Foreign Media (AFP and AP)

Similar to the Reuters, BBA strategically utilised the AFP, and AP reports in showing that the negative sides of the protestors and the protests. AP reports, for instance, were used by BBA as a source to show that the protestors have brake-in into the Foreign Ministry building and the Egyptian Television. In another report, the protestors have taken over the police station and kidnapped police officers. The France Press reports also being used by BBA to shows that several police officers being killed during the clashes with the protestors while another report indicated that thousands of protestors have vandalised public properties and burned police cars. Also, BBA has strategically used AFP, and AP reports to show the adverse effects of the

protests in Egypt as it has caused massive chaos in Cairo International Airport while another report revealed that thousands of prisoners have escaped from prison after the chaos caused by the protests.

### The voice of antagonist in BBA's Intertextuality

BBA has slightly changed to the outlet online news reporting strategy as a result of 2011 TR by trying to provide more balanced coverage of both sides of the conflict in the ER. Therefore, BBA has started to report on the Egyptian antagonist since the early stage of the mass protest. However, it is noticed that not all antagonist's groups have been given access to the BBA online news discourse during the early stage of the mass protest, hence revealed that the outlet is still on the side of the Egyptian government during the conflict and merely provided some selected reports on the antagonist. The corpus data shows that the outlet strategically included the voice of several Egyptian opposition groups in the online news discourse during when the mass protests started in Egypt. Thus, the movement lead by El-Baradei and El-Baradei himself has given ample coverage by BBA. The corpus data reveals that the voice of El-Baradei has been reported 139 times, mostly using direct quotation of his own words and indirect quotation, which emphasises on the use of the positive verbal process. For instance:

<p>وخاطب المحتشدين قائلا "لقد استرددتكم حقوقكم وما بدأنه لا يمكن ان يعود الى الوراء". وأضاف "لنا مطلب أساسي ... رحيل النظام."</p> <p>31/1/11</p> <p>"You have restored your rights and what we have started cannot be reversed," he told the crowd. "We have a basic demand ... the departure of the regime."</p>
<p>وأضاف البرادعي "أناشد النظام أن يفهم أنه يجب أن يستمع، أن يستمع على وجه السرعة، وألا يلجأ إلى العنف وأن يفهم أن التغيير يجب أن يحدث."</p> <p>ومضى للقول "إذا كنا نتكلم عن مصر، فهناك طيف واسع من العلمانيين والليبراليين واولئك الذين يؤمنون بسياسات السوق. اذا منح هؤلاء فرصة، فسيتمكنون من انتخاب حكومة حديثة ومعتدلة".</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p>"I appeal to the regime to understand that it must listen, to listen quickly, not to resort to violence and to understand that change must happen," ElBaradei said.</p>

<p><i>"If we talk about Egypt, there is a wide spectrum of secularists, liberals and those who believe in market policies, if they are given a chance, they will be able to elect a modern and moderate government," he said.</i></p>
<p>ويتنبأ البرادعي الآن بأن لا يتمكن الرئيس مبارك من التشبث بالسلطة، وقال "الحل الوحيد هو الاستماع الى الشعب، الحل هو حل سياسي، النظام فشل ويجب أن يرحل."</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>ElBaradei now predicts that President Mubarak will not be able to cling to power. "The only solution is to listen to people. The solution is political. The regime has failed and must go," he said.</p> <p>وقال البرادعي، في تصريحات اليوم الخميس: "لقد رفضنا الاجتماع. اي مفاوضات ستكون مشروطة بتتحي حسني مبارك، ومشروطة بالوضع الامني في ميدان التحرير."</p> <p>3/2/11</p> <p>"We have refused to meet, any negotiations will be conditional on Hosni Mubarak stepping down and conditional on the security situation in Tahrir Square," ElBaradei said in remarks on Thursday.</p> <p>وقال البرادعي في بيانه "سطر الشعب المصري وجيشه صفحة عظيمة جديدة من صفحات تاريخه المشرق والمجيد حيث خرج الشعب يعبر عن إرادته بأسلوب حضاري وسلمي أذهل العالم وفي نفس الوقت أعلن الجيش انحيازه بل التحامه مع الشعب."</p> <p>وأضاف "إذ نحبي جيشنا الوطني ونلتف حوله ونباركه كركيزة للاستقرار والدفاع عن مصالح مصر الحيوية فإننا نطالبه بما عهدناه منه من بسالة في تفعيل مطالبنا المشروع والتي أدركها بحسه الوطني المرفه لينعم كل مصري ومصرية بحقهم في الحياة الحرة الكريمة"</p> <p>1/2/11</p> <p><i>"The Egyptian people and their army have a great new page in its bright and glorious history, where the people express their will in a civilised and peaceful manner that stunned the world. At the same time, the army declared its bias, but with the people," ElBaradei said.</i></p> <p><i>"We salute our national army and surround it and bless it as a cornerstone for stability and defence of Egypt's vital interests. We demand that we fulfil our legitimate demands, which we recognise in its keen national sense to give every Egyptian and Egyptian their right to a free and dignified life,</i></p>

Table 6.32: Examples of ElBaradei Direct Quote

The intertextuality of ElBaradei's voice was strategically utilised by the online news outlet to report on the protestors' demands, particularly the demands made by the National Movement for Change under the leadership of ElBaradei himself. It is also providing the movement stand in dealing with Egyptian government effort to calm the protestor through a series of negotiation and discussion between the then Vice President of Egypt and Egyptian opposition leaders. Ultimately, the intertextuality of ElBaradei contains his speeches to the Egyptian encouraged them to fight for a better Egypt without Mubarak and his regime. By using a direct quotation in reporting voice of ElBaradei, it is found that the outlet has tried to provide more balanced coverage from both sides of the Egyptian conflict. The use of direct quotation

which contains ElBaradei own words shows that the outlet gives great attention to ElBaradei's voice, hence highlights the important of ElBaradei in representing the most important antagonist's group during the Egyptian Revolution.

Besides using a direct quotation, BBA utilised indirect quotation, which again revealed that the outlet provides ample access for the intertextuality of ElBaradei voices in the construction of online news discourse. Furthermore, the strategic use of the positive verbal process in the indirect quotation of ElBaradei's words promoted positive impressions on him and portrayed ElBaradei as the most critical opposition leader during the uprising event. The following table provides the example of news extracts which contain the intertextuality of ElBaradei voices which were reported by the outlet using indirect quotation.

ويتنبأ البرادعي الآن بأن لا يتمكن الرئيس مبارك من التشبث بالسلطة، 30/1/11 ElBaradei now predicts that President Mubarak will not be able to cling to power,
وكان البرادعي قد حذر لولايات المتحدة من فقدان "مصداقيتها" بسبب مواصالتها دعم مبارك ودعاها الى وقف شريان الحياة الذي يعيش عليه حكم مبارك. 31/1/11 ElBaradei had warned the United States to lose its "credibility" because it continued to support Mubarak and called on it to stop the lifeline of Mubarak's rule.
من جهته أصدر المعارض محمد البرادعي بياناً ناشد فيه الجيش تفعيل مطالب المعارضة. 1/2/11 For his part, the opposition Mohamed ElBaradei issued a statement appealing to the army to activate the demands of the opposition.
وان الجماعة تؤيد الشروط التي اعلن عنها البرادعي. 3/2/11 The group supports the conditions announced by ElBaradei.

Table 6.33: Examples of ElBaradei Direct Quote

It is evident from these news extracts that the outlet has preferred to report on El-Baradei even though he is on the opposite side of the crisis which protests against Mubarak and the Egypt government. Most probably El-Baradei is a well-known figure and is internationally recognised for his works before leading the movement against the Egyptian government have led BBA to strategically report on him as the primary representative of the antagonist's voice. Furthermore, the majority of antagonist groups in Egypt have agreed to form a coalition National Movement for change to strengthen the movement against Mubarak. El-Baradei led



this coalition which gathered all antagonist groups which stand against MubarakBaradei. Hence, the voice of El-Baradei recorded not only a significant number of frequencies in the corpus data of BBA, but also his speeches were reported using direct quotation and indirect quotation with the positive verbal process by BBA.

Besides, to El-Baradei, other Egyptian oppositions have been much access to the online news discourse by the outlet. Among the opposition groups which recorded significantly higher frequency in the corpus data compared to other opposition groups are el-Wafd (Delegation) Party, el-Ghad (Tomorrow) Party, Tagammu Party (The National Progressive Unionist Party), and Kefaya (Enough) Movement. The voice of el-Ward Party which leads the opposition parties in the Egyptian Parliament during the time of crisis has recorded 25 hits in the corpus data, the voice of El-Ghad Party 18 hits, followed by the intertextuality of sources from Tagammu Party with 14 hits, and Kefaya Movement under the leadership of well-known Egyptian opposition Ayman Nour was recorded 12 hits. The examples of reports on Egyptian opposition voices are shown in the following table:

وتلا سيد البدوي زعيم حزب الوفد بيان الأحزاب الذي رفضت فيه الحوار الذي دعا إليه نائب رئيس الجمهورية عمر سليمان قبل التجاوب مع مطالبهم. 1/2/11 Sayyid al-Badawi, the leader of the Wafd party, read out the parties' statement in which he rejected the dialogue called for by Vice President Omar Suleiman before responding to their demands.
وان مجموعة كبيرة من الناشطين الذين دعوا لهذه التظاهرات من اعضاء حزب الغد، وويطالبون بان يتولى ايمن نور تمثيل قوى المعارضة. 1/2/11 <i>A large group of activists who called for these demonstrations are members of the Ghad party and demand that Ayman Nour take over the opposition forces.</i>
وقال عبد الحليم قنديل، احد زعماء حركة كفاية، ان عرض مبارك بنيته عدم البقاء في السلطة لفترة رئاسة سادسة ليس كافيا. 2/2/11 <i>Abdel-Halim Qandil, a leader of the Kefaya movement, said Mubarak's offer to stay out of power for a sixth term was not enough.</i>
اعلن حزب الوفد الليبرالي المعارض انه علق الحوار مع الحكومة. 3/2/11 <i>The opposition Liberal Wafd party said it had suspended dialogue with the government.</i>
واكد السيد البدوي رئيس حزب الوفد لبي بي سي عودة حزبه للحوار قائلا انهم علقوا الحوار بعد قيام من اسماهم بالبلطجية التابعيين للحزب الوطني بالاعتداء على المتظاهرين 4/2/11

<i>The head of the Wafd Party, Mr Badawi, told the BBC that his party had returned to the dialogue, saying that they had suspended the dialogue after the so-called thugs of the National Party attacked the demonstrators</i>
كما أعلن حزب التجمع عن انسحابه من جلسات الحوار الوطني احتجاجا على طريقة إدارة نائب رئيس الجمهورية للحوار. 5/2/11
The Tagammu Party announced its withdrawal from the national dialogue sessions in protest against the way the vice president conducts a dialogue.

Table 6.34 The Intertextuality from Other Egyptian Opposition Groups

It is essential to highlight that the voice of MB the most prominent opposition group in Egypt was marginalised during the early stage of protest in the BBA online news report. This is mainly due to the MB's stand for not actively participated in the mass protests during the early days of the uprising. Therefore, despite being the most prominent opposition group in Egypt, the voice of MB only being included in BBA's online news after MB has started to show its support towards El-Baradei in leading the coalition against Mubarak and encourage members of MB to participate in the protest. Hence, BBA reported, for instance:

أعلنت جماعة الاخوان المسلمين، قوة المعارضة المنظمة الرئيسية في مصر، الخميس انها ستشارك في تظاهرات "الغضب" يوم الجمعة.
28/1/11 The Muslim Brotherhood, Egypt's leading opposition group, said Thursday it would take part in "angry" demonstrations on Friday.
وقد أعلن لاحقا مصدر في الاخوان المسلمين عن انضمام الجماعة الى جماعات المعارضة المصرية في تفويض البرادعي للتفاوض مع السلطة.
30/1/11 A Brotherhood source later announced that the group had joined the Egyptian opposition groups in delegating ElBaradei to negotiate with the authority.
اما جماعة الاخوان المسلمين والناشط السياسي محمد البرادعي فقد رفضا دعوة الحوار، مؤكدين على رحيل الرئيس مبارك اولا قبل اي حوار.
4/2/11 The Muslim Brotherhood and political activist Mohamed ElBaradei have refused to call for dialogue, stressing the departure of President Mubarak first before any dialogue.
أعلنت جماعة الاخوان المسلمون أنها لا تسعى للسلطة
4/2/11 The Muslim Brotherhood has said it is not seeking power

Table 6.35: The Intertextuality from the Source of Muslim Brotherhood.

It is interesting to note that, during the early stage of the protest in Egypt, the outlet has reported on MB using the source of Al-Jazeera Satellite Channel, which also closely related to AJA. BBA stated in the report dated 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 on MB using a direct quotation as being broadcasted by Al-Jazeera Satellite Channel by saying:

وقال البيان، الذي بثته قناة الجزيرة الفضائية: "نطالب باسقاط هذا النظام، ونطالب بتشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية تضم جميع الجهات".

3/2/11

*The statement said, which aired on Al-Jazeera television: "We demand to drop this system, and we demand the formation of a national unity government that includes all parties."*

Another important antagonist group which was marginalised by BBA during the early stage of protest in Egypt is the protestors themselves. It is found that the voice of protestors, particularly in raising their demands, does not receive much attention by BBA in the online news discourse. In contrast, the reports on the protestors and the protests were based on other third-party sources such as the Egyptian authority, pro-government eyewitness, pro-government activists, local journalists and BBA correspondence. These sources were arguably do not provide an accurate and unbiased report on the protestors.

<p>ومن المنصورة قالت الصحفية غادة عبد الرزاق لبي بي سي ان المتظاهرين توجهوا باتجاه مبنى محافظة الدقهلية.</p> <p>واكدت ان المتظاهرين قد قاموا باحراق مقر الحزب الوطني في المدينة كما مزقوا صور الرئيس المصري مبارك.</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>From Mansoura, journalist Ghada Abdul Razzaq told the BBC that the demonstrators headed towards the Dakahlia Governorate building.</i></p> <p><i>The protestors burned the National Party headquarters in the city and shook Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's image.</i></p>
<p>وقال مراسل بي سي في القاهرة خالد عز العرب ان المظاهرة الكبرى بدأت من ميدان الجيزة، ثم حاولت قوات الامن المصرية من تفريق التظاهرة الكبرى الاساسية باطلاق الغاز المسيل للدموع والمياه.</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p>The BBC's Khaled Ezz al-Arab said the demonstration began at Giza Square, and Egyptian security forces tried to disperse the major demonstration by firing tear gas and water.</p>
<p>وقال الصحفي أشرف سويلم مراسل اسوشيتد برس في سيناء في حديث مع بي بي سي ان بدو سيناء حاصروا قسم شرطة الشيخ زويد في سيناء ويطالبون القوات في القسم بالاستسلام</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p>In an interview with the BBC, journalist Ashraf Sweilem, an Associated Press correspondent in the Sinai, said Sinai Bedouins besieged Sheikh Zuwaid police station in Sinai and demanded troops in the section surrender</p>
<p>وقال مراسلنا في القاهرة ان مشاهد الفوضى قد أصبحت بادية في المدينة،</p> <p>29/1/11 –</p> <p>Our correspondent in Cairo said scenes of chaos had become visible in the city,</p>
<p>وعلى الصعيد الميداني أفاد شهود عيان بأن المتظاهرين المحتشدين في ميدان التحرير متحدين حظر التجول تعرضوا إلى إطلاق نار مساء الأحد،</p> <p>31/1/11 –</p> <p>At the ground level, eyewitnesses reported that the protesters gathered in Tahrir Square, united by the curfew, were shot on Sunday evening,</p>

Table 6.36: Examples of Intertextuality of the Third-party Sources on the Protests.

Occasionally, during the early stage of the protest, the outlet strategically reported from the source of protestors. However, it is found that BBA focuses on the dark side of the protest, rather than the reporting on the protestors' demands or the reasons which drag the protestors to demonstrate against Mubarak. Therefore, BBA strategically utilised the voice of protestors to negatively portrayed the protest and the protestors for breaking the law and challenging the authority from doing their jobs. For instance, BBA reported on the protest using the voice of protestors to provide the negative side of the protest, which goes against the curfew law.

يطالب المتظاهرون بتنحي الرئيس المصري مبارك ورموز نظامه. وواصل الاف المتظاهرين تحدي قرار حظر التجول واستمروا في التظاهر مطالبين برحيل الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك

30/1/11

*The demonstrators demand the resignation of Egyptian President Mubarak and symbols of his regime. Thousands of demonstrators continued to challenge the curfew and continued to demonstrate demanding the departure of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak*

In another example, the voice of protestor was carefully being reported by the outlet using the scare quote and the selection of neutral verbal process 'believed' to put the distance between the outlet and the protestors. Hence, revealed that the outlet is not necessarily believed or support the protestors' word. Thus, the outlet provided an impression to the reader that the voice of protestor is doubtful and unofficial. BBA reported, for instance:

وقالت امنية عكاشة، وهي متظاهرة من الاسكندرية، في مقابلة مع بي بي سي انها تعتقد ان هذا التحول المفاجئ ربما "يؤدي الى تبعات اكثر جدية".

2/2/11

*Omina Okasha, a demonstrator from Alexandria, said in an interview with the BBC that she believed the sudden shift might "lead to more serious consequences."*

Besides, BBA strategically reported on the differences among the protestors. Hence, aimed to raise doubt that some protestors might agree with the changes promised by the Egyptian government to end the uprising. Hence, the outlet is trying to utilise the voice of protestors themselves to provide an impression to the reader that the Egyptian protestors are divided among them after listening to Mubarak's speeches which promised a lot of drastic changes to end the crisis. BBA reported, for instance:

وقال بعض المتظاهرين انهم لا يثقون في قيام الرئيس البالغ من العمر 82 عاما باجراء التغييرات الدستورية التي يطالبون بها. الا ان آخرين رأوا ان عرض مبارك ربما كان حلا وسطا مناسباً.  
2/2/11 –

*Some protesters said they did not trust the 82-year-old president to make the constitutional changes they were demanding. Others, however, saw Mubarak's offer as perhaps an appropriate compromise.*

All in all, the corpus data shows that - at least during the early stage of the protest- the voice of antagonist still being marginalised by the outlet. This happened although BBA tried to provide balanced coverage of both sides of the conflict after the success of 2011 TR. This is being strategically carried out by BBA through the selection of certain antagonist groups for access to the online news discourse while the other has been given limited access to the construction of online news discourse. Hence, the oppositions groups under the leadership of El-Baradei, El-Wafd party, Tagammu' party and Kefaya movement are among antagonist groups which have been given a significant amount of coverage by the outlet in the online news discourse. However, other Egyptian oppositions, particularly the voice of most prominent opposition groups in Egypt, namely MB, has been marginalised in the news discourse. Ultimately, the voice of protestors, which is one of the most critical antagonist's groups mostly being reported from the other sources, including from pro-Egyptian government sources. Thus, it is not only provided an inaccurate report on the protestors but also negatively portrayed them as the outlaws and troublemakers.

Thus, in reporting on the Egyptian antagonists' voice, BBA has utilised the concept of 'logic of difference' which emphasises the boundaries that separate social groups with their different interests. Therefore, the outlet online news coverage during the time of crisis in Egypt has diverted the Egyptians into two opposing camps, firstly; the Egyptian government under the leadership of Mubarak and secondly; the antagonist who protests against Mubarak. Besides, through contrast with the Egyptian government, an otherwise diverse national community can be aggregated into a single collective identity. Consequently, where the logic of equivalence predominates, the social division will tend toward a dichotomisation of political space that leads

to separate social communities into two opposing camps. Hence, it is observed that the outlet has strategically portrayed the antagonists (particularly the protestors and the Egyptian oppositions) as the opposing group to the Egyptian government by emphasising at the differences between them. As mentioned earlier, in line with the outlet strategy in supporting the hegemony by preferring on reporting from the authoritative sources, the antagonist's voice was given minimum access to the construction of online news discourse. This has been done by reporting on selected antagonist's groups, while marginalised other antagonist groups, particularly the largest Egyptian opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB). Meanwhile, the voice of protestors was largely side-lined by BBA, which preferred to report on the protestors using third-party sources. All in all, it was evident that the outlet was in the side of Egyptian government during the early stage of protest by stressing on the hegemony and treated the voice of authority as the 'in-group'. In contrast, the voice of antagonist was side-lined and considered as the 'out-group'.

### **AJA Intertextuality of Egyptian Revolution News Coverage**

The corpus data of AJA online news on the 2011 ER clearly show that the outlet has intensified the report on the side of Egyptian antagonist from the first day of the uprising in Egypt. Hence, the outlet has been providing the voices of Egyptian antagonist in the online news text, while the voices on the side of the Egyptian government was given minimum access to the construction of online news discourse since the very beginning of the protest. This can be seen in the way AJA strategically utilised the intertextuality of protestors by reporting directly from the sources of protestors. The corpus data revealed that the outlet has reported on the protestors' voices 279 times which indicated that AJA had given great attention to the voice of protestors which was marginalised by BBA. Hence, AJA has positively portrayed the protest and protestors since 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. The outlet was also rapidly reporting on the protestor's

call for organising another mass protest after the success of the first protest in attracting thousands of supporters. As a result, AJA was promoted to the Egyptian for participating in the protests on behalf of the protestors.

Furthermore, by reporting on protestors' voice, the outlet has focused on the protestors' demands, particularly the demand for Mubarak to step down. It is found that, in AJA online news report, Mubarak has been the main target in the protestors' demands since the first day of protest followed by criticism against the enforcement of emergency laws, criticism against NDP and the allegation of fraud and manipulation in the 2010 Egyptian General Election. The following table shows examples of the intertextuality of protestors' voices in AJA's online news.

25/1/11 - Protesters also called for a second demonstration on Wednesday.	ودعا المحتجون أيضا إلى تنظيم مظاهرة ثانية غدا الأربعاء.
25/1/11 The protesters asked Mubarak to leave	المحتجون طالبوا مبارك بالرحيل
28/1/11 The protesters also angered the emergency law, the National Party and the election, which protesters say is fraudulent,	كما صوب المتظاهرون غضبهم على قانون الطوارئ والحزب الوطني والانتخابات التي يقول المحتجون إنها مزورة،
31/1/11 Protesters in Egypt complain about rising prices and widening the gap between rich and poor, demanding a new political system,	ويشكو المحتجون في مصر من ارتفاع الأسعار واتساع الفجوة بين الأغنياء والفقراء، ويطالبون بنظام سياسي جديد،
3/2/11 Protesters said protesters in Tahrir Square that they have become more determined to overthrow the regime of President Hosni Mubarak,	قال المتظاهرون المعتصمون في ميدان التحرير إنهم باتوا أكثر إصرارا على الإطاحة بنظام الرئيس حسني مبارك،
3/2/11 Protesters in Tahrir Square demanded medical supplies to assist the wounded.	وقد طالب المحتجون في ميدان التحرير بإمدادات طبية لإسعاف الجرحى.
4/2/11 In their yells, the demonstrators emphasised the popularity and youth of the revolution	وأكد المتظاهرون في هتافاتهم على شعبية وشبابية الثورة

Table 6.37: Examples of Intertextuality of the Protestors' Voices.

Unique to the outlet, AJA not only reported on protestors' voice in Egypt but also extends its coverage to report on protestors abroad (mostly Egyptian live abroad) to show their support to the protestors' demand in Egypt. Thus, AJA has given ample access to the Egyptians' voices who participated in the protest outside Egypt in the construction of online news discourse. This was parallel to what is happening during that time in many Egyptian cities. The corpus data shows that the outlet has reported on the voice of protestors outside Egypt 76 times. It is noticed from these news extracts; AJA has provided as access for the voices of protestors outside Egypt since the first day of mass protest. Hence, it shows that the voice of protestors outside Egypt has been used to support the voice of protestors inside Egypt. Furthermore, the voice of protestors abroad carries the same demands as the protestors in Egypt and highlight the solidarity of Egyptian abroad with their brothers in Egyptian one land. In term of the location of the protest abroad, AJA reported that the protests had been held in many important cities in the world to show their support for protestors in Egypt namely in London, New York, Washington, Paris, Roma, Oslo and Berlin. Similar protests were also being held in major Arabic cities such as Tunis, Doha, Gaza and Amman. AJA reported, for instance:

<p>نظم عشرات المصريين في العاصمة البريطانية لندن الثلاثاء وقفة احتجاجية أمام السفارة المصرية، تضامنا مع المتظاهرين الذين خرجوا بعدة محافظات مصرية، احتجاجا على تردي الأوضاع المعيشية، وللمطالبة بالإصلاح.</p> <p>25/1/11</p> <p><i>Tens of Egyptians staged a protest in front of the Egyptian embassy in London on Tuesday, in solidarity with demonstrators who came out in several Egyptian governorates to protest the deteriorating living conditions and to demand reform.</i></p>	<p>واعتصم مئات التونسيين بعد ظهر اليوم السبت أمام مقر السفارة المصرية بوسط تونس العاصمة تضامنا مع الاحتجاجات الشعبية التي تشهدها مصر.</p> <p>29/1/11 –</p> <p>Hundreds of Tunisians held a sit-in Saturday afternoon in front of the Egyptian embassy in central Tunis in solidarity with the widespread protests in Egypt.</p>
<p>وفي الدوحة تظاهر عشرات المصريين قرب السفارة المصرية حيث رفعوا شعارات مؤيدة للمتظاهرين في المدن والمحافظات المصرية وأطلقوا هتافات تنادي بالتغيير والديمقراطية وإسقاط النظام.</p> <p>29/1/11</p> <p>In Doha, dozens of Egyptians demonstrated near the Egyptian embassy where they raised slogans in support of demonstrators in Egyptian cities and governorates and chanted slogans calling for change, democracy and the overthrow of the regime.</p>	



<p>ففي العاصمة الفرنسية باريس تواصلت الاحتجاجات لليوم الثالث على التوالي أمام السفارة المصرية بمشاركة العديد من المواطنين المصريين والتونسيين والفلسطينيين،</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>In the French capital Paris continued protests for the third consecutive day in front of the Egyptian embassy with the participation of many Egyptians, Tunisians and Palestinians,</p>
<p>تظاهر العشرات من المصريين أمس السبت أمام مقر سفارتهم في روما لدعم الاحتجاجات في مصر،</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>Dosens of Egyptians demonstrated on Saturday in front of the headquarters of their embassy in Rome to support the protests in Egypt,</p>
<p>وفي العاصمة النرويجية أوسلو أفاد مراسل الجزيرة سمير شطارة بأن عشرات الأفراد من الجالية المصرية ومتضامنين من دول مختلفة واصلوا احتجاجاتهم الأحد أمام السفارة المصرية</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>In the Norwegian capital Oslo, correspondent Samir Shattara reported that dozens of individuals from the Egyptian community and solidarity from different countries continued their protests Sunday in front of the Egyptian Embassy</p>
<p>وفي نيويورك بالولايات المتحدة تظاهر أكثر من 2000 شخص من أبناء الجالية المصرية ومتضامنون معهم أمام مبنى الأمم المتحدة وهدفوا لصالح التغيير في مصر ووصفوا الرئيس مبارك بالطاغية</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>In New York, more than 2,000 people from the Egyptian community demonstrated in solidarity with the United Nations building and chanted for change in Egypt. They called Mubarak a tyrant.</p>
<p>وفي واشنطن خرج متظاهرون مصريون لليوم الثاني على التوالي أمام سفارة بلادهم في واشنطن ورددوا هتافات دعت الرئيس المصري إلى التخلي عن الحكم،</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>In Washington, Egyptian demonstrators went for the second day in a row in front of their embassy in Washington and chanted slogans calling on the Egyptian president to abandon the government,</p>

Table 6.38: Examples of Intertextuality of the Protestors' Voices from Outside Egypt.

Besides, to the reports on protestors outside Egypt, the corpus data shows that AJA utilised strategic quote 115 times to report on protestors' slogan. Hence, revealed that the outlet was very keen on bringing the voice of protestors in the construction of online news discourse. By using a strategic quote in reporting the slogan written on a placard or chanted by the protestors, the outlet aimed to highlight the protestors' demands and strategically supporting the protestors and their demands. AJA, for instance, strategically utilised strategic quote to report on protestors' slogan in the following news extracts:

<p>وبدأت المظاهرات وهي ترفع شعار "تغيير، حرية، عدالة اجتماعية"، وردد المظاهرون هتافات تطالب بتحسين مستوى المعيشة وكبح الغلاء، وحملوا شعارات من قبيل "عاوز أشتغل يا كبير"، و"حسني حسني حسني بيه كيلو اللحمة بـ100 جنيه"، و"حد أدنى للأجور قبل ما الشعب يثور."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>The demonstrations began with the slogan "Change, Freedom, Social Justice," and demonstrators chanted slogans calling for improving living standards and curbing high prices. They carried slogans such as "Want a big job," "Hosni Hosni," and "Set the minimum wages before the people revolt."</i></p>
<p>صب المتظاهرون غضبهم صائحين "خالد سعيد مات مقتول ومبارك هو المسؤول"، و"ثورة ثورة يا مصريين.. على حزب المجرمين"، و"لا لقانون الطوارئ وتزوير الانتخابات."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>Demonstrators poured their anger, shouting, "Khaled Said died killed, and Mubarak is responsible," and "revolution O Egyptians .. Party on criminals," and "no emergency law and electoral fraud."</i></p>
<p>وصاح المحتجون "حكم الأب باطل.. حكم الأم باطل.. حكم الابن باطل" و"لا للتوريث."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>"The ruling of the father is invalid, the ruling of the mother is invalid, the son is null, and the inheritance is not valid," the protesters shouted.</i></p>
<p>وانتهى الأمر بالمتظاهرين إلى المطالبة بإسقاط النظام ورحيل مبارك مرديدين "بن علي بيناديك.. فندق جدة مستنيك"، و"ارحل ارحل عنا يا ظالم"، و""حكم 30 سنة في هذا العصر هو إهانة لشعب مصر."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>Moreover, it ended up with demonstrators to demand the downfall of the regime and the departure of Mubarak, chanting "Ben Ali Benadak .. Hotel in Jeddah is waiting for you," and "Get out Get out, O unjust," and "30-year rule in this era is an insult to the people of Egypt."</i></p>
<p>ردد المحتجون "يا جمال قول لأبوك.. كل الشعب بيكرهوك"، و"حسني مبارك بره بره، قبل ما تقلب تبقى ثورة."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>The protesters chanted: "Jamal, say to your father. All the people hate you," and "Hosni Mubarak get out before what fluctuates remains a revolution."</i></p>
<p>وفي مدينة دمنهور عاصمة محافظة البحيرة ردد المحتجون هتافا يقول "مصر يا أم أولادك أهم راح ينفوكي بالروح والدم."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>In the city of Damanhour, the capital of the province of Beheira, the protesters chanted "Egypt, O Mother of Your Children, the most important and will redeem you with soul and blood."</i></p>
<p>وقال شهود عيان إن المحتجين في دمياط رددوا هتافا يقول "الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام" وقال شاهد إن المتظاهرين الذين اكتظ بهم كورنيش النيل في المدينة رددوا في البدء هتافا يقول "حسني مبارك يمشي."</p> <p>28/1/11</p> <p><i>Witnesses said the protesters in Damietta chanted "The people want to overthrow the regime." Demonstrators crowded with the Nile Corniche in the city chanting "Hosni Mubarak is walking," a witness said.</i></p>
<p>ورفع المحتجون لافتة في ميدان التحرير بالقاهرة تقول "على الجيش أن يختار بين مصر ومبارك."</p> <p>31/1/11</p> <p><i>Protesters held a banner in Tahrir Square in Cairo saying, "The army has to Choose between Egypt and Mubarak "</i></p>
<p>تحولت شعارات المتظاهرين من "الشعب يريد إسقاط الرئيس" إلى "الشعب يريد إعدام الرئيس"،</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p><i>The demonstrators' slogans of "the people want to overthrow the president" turned to "the people want to execute the president,</i></p>

Table 6.39: Examples of Intertextuality of the Protestors' Slogans.

AJA also gave the voice of an activist who supports the protestors adequate access to the construction of online news discourse. The corpus data indicates that the outlet has reported from the sources of activists 42 times using direct quotation and indirect quotation which preserved the verbal process. Most of the activist voices were strategically being utilised by the outlet to support the protestors' demands and positively portrayed the protest and the protestors. Meanwhile, the voice of the activist also being used to negatively portrayed the Egyptian government, particularly in highlighting great approaches used by the authority in dealing with the protestors. AJA, for instance, reported on the activist by mentioning: These examples of news extracts show that the outlet has intensively reported on the voices of the activist which positively portrayed the protest but also being used to defend protestors from being accused as causing chaos, theft and vandalism.

وقال الناشط عمر جمال للجزيرة إنه يربط مع بقية المحتجين في ميدان التحرير حتى تلبية جميع مطالبهم المتمثلة بإسقاط النظام والرئيس حسني مبارك،
30/1/11 The activist Omar Jamal of the island that he is stationed with the rest of the protesters in Tahrir Square to meet all their demands to overthrow the regime and President Hosni Mubarak,
وبدورها وصفت الناشطة السياسية نوارة نجم -في حديث للجزيرة- خطاب مبارك بأنه "مليء بالكذب والادعاء، ولا يلبي مطالب الشعب المصري برحيله"، وقالت "لن نطالب برحيل مبارك وإنما بمحاكمته".
2/2/11 In turn, described political activist Nawara Najm - in an interview with the island - Mubarak's speech that "full of lies and allegation, and does not meet the demands of the Egyptian people by his departure, "We will not demand the departure of Mubarak, but the trial."
وقال نشطاء في ميدان التحرير للجزيرة إن أعدادا كبيرة من المحتجين مازالت تتوافد على الميدان بمعنويات وصفوها بالعالية.
4/2/11 Activists in Tahrir Square told Al-Jazeera that large numbers of protesters were still on the ground with the morale that they described as high.
وأكدت الناشطة السياسية نشوى أديب -في اتصال هاتفي مع الجزيرة- أن هناك حاجة ملحة لإيصال مواد إسعاف أولية إلى المصابين.
3/2/11 The political activist Nashwa Adeeb - in a telephone conversation with the island - that there is an urgent need to deliver the first aid to the injured.
وقال نشطاء في الإسكندرية والأقصر والمنصورة للجزيرة إن النشطاء سيخرجون إلى الشوارع في مظاهرات ضخمة للمطالبة بإسقاط مبارك بعد صلاة الجمعة.
4/2/11

Activists in Alexandria, Luxor and Mansoura told Al-Jazeera that militants would take to the streets in massive demonstrations to demand the overthrow of Mubarak after Friday prayers.
في الأثناء قال الناشط إيهاب النجار من الزقازيق إن "البلطجية" هاجموا متظاهرين بقنابل "المولوتوف" في المدينة.
5/2/11 Meanwhile, activist Ihab al-Najjar from Zagazig said that "thugs" attacked demonstrators with "Molotov cocktails" in the city.
أكدت الناشطة إسراء عبد الفتاح اعتقال كثيرين من مناهضي مبارك اليوم بميدان التحرير.
5/2/11 The activist Esraa Abdel Fattah confirmed the arrest of many of the opponents of Mubarak today in Tahrir Square.

Table 6.40: Examples of Intertextuality of the Activists' Voices.

The voice of the eyewitness was reported 87 times in the corpus data, which mostly being reported using indirect quotation with an emphasis on the selection of a verbal process. AJA also strategically utilised the voice of eyewitness to positively portrayed the protest and the protestors. Again, the voice of the eyewitness in AJA's online news report was strategically being utilised to support the protestors' demands and positively portrayed the protest. The source of eyewitness also being used to defend the protestors from various accusations from the authority. In contrast, the eyewitness blamed 'baltagia' who allegedly having great support from the Egyptian government for causing chaos, theft and vandalism during the protest.

"وقال شاهد إن المحتجين حاولوا تحطيم الصورة لكن قادة لهم هتفوا "سلمية سلمية".
25/1/11 Witnesses said the protesters tried to smash the picture, but their leaders shouted "peaceful and peaceful."
وقال شهود عيان إن قوات الشرطة تراجعت إلى شارع "محمد محمود" بوسط المدينة وأخذت تطلق قنابل مدمعة بكثافة على ميدان التحرير،
29/1/11 Eyewitnesses said that the police forces went down to the "Mohammed Mahmoud" in the centre of the city and began to launch bombs heavily burned on Tahrir Square,
ذكرت وكالة رويترز عن شهود عيان أن مئات المصريين يتظاهرون وسط القاهرة بعد خطاب الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك وهم يهتفون "ارحل ارحل".
29/1/11 Reuters Hundreds of Egyptians are demonstrating in central Cairo after a speech by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak chanting "go away."
ومن جهته قال شاهد عيان للجزيرة نت إن مستشفى ومدارس ببو لاق الدكرور في القاهرة تعرضت لهجوم مسلح من قبل مجهولين، مضيفا أن ذلك يخلق رعبا كبيرا لدى المواطنين.

30/1/11	For his part, an eyewitness told Al Jazeera Net that the hospital and schools in Bulaq Dakroul in Cairo was attacked by gunmen, adding that this creates great panic among the citizens.
30/1/11	وحدد شاهد عيان للجزيرة وجود 12 قتيلا، قال إنهم قتلوا بواسطة قناصة يطلقون الرصاص الحي من مبنى بداخل الوزارة على المتظاهرين.
2/2/11	Another witness, Mohammed Shaker, said some militants had been arrested and handed over to the police.
3/2/11	وقال شاهد آخر يدعى محمد شاكر إنه وقع القبض على بعض المسلحين وتسليمهم للشرطة.
4/2/11	وقال شاهد عيان للجزيرة إن حريقا اشتعل قرب المتحف المصري بسبب قنابل المولوتوف التي ألقتها بلطجية" الحزب الوطني الذين تم القبض على بعضهم، "
	An eyewitness told the island that a fire had ignited near the Egyptian Museum because of the Molotov cocktails fired by the National Party "thugs", some of whom were arrested,
	وأكد الشهود وجود مجاميع من البلطجية مدعومة بقوى أمن تحت أعين الجيش تمنع وصول الدواء أو الغذاء إلى المحتجين.
	Witnesses confirmed the presence of groups of thugs backed by security forces under the eyes of the army to prevent the arrival of medicine or food to the protesters.

Table 6.41: Examples of Intertextuality of the Eyewitnesses' Voices.

AJA was also giving the voice of Egyptian oppositions extensive coverage since the early stage of protest in Egypt. The corpus data shows that Egyptian largest opposition group Muslim Brotherhood (MB) was given the most significant proportion of coverage by outlet among the Egyptian opposition group with the frequency of 104 times. The report from the source of El-Baradei himself, on the other hand, comes second with 88 times frequency result in BBA's corpus data. While El-Baradei's group National Coalition for Change recorded 24 hits, hence placed in third. Other Egyptian oppositions group which received significantly higher frequency result in AJA corpus are the 6<sup>th</sup> April movement (22 times), Kefaya Movement (16 times) and "we are all Khalid sad" movement recorded 11 times of frequencies.

It is interesting to note that, compared to the corpus data of BBA, shows that AJA preferred to report on the non-political party of Egyptian oppositions. Hence, Egyptian opposition political parties recorded a significantly lower number of frequencies in AJA's

corpus data. In AJA's corpus data, El-Wafd party only received four hits while the Tagammu Party recorded significantly higher frequency in BBA's corpus data. Thus, the corpus data of AJA revealed that the outlet was preferred to provide the Egyptian opposition movement more access to the online news discourse compared to the Egyptian opposition parties which have several representations in the Egyptian parliament during the time of crisis. The examples of intertextuality from the sources of the Egyptian oppositions group have been provided in Table 6.42 below.

<b>Egyptian Opposition</b>	<b>Intertextuality Frequency</b>
MB	104 times
El-Baradei	88 times
Jamiaah Wataniya	24 times
6 <sup>th</sup> April	22 times
Kefaya	16 times
Kulluna Said	11 times
El-Ghad Party	Ten times
Tagammu Party	Five times
El-Wafd Party	Four times

Table 6.42: Intertextuality Frequencies of the Egyptian Oppositions' Sources

By looking in detail on the use of intertextuality from the source of Muslim Brotherhood, it is found that the outlet not only reported the most from Muslim Brotherhood compared to other Egyptian opposition but also used a direct quotation to the Muslim Brotherhood's leaders. By using a direct quotation, it shows that the outlet is emphasising in delivering accurate information from its source through the utilisation of exact word use in the speech which has been reported in the news. Besides, the use of direct quotation in reporting the Muslim Brotherhood's voices revealed that the outlet is highlighting the importance of the voice. Hence, indicated AJA's attitude towards the Muslim Brotherhood. It is also important to note that, when reporting on Muslim Brotherhood's voices, AJA directly reported from the Muslim Brotherhood's sources through the press conferences or press statements or during an interview with AJA correspondent.

<p>وقال بدیع في تصريح للجزيرة اليوم الأحد "الرئيس حسني مبارك يتحمل شخصيا كل ما يحدث في مصر"، وأضاف "واليوم حانت ساعة الحساب."</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>"President Hosni Mubarak is personally responsible for everything that is happening in Egypt," Badea told al-Jazeera Sunday. "Today is the hour of reckoning."</p>
<p>وأضاف العريان "الجماعة لا تتخذ قرارات من جانب واحد دون القوى الوطنية" وقال إنها "ستسعى أيضا للاتصال بأطراف سياسية أخرى" دون أن يقدم إيضاحات.</p> <p>31/1/11</p> <p>"The group does not take unilateral decisions without national forces," he said. "It will also seek to reach out to other political parties," he said, without elaborating.</p>
<p>وقال عصام العريان العضو البارز بجماعة الإخوان المسلمين "الإخوان يناقشون تشكيل لجنة تفاوض موسعة للقضايا السياسية مع البرادعي لتعكس إرادة الناس، وتتفاوض مع الجيش".</p> <p>31/1/11</p> <p>"The Brotherhood is discussing the formation of a broad negotiating committee for political issues with ElBaradei to reflect the will of the people and to negotiate with the army," said Issam al-Erian, a senior member of the Muslim Brotherhood.</p>
<p>وأكد مرسي أن "التعديلات التي أعلنها الرئيس المصري جاءت متأخرة للغاية، وكانت هي مطالب الشعب قبل يوم 25 يناير/كانون الثاني الماضي، إلا أن تلك المطالب لم تعد كافية بعد أن نزل ثمانية ملايين متظاهر في أنحاء البلاد".</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p>Morsi stressed that "the amendments announced by the Egyptian President came too late and were the demands of the people before 25 January last, but those demands are no longer enough after the drop of eight million demonstrators across the country."</p>
<p>وقال كمال الهلباوي الناطق الرسمي السابق لتنظيم الإخوان المسلمين في الغرب ورئيس "جبهة إنقاذ مصر" للجزيرة نت "اليوم يسعى بقايا هذا النظام المتساقط إلى الحوار مع مختلف طبقات الشعب والمعارضة التي طالما رغبت في الحوار فأبى واستكبر".</p> <p>6/2/11</p> <p>"Today, the remnants of this falling regime are seeking dialogue with the different classes of the people and the opposition, which have long wanted dialogue and refused to be proud," said Kamal Halbawi, the former spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood in the West and head of the Save Egypt Front.</p>
<p>وأضاف الهلباوي "يريد النظام البائد أن يظل في الحكم لمزيد من الإفساد وإن ادعى الإصلاح، ويريد أن ينهي هذه الثورة المباركة، ولكن ذلك فوق قدراته ومؤامراته".</p> <p>6/2/11</p> <p>Halbawi added, "the former regime wants to remain in power for more corruption but claimed that reform and wants to end this blessed revolution, but that above his abilities and conspiracies."</p>

Table 6.43: Intertextuality of Muslim Brotherhood using Direct Quotation.

Indirect quotation of Muslim Brotherhood's voices also being used by AJA to report from Muslim Brotherhood's sources. Although indirect quotation does not use the exact words used by the speaker, the use of proper verbal process verbs particularly positive verbal processes such as 'stressed', 'emphasised' and 'repeated' provide good impressions on the speaker which his words were reported in the news. Hence, revealed the attitude of the news outlet in

supporting the Muslim Brotherhood as the most prominent opposition group in Egypt during the time of crisis. In term of the content of the Muslim Brotherhood's intertextuality, it is found that most of it were used to support the protestor's demands, particularly the call for the immediate resignation of President Mubarak.

<p>. وقالت الجماعة في بيان الاثنين إن مباحث أمن الدولة استدعت مسؤولي الجماعة في المحافظات وحذرتهم من النزول إلى الشارع.</p> <p>25/1/11</p> <p>The group said in a statement Monday that the State Security Investigation summoned the group's officials in the provinces and warned them to go down the street.</p>	
<p>اعتبر عضو جماعة الإخوان المسلمين عبد المنعم أبو الفتوح أن الخطاب لم يكن في مستوى التطلعات، مطالبا الرئيس مبارك بالرحيل، كما ناشد الجيش التدخل للمساهمة في إنقاذ الأوضاع.</p> <p>29/1/11</p> <p>A member of the Muslim Brotherhood, Abdel-Moneim Abul-Fotouh said that the speech was not in the level of aspirations, calling on President Mubarak to leave, and appealed to the army to intervene to contribute to the rescue of the situation.</p>	
<p>وأشار إلى أن جماعة الإخوان ستصدر بيانا اليوم الأربعاء للتعليق تفصيلا على الخطاب وما جاء فيه، مشددا على رفضها التام للخطاب، وقال إنه يتعين على النظام الاستجابة لمطالب الشعب.</p> <p>2/2/11</p> <p>He pointed out that the Muslim Brotherhood will issue a statement on Wednesday for detailed comment on the speech and what it said, stressing its total rejection of the speech, and said that the regime must respond to the demands of the people.</p>	
<p>وفي تصريح للجزيرة، أكد نائب المرشد العام للإخوان المسلمين رشاد بيومي أن ما جرى من اعتداءات على المتظاهرين في ميدان التحرير يعطي دليلا جديدا على أنه من غير المقبول التسامح مع النظام أو القبول بالخروج الأمن للرئيس مبارك.</p> <p>3/2/11</p> <p>In a statement to the island, the deputy leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Rashad Bayoumi that the attacks on demonstrators in Tahrir Square give new evidence that it is unacceptable tolerance of the regime or accept the safe exit of President Mubarak.</p>	
<p>واعتبرت الجماعة في بيان حصلت عليه الجزيرة نت الأحد الاعتصامات حقا دستوريا للمعتصمين طالما كانت سلمية</p> <p>5/2/11</p> <p>The group considered in a statement obtained by Al Jazeera Net on Sunday sit-ins constitutional right for the protesters as long as it was peaceful</p>	
<p>جددت حركة الإخوان المسلمين تمسكها بمطلب تنحي الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك،</p> <p>6/2/11</p> <p>The Muslim Brotherhood renewed its commitment to the demand to step down Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak,</p>	
<p>وكشف وفد الإخوان في مؤتمر صحفي عن مطالبهم التي عرضوها أثناء اللقاء مع عمر سليمان نائب الرئيس، وهي: تولي رئيس المحكمة الدستورية العليا مقاليد السلطة في البلاد،</p> <p>6/2/11</p> <p>The delegation of the Muslim Brotherhood in a press conference expressed their demands during the meeting with Omar Suleiman, Vice President, namely: the President of the Supreme Constitutional Court to take power in the country,</p>	

Table 6.44: Intertextuality of Muslim Brotherhood using Indirect Quotation.



As the second-highest opposition voices reported in the corpus data of AJA during the time of crisis in Egypt, the voice of El-Baradei was reported similarly in reporting the Muslim Brotherhood's voices. Thus, most El-Baradei voices were reported using direct quotation and indirect quotation with the strategic use of the positive verbal process. Hence, it promotes positive impressions on El-Baradei. It is important to note that, although El-Baradei is the leader of the National Coalition of change AJA prefer to report on El-Baradei's voices as his voice compared to reporting his voice as representing the voice of National Coalition of Change. Hence, the frequency result in **Table 6.42** shows the number of intertextualities of El-Baradei as his voice, while the intertextuality frequency of National Coalition of Change refers to the voices representing the coalition which may come from El-Baradei himself or other coalition leaders.

Against, the use of direct quotation to report on El-Baradei voices, clearly shows that the outlet is providing ample access for El-Baradei as one of the most crucial antagonist leaders during the time of crisis to the construction of online news discourse. Similarly, although not using the exact words has been used by El-Baradei, indirect quotation also shows that the outlet is paying massive attention in reporting the voice of El-Baradei. Hence, treated him as the 'in-group'. The strategic use of the positive verbal process in reporting El-Baradei voices furthermore cast positive lights on El-Baradei hence positively portrayed him as a strong leader in Egypt. However, it is noticed that, in the most occasion, AJA reported on el-Badrai voices from other sources in contrast to the way used by the outlet in reporting the voice of the Muslim Brotherhood and its leaders. Thus, El-Baradei voices in AJA corpus data were taken from other international agencies such as Reuters, CNN, Der Shebegil of Germany, Austrian newspaper and many more. This, in turn, shows that the outlet does not has direct access to ElBaradei's voice as much as it has in reporting on the voice of the Muslim Brotherhood.

<p>وقال إن "نظام الرئيس حسني مبارك يرتعش ووصل إلى أعلى درجات الخوف والتوتر مما جري في تونس". 25/1/11</p>
--

"The regime of President Hosni Mubarak is trembling and has reached the highest level of fear and tension in Tunisia."
وقال البرادعي لأسبوعية دير شبيغيل الألمانية إن تظاهر المصريين بأعداد ضخمة في الشوارع لأول مرة "عكس انهيار ثقافة الخوف التي غذاها نظام الرئيس حسني مبارك طوال وجوده في السلطة"، 26/1/11 ElBaradei told German weekly Der Spiegel that the Egyptians demonstrated in huge numbers in the streets for the first time "reflected the collapse of the culture of fear, which was fed by the regime of President Hosni Mubarak throughout his presence in power,
وأشار البرادعي إلي أن "الإمكانية الوحيدة لبقاء النظام المصري على قيد الحياة ونجاته من مصير مماثل لما حل بنظيره في تونس، تتطلب تخلي مبارك عن الترشح للرئاسة لفترة جديدة، وإصدار دستور جديد، والدعوة لانتخابات حرة، وإلغاء حالة الطوارئ المفروضة على البلد منذ 29 عاما". 25/1/11 ElBaradei pointed out that "the only possibility of survival of the Egyptian regime alive and survival of a fate similar to what happened to his counterpart in Tunisia, requires the abandonment of Mubarak to run for a new presidency, the issuance of a new constitution, and call for free elections, and cancel the state of emergency imposed on the country for 29 years,
وقال لقناة "سي إن إن" التلفزيونية "أعمال النهب تنتشر في كل مكان بمصر، والجيش غير قادر على فرض سيطرته على الأمور". وأضاف "مصر تحترق وتتداعى". 31/1/11 – from CNN "Looting is rampant everywhere in Egypt, and the army is unable to impose its control over things," El-Baradei told CNN. He added, "Egypt is burning and falling apart."
وقال البرادعي- في مقابلة مع شبكة سي أن أن- "للأسف هو سيمدد المعاناة هنا لمدة ستة أشهر أو سبعة أشهر أخرى، إنه مستمر في استقطاب البلاد، ما زال يزيد من غضب الناس، وربما يلجؤون للعنف". 2/2/11 ElBaradei said in an interview with CNN "Unfortunately, he will extend the suffering here for six or seven months, he continues to polarise the country, continues to increase the anger of people, and may resort to violence. "
وأضاف البرادعي -في مقابلة مع شبكة سي أن أن- أنه "إذا لم يستجب مبارك للدعوة بالرحيل حالا، فلن يكون رئيسا شكليا فحسب، ولكن أيضا رئيسا مسخا". 2/2/11 In an interview with CNN, ElBaradei said that "if Mubarak does not respond to the invitation to leave immediately, he will be not only a former president but also a poor president."
ونفى البرادعي ما جاء في تقرير لصحيفة نمساوية على لسانه من أنه لن يترشح للانتخابات الرئاسية المقبلة، وقال "هذا غير صحيح إذا أراد الشعب أن أتمت عملية التغيير فلن أخذل الشعب المصري". 4/2/11 ElBaradei denied the report in an Austrian newspaper that he would not run for the upcoming presidential elections. "It is not true if the people want to complete the process of change, they will not be humiliated by the Egyptian people," he said.

Table 6.45: Intertextuality of ElBaradei's Voices using Direct Quotation.

وشبه البرادعي فعاليات الاحتجاجات المصرية الحالية بكرة جليد تتدحرج وتكبر ولن تستطيع قوة إيقافها، 25/1/11 ElBaradei likened the events of the current Egyptian protests to an iceberg rolling and growing bigger and would not be able to stop it, جاء ذلك في مقابلة أجرتها اليوم السبت قناة الجزيرة مع البرادعي الذي قال إن المظاهرات والاحتجاجات التي تشهدها محافظات الجمهورية تأتي تعبيرا لكافة شرائح الشعب المنادي بتغيير شامل 29/1/11
--

This came in an interview on Saturday with Al-Jazeera with ElBaradei, who said that the demonstrations and protests taking place in the governorates of the Republic are an expression of all segments of the people calling for a comprehensive change
البرادعي: لست على اتصال مع الجيش المصري - رويترز 31/1/11
ElBaradei: I am not in touch with the Egyptian army - Reuters
وذكر أن المطلوب حكومة وحدة وطنية، وتعديل الدستور، وإجراء انتخابات حرة. 31/1/11
He stated that a government of national unity was required, that the constitution should be amended and that free elections should be held.
وكان البرادعي حث أوباما على دعوة مبارك للرحيل. 31/1/11
ElBaradei urged Obama to call Mubarak to leave,
البرادعي اعتبر أن تعهد مبارك بعدم الترشح للرئاسة مرة أخرى خدعة - رويترز 2/2/11
ElBaradei considered Mubarak's pledge not to run for president again a trick - Reuters

Table 6.46: Intertextuality of ElBaradei using Indirect Quotation.

Other Egyptian oppositions also being treated as the in-group by providing ample access for their voices being included in the online news discourse. Slightly different from the BBA, in the online news reports by AJA, the Egyptian non-partisan opposition groups have been given more coverage compared to Egyptian political parties. Hence, the National Coalition for Change, Kefaya Movement, the 6<sup>th</sup> April Movement and We all are Khalid Said Movement received more extensive use of intertextuality in the AJA online news compared to Egyptian opposition parties such as El-Wafd Party, El-Ghad Party and Tagammu Party. Furthermore, these opposition parties do not offer significant contributions in organising the mass protests compared to the enormous contributions of non-partisan Egyptian oppositions. Hence their voices have been given less attention by the news outlet.

، قال منسق حركة كفاية حمدي قنديل للجزيرة إن النظام -وبتدبير الاعتداءات على المتظاهرين - أعطى الهبة الشعبية دفعا جديدا للمضي قدما في تحركاتها وزاد من إصرارها على التمسك بموقفها المطالب بتتحي الرئيس فورا ودون تأخير. 3/2/11
The coordinator of the Kefaya movement Hamdi Qandil of the island that the regime - and the extent of attacks on demonstrators - gave the favourite gift a new impetus to move forward in its

movements and increased its insistence on adhering to its position demanding the resignation of the President immediately and without delay.
حركة six أبريل يحذر نشاطها من أن تخطف القوى السياسية نتائجها أو تركب صهوتها لتحقيق مآرب حزبية. 28/1/11 April 6 Movement warns its activists that the political forces are taking away their results or installing their votes to achieve partisan goals.
من جهته قال مؤسس حزب الغد المعارض أيمن نور إن خطاب مبارك غير مقبول لأنه لم يف بالحد الأدنى لمطالب الشعب. 2/2/11 For his part, the founder of the opposition Ghad Party Ayman Nour said Mubarak's speech was unacceptable because it did not meet the minimum demands of the people
من جهته وصف الأمين العام لحزب التجمع المعارض سيد عبد العال الخطاب بأنه "مثير للإحباط"، مشيراً إلى أن ما حدث من احتجاجات هو أبلغ رد على خطاب مبارك. 2/2/11 For his part, the Secretary-General of the opposition Rally Parties Sayed Abdel-Aal speech as "frustrating," noting that the events of the protests are the most response to Mubarak's speech.
أما المتحدث باسم حزب الوفد محمد شردي فقال للجزيرة إن ما جاء في خطاب مبارك خطوة نرحب بها، ولكننا نريد المزيد وتنفيذ الكثير من مطالب الشعب، 2/2/11 As for the spokesman of the Wafd Party, Mohammed Shardi told Al-Jazeera that what came in Mubarak's speech is a welcome step, but we want more and implement many of the demands of the people,

Table 6.47: Examples of Intertextuality from the sources of Egyptian Oppositions.

Another essential feature in the intertextuality of AJA is the outlet pays much attention to report on the voice of Muslim scholars or preachers who have substantial influential among the Egyptian society. During the revolution, these scholars were actively preached Egyptian and encouraged them to participate in the protest demanding for their right. Among the Muslim scholars and preachers who received a significant number of coverage in the corpus data are Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Sheikh Muzhir, Sheikh Muhamed Gibrail and Sheikh Ahmed Himlawi. For instance, AJA reported: In order to emphasise on the importance of these Muslim preachers in urging Egyptian to participate in the protest, AJA strategically reported on the voices of other non-Egyptian Muslim scholars who also show their support to the protestors' demand in Egypt. Hence, AJA reported that the Egyptian protestors not only received massive support from Egyptian Islamic preachers but also their demands were backed by other Islamic scholars abroad. For example, AJA reported that the Egyptian protestors received supports from Islamic leaders and scholars in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

29/1/11	ونصح القرضاوي مبارك بالتخلي عن الرئاسة والرحيل عن مصر فالبلد خسر المليارات
29/1/11	Al-Qaradawi advised Mubarak to give up the presidency and leave Egypt. The country lost billions. واعتبر القرضاوي أن مبارك لم يفهم رسالة الشعب وخرج بخطاب يشي بأنه لا يحس بما يجري
4/2/11	ودعا خطيب الجمعة في ميدان التحرير الشيخ مزهر شاهين المتظاهرين إلى الصبر والثبات في الميدان حتى نيل مطالبهم
4/2/11	He called on Khatib Friday in Tahrir Square Sheikh Mizher Shahin demonstrators to patience and steadfastness in the field until their demands
4/2/11	وأضاف الشيخ مزهر "أوصيكم بالصبر والثبات فإن هناك من يريد أن يشتت شملكم" وقال "الكل جاء ليأخذ حقه المسلوب."
10/2/11	وقد وجه الداعية محمد جبريل في خطبة الجمعة الدعوة إلى "تدمير الحزب الوطني" ووصفه "بالفاسد", وحمله مسؤولية تزوير الانتخابات البرلمانية في كافة المحافظات المصرية.
10/2/11	In a Friday sermon, the preacher called on the "destruction of the National Party" and called him "the loser" and accused him of falsifying the parliamentary elections in all Egyptian governorates.
10/2/11	وأكد الشيخ جبريل أن المتظاهرين سيقفون في ميدان التحرير "جمعة بعد جمعة حتى يتم تحقيق المطالب المشروعة".
5/2/11	Sheikh Jibril stressed that the demonstrators would remain in Tahrir Square "Friday after Friday until legitimate demands are met."
5/2/11	وأضاف المحلاوي أنه لا بد من تصحيح أوضاع مؤسسات الدولة التي تخاذلت عن القيام بدورها،
	Mahlawi added that it is necessary to correct the state institutions that have failed to do their part,

Table 6.48: Examples of Intertextuality of the Islamic Leaders' Voices.

#### Non-Egyptian Islamic scholars

7/2/11 – Iran –	وكان خامنئي قد دعا في خطبته تلك الجيش المصري إلى دعم المتظاهرين ضد نظام الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك وتركيز أنظاره على العدو الصهيوني،
7/2/11 -	فقد عبر عن رفضه لتصريحات مفتي السعودية وتأنيده للمظاهرات في مصر كل من الداعية السعودي المعروف الشيخ سلمان بن فهد العودة والخبير في أصول الفقه عوض القرني، ورئيس مجلس القضاء الأعلى السابق وعضو هيئة كبار العلماء الشيخ صالح اللحيدان.
	Many scholars expressed their rejection of the statements by the Mufti of Saudi Arabia and show their support for the demonstrations in Egypt, including the well-known Saudi preacher Sheikh Salman bin Fahd al-Awda, the expert in the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and the president of the former Supreme Judicial Council and member of the Supreme Council of Scholars Sheikh Saleh Al-Luhaidan.

<p>كما اعتبر المنسق العام لحزب الأمة الكويتي والمدرس بكلية الشريعة بجامعة الكويت الدكتور حاكم المطيري، أن الثورة تكون واجبة عندما يستشري الظلم.</p> <p>7/2/11</p> <p>The general coordinator of the Kuwaiti Ummah Party and a teacher at the Faculty of Sharia at Kuwait University, Dr Hakim al-Mutairi, also considered that the revolution is obligatory when injustice prevails.</p>
<p>وكان آخرها بيان من رئيس رابطة علماء أهل السنة وعضو الاتحاد العالمي لعلماء المسلمين أحمد الريسوني أكد فيه أنه بات واجبا على المصريين العمل على عزل الرئيس مبارك ومحاكمته، ووجوب "مساندة كل المبادرات" الرامية إلى الإطاحة به "بجميع الوسائل المشروعة الممكنة".</p> <p>7/2/11</p> <p>The most recent of which was a statement by the head of the Association of Sunni Scholars and a member of the World Union of Muslim Scholars, Ahmad al-Risouni, in which he stressed that it is incumbent upon the Egyptians to work on isolating and prosecuting President Mubarak and that he should "support all initiatives" aimed at overthrowing him "by all legitimate means possible."</p>

Table 6.49: Examples of Intertextuality of the Islamic Leaders' Voices.

In addition to providing massive access of antagonist voices to the construction of news discourse, AJA strategically utilised other non-antagonist sources to provide supporting voices to support the protestors' demands and positively portrayed the protest and protestors. These supporting voices are mostly consisted of the intertextuality of internationally well-known media outlets and International human right movements, particularly the Human Right Watch organisation and Amnesty International organisation. Despite these organisations are not based in Egypt and not been considered as among the Egyptian antagonist group, AJA has strategically utilised the intertextuality from these internationally well-known organisations to support the counter-hegemony discourse against the Egyptian government. Thus, AJA has carefully utilised the intertextuality from these international organisations at the background of the report on the ER events to positively portrayed that the protestors have received attention and support from the international communities. Hence, revealed that the outlet has successfully utilised the 'logic of equivalence' to unite groups of different social actors under one huge group by having one shared goal. As a result, all the opposing voices against the Egyptian government have been gathered in one big group and being treated as the 'in-group'.

Therefore, AJA strategically utilised the intertextuality of foreign media reports to positively portrayed the protest and supported the protestors' demands. The corpus data shows that AJA has utilised the intertextuality by reporting the news from reputable news agencies such as Reuters, France news agencies, German news agency and Mondo newspaper of Spain. The examples in the table below show that the outlet has strategically utilised the intertextuality of foreign news agencies to portray the protest and the protestors positively:

<p>وفي تعليقها على الأحداث في مصر ، قالت صحيفة إل مونديو الإسبانية إن مصر "تقف على مفترق طرق" معتبرة أن المحتجين فاجؤوا السلطات المصرية حيث لم تشهد مصر مظاهرات عارمة من قبل.</p> <p>27/1/11 – from Spain</p> <p>Commenting on the events in Egypt, the El Mundo newspaper said Egypt was "at a crossroads", saying that the protesters had surprised the Egyptian authorities, where Egypt had not witnessed massive demonstrations before.</p>
<p>وقالت وكالة الأنباء الفرنسية إن السلطات المصرية اعتقلت أربعة من مراسليها.</p> <p>28/1/11 – France</p> <p>The French news agency Agence France-Presse that the Egyptian authorities arrested four of its correspondents.</p>
<p>وذكرت وكالة الأنباء الألمانية أن هناك حالة من الانفلات الأمني تسود ميدان التحرير وأن هناك مناوشات بين لصوص حضروا لنهب المحال التجارية ، ومتظاهرين شكلوا دروعا بشرية لحماية الممتلكات العامة.</p> <p>29/1/11</p> <p>The German news agency reported that there was a state of security chaos in Tahrir Square and that there were skirmishes between thieves who came to loot shops, and demonstrators formed human shields to protect public property.</p>
<p>ونقلت رويترز عن المتظاهرين قولهم إنهم احتجزوا 120 من المهاجمين مؤكدين أنهم من عناصر الشرطة وأنصار الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي الحاكم.</p> <p>3/2/11 – Reuters</p> <p>Reuters quoted the protesters as saying that they had detained 120 of the attackers, stressing that they were members of the police and supporters of the ruling National Democratic Party.</p>
<p>نقلت وكالة رويترز للأنباء عن شهود عيان قولهم إن جماعات من أنصار الحزب الوطني شوهوا اليوم يتجهون إلى ميدان التحرير، في خطوة تنذر بتكرار المواجهات التي وقعت أمس الأربعاء عندما اقتحم عدد من الأشخاص الميدان حاملين أسلحة بيضاء وعصيا ومعهم آخرون يمتطون خيولا وجمالاً.</p> <p>3/2/11 – Reuters</p> <p>A group of NDP supporters were seen today heading towards Tahrir square; a Reuters news agency quoted witnesses as saying, warning that the clashes on Wednesday were repeated when many people stormed the field carrying white and musket weapons, along with others riding horses and camels.</p>

Table 6.50: Examples of Intertextuality of the Foreign Media's News Reports.

These examples of intertextuality from the sources of well-known international media outlets have been used by the outlet to show that the protest has successfully gathered colossal support, hence forcing the government to fulfil the protesters' demands. France news agency report on the arrest of four of its correspondents has been used by AJA to negatively portray the Egyptian authority in limiting the freedom of media access in Egypt. Furthermore, AJA utilised the intertextuality of a German news agency to show that the protestors were protecting public properties from being robbed by the thefts. The news reports from Reuters, on the other hand, were used by AJA to Blame the members of NDP ruling party and the 'baltagiya' for the violent and casualties during the clash between Mubarak's supporters and the protestors at Tahrir Square. Hence, it provides a counter-argument to the accusations that the protestors when started the fight first and the authority had reacted accordingly made by the Egyptian government. All in all, by strategically utilised the intertextuality of internationally established news agencies such as the Reuters, France News Agency and German News Agency, positively portrayed the protest and the protestors, the outlet has provided a report from well-established and reliable sources which have been recognised by the international news agencies.

Interestingly AJA also utilised intertextuality from the sources of United Kingdom agencies other than the BBC. These news agencies are The Guardian, Daily Telegraph and the Observer. Examples of intertextuality from British media in AJA online news report are:

<p>يجب أن تنتهي ديكتاتورية مبارك الآن ومن مصلحة الدول العربية المستبدة أن تلتفت إلى موجة الغضب في مصر وتحدث تغييراً، هكذا استهلّت ذي أوبزفر افتتاحيتها اليوم.</p> <p>وقالت الصحيفة إن أيام الغضب في مصر تعني نهاية أيام نظام حسني مبارك القمعي والمفلس الذي حكم البلاد على مدى 30 عاماً من خلال الخوف والشرطة السرية وقوانين الطوارئ والإعانات الأميركية وغياب مؤسف للبصيرة والتصور.</p> <p>30/1/11</p> <p>Mubarak's dictatorship must end now, and it is in the interest of the oppressive Arab countries to pay attention to the wave of anger in Egypt and make a difference, the Observer began its editorial today.</p> <p>The newspaper said the days of anger in Egypt meant the end of the days of Hosni Mubarak's</p>
--



<p>oppressive and bankrupt regime, which ruled the country for 30 years through fear, secret police, emergency laws, US subsidies and the unfortunate absence of insight and perception.</p> <p>أشارت صحيفة ديلي تلغراف البريطانية إلى أن الثورة الشعبية الملهبة والمتصاعدة والمستمرة على الساحة المصرية تعطي مؤشرات كبيرة على أن البرادعي يقترب رويدا رويدا من تولي منصب الرئيس الانتقالي في البلاد،</p> <p>2/2/11 – daily telegraph</p> <p>The Daily Telegraph newspaper reported that the popular and escalating popular revolution on the Egyptian scene gives great indications that ElBaradei is slowly approaching the post of transitional president in the country,</p>
<p>قال الكاتب سايمون تيسدال إن الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك شن هجومه المعاكس لمواجهة المحتجين في القاهرة ومناطق آخر، والتي تطالب بإسقاط النظام، وذلك عبر إرساله موجات من قاطعي الطرق والبلطجية المسلحين للهجوم والاعتداء على المتظاهرين المحتجين سلميا.</p> <p>3/2/11</p> <p>Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak launched his counter-attack against protesters in Cairo and elsewhere demanded the overthrow of the regime by sending waves of gangsters and armed thugs to attack and attack peacefully protesting protesters, the writer Simon Tisdale said.</p>
<p>ذكرت صحيفة غارديان البريطانية أن ثروة الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك وعائلته تتراوح بين 40 و70 مليار دولار، وفقًا لتحليل خبراء في الشرق الأوسط.</p> <p>5/2/11guardian</p> <p>British newspaper The Guardian reported that the wealth of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and his family, ranging between 40 and 70 billion dollars, according to the analysis of experts in the Middle East.</p>

Table 6.51: Examples of intertextuality from British media.

For instance, AJA strategically utilised the content of the main page of British weekly newspaper The Observer which frankly called to the end of the dictatorship of Mubarak in Egypt for the benefit of Arab countries in the Middle East. The Observer furthermore revealed its support to the protest in Egypt demanding for the full of injustice regime after 30 years of ruling Egypt with force and tread. Besides, AJA also utilised the news reports by the Daily Telegraph to show that the increasing support received by the Egyptian Revolution marked that El-Baradei is one step closer to replace Mubarak as the leader in Egypt. Finally, AJA strategically utilised the article wrote by Simon Tisdall, the foreign commentator in the Guardian of United Kingdom to blame the 'baltagiya' for the violent and casualties voices to the protestors and defending them from being accused as the one who started the chaos which caused many casualties. In another report by the Guardian, it revealed the wealth of President

Mubarak and his family which also being included in the construction of news discourse by AJA to tarnish Mubarak's reputation and frame him as a corrupt leader.

Moving into the intertextuality of international human right organisations, it is found that AJA has utilised the voice of international human rights organisations to show international support for the protestors and their demands. These international organisations, namely Amnesty International, and Human Right Watch, have voiced their concerns about the breach of human rights during the protests in Egypt. Therefore, AJA strategically utilised these concerns voices by these internationally recognised organisations to show international support for the protestors and at the same time revealed the misconducts of the Egyptian Government in dealing with the peaceful demonstrations. For instance, AJA utilised the intertextuality from the sources of international human rights organisations was found in the news extracts below:

<p>حسبية حاج صحراوي نائبة مدير برنامج الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا في منظمة العفو الدولية حثت السلطات المصرية على كبح جماح قوات الأمن لمنع مزيد من الوفيات بين المتظاهرين، مُدنية استخدام الرصاص الحي والقوة المميتة ضدهم.</p> <p>25/1/11</p> <p>Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui, deputy director of Amnesty International's Middle East and North Africa program, urged the Egyptian authorities to rein in security forces to prevent further deaths among demonstrators, using live bullets and lethal force against them.</p>
<p>كما استنكرت تعطل خطوط الاتصالات وشبكة الإنترنت في الكثير من المناطق المصرية، والاعتماد على قانون الطوارئ لفرض حظر شامل على المظاهرات العامة ومنح صلاحيات واسعة لقوات الأمن</p> <p>25/1/11</p> <p>It also condemned the disruption of communications lines and the Internet in many areas of Egypt, and rely on the emergency law to impose a comprehensive ban on public demonstrations and granting broad powers to the security forces</p>
<p>كما سجلت منظمات دولية وتحديدا العفو الدولية وهيومن رايتس ووتش ما اعتبرته انتهاكات لحقوق الإنسان في السنوات الأخيرة.</p> <p>1/2/11</p> <p>International organizations, notably Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, have also recorded what they consider to be human rights setbacks in recent years.</p>
<p>وخلص تقرير سابق لهيومن رايتس إلى أن "السلطات المصرية استمرت في قمع المعارضة السياسية عام 2010، وتفريق المظاهرات ومضايقة النشطاء الحقوقيين واحتجاز الصحفيين والمدونين وأعضاء جماعة الإخوان المسلمين".</p> <p>6/2/11</p> <p>It concluded an earlier report by Human Rights that "the Egyptian authorities continued to suppress political dissent in 2010, and disperse demonstrations and harassment of human</p>

rights activists and the detention of journalists, bloggers and members of the Muslim Brotherhood."
هيومن رايتس ووتش المعنية بحقوق الإنسان والتي تتخذ من نيويورك مقرا لها ذكرت الأسبوع الماضي أن التعذيب في مصر يمثل مشكلة مزمنة، واعتبرت أن المطالبة بإنهاء انتهاكات الشرطة كانت عنصرا مُحفزا للمظاهرات الشعبية الضخمة التي اجتاحت البلاد.
7/2/11
The New York-based Human Rights Watch reported last week that torture in Egypt was a chronic problem and considered that the demand to end police abuses was a catalyst for mass demonstrations in the country.
وقالت هيومن رايتس أيضا إن الإطار القانوني المصري فشل في تجريم التعذيب تماما تماشيا مع القانون الدولي، وهو عامل آخر يُسهم في الإفلات من العقاب.
7/2/11
Human Rights Watch also said Egypt's legal framework failed to fully criminalise torture in line with international law, another factor contributing to impunity.
وهنأت منظمة العفو الدولية المتظاهرين المصريين بسقوط مبارك وشددت على ضرورة إصلاح حقوق الإنسان في مصر.
12/2/11
Amnesty International congratulated Egyptian demonstrators on the fall of Mubarak and stressed the need to reform human rights in Egypt.

Table 6.52: Intertextuality from the sources of international bodies/ organisations

In the term of the frequencies, the intertextuality of these international organisation appears in the AJA corpus data, it is found that the outlet utilised the most of intertextuality of Amnesty (22 times) which has been included in the AJA news report since the first day of the protest. The intertextuality of Human Rights Watch placed second with (16 times) Similarly, BBA also used the same intertextuality from the same organisations in the outlet news reports to provide details on the breach of human rights activities during the uprising events in Egypt. Hence both AJA and BBA shared the same strategy in supporting providing access to the voice of international human rights organisations in the construction of online news discourse. However, AJA added to the list of intertextuality from the source of international human right organisations another human right body known as the Arab Organisation for Human Right (AOHR). The AJA corpus data shows that the AOHR, which specifically focuses on the human rights issues in the Arab world was mentioned not less than nine times in the online news. The examples of intertextuality from AOHR which based in Cairo, Egypt and has another critical working office in London are as follow:

وأدانت المنظمة العربية لحقوق الإنسان ما وصفته بالاعتداءات على المتظاهرين المعارضين في ميدان التحرير. 2/2/11
The Arab Organization for Human Rights condemned what it described as attacks on opposition demonstrators in Tahrir Square.
ويتحدث رئيس المنظمة العربية لحقوق الإنسان المحامي هاني الدحلة عن أن تزوير الانتخابات لصالح الحزب الوطني الحاكم يمثل أبرز ملامح عهد الرئيس المصري،  1/2/11 The head of the Arab Organization for Human Rights, lawyer Hani al-Dahla, said that the election fraud in favour of the ruling National Democratic Party represents the most prominent features of the era of the Egyptian president,
وأضاف قائلا "عهد مبارك تميز بالاعتقالات السياسية لكافة الاتجاهات حتى وصل عدد المعتقلين السياسيين إلى ثلاثين ألف معتقل خلال حقبة."  1/2/11 He added that "Mubarak's era characterised the political arrests of all trends until the number of political detainees to thirty thousand detainees during the period."
من جهتها أعربت المنظمة العربية لحقوق الإنسان في بريطانيا عن قلقها البالغ للانتهاكات الخطيرة التي ارتكبتها أجهزة الأمن ضد المتظاهرين منذ انطلاق ثورة التغيير،  7/2/11 For its part, the Arab Organization for Human Rights in Britain expressed its deep concern about the grave violations committed by the security services against demonstrators since the revolution of change,
كما نددت منظمة العفو الدولية بما وصفته بـ"تفشي التعذيب وغيره من صنوف المعاملة السيئة بشكل دؤوب في مراكز الشرطة والسجون ومراكز الاحتجاز التابعة لمباحث أمن الدولة".  6/2/11 Amnesty International also condemned what it described as "persistent torture and other ill-treatment in police stations, prisons and detention centres of the SSI."
وخلص تقرير سابق لهيومن رايتس إلى أن "السلطات المصرية استمرت في قمع المعارضة السياسية عام 2010، وتقريق المظاهرات ومضايقة الناشطاء الحقوقيين واحتجاز الصحفيين والمدونين وأعضاء جماعة الإخوان المسلمين". 6/2/11 It concluded an earlier report by Human Rights that "the Egyptian authorities continued to suppress political dissent in 2010, and disperse demonstrations and harassment of human rights activists and the detention of journalists, bloggers and members of the Muslim Brotherhood."
من جهتها أعربت المنظمة العربية لحقوق الإنسان في بريطانيا عن قلقها البالغ للانتهاكات الخطيرة التي ارتكبتها أجهزة الأمن ضد المتظاهرين منذ انطلاق ثورة التغيير،  7/2/11 For its part, the Arab Organization for Human Rights in Britain expressed its deep concern about the grave violations committed by the security services against demonstrators since the revolution of change,

Table 6.53: Intertextuality from the sources of the Human Rights Organisations

The discussion on the use of intertextuality by AJA to promote the Egyptian's antagonist voices in the online news discourse will not complete without highlighting the intertextuality from the unnamed sources. Unique to the outlet, AJA utilised not less than (91 times) the intertextuality

from unnamed or unspecific source to provide details information on the protest events in various Egyptian, towns in favour of the protestors. The same sources also directly defend protestors from the accusations of theft, vandalism, chaos in the name of protestors. Besides, the unnamed sources provide details on the violent approaches used by the Egyptian authority in dealing with the protestor such as toucher, harassment, using the live bullet, and many more. For instance, AJA reported:

<p>في وقت ذكرت فيه مصادر للجزيرة أن شخصين قُتلا وأصيب ثلاثمائة آخرون في إطلاق نار على المتظاهرين بالميدان. 3/2/11 At a time when the sources told the island that two people were killed and wounded 300 others in a shooting at the demonstrators in the square.</p>
<p>ومن جهته قال مصدر للجزيرة نت في القاهرة إن مؤيدي مبارك اعتلوا أسطح المباني في ميدان التحرير وألقوا كرات نارية على المحتجين، 3/2/11 For his part, said a source for the island Net in Cairo that the supporters of Mubarak climbed the roofs of buildings in Tahrir Square and threw fireballs at the protesters,</p>
<p>وأفاد أحد مصادر الجزيرة نت بأن الساعات القليلة الماضية شهدت تعطيل الإنترنت مرة أخرى 4/2/11 One of the sources said Al Jazeera Net that the past few hours had seen the disruption of the Internet again</p>
<p>أفادت مصادر للجزيرة نت بأنه تم الاتفاق في ميدان التحرير على تكوين لجنة لتكون بمثابة "العقل الذي يدير المظاهرات"، 4/2/11 Sources told Al Jazeera Net that it was agreed in the field of liberation to form a committee to serve as "the mind that runs the demonstrations,"</p>

**Table 6.54:** The intertextuality of Unnamed Sources

"Besides the unnamed sources, AJA also utilised the intertextuality from briefly mentioned sources. Among these sources which recorded a significantly high number of frequencies in the corpus data are the intertextuality from sources mentioned only as 'local sources' and the sources of reporters'. It has been done without naming their news organisations, which most likely come from independent or freelance reporters or the sources which refused to declare their identity to avoid any adverse circumstances against them:

The significantly high number of intertextualities of unspecific sources in the AJA corpus data shows that AJA does not pay much attention in providing details of its news sources.

In contrast, the outlet was rather widely providing ample access to any sources which carries pro-antagonist voices in the construction of news discourse. Hence, providing a counter-hegemony discoursed from various sources even from unspecific sources. This, in return, shows that the outlet tends to provide intertextuality from unspecific sources which lead to the doubt of the reliability of the information taken from these sources.

<p>وقال صحفيون للجزيرة إن الشرطة أطلقت الرصاص الحي على المواطنين في السويس بأوامر من القيادات. Local reporter – 29/1/11 Journalists told Al-Jazeera that police had fired live ammunition at citizens in Suez on orders from leaders.</p>
<p>وفي نفس الإطار نقلت الجزيرة عن مصدر صحفي بدمنهور قوله إن من وصفهم بـ"البلطجية" يقومون بتهديد المواطنين بالأسلحة قرب أقسام السلطة، ويقومون بأعمال نهب وسلب. 30/1/11 In the same context, Al Jazeera quoted a news source in Damanhour as saying that what he described as "thugs" threatened citizens with weapons near the Authority's departments, and carried out looting and robbery.</p>
<p>وقال الخطيب -الذي رفض ذكر اسمه لأن الأمور الأمنية لم تستتب بعد- إنه لا خوف على أحد من مطالبهم، 1/2/11 The speaker, who declined to be named because security matters have not yet been settled, said he had no fear of any of their demands,</p>
<p>وأوضحت مصادر صحفية للجزيرة أن هناك عددا كبيرا من الجرحى بميدان التحرير مصابين بكسور في قاع الجمجمة، مضيفة أن المتظاهرين يقيمون حاليا عيادات طبية ميدانية لإسعاف المصابين. 3/2/11 According to press sources of Al-Jazeera that there are a large number of wounded in Tahrir Square with fractures at the bottom of the skull, adding that the demonstrators are currently field medical clinics to aid the injured.</p>
<p>ونقلت وكالة الأنباء عن مسؤول كبير -تحدث شريطة عدم ذكر اسمه- أنه متفق مع تقييم المحتجين وشهود في القاهرة بأن شخصا ما مواليا لمبارك أطلق عصابات المسلحين لتخويف المحتجين. 3/2/11 The news agency quoted a senior official, speaking on condition of anonymity, that he agreed with the assessment of protesters and witnesses in Cairo that someone loyal to Mubarak launched armed gangs to intimidate protesters.</p>
<p>وتشهد مدن أخرى مظاهرات مشابهة لما يحدث بالقاهرة والإسكندرية، حيث تظاهر نحو مائة ألف بالإسماعيلية، ومثلهم بالزقازيق ودمنهور وفق مصادر صحفية. 4/2/11 Other cities are witnessing similar demonstrations in Cairo and Alexandria, where about 100 thousand demonstrated in Ismailia, and like them in Zagazig and Damanhour, according to press sources.</p>

Table 6.55: The Examples of Intertextuality of Local Sources

## 6.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter examines the data discursively by explaining how intertextuality and interdiscursivity were used in the coverage of AJA and BBA. The discursive practice is the second dimension of Fairclough's framework and is concerned with the underlying notions and processes involved in news-making. The analysis explains the inclusion and exclusion of different voices throughout the event and explains how different types of reporting, such as direct reporting, indirect reporting, and strategic reporting, were used with each side differently. Besides, the analysis highlights how the voice of certain social groups have been included and excluded in each outlets' coverage, and why certain groups were given more comprehensive access to the construction of online news, and the two online news outlets have marginalised others.

The results of analysis revealed that AJA and BBA differ in reporting the voices of protagonists and antagonists in their news coverage of the Revolutions. BBA opted to consider Ben Ali and Mubarak as well as their allies of the former governments as the in-group. Hence, prefer to report on the authority voices rather than the antagonists. Therefore, Ben Ali and the Tunisian authorities during the Tunisian Revolution have widely reported directly and indirectly by BBA at least from the start of the first protest in Tunisia (18/12/2010) up until 14/1/2011 the day Ben Ali left Tunisia. On the other hand, AJA opted to be on the antagonists' side by considering them as the in-group and bring comprehensive reports on the antagonist's voices since the early stage of the Revolutions. By considering the antagonists as the in-group and the governments as the out-group, AJA was trying to counter-hegemony of the authorities' voices.

The analysis also revealed some unique features of the intertextuality employed by the two outlets. First, both outlets utilised intertextualities from the neutral sources such as

eyewitnesses, human right organisations and non-political groups. However, AJA preferred to highlight the intertextuality of Islamist groups sources such as MB of Egypt, Ennahda of Tunisia, and Muslim scholars and preachers. Besides, AJA highlighted more on the voice of protestors outside Egypt who participated in the protests to show their solidarity with the Egyptian protestors. In contrast, BBA was prefer to highlight the intertextuality of the Western leaders which gave their concern on the development of the protests.



## **CHAPTER SEVEN:**

### **ANALYSIS RESULTS: SOCIAL PRACTICES**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The analysis of how two international prominent online news outlets reported the two editions of the so-called the 'Arab Spring' in Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions shows a variation on all levels of analysis textually and discursively. Based on the results textual and discursive analysis, I extend the discussion in this chapter to investigate the broader socio-political context of the event. The analysis in this chapter aims to reveal features which contribute toward power abuse and social inequality. Hence, the present chapter focuses on the 'critical' dimension of the study, which considered as the third dimension of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework.

To fulfil the aim of this chapter, I critically analyse the background and historical information of the events by looking at the economic, social, and political aspects which potentially provide a better understanding of how the two online news outlets reported the revolutions and portrayed the antagonists and protagonists. Besides, I also look deeply at the two news outlets by focusing on the aspects of editorial, institutional and ideological of the outlets, which help to provide more information on the socio-political context of the event. Hence, based on the idea of ideological square suggested by Van Dijk's (1995), I highlight the ideological structures which have been strategically utilised by the two news outlets on the textual level. On the discursive practise level, I discuss how the outlets employed group polarisation by differently portrayed the 'in-group' and the 'out-group'. Also, in the light of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) concept of '*Nodal Points of Identity*', I highlight how the voices reported in the online news have been grouped into two opposing groups based on their chain of equivalence.

The analysis of textual and discursive practices has revealed that the outlets do not stick to the same reporting strategy from the beginning of the event until the end. The two outlets have changed their reporting strategies at a certain point during the revolution. To be exact, 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 for the Tunisian revolution and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 for the Egyptian revolution marked the turning point for the outlets in shifting their reporting strategies of the events. To explain this shift in the outlets reporting strategies, I carefully examine the developments happened during these dates to find the socio and political reasons which caused the sudden change in the textual and discursive practice.

In term of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses as suggested by Gramsci (1971) and Laclau and Mouffe (1985), I elaborate how the investigated online news discourses represented the two opposing discourses during the 70 days of critical time which marked a significant change in the modern history of Tunisia and Egypt. Hence, BBC Arabic (BBA) represented the hegemonic discourses, while Aljazeera Arabic (AJA) represented the counter-hegemonic discourse.

I conclude this chapter by discussing the prospects for the media transition as a result of the 2011 Revolutions as it pertains to the overall political situation. I argue that despite the breakthroughs in the media situation; thus far, media transition does not take place without political change.

## **7.2 Group Polarisation on the Textual Level.**

Van Dijk (1995) suggests that ideologies appear in polarised opinion, action or discourse. Hence, the discourse is characterised by the dichotomy of us verse Them. As a result, the ‘in-group’ (us) is portrayed positively, while the ‘out-group’ (them) is represented negatively. This is being done by utilising specific ideological structures and strategies. These ideological structures can be identified by examining the discourse structures which have been

used to portray the ‘in-group’ positively and negatively portray others (the out-group). The textual analysis of AJA and BBA online news coverage on the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions has revealed a consistency practice of group polarisation into two opposing groups namely: the ‘in-group’ and the ‘out-group’. In explaining this practice of group polarisation on the textual level, I focus on the way the outlet has strategically utilised ideological structures such as negative and positive lexicalisation and prediction, detailed description, attribution to personality and argumentative support in reporting the two revolutions events.

To begin with, the naming of Tunisian opposition parties during the uprising can be seen as one of the structures of group polarisation. The Tunisian opposition parties which clearly opposing Ben Ali such as Ennahda and the Tunisian communist party have always attached with the label ‘banned party’ when mentioned in the news texts. While the Tunisian opposition parties which worked closely with Ben Ali carry the label of ‘legalised’ political party. This to indicate that the ‘legalised’ oppositions are the only opposition recognised by Tunisian law. Hence, enjoyed the privilege of actively participated in political activities in Tunisia, including freely participated in the Tunisian general election. In contrast, the ‘banned’ oppositions are the ‘outlaws’ which been prevented from any political activities in the country. On top of that, the ‘legalised’ oppositions are those who cooperate closely with the government. Hence, they are allowed to work freely and being treated as the ‘in-group’ by the government. In comparison, the ‘banned’ oppositions were considered as the ‘out-group’ for refusing to support the government.

Another example for negative lexicalisation, AJA carefully named Bouazizi’s action on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 as a ‘protest’, while BBA named the same action as ‘suicide’ which caused his death. By naming Bouazizi’s action as a ‘protest’, AJA focused on the aim of his action caused by Bouazizi’s dissatisfaction against the local authority. Hence, dismissed the details (setting self with fire) on how he carried his act of protest. In contrast, BBA opted to

highlight Bouazizi's action by causing his own death after setting fire on himself. Thus, did not pay much attention to the reason for his action. Besides, the naming 'protest' by AJA aimed to defend by the reasoning of Bouazizi strange action. Hence, indicated that AJA selected to treat Bouazizi as the 'in-group' by using positive lexicalisation in defending his action against the local authority. BBA, in contrast, opted to consider Bouazizi as the 'out-group' by naming his action as 'suicide'. By naming Bouazizi's act as suicide, BBA not only portrays his action as useless and worthless but also it was unacceptable among the most Arab and Muslim communities for it is against the Islamic teaching and Arab value and culture.

Furthermore, the use of the term 'millyuneah' by AJA to refer to the mass gathering of protestors in Egypt, reaching more than a million participants as targeted by the protestors also indicated a group polarisation. Therefore, AJA used the term to label the mass gathering based on the vast number of participants in the event, which aimed to depict that the gathering has successfully attracted millions of protestors. Thus, positively portrayed the protests have received an overwhelming response from the Egyptian. In contrast, BBA refuses to use the same term and only reported that the participants in these mass protests were merely a few hundred thousand. By using positive lexicalisations to positively portray the success of mass protests in gathering millions of protestors, AJA has treated the 'protestors' as the 'in-group'. In contrast, BBA acts reluctantly in portraying the events as it has archived its target of bringing a massive number of protestors.

Finally, AJA named the person (particularly among the protestors) who died during the uprising events as 'martyr' and its derivatives. Whereas BBA named them as 'victims'. There are significant differences between the term of 'victims' and 'martyr' as the 'martyr' carries a distinctive meaning from the word 'victim'. Martyr refers to a person who sacrifices his life for the sake of principle or someone willing to die for adhering to religious beliefs. The term derives from Arabic word of 'shahid' mean 'witness' or one who 'testifies to the

truth'. By using the term AJA employed the religious rhetoric of 'martyrdom' which appeal to its overwhelmingly religious audience (Halverson et al, 2013). In other words, the use of 'martyr' to refer to people who have been killed during the protests by AJA indicated that the online news outlet tries to exploit the religious and social meaning of the word which cannot be achieved from the word 'victims'. Thus, by naming the people who died in the protests as 'martyr', AJA portrayed them as religious warriors who have been killed during a holy war for defending their beliefs or protecting their rights. Hence, the 'martyr' and his family are highly regarded by Muslim society. It is indicated that AJA gave special recognition to the death of protestors during the event. Thus, it showed that the outlet was considered the protestors as the 'in-group'.

The significance of utilising names and labels like 'legalised', 'suicide' and 'martyr' is they involve in shaping attitudes toward and event reported in the online news through the interpretation of it. The term 'legalised' for instance, which has been used for political purposes has been used to positively depict the 'in-group' as the only recognised and acceptable political group in Tunisia. It also remarks that the other group (the banned Tunisia oppositions) as the 'out-law groups which practised illegal political activities contradicting the Tunisian laws. Thus, the term 'legalised' promotes not only positive political meaning but also indicates socially positive representations of the 'in-group'. The same also applied to the significance of employing the term 'martyr', which is socially and religiously associated with sacrifice and retaining rights. Hence, the one who died as 'martyr' is high regards as a hero in his society. Therefore, the terms 'legalised' and 'martyr' are the positive lexicalisations which have been strategically utilised by the two news outlets to portray the 'in-group' positively or, at least, to distance the 'in-group' from the 'others'.

In contrast, the term 'suicide' is considered as negative lexicalisations because it is contradicted with 'martyr' socially and religiously among most of the Arab and Muslim

community. If a 'martyr' is regarded as a hero for his brave act retaining his rights, an act of 'suicide' does not carry any significant impact compared to 'martyr'. Thus, the term 'suicide' has been strategically utilised by BBA to portray the 'out-group' negatively. Hence, marginalised the importance of the incident, which later on inspired the so-called 'Arab Spring'.

Moving into the ideological structure of detailed description shows that BBA described the protestors as violators of norms and values practised by Tunisians and Egyptians for decades. The Tunisian protestors, in particular, have been described by the outlet as making troubles and breaking laws, causing destruction, turmoil and chaos which almost paralysed all daily activities in the country. This never happened before as the mass protest rarely occurred in Tunisia before the revolution. The Egyptian protestors also being negatively described as disobeying the enforcement of emergency law, halting traffic movements in Cairo and the other Egyptian cities, throwing stones and glasses at security forces, causing fire, damaging government offices, looting and robbery and threatening the security of local resident. Furthermore, the leaders of antagonist groups were referred to with little or no detail, BBA did provide some details on ElBaradei who lead the Egyptian oppositions during the 2011 revolution, particularly on his well-known international reputations. However, it is still very little compared to the detailed descriptions provided by BBA on President Mubarak of Egypt and President Ben Ali of Tunisia. Besides, ElBaradei has a minimum contribution to the Egyptian political activities compared to Mubarak, who has lead Egypt for 30 years. Hence, BBA presented in detail about highlighting Mubarak's achievements and the international recognitions on him for his efforts in securing the stability in the region. Particularly, Mubarak's prominent role in the peace process between Israel and Palestine.

In term of argumentative support, BBA has strategically reasoning the negative actions of the 'in-group' were a response to more negative actions caused by the 'out-group'. For

instance, the news article generally described the security forces' tolerance with the protestors or shooting them with rubber bullets or shooting fire to air. These negative actions come as a result of the protestors themselves have not listened to the warning, or they have started to attack the security forces with stones and sharp objects. Hence, the stiff actions taken by the security forces were merely described by BBA as 'act of self-defence' from the protestors' violent.

It is important to note that BBA started its online news coverage on the protest events and the protestors in Tunisia by portraying them extremely unfavourable. BBA opted to highlight the negative side of the protest and marginalised the protestors' demands. However, the outlet changed their strategy to report on the international pressures on Ben Ali, urging him to stop the violence against the protestors and start to listen to their demands days before Ben Ali departed Tunisia. BBA completely change their side after Ben Ali left Tunisia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 and started to highlight the unjust, nepotism and corruption practised by Ben Ali's regime for decades. Although BBA news coverage on the Egyptian protestors was started not in the extremely negative tone as the Tunisian Revolution, BBA was reluctant to portray the protest in Egypt will turn into a revolution as happened in Tunisian. Hence, BBA still considered the Egyptian government as the 'in-group', and the protestors are the 'out-group'. However, the thing started to change after 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011, when the outlets intensify their report on the international (mainly from the United States) pressures against the Egyptian government particularly in depressing the protestors with violence which caused many casualties. Ultimately, on 11<sup>th</sup> February, Mubarak stepped down, and BBA immediately changes their side by praising the Egyptian protestors for their courage and dignity in overthrowing the Mubarak's regime.

In comparison, AJA tries to provide 'balanced' coverage of the two revolutions by reporting on both sides of the conflict. However, the antagonists mainly the protestors are

mostly at the centre of attention in the online news articles. Hence, indicating that AJA treated them as the 'in-group'. Therefore, since the very beginning of protest events happened in a remote area of Sidi Bouazid, up until both Ben Ali and Mubarak lost their power, the outlet has provided detailed descriptions with the protests and protestors. AJA consistently reported the full spread of protests all over Tunisian and Egyptian cities. It highlighted the success of protests in attracting much bigger crowds than what has been targeted by the organiser. AJA also emphasised on the protestors' demands by strategically quoted their slogans and chanted words during the protests. Moreover, the outlet treated the protestors as 'in-group' by using precisely the name chosen by the protestors. This can be seen in naming the protest in Egypt with unique Friday names such as 'Friday of Anger', 'Friday of Rage' and 'Friday of Departure'. Hence, indicated that the outlet is acknowledging the protestor's demands.

The thing started to become very obvious when the peaceful protest in Tunisian turned into violent by 10<sup>th</sup> January 2011. In the Egyptian revolution, AJA started to give an obvious priority to the 'Protestors' rather than 'Mubarak' after the 'camel battle' on the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011. This is being done by dramatically marginalising the authority voices. Even, when the voice of authority is being reported in the news, the negative verbal process was strategically utilised to negatively portrayed the speakers. Besides, AJA utilised negative presuppositions more intensify about the Tunisian and Egyptian government compared to before, which also promoting negative connotations on the authorities by making its appeared for granted.

All in all, both AJA and BBA tended to take sides in reporting the two revolutions events. As a result, the online news reports by both outlets seems to be describing an opposing event. This happened because of each of AJA and BBA has a different 'in-group' and 'out-group'. Thus, the outlet portrayed what they considered as the 'in-group' positively, while the 'out-group' has been described negatively by strategically utilising the lexicalisation and predication, presupposition and verbal process. Also, both outlets utilised four discourse



structures which help to reveal the ideological stand of each outlet. These four discourse structures are negative and positive lexicalisation, detailed description, attribution to personality and argumentative support.

### **7.3 Group Polarisation on the Discursive Practice Level.**

The analysis of intertextuality revealed the online news outlets' stand in reproducing relations of power. This is being done by allowing specific group full access to the construction of the discourse while marginalising others. Hence, indicating whether the outlet is preserving the powerful or countering them. When the protest started in Tunisia, BBA showed an interest in including voices of the 'in-group' (the Tunisian authority) and the voice of the 'out-group' particularly the protestors and the 'banned' Tunisian oppositions are disappeared. BBA opted to consider Ben Ali and his allies of the Tunisian government as the in-group hence prefer to report on the authority voices rather than the antagonists. Therefore, the voice Ben Ali have widely reported by using direct and indirect quotations from the start of the first protest in Tunisia (18/12/2010) up until 14/1/2011 the day Ben Ali left Tunisia.

The outlet pays much attention in bringing Ben Ali voices using direct quotations, particularly his speeches and promises aimed to calm the anger of protestors. To support Ben Ali's voice, other 'in-group' voices received considerable attention by the outlet through the concept of chain of equivalence. Hence, the voice of Ben Ali's ministers, senior government officers, the voice of eyewitnesses has been reported widely using direct and indirect quotations in the online news reports to provide 'official' information of the event and highlight the Tunisian government efforts in dealing with the situation. Thus, by opting to be on Ben Ali's side during the time of crisis through, BBA was trying to preserve the hegemony of Ben Ali on Tunisia. Hence, the outlet strategically utilised the Tunisian authority voices

and other supportive voices of eyewitnesses to become the most dominant voice in the online news.

When the voice 'out-group' has been included in the online news, later on, it is only focusing on individual leaders of Tunisian unions which showed their support to the protests, not the protestors themselves. Even so, the voice of Tunisian authority is the most dominant in the news text as the 'out-group' voice only appeared at the background of the news. In addition, the voice of Tunisian oppositions has been reported briefly in the online news articles. However, this only limit on the 'legal' Tunisian oppositions which worked closely with Ben Ali's government. Again, by selecting to report only from the 'legal' Tunisian oppositions indicated that the groups were considered as the 'in-group'. This has been done through the concept of chain of equivalence for their shared interest with the Tunisian government. Hence, BBA has silenced the voice of Tunisian's protestors, and the 'banned' Tunisian oppositions as these group do not share any similarities and oppose the Tunisian government.

Similarly, during the early stage of the Egyptian uprising, BBA prefers to report on the Egyptian authority voices rather than the protestors. Hence, indicated that the outlet considered Mubarak and his government as the 'in-group' which received full access to the discourse construction. On the other hand, the voice of Egyptian protestors and the Egyptian oppositions have been sidelined by the outlets at least during the early days of mass protests. The voice of Mubarak, for instance, have been reported using direct quotations and strategic quotes which aimed to highlight the specific phrases used by Mubarak in his words. Hence, BBA regularly reported on Mubarak speeches and promises by portraying it as the official feedback to the protest events.

To support the voice of Mubarak, other 'in-group' voices also received significant attention by the outlet through the concept of chain of equivalence. These 'in-group'

supportive voices include the voice of Mubarak's cabinet members, particularly his Vice President, Egyptian Prime Minister and other Mubarak senior ministers. Most of the time, the voice of Egyptian officers were used to provide official government statements of the situation in Egypt and to refute the claims made by the protestors. Also, the voice of eyewitnesses and local and foreign news representatives have been strategically utilised to support the voice of the Egyptian government. Through the concept of 'chain of equivalence,' these supportive voices have been grouped together based on their similarities for supporting Mubarak and standing with his side. Thus, the outlet has provided comprehensive coverage on these 'in-group' voices, while the 'out-group' voices particularly the voice of protestors and the Egyptian oppositions only appeared at the background of the news report at least during the early days of mass protest.

In contrast, AJA preferred to report on the protestors voice rather than the voice of authority. Hence, the voice of the protestors is the most dominant in the outlet online news articles for both Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. During the early days of protests in Tunisia, AJA tends to include voices of Tunisian opposition leaders and Tunisian labour unions leaders using direct and indirect quotations. These voices loudly support the protestors' demands and directly criticised the Tunisian government. The 'official' response from the Tunisian government was only being reported almost a week after the first protest started. Following that, the first response of the protest from Ben Ali was only being reported by the outlet almost ten days after the protest started. Even when the voice of Ben Ali has been included in the online news, it was done mostly using indirect quotation and scared quote to distance the outlet from Ben Ali's words. Using the concept of equivalence, the voices of other members of the Tunisian government (Ben Ali's allies) were treated by the outlet as the voice of 'out-group'. Hence, they have been marginalised by AJA. These voices are the voice of Tunisian ministers particularly Ghannouchi the then Ben Ali's prime minister, government

officers and Tunisian security forces. The outlet has sidelined these voices as it shared the same interest with Ben Ali in defending the hegemonies discourses of Tunisia. On the other hand, the voices of 'banned' Tunisian oppositions and Tunisian labour unions have been strategically utilised by AJA to support the voice of the protestors. These voices represent the voice of antagonist, which challenged the dominance of Ben Ali during the revolution. Hence, AJA opted to consider these voices as 'in-group' which received prominent focus in the online news texts.

The same strategy has also been applied in the outlet's online news coverage of the Egyptian revolution. Although AJA tried to provide balanced coverage of the event by reporting from both sources, the government and the protestors. It is the voice of protestors exists prominently and dominantly in the news texts. Hence, indicated that AJA considered the protestors as the 'in-group'. Thus, it has been given full access to the construction of news discourse. AJA also strategically utilised other supportive voices to enhance the prominence of protestors voices in the online news discourse. By using the concept of 'logic of equivalence' the voices of Egyptian oppositions, activists and eyewitnesses have been grouped together for supporting the protestors' demands. When the International leaders have started to put pressure on Mubarak, asking him to step down, the outlet strategically treated these voices to support the protestors' demands. Hence, considered all these voices as the voice of 'in-group' for their share in one common interest, namely demanding Mubarak to step down.

On the other hand, the voice of Mubarak and his government has been marginalised. Hence, showed the outlet had treated them as the 'out-group'. The analysis of intertextuality revealed that the voice of Mubarak most of time has been reported using indirect quotation and scared quote to distance the outlet from Mubarak's words. Concerning this, the voice of Mubarak associates such as his ministers and senior government officers have been reported most of the time using indirect quotation and scared quote.

The analysis results of intertextuality furthermore indicate that AJA provided special attention to the protestors' demands by repeatedly reporting on their slogans and chanted phrases during the protest events. Besides, AJA utilised names and labels proposed by the protestors themselves, such as the name of Friday's protests. This indicates that the outlet acknowledged the protestors' demands, hence, treated their voice as the 'in-group'. In comparison, BBA marginalised the protestors' demands by reporting on them only at the background of the news. Even when reporting on these demands, most of the time, it was done using the scared quote to distance the outlet from these demands or at least to indicate that the outlet is not necessarily supported these demands. Thus, revealed that the outlet had sidelined the protestors' demands for it represented the voice of 'out-group'.

#### **7.4. Shifting Point.**

The analysis of the textual and discursive practice of AJA and BBA revealed that the two online news outlets had made a change in their reporting strategies during the 'time of crisis'. Although the change is more drastic in BBA compared to AJA, both outlets stand with the protestors after Ben Ali departed Tunisia on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 and when Mubarak stepped down on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011. Before these dates, both outlets stood with a different side of the conflict. The analysis on the textual level showed BBA utilised negative lexicalisations and negative presuppositions to portray the dark side of protests and the protestors up until 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 for the Tunisian revolution. Similarly, the negative lexicalisations and negative presuppositions have been strategically deployed to describe the Egyptian protestors and their actions only before 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011. BBA changed their strategy from totally silencing the voice of Tunisian protestors to start reporting from protestors sources after 10<sup>th</sup> January 2011. This has been done by reporting the voice of the protestors using positive verbal process. In

term of the Egyptian revolution, BBA shifted from marginalising the voice of protestors to reporting on them using positive and neutral verbal processes beginning 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011.

AJA, on the other hand, showed support to the protestors in Tunisian and Egypt since the beginning of the revolution. At the same time, the outlet tried to balance their coverage by not dismissing the authority side. However, the use of negative presuppositions by the outlet become more explicit about Ben Ali government beginning from 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Furthermore, before 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the outlet utilised all types of verbal process to refer to both sides the Tunisian government and the protestors. However, after the date, the outlet only used a negative verbal process to refer to Ben Ali and his government. A similar consistent pattern also found in term of AJA coverage on the Egyptian revolution. After 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011, the outlet has only utilised negative presuppositions about the Egyptian government, whereas prior to this, positive presuppositions have been used to report on Mubarak and his government. AJA also tried to provide balanced coverage of the Egyptian revolution by utilising all three types of verbal process for both the government and the protestors. However, the thing started to completely change after 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011, as the only negative verbal process has been used to refer to the Egyptian government side.

The analysis of intertextuality on the discursive practice level revealed BBA marginalised the voices of Tunisian antagonists before 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Being exempted from this, are the voice of several Tunisian unions leaders and leaders of 'legalised' Tunisian oppositions who worked closely with Ben Ali's government. However, after the date, the outlet has started to include the voices of protestors and 'banned' oppositions leaders who live in exile outside Tunisia. In term of the Egyptian revolution, BBA tries to provide more balanced coverage of the Egyptian event compared to the Tunisian by reporting from both sides of the Egyptian conflict. However, the sources of Egyptian authority were the most

prominent in the news before 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011. After the date, the outlet started to provide broader access for the protestors' voices to be included in the news.

In contrast to BBA, AJA only started to include the Tunisian the authority voices seven days after the first process started. Hence, AJA focused on bringing more opposition voices to the news report since the early stage of uprising compared to the voice of the Tunisian government. However, when the Tunisian authority started to provide official responses to the event, the outlet included these authoritative voices of the Tunisian government in their online news articles. However, most of the time, the voice of Tunisian authority was provided as the background of the news. Ultimately, after 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the voice of the Tunisian government has been marginalised by the outlet. Moving into AJA news report of the Egyptian revolution, it is found that the outlet has reported on the voice of both sides of the Egyptian conflict prior 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011. After the date, the voices representing the Egyptian government have been sidelined. In contrast, the voices of protestors and the Egyptian oppositions have been reported intensively by the outlet.

All in all, 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011, for Tunisia and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 (for Egypt) marked as the important dates for the shift in news reporting strategy practised by AJA and BBA during the time of crisis. In term of Tunisia, three essential events happened between 6<sup>th</sup> January and 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Which gave considerable momentum to the protestors and changed the scene not only in Tunisia but also internationally. These three significant events are:

- 1) On 6<sup>th</sup> January 2011 and onward, thousands of lawyers, teachers, and other professional workers went on strike to show their protests.
- 2) Between 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the protests turned ugly as the police used violently to deal with protestors and the military were deployed in many Tunisian cities.
- 3) As a result, leaders of the United States and European countries have started to show their deep concern in the way the protestors have been treated in Tunisia.

In term of the first event, it is worth to note that the Egyptian revolution begins with a small scale of protest in a remote area of Tunis. The protest this early stage was participated by mostly rural people and unemployed young man. However, when the protest reached Tunisian capital and other Tunisian significant cities, the protest has attracted much more participants, including professionals, doctors, lawyers and teachers. Hence, the strike beginning from 6<sup>th</sup> January 2011 marked a significant development for the protestors as their efforts have been well supported by many Tunisian regardless of their social and economic status.

Moreover, the protests reached its highest peak between 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011. In response to that, the police used violent approaches in dealing with protestors. Hence, caused many casualties, and many others have been arrested. This development forced the military to safeguard many areas of Tunisia, and the country has been put under curfew. Ultimately, as a result of violent clashes between the police and the protestors, the United States administrations and the European leaders have raised their pressure on Ben Ali over his failure in dealing with the protestors.

For the Egyptian revolution, there are two significant events happened in Egyptian just before 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011. These important events are:

- 1) The United States pulls its support to Mubarak, thus caused other international leaders to put pressures on him to listen to the protestors.
- 2) The so-called 'Battle of the camel' between Mubarak supporters and the protestors.

Looking at these crucial developments of both TR and ER, it can be summarised into two critical points which caused the shift in the two outlets news coverage strategies of the events. The first important point is: The protest has reached its highest peak, and secondly the international superpower, particularly the United States, pulled their support to the regimes. To begin with, although the protest has reached the Tunisian capital at the end of December



2010, many Tunisians were preferred to restore their daily life after being affected by a series of strikes and protests. However, when the Tunisian professionals such as lawyers, doctors and teachers join the strike and violently treated by the security forces, Tunisian started to change their minds towards the government and show their sympathy to the protestors. As a result, the number of protestors increased dramatically during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 protests which recorded more violent clashes and increased number of casualties.

Similarly, the so-called 'Battle of camel' in Tahrir Square of Cairo, Egypt marked the highest peaks of protest in Egypt. Before that, the protest in Egypt had already gathered a hundred thousands of protestors. However, the protest almost lost its tremendous momentum after Mubarak made changes in his government and gave promises of significant reform to the Egyptian. Mubarak fully utilised his speeches broadcasted live in the Egyptian national television to reach every Egyptian and win their heart with his soft tone but fully determine for a reform. Besides, many typical Egyptian were getting back to their daily life after severely affected by the mass protests. However, the so-called 'Battle of the Camel' went into a completely wrong direction with Mubarak's promises.

During the clash, Pro-Mubarak supporters and the thugs have known as 'baltaqiyya' attacked the anti-government protestors in Cairo, particularly in Tahrir Square. It was a surprise for many Egyptian that the attack has been carried out with permission from government officers to frighten the protestors. (Ghannam,2012:33). Also, the Egyptian army who are responsible for securing the Tahrir Square were seen allowing the 'baltaqiyya' to enter the are without any restriction. Hence, led the Egyptians to give their sympathy to the protestors (Holmes,2012) after seeing the live footage of the brutal event widely shared in the social media. The 'Battle of the Camel' is regarded as the most violent clash during the uprising in Egypt, which caused nearly dozen of death and almost a thousand injuries. Although, the then Egyptian Home Minister immediately denied the government had been

brought up to the justice. Among them the speakers of Egyptian parliament Fathi Srur and Safwat al-Sherif who was the Secretary-General of the then Egyptian ruling party National Democratic Party (NDP).

The influence of international superpower of the event is undeniable. The United States, in particular, has a significant presence in both Egypt and Tunisia. Egypt is one of the United States closest allies in the Middle East, mainly due to the vital role played by Egypt in the Israel and Palestine issues. As a result, after the 1979 Camp David Accords, Egypt heavily relied on the U.S annual aid by receiving more than \$ 1.5 billion yearly to fund the overall country budget (Ibid). When the first protests started in Egypt during the time of crisis on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the U.S maintained their support to Mubarak by viewing the protests as a domestic issue which could be solved effectively through a serious dialogue between all the parties. At the same time, the U.S administration was concern about the safety of protestors and urged the authority to allow them to express their view freely. However, by the end of January 2011, President Obama started to reduce his support to Mubarak and asked him to consider a power transition plan. Hence, indicated that the U.S was no longer stands with Mubarak and started to consider a new successor of Mubarak which will provide the end to the crisis.

Although Tunisia under the leadership of Ben Ali did not receive special privilege from the United States as much as Mubarak in Egypt, Tunisia was considered as one of the United States essential clients in the region (Falk, 2011). Ben Ali's government was dependent on the United States. Hence, Ben Ali worked closely with the United State policy by opening Tunisia to the United States and European foreign investments and cooperated with the American in fighting the 'Islamists' and 'terrorists'. Thus, Tunisia is a crucial United States partner in the effort to fight Al-Qaeda link and global terrorism in Africa through the Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative (Black, 2011). In short, Ben Ali has been a useful ally of the 'west';

for 23 years of his reign, and his government was assumed to be immune to severe challenges for its abuse of power as the reports on the human rights violations in Tunisia have been ignored by the United States (Falk, 2011). As a result, it was at the final stage of the protest when the United States and the European leaders have only started to raise their concern on the situation in Tunisia. France in particular, the greatest allies of Tunisia and Sarkozy, the then President of France enjoyed a great relationship with Ben Ali has maintained his support to Ben Ali until the day he departed Tunisia.

The 'West' treated the two revolutions of Tunisia and Egypt with double standard. Hence, the Western leaders found themselves in a difficult situation, between preserving their strong relationship with Ben Ali and Mubarak's regimes and supporting the protestors' rights to voice out their concerns. Supposedly, the Western powers should support these revolutions because they always urge Arab governments particularly in Tunisia and Egypt to respect human rights and promote democracy. However, the West must protect their crucial economic interests gained from their strong relationship with the old Arab dictatorships. Thus, resulted into a gap between the political discourse and the real reaction from the Western leaders towards the rapid events of the revolutions.

The Western powers particularly the EU and the US have always paid a lot of attention to the Arab countries. The location of Arab countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa provides a strategic geographical location which link the West to East and vice versa. Besides, the relation between the Western leaders and the Arab leaders gives a direct impact on Israel security. Moreover, the Middle East hold approximately 54% of world oil reservoir and 43% of global natural gas reserves. Hence, any conflict in the region will cause severe impact on the future of oil-dependent economies (Dadush & Dunne, 2011). Western countries always emphasise on the reforms in the Arab countries particularly in the area of freedom of speech and the rights for peaceful assembly, rule of law, human rights and democratic political

approaches. Thus, in the early reaction of the Western leaders towards the AS, they welcomed the people's uprising and called upon the Arabs governments to allow peaceful gatherings (Hollis, 2012). However, the Western powers seemed not prepared for a power change in the Arab countries because they enjoyed vast economic and political advantages from their cooperation with the existing Arab regimes.

All in all, these crucial developments of the protests reached its highest momentum and the West, particularly the U.S has pulled its support have brought massive impact to the wave of protests in Tunisia and Egypt. At the same time, the government of Ben Ali and Mubarak become relatively weaker for not only facing pressures from their people but also the international leaders particularly the international superpower the United States of America. Hence, led the outlets to shift their reporting strategy and eventually change their side after the fall of Ben Ali's and Mubarak's regimes.

### **7.5. Hegemonic Discourse and Hegemonic Intervention.**

As Blommaert (2005) mentioned, dominant social groups always find a way to normalise their discourse by controlling institutions, the media institutions in particular, which produce discourse. By controlling the media, the dominant social group turn media institutions to become their tools for sustaining hegemony in society. As the representative of Western ideological structure, during the revolutions up until the West pulled their support of the Egyptian and Tunisian governments, BBA was on the side of Ben Ali and Mubarak. The main reason for that is that Ben Ali and Mubarak were considered as the Western's allies and their existence in power is vital to safeguard the Western policies and their influence of the region. Hence, both Ben Ali and Mubarak were heavily backed by the Western superpower even though many Egyptians and Tunisians went out to protest against their leaders. However, one day after Ben Ali departed Tunisia and the day following Mubarak's resignation, BBA

switched sides from ferociously criticising the protesters and backing the regimes to praising the revolution and criticising the Ben Ali and Mubarak.

In contrast to BBA, AJA represented the counter-hegemonic discourse during the Revolutions. As the motto of Al-Jazeera proudly states 'giving voice to the voiceless', AJA fully utilised their workforce to bring forward the voice of the other side of the conflict. Hence, the outlet proudly stated in their websites for the achievement in providing a voice of hopes, dreams and visions of millions of Arab people who want to live free from the autocratic regime and dictatorship. As a result, *Aljazeera* network faced many restrictions from many Arab countries, even before the so-called 'Arab Spring' has started. Although the Qatari government does not have any direct link to the outlet, many believed that *Aljazeera* is the 'soft power' of Qatar. Hence, when an Arab government decided to cease *Aljazeera* operation in their country or prevent the satellite access to *Aljazeera* channel, they also cut the diplomatic tie with Qatar.

Looking specifically on the relationship between Tunisia and *Aljazeera*, it showed that *Aljazeera* not always welcomed in Tunisia for their controversial news coverage against the Tunisian government. For instance, in October 2006, Tunisia cut their diplomatic ties with Qatar in the act of protest, after *Aljazeera* invited Mounchef Marzouqy (Tunisian opposition leader living in exile in France) to be a guest in one of the channel programs. During the controversial interview, Marzouqy loudly calls Tunisian to launch civil disobedience against the government. In 2009 almost a year before the 2011 revolution, the Tunisian government blocked the access to Al-Jazeera.net, particularly the Arabic news portal (AJA) (Al-Jazeera, 28 December 2010). The Tunisian authority has accused the news portal was responsible for promoting 'terrorist' and 'crime' activities. The decision comes during the time in which the AJA news portal recorded one of the most accessible online news sites in Tunisia. Ultimately, during the TR, to be precise ten days after the first protest started in Bouzid, the Tunisian parliament condemned *Aljazeera* news coverage of the protest events (Ibid). The Tunisian

parliament claimed *Aljazeera* provided misleading facts about the protest. Thus, they urged the Tunisian government to take severe actions against the outlet for their continues political motivated actions in causing instability in Tunisia. All these indicated that *Aljazeera* had provided counter-hegemonic discourses long before the 2011 revolution started. As a result, the Tunisian government was not so tolerated of these discourses which threatened their power dominance in Tunisia. Hence, on many occasions, *Aljazeera* faced actions from the Tunisian government severely.

Ultimately, during the revolution, *AlJazeera* network and AJA in particular, double the effort to bring forward the voices of protestors and the Tunisian oppositions by making their voices the centre of attention in the outlet news report. Thus, AJA was the first in providing a full and comprehensive report on Bouazizi 'Strange' act on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 after being widely speculated in Social Media. It was that time when other news outlets have marginalised the event, which later on inspired the wave of revolution in many Arab countries. AJA was also the first to link the protests towards the anti-government demands. This has been done by including the voices of Tunisian opposition leaders who mostly life in exile criticising the government and President Ben Ali in particular. As a result, the outlet news coverage not only brought forward the protestors' initial demands of providing jobs opportunities and enhanced their social and economic status but also went a step further, to include the demanding Ben Ali to step down.

*Aljazeera* since its early of formation in 1996, has begun to criticise Mubarak which invited counter-responses from the Egyptian government and the Egyptian media outlets. *Aljazeera* was being accused of spreading misleading facts to cause instability in many Arab countries, including Egypt. During the 2011 Egyptian revolution, AJA continues the same momentum of comprehensive coverage of the Tunisian Revolution to report on revolution event in Egypt. A day after Ben Ali left Tunisia and ten days before the first protest started in

Tahrir Square of Cairo, AJA speculated about the next potential Arab country which potentially caused a revolution as happened in Tunisia (AJA 15 January 2011). As the Egyptian groups such as 'We All Khalid Said, the '6<sup>th</sup> April Movements' and other Egyptian youth movements were preparing for a massive protest against corruption and injustice on Egyptian police days on 25 January 2011, AJA predicted Egypt was the most potential country to be hit by a wave of revolution which may cause a change of power in Egypt.

The counter-hegemony discourse provided by *Aljazeera* was unacceptable by the Egyptian government. The Egyptian state-controlled Media Al-Ahram, for instance, described *Aljazeera* as launching a conspiracy against the Egyptian government and spreading poisons among Egyptian (Al-Ahram 28 January 2011). As a result, the Egyptian government took severe actions against *Aljazeera* as many of the outlet correspondents were assaulted, threatened or arrested by the Egyptian authorities, their journalist equipment have been seized or smashed. (AJA, 31 January 2011). On the day the so-called the 'Battle of Camel' occurred, *Aljazeera* signal broadcasted through Nilecat (own by an Egyptian Satellite Company) has been terminated based on the order from the Egyptian government (AJA 2 February 2011). Hence, forced the outlet to rely on other Arab satellite networks to broadcast their news inputs to the Egyptian viewers. Despite the cut off from the Nilecat satellite network, *Aljazeera* continues to spread comprehensive counter-hegemony discourse of the event. As a result, AJA reported on 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011, that the news portal was facing several attacks to paralyse the outlet website (AJA 4 February 2011). Besides, many *Aljazeera* correspondents were either assaulted or arrested and *Aljazeera* office in Cairo was broke in and severely damaged (AJA 5 January 2011).

BBA, on the other hand, does not face many restrictions from the authority. During the Tunisian revolution, BBA opted to provide hegemonic voices supporting Ben Ali and his government. The main reason for that is that Ben Ali received massive support from the

Western Superpower. Hence, Ben Ali must be protected from challenges against him. By standing with Ben Ali during the revolution, BBA not only negatively portrayed the protesters but also criticised Tunisian oppositions and foreign media for exploiting the event for their political interest. Furthermore, BBA provided a comprehensive report on Ben Ali's great achievements in developing Tunisia to become an example of a moderate country in the region. This is to say, BBA has opted to preserve the hegemonies discourse in Tunisia despite Ben Ali's government received a significant challenge from the protectors and antagonists. However, BBA started to take a turn from fully supporting Ben Ali after the protests turned violent during the final stage of the protest. During the violent clash between the protestors and Tunisian security forces on 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011, many news correspondents have been assaulted or detained including from the BBC. (BBA, 12 January 2011). At the same time, the U.S and European leaders have started to reduce their support on Ben Ali and urged him to provide an urgent solution to the crisis.

Moving into Egypt, it is safe to say that the outlet has an essential existence in the country. This is because Cairo, the capital city of Egypt, hosts an office for the outlet which works closely with the main studio of BBC International in London. BBA office in Cairo is the operation centre for most of the outlet correspondents in the Middle East region. However, it does not mean that the BBA enjoyed great privilege in providing news coverage of the Egyptian revolution events. BBA repeatedly reported that their correspondences had been assaulted and their equipment have been seized by the Egyptian authority (BBA, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011) Learned from the rich experience of news coverage during the Tunisian Revolution. BBA tried to provide balanced coverage of the event. However, the outlet largely maintained its support to Mubarak, hence preserve the hegemonic discourse in Egypt at least during the early stage of the revolution. Again, as the strongest ally of Western superpower, the existence



of Mubarak was vital to protect the Western interest of the region. Hence, the Mubarak government must be protected from the antagonist's attacks.

All in all, during the Tunisian Revolution and subsequently in the Egyptian revolution, AJA had provided severe challenges for the government-owned media and other leading international media, including the BBA. By focusing on reporting events which may be ignored by other news outlets, it gave a unique feature which distinguished AJA from other news institution. During the revolution in Tunisia and Egypt, the biggest challenge to the hegemonic discourse came from AJA, which considered as the 'outsider'. Thus, AJA relatively not restricted to specific rule and law forced by the authority in Tunisia and Egypt. Hence, provided more opportunities for the outlet to launch the hegemonic intervention to the dominance discourse compared to BBA.

By supporting the protestors' demands, AJA was challenging the hegemonic discourse. On the other hand, BBA opted to preserve the hegemonic discourse, hence, showed a discourse struggle between the two-competing discourse produced by the two renown international news outlets which have great present and influence among the Arab people. It is observed when AJA launched the hegemonic intervention towards the dominant discourse in Tunisia and Egypt, the outlet strategically utilised the concepts of 'Myth' and 'social imaginary' as termed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985,1990). This is being done by carefully portrayed the protestors' demands as the 'vision' and the 'dream' of every Tunisian and Egyptian. Hence, the protestors' demands have been portrayed as a demand of every Tunisian and Egyptian. Thus, terms such as 'the popular protest' and 'the people protest' were used to describe the protests.

Furthermore, by using the 'logic of equivalence,' the protestors' demands have been merged with the demands made by other antagonists' group particularly the oppositions to achieve the 'social imaginary' in which people were directed toward one common aim.

Therefore, it is observed that during the early stage of protest, the protestors were merely made demands mostly related to their social and economic issues such as unemployment, unbalance development, poverty and inflation. Later on, the protestors were described to demand for political reform, including demanding President Ben Ali and Mubarak step down.

The use of the concept of 'logic of equivalence' also can be seen in AJA strategic use of supportive voice to support the voices of the protestors in providing the counter-hegemonic voice to the authority. Hence, the voices of oppositions, activists, human right organisations, foreign media and international leaders who showed their support to the protestors have been grouped to challenge the dominant discourse. In contrast, the 'logic of differences' was used to group together the voice of Tunisian and Egyptian governments, including their allies which do not support the protestors' demands. As a result, the social actors during the revolution have been divided into two opposing groups, namely the antagonists and the protagonists.

To summaries, during the two revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, AJA played an essential role in providing hegemonic intervention to the dominant discourse in the two Arab countries. Using the concept of Myth, the protestors initial demands have been positively described as representing the demands of every Tunisian and Egyptian. Furthermore, these demands have been merged with the political demands made by the oppositions who demands the complete fall of the regime in Tunisia and Egypt. Hence, the protestors demand reached the level of 'social imaginary'. Ultimately, the social actors during the revolution have been grouped into two opposing camps based on their stand in supporting the protestors' demands or against it. All these processes of hegemonic-intervention indicated that the dominant discourse in Tunisia and Egypt for decades, which based on the idea of moderation, nationalism, and pro-west had been faced tough challenges ultimately during the 2011 revolution. At the peak of these challenges, the discourses of Islamism, liberalism and human

rights movements, as well as the populism of popular movement, have transformed the hegemonic discourse after the fall of two regimes in Tunisia and Egypt.

### **7.6 The future of Media outlook in the region.**

Before the 2011 revolution, the government of Tunisia and Egypt heavily restricted media coverage, which criticises the government. This was done by suppressing the journalists and prosecuting them for various accusations for the attempt to cause instability in the country. As a result, most local news outlets in Egypt and Tunisia have been put under the control of the authorities. Besides, despite the privation of media outlets, particularly in Egypt, these outlets were mostly under the influence of people closely related to (the then) the ruling party. Hence, one of the demands made by the protestors is to have media freedom and free access to different media discourses. For example, during the protests in Tunisia, the local Tunisian journalists hold a series of protests asking loudly for the freedom of media by removing Tunisian media institutions from the Ben Ali's regime allies and their supporters. As a result, these demonstrations were successfully formed new editorial teams for the Tunisian national television as well as creating a new group of journalists for the Tunisian national newspapers (Owais, 2011)

Similarly, the Egyptian protestors were asking for the election of a new board for their association. This move aimed to clean the association from the influence of Mubarak's supporters. The protestors also called for significant reform to the Egyptian Ministry of Information, which mainly in charge of the media in Egypt (ibid). Thus, the transformation of media is much more needed after the revolutions compared than before. However, a transformation in media alone does not guarantee a bright path toward democracy. Despite the significant influence of media in shaping public opinion, media transformation must begin with political reform. Otherwise, the transformation will not last long. Previously the 1979

Iranian revolution has brought massive changes into Iranian Media (Bruno 2009). However, the change only limited to the replacement of new ideology after the fall of the Shah regime without real progress toward media freedom. With the uncertain outcome of the 2011 Revolution in many Arab countries toward the democratic path, the same underwhelm result of the Iranian Revolution has happened to the AS.

Secondly, the international media will continue to be one of the most trusted sources for news and information compared to the state-own official media outlets. With the advance of communication technology, readers often find information from alternative sources conveniently through their smartphones. Hence, the international media outlet with a high quality of journalism attitude will quickly attract the audience's trust. Besides, the fast-emerging of social media which offer interactive features will promote a more transparent narrative on a many issues particularly those related to issues avoided by the official media.

In 25<sup>th</sup> June 2012, BBC Trust produced a report which highly praised the courage of journalists on the ground to bringing reports of the AS events (Dowell, 2012; BBC, 2012). In general, the report highlighted that the outlet's coverage of the event was 'impartial'. However, the report suggested that the coverage could has been provided more follow up stories and brought up different voices of oppositions and broader range of international reaction towards the event as it unfolds. Besides, the BBC Trust in its report indicated that the outlet's coverage of the uprising may have failed to fully explore the story of both sides of the conflict. Moreover, the report also suggested that the outlet should give more efforts to draw the audiences' attention.

*Aljazeera* on the other hand, has become more controversial after the ousted of many Arab leaders post the AS. The outlet has turned to become the Qatar's soft power in spreading their influence among the Arab nations in the process of forming new governments post the Revolution (Phared, 2014). In Tunisia and Egypt, the outlet supported the Islamist groups of

Ennahda of Tunisia and Muslim Brotherhood (MB) of Egypt which both recorded a historical win in the elections to form the new government after the ousted of Ben Ali and Mubarak.

During the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, Aljazeera has played a significant role in relaying the Islamist oppositions of Ennahda and MB. Despite both Ennahda and MB were not directly involved in the protests during the early stage of the uprising events, the outlet has already highlighted the vital role of these Islamist groups in shaping the political future of the two countries. Several days after the resignation of Mubarak, Aljazeera launched a dedicated channel known as *Aljazeera Mubasher Misr* (*Aljazeera Live Egypt*) specifically to cover the Egyptian affairs. The channel since its establishment has provided a considerable coverage to pro-Muslim Brotherhood news and views (Al Qassemi, 2012). This was aligned with the Qatari government support to the overthrown President Morsi, by providing his pro-Muslim Brotherhood government in 2012 with huge investments and loans. The Qatar's continues attempt to widen their political influence in the region through *Aljazeera* has no doubt caused a diplomatic crisis beginning June 2017. Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE) for instance, supported Ben Ali and Mubarak governments (Cherkaoui, 2014). Saudi Arabia in particular has hosted Ben Ali since 2011 until he died in 2019 and refused to extradite him back to Tunisia. Besides, Saudi Arabia helped the Sisi's pro-junta government who replaced Morsi with economic and military aids. Furthermore, this diplomatic tense was mirrored in the competition between *Aljazeera* of Qatar on one hand, and *AlArabiya* of Saudi Arabia and Sky News Arabia of UAE in another hand.

## **7.7 Conclusion**

The present chapter aimed to relate the findings of textual and discursive analysis with the social practice. Hence the chapter investigate the broader socio-political context of the event aims to reveal features which contribute toward power abuse and social inequality. Thus,

the present chapter focuses is concern with the third dimension of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework.

The results revealed that AJA was controversial to the former governments of Tunisia and Egypt even before the revolution was started. AJA offered the counter-hegemonies discourses which challenged the official discourses. As a result, AJA has faced a lot of restrictions in the two countries. When the protests started in Tunisia in December 2010, AJA utilised the event to deliver the voice of antagonists' groups. BBA on the other hand, opted to sustain the hegemonies discourse by standing with the Ben Ali and Mubarak during the uprisings due to many political and economic reasons. However, as the West always promote democracy in the region, BBA also highlighted on the issue of freedom of expression which allow the protests to express their voice.

Ultimately, when the protests reached the highest and the Western powers have pulled their support towards the former governments, both outlets have slightly changed their reporting strategies. From supporting the government, BBA has started to report on the protestors' demands and highlight the wrongdoing of the governments. AJA on the other hand intensified their counter hegemonies discourse against the authorities. When Ben Ali left Tunisia and Mubarak stepped down, BBA completely changed its stance and praised the revolution.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by reiterating the aims of the research and restating the theoretical framework and method, adopted for data analyses. Then, the current chapter highlights main findings of the study and provides recommendations for future studies.

#### 8.2 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current research is to examine how issues of ideology power and hegemony were imposed and resisted in modern standard Arabic online news discourse during the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolution. Both *Aljazeera* and BBC are well-known international media outlets, which gained a reputable brand name among the Arab audiences. BBC has a long historical relationship with the Arab world particularly through the BBC Arabic services which begin more than 80 years ago. Although *Aljazeera* is relatively ‘newer’ compared to BBC in providing news and information to the Arab audience, *Aljazeera* has provided a good alternative to the Western-media discourse. Hence, in general, *Aljazeera* news coverage of the events in the Arab world is closer to the Arab culture and customs. In contrast, BBC coverage of the news events in the Middle East was based on the Western perspective. Thus, an analysis of the outlet’s online news coverage of the two Revolutions provides insights into how the ‘Qatari’ and ‘British’ media portrayed the events and how the issue of power struggle was presented in their news report.

### 8.3 Theoretical Reflections

The theoretical framework for the current study is based on the combination of Discourse Theory (DT) of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and the textual oriented of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1992) to explain the online news discourse during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. Fairclough proposes a more systematic analytical framework compared to other CDA approaches. Fairclough's framework connects micro-analysis of texts with the macro-level of discourses through his three dimensions textual analysis of text, discursive practice and social practice. Although Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe and Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough have many differences particularly in terms of their very individual epistemological stances, some of the analytical concepts proposed by Laclau and Mouffe can be matched with Fairclough's. Besides, Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe is more towards providing my research with the ground theories and concepts but lacks a practical systematic analytical framework. Thus, Laclau and Mouffe's concepts can be effectively beneficial by combining them with Fairclough's systematic Critical Discourse Analysis through the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

In order to strengthen the link between CDA and DT particularly in analysing media texts around the so-called the 'Arab Spring', Van Dijk (1995) analytical framework of media discourse offers practical analytical tools for the current study. Van Dijk framework distinguishable from other approaches for his emphasises on both textual and reception process of media discourse (Boyd-Barrett, 1994). Therefore, Van Dijk analyses the textual and structural level of media discourse before looking at the production and comprehension level of the investigated discourse. Relevance to this study is his call to integrate between textual media analysis and the media production processes which include journalistic and institutional practices of news making and the economic and social practices which are essential to create



the media discourse. These elements once again are closely related to the structures of media discourse.

The analysis combines a micro-textual analysis and macro-social structure analysis which critiques the sociopolitical context in order to understand discourse and its relation to the social power. Moreover, the analysis is based on the concept of ideology which defined it as a system of beliefs which contribute to hegemony and unequal social power relation, hence, make it appears natural and unchallenged (Fairclough, 2001). Based on these theoretical framework, the study aimed to examine how the online news contributes to producing or resisting the hegemonic power through the representation of the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolution events and its social actors. Thus, the first three research questions of the present study focused on the textual and discursive practice analysis. The textual analysis is the first dimension of Fairclough's analysis framework. While the analysis of discursive practice is Fairclough's second dimension. In answering these first three research questions. I analysed the online news texts by focusing on three linguistic elements namely: lexicalisation and predication, presuppositions and verbal processes. Following that, with concern to the Fairclough's second dimension, I examined the discursive practice (with focus on the news production) by analysing the intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The analysis then entered the third dimension of Fairclough's framework which dealt with the social practice by examining the wider social and political context which much more information to understand the investigated discourse. The analysis of social practice is related to the Question Four and Five of the present study.

Thus, the analysis chapters in the present study have been build and arranged based on the research questions and Fairclough's three-dimension discourse analysis framework. Hence, chapters Three, Four, Five and Six provide a description of the formal properties of the text by focusing on certain linguistic features and structures. Then, based on the result of textual and

discourse analysis in chapters Three to Six, the Chapter Seven examined the online news texts in relation to the wider society context of the investigated discourse. In other words, the Chapter Three to Six highlighted ‘how’ AJA and BBA portrayed the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions? while Chapter Seven dealt with ‘Why’ did AJA and BBA addressed the two Revolutions in such way?

All in all, I found that Fairclough textual oriented CDA and his three-dimension framework which analyses text, discursive and social practices provide useful insights into how group polarization was implemented on both the textual and discourse practice level. Also, can Dijk’s concept of ideological square and his analytical framework of media discourse were vital in expanding the discussion on the results of textual and discursive analysis. Furthermore, the integration of CDA theories and DT of Laclau and Mouffe which relooked the Gramsci’s concept of hegemony gave further overview into the process of discourse struggles particularly in term of ‘hegemonic intervention’. Last but not least, other critical theories such as Althusser’s theory of ideology and Foucault’s theory of power have helped the present study to critically analyse online news discourse during the so-called ‘AS’ of the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions.

#### **8.4 Method Adopted**

In order to provide answers for the research questions, the present study analysis data in two stages namely: The preparatory analytical stages and the CDA of research data. The preparatory analytical stages are vital before conducting the qualitative CDA analysis as it offered the contextual of the investigated events and provided useful insights which guided the CDA analytical process and the results discussion. The preparatory analytical stages involved three stages namely:

- 1) The Archive Search,
- 2) The Concordance Analysis and
- 3) The Content Analysis.

The Arabic online news articles involved in this study are divided into two groups of corpus data. First is the big corpus data of 1.2 million words which contains more than 2100 online news articles involved in the archive search. The second corpus data is the sub-corpus data which consists a total of 817 modern standard Arabic online news articles of more than 350,000 words. This sub-corpus data is concerning the qualitative CDA analysis. These news articles were published during the first 70 days of the so-called the 'AS' beginning from 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 until 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011. The data is in modern standard Arabic; hence, relevant news extracts were first translated into English and then analysed. The main reasons for using translating news from Arabic to English rather than using the outlets' news in English is the focus of my study is on the online news produced mainly for the Arab audience during the two Revolutions. Hence, the original data written in modern standard Arabic were translated into English.

In addition to the qualitative method of CDA, the study also utilised corpus technique with the help from the concordance analysis software known as AntConc software for concordance analysis (version 3.4.3, September 2014). This computer software provided statistical evident which help the analysis of linguistics features in the news texts. The textual and discursive practice features examined in the present research consist of four tools namely: lexicalisation and predication, presupposition, verbal process and intertextuality. The first three tools relate to textual analysis are the focus of Chapter Four and Five. While the intertextuality is concerned with discursive practice analysis, hence needs a separate chapter (Chapter Six). Finally, Chapter Seven focuses on the third dimension of Fairclough's framework, namely the critical dimension of social relation.

## 8.5 The Main Findings

The study aimed to reveal how AJA and BBA represented the protests the antagonists and the protagonists during the first 70 days of the so called the 'AS'. The analysis of media representation is vital for the study as through the outlets' representation of social events and social actors, they represent their own creation of reality and meaning. Thus, the online news reports were analysed at the textual and discursive level. To investigate these representative, six analytical tools were deployed namely: concordance analysis, content analysis, lexicalisation and predication, presupposition, verbal processes and intertextuality. These six analytical tools used to reveal how AJA and BBA constructed their own meanings concerning the social events (the protests) and the social actors (the antagonists and the protagonists). The analytical tools also helped in examining either this process of meaning construction produces the media outlet's ideologies, and challenges or resists relations of power and hegemony during the revolutions.

In general, the study found that both AJA and BBA practiced a group polarization which mirror a structure of ideologies at the level of textuality and Ben Ali and Mubarak governments and the out-group. In contrast, BBA represented the former Tunisian and Egyptian governments as the in-group, and the protestors as the out-group. The analysis of textual and discursive practices has revealed that the outlets do not stick to the same reporting strategy from the beginning of the event until the end. The two outlets have changed their reporting strategies at a certain point during the revolution. To be exact, 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 for the Tunisian revolution and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 for the Egyptian revolution marked the turning point for the outlets in shifting their reporting strategies of the events.

Slightly before these dates the protests have reached its peak and turned violent which claimed many lives. As a result, both Ben Ali and Mubarak government, lost the trust from

their people. Moreover, many Tunisians and Egyptians gave their sympathy to the protestors after being treated violently by the authorities. In addition, the former governments of Tunisia and Egypt lost their support from the Western superpower particularly the US and EU. Hence, both Ben Ali and Mubarak government become remarkably weaker after these dates. Therefore, the representation of the protests, the antagonists and the protagonists in AJA and BBA can be divided into stages: before the shifting points and after the shifting points.

### **The Representation of the Protests**

It is found that before the shifting dates (11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 for TR and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 for ER) AJA and BBA represented the protest events differently on both textual and discursive levels. Hence, it seems that the two outlets were reporting different stories of the same event. On the textual level, BBA offered the description of the protests from the government Ben Ali and Mubarak point of view. Therefore, BBA labelled the protests as the violation to the norms and values practiced by Tunisian and Egyptians for very long time. BBA also portrayed the protests as violence and an attempt to work with the foreign power in conspiring against the two countries. Thus, the outlet utilised lexical items and predications which portrayed the protests negatively such as, chaos, violence, turmoil, destruction, robbery, vandalism, looting, unrest, civil disorder and illegal gathering.

In comparison, AJA portrayed the protests from the perspective of the antagonists particularly the protestors. Hence, the outlet utilised lexical items and predications such as ‘peaceful, popular, society, rights and freedom to portray the protests. AJA stressed that the protests were in peaceful nature and highlighted that the protestors were practicing their right to express their voice and concern. It is also worth to note that, AJA also reported on the criminal incidents during the protests such as break in, rubbering, looting and vandalism. However, the outlet distanced those incidents from the protest events. In contrast, BBA directly

associated the crimes happened during the protests to frame the protests as acts of violence and outlaw.

Moving into the discursive level, it is revealed that BBA does not highlight the negative ways taken by the governments to deal with the protest events such as using firing protestors with life bullets, assaulting, suppressing and detaining them. Moreover, BBA does not provide much reports on the blockage of mobile phone coverage and internet access as well as the cut off to the Aljazeera network transmission in Egypt. Most of the time, BBA online news reports highlighted the dark side of the protests by associating the events with violence and crimes. Hence, sidelined the protestors' demands. The outlet was reluctant to portray the protests as a massive people movement toward a significant political change in Tunisia and Egypt. Hence, BBA dismissed the political impacts of the protests. Unlike BBA, AJA highlighted the success of the events in gathering massive number of support from the people Tunisia and Egypt. Moreover, the outlet's coverage of the events emphasised on the solidarity protests held across the globe to support the protests in the two countries. Ultimately, AJA emphasised on the protestors' demand particularly the change of the regimes in Tunisia and Egypt. Thus, AJA focused on the political significant of the event by portraying the massiveness of the protests.

### **The Representation of the Protestors.**

Before BBA shifted its reporting strategy of the two revolutions, the outlet strategically utilised predications of 'the banned' and or 'illegal' to portray the antagonist groups. Beside, the outlet preferred describe Bouazizi's act of protest on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 as a 'suicide' rather than a 'protest'. Moreover, BBA used terms 'killed' and 'died' to refer to the protestors who died during the protests. In contrast, AJA referred to them as 'martyr' for their sacrifice in defending their rights. Similarly, AJA labelled Bouazizi's act as 'protest' and avoided from using term 'suicide' as it is strange to the Arab audiences. The outlet also used predications

‘the banned’ and ‘illegal’ to label the antagonist groups particularly the opposition parties. However, the label was used to highlight the political restrictions in Tunisia and Egypt and emphasised on the lack of democracy in the two countries. Moreover, AJA named the protests exactly as it was termed by the protestors particularly the Fridays Protests in Egypt. In contrast, BBA distanced themselves from using the same term.

Members of opposition groups and their leaders were sidelined in the BBA’s online news report with the exception of several prominent leaders such as ElBaradei, Ayman Nour and Nejib Chebbi. In contrast, AJA provided comprehensive reports on the opposition group particularly the Islamist groups such as Ennahda of Tunisia and MB of Egypt and their leaders. The analysis of presuppositions revealed that BBA strategically utilised negative presuppositions concerning the protestors. For instance, the presuppositions were used to acknowledge the existence of ‘inciters’ and to suggest that the protestors are determined to break the laws even if the governments had already taken drastic actions to fulfil the protestors’ demands. Furthermore, the analysis of verbal processes indicated that despite BBA does not much report on the protestors’ voices, when it does their voices most of the time were reported using the neutral verbal processes. AJA in contrast, utilised the positive verbal processes to report on the protestors’ voice particularly in highlighting their demands. Similarly, the positive verbal process also being used to report on the opposition leaders. Besides, AJA referred to the opposition leaders with their proper name and positions.

On the discursive practice level, the analysis of intertextuality revealed further distinction features between the two outlets in their representations of the protests. BBA totally ignored the antagonists’ sources during the early stage of protest in Tunisia. However, when the protest started in Egypt the outlet tries to provide the voice of antagonist in the news report. However, the voice of government still the most prominent in the outlet’s coverage of the event during this phase before BBA changed its reporting strategy. Unlike BBA, AJA intensively

reported on the antagonists' group from the early stage of the uprising. The unique feature of intertextuality in the outlet's news report is the special attention to the sources of Islamist groups namely Ennahda and MB. Despite, Ennahda was banned in Tunisia when the protests started, hence the group does not directly involve in the protests, the outlet was keen to provide the voice of this Islamist group in their online news. Similarly, MB does not directly involved in organising and participating in the mass protests in Egypt MB only participated in the protests after the Egyptian army has assured that they will be neutral in the conflict at the later stage of the protest. Despite that, AJA was providing reports from the MB's sources from the day one of the protest in Egypt.

It worth to note, despite the differences between the two outlets in term of discursive practice, the two outlets have utilised the neutral sources such as the international and the Arab regional human rights organization foreign news agencies and the eyewitnesses. For instance, both outlets reported from the sources of human rights organisations which criticised the violence way used by the authorities in dealing with the protestors.

### **The Representation of the Protagonists.**

Both AJA and BBA referred to the governments' officials from both Tunisia and Egypt with proper name and position. However, BBA provided more details on the government figures especially the two former President Ben Ali of Tunisia and Mubarak of Egypt compared to AJA. BBA for instance gave detail description on Ben Ali's success story in developing Tunisia with his good relationship with the European countries. Also, BBA highlighted the crucial role played by Mubarak in the peace process between Israel and Palestine. In relation to the verbal process when reporting on the authorities' words. Moreover, the analysis of presuppositions strategy indicated that BBA strategically used presuppositions to portray the continues governments' efforts in developing the two countries. Presuppositions were used to



show the governments' determination to fulfil the protestors' demands and to end the crisis immediately.

Regarding the discursive practice level, BBA reported only from the government sources when the protests started in Tunisia. Similarly, the government sources were prominent in the Egyptian revolution news reports. The antagonists' voices were provided at the background of the reports. Besides, the outlet emphasised on the promises made by Ben Ali and Mubarak which highlighted their determination to listen and fulfil people's demands for political and social reforms. Most of the time, these promises were reported using direct quotation by using exactly the two former president's words.

Unlike BBA, AJA utilised the negative and neutral verbal processes to report on the government officials including President Ben Ali and Mubarak. Moreover, the presuppositions were deployed to presume that the governments continue to ignore the protestors' demands and the suppression against the antagonists were prolonged years before revolutions started. In terms of sourcing, AJA does not totally sideline the authority sources were mentioned in the online news, the outlet refuted or criticised them. The outlet also strategically reported from government sources using indirect quotes and scared quotes which later aims to distance the outlet from the source. In addition, AJA highlighted the 'fatwas' (religious pronouncements) from non-government religious bodies which encouraged the protests against government. Most of these fatwas came from the religious preachers who preached the protestors during the Friday protests in Egypt. Also, AJA gave comprehensive reports on the world leaders' reactions on the way the governments dealt with the protests. The voices of Western leaders in particular have been used to urge Mubarak to make swift action for drastic political and social reforms including call upon him to consider power transition. Finally, AJA highlighted the Israeli attitude against the protests which in turn emphasised the Israeli support of Mubarak in securing the good relationship between the two governments of Egypt and Israel.

### **The Shift in Representation.**

After the shifting dates (11<sup>th</sup> January 2011 for TR and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 for ER) the representation of social events and the social actors in the online news appeared differently. In general, the transition is more obvious in BBA news report compared to AJA. The intensifies of the protests and the change in Western superpowers support towards the former governments in Tunisia and Egypt were the main reasons for the shift in the online news discourses during the final days of the protests before Ben Ali and Mubarak vacated their presidential positions. To begin with BBA started to acknowledge the significant of the protests and recognised the protestors and their demands. The outlet also stopped from labelling the protestors as ‘troublemakers’ and ‘criminals’. Besides, the protests were no longer being represented as part of foreign conspiracy against the governments. In contrast, the protests were portrayed as the mention for people to express their concerns.

With regards to the textual features, the analysis revealed that BBA found that the negative lexicalisation and predications, and the negative presupposition were previously attached to the protests and protestors were no longer relevant after the shifting dates. For instance, the outlet started to utilise presuppositions to highlight the protestors determinations in raising their demands until all the demands have been fulfilled. On the discursive practice level, the outlet has gradually reporting from the antagonists’ sources including the oppositions. In many occasions, the voices of antagonists were reported using positive verbal process and were quoted using direct quotations. Also, BBA started to report stories against the government interests particularly the comprehensive reports on the violence way in dealing with the protestors. Ultimately, BBA has started to portray the Ben Ali and Mubarak’s governments

have lost their support not only from their own people but also from the international communities.

AJA from the beginning of the protests has showed support to the protests and the protestors. Hence, the outlet become more explicit on its stance after the shifting dates. For instance, the use of negative verbal process and negative presuppositions about the governments dramatically intensified in the news reports during the final days of protests. In term of intertextuality, AJA put more emphasised on the voices of the antagonists particularly the opposition leaders and the activists. In addition, the outlet silenced the authority voices in the online news coverage and treated them as no longer relevant to their audiences. Finally, AJA increased the reports on the Western superpower positions particularly the U.S stance in putting high pressure on the Tunisian and Egyptian former governments.

Ultimately, on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 Ben Ali left Tunisia and on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2011 Mubarak stepped down which marked another important shifting dates and it is expected based on the social development during the final days of the protests. Overall, after the overthrown of Ben Ali and Mubarak, BBA reshuffled members of its in-group and the out-group. The outlet also immediately congratulated the protestors for their brave and strength in bringing political revolution and heavily criticed the old governments. More specifically interm of lexicalisation and predication, the outlet begins to refer to the old government as 'regime' and 'dictatorship'. Also, BBA started to use term 'revolution' to refer to the protests after the protests have successes in resulting change of power. Moreover, the term of 'martyr' and its derivatives have been used to acknowledge the people who killed during the events. BBA also used positive predications to describe the Revolutions by portrayed it as the people's vision particularly among the youth who are eager for their brighter future. Last but not least, BBA provides comprehensive coverage on the issue of power abuse and corruption among members of

previous governments. BBA also reported on the detention of many Ben Ali's associates for various criminal offenses and their wealth were seized.

### **Online News Discourse Struggles.**

Despite the claim impartial and independence made by *Aljazeera* and BBC network, the analysis of Arabic online news from both outlets during the first seven weeks of the so-called 'AS' revealed that they embraced different ideologies during the time of conflict. Hence, Aljazeera and BBC stood with different sides of the conflict in Tunisia and Egypt. Furthermore, the online news articles from both outlets indicated a polarized group representation between the members of in-group and the out-group.

BBA stance during the Revolutions reflected the attitude of British Foreign Office as well as many Western powers which enjoyed great economic and political relationships with Ben Ali and Mubarak governments. Thus, when the revolutions started, BBA opted to support the governments. At the same time, BBA welcomed the call for democratic path to be implemented in the two countries and encouraged for the protests has become a platform for the antagonists to spread their voice to the world. Thus, the AJA and BBA Online news coverage of the two Revolutions can be considered as an example of competing discourse during the time of conflict. These competing discourses indicated the struggle between international media institutions to portray different ideologies and associate with different sides of the conflict.

Considering the economic and political benefits gained by the West from the former governments, BBA represented the hegemonic discourse or at least sustained it when the revolution started. This hegemonic discourse has been deployed by the former government to preserve their power and dominance in their societies. Due to the lack of competing discourse,

this hegemonic discourse for almost 30 years has been taken for granted and unchallenged. However, with the information revolution and the rapid development of communication technologies particularly ‘the internet’, another type of discourse emerged to challenge the dominant discourse. During the revolutions, AJA represented this type of counter discourse which not only challenged the Arab official media discourses but also create a challenge to the dominance of Western media discourses.

The analysis of the outlets’ representation of the social events and the social actors during the two Revolutions revealed that the outlets online news coverage are audiences oriented. Thus, the outlets represented the Revolutions in different ways according to their audiences’ interest. The outlets also presented the narrative of the events differently to serve ideological aims. In line with the Western power stance of the Revolutions, BBA opted to support Ben Ali and Mubarak but preserved the call for democratic implementations. However, when the Presidents were overthrown, BBA has dramatically acknowledged the significant of the protests. Unlike BBA, AJA since the early stage of the protests had represented the protests and the protestors positively. This was in line with the outlet efforts in promoting the democracy in the Arab region and provide a platform to the promoting the democracy in the Arab region and provide a platform to the unheard voices particularly the oppositions.

Based on the ideological differences between the two outlets, the sociopolitical aspects of the Revolutions have been represented differently in the news discourse. For instance, AJA avoided from describing Bouazizi’s act as ‘suicide’ which indicates negative connotations among the Arab audiences. In contrast, BBA labeled Bouazizi act as ‘suicide’. Also, AJA used term ‘martyr’ and its derivatives to label the protestors who killed during the protests. The term carries significant religious meaning among the Arab and Muslim audiences. Moreover, in the case of the ER, AJA highlighted the fatwas made by the religious scholars which encouraged the protests against unjust rulers. This kind of report indicated that AJA was trying to support

it ideological stance by employing the religious views which are very significant among the audiences.

### **Limitation of the Study**

The findings of the present research are limited by three factors: First, the study examined the representation of the so-called the AS by two international media outlets *Aljazeera* Arabic and BBC Arabic with concern to the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. The *Aljazeera* represents Arab international media particularly the Qatari media, while BBC represent British media which is one of the most important Western international media outlets. Hence, the conclusion of the present study cannot be extended to other media outlets such as: state-owned or official media or other independent media outlets from the Arab region or other international media outlets in general. Secondly, the research analysed the online news written in modern standard Arabic from the outlets in reporting the Revolutions event. Hence, the analysis results may not necessarily reflect *Aljazeera* television network coverage of the event. Besides, the result also not applicable to *Aljazeera* news broadcasted in English (*Aljazeera* English). Similarly, the findings in the present study do not particularly reflect the BBC television and BBC radio news broadcasts of the same event. Finally, the findings of study are based on the analysis of online news data published by the two outlets during the first 70 days of the AS which witnessed the two revolutions happened in Tunisia and followed by Egypt. Specifically, the data focused on the period between 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010 and 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011. Therefore, the findings are not generalisable to other events happened outside these dates.

## 8.6 Recommendations for Future Research

The combination of CDA and DT offers wider perspective for future research on the media coverage during time of crisis or war. Moreover, Corpus linguistics offer wider choice of analytical tools with the help of computational statistics software to enhance the CDA analysis results. Specifically, in the context of the AS, future studies may investigate how other Arab transnational media outlets (*Al Arabiya*, *Sky News Arabiya* and *Alhurra* for instance) reported the revolutions compared to BBC. Other future studies may also look at other Western outlets' coverage of the events such as CNN, France24 and Russia Today which also offer news services in Arabic language for the Arab audiences and make a comparison between them and *Aljazeera*'s coverage. Future studies may potentially investigate news discourse of official Arab states media during the AS. Such studies would provide more comprehensive picture of how the AS was reported.

No doubt the AS is the most critical and historic events in the history of modern Arab world. With the advance of communication technologies and the information revolution, the media played a crucial role not only in reporting the events but also shaping the people opinion of the events. Thus, a critical analysis of media coverage is vital for the purpose of documentation of this historic event and for gaining deeper insights into the outlook of the media situation in the Arab countries and around the world. As the wave of revolution widespread beyond the border of Tunisia and Egypt, future studies may look at other revolutions in Arab countries such as Libya, Yemen and Syria. Future studies may also investigate the uprising events which do not attract much attention by the media happened in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain for instance. The study on media coverage on these Arab countries may open new findings which may differ from the media reporting on the revolutions

in other Arab countries which witnessed a huge power change. Hence, provide a better insight of news coverage of the AS.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdallah, N. (2011). The Role of the Media in the Democratic Transition in Egypt: a case study
- Aday, S., Farrell, H., Freelon, D., Lynch, M., Sides, J. and Dewar, M., 2013. Watching from afar: Media consumption patterns around the Arab Spring. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7), pp.899-919.
- Aday, S., Farrell, H., Lynch, M., Sides, J. and Freelon, D., 2012. New media and conflict after the Arab Spring. *United States Institute of Peace*, 80.
- Ahmad, Z.A (2017) *Content Analysis of Online News Portal: Issued and Challenges*, UKM e-journal, pp, 87-99.
- Ahram Online (2011, February 13). *Our Martyr Heroes*. *Ahram Online*. <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/13564>. (accessed 25/6/2019).
- Allagui, I. and Kuebler, J. (2011) 'The Arab spring and the role of ICTs: Introduction', *International Journal of Communication*, 5, p. 8.
- Anderson, L. (2011) 'Demystifying the Arab Spring: parsing the differences between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya', *Foreign Aff.*, 90, p. 2.
- Aouragh, M. and Alexander, A., 2011. The Arab spring| the Egyptian experience: Sense and nonsense of the internet revolution. *International Journal of communication*, 5, p.15.
- Atawneh, A.M. (2009) 'The discourse of war in the Middle East: Analysis of media reporting', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(2), pp. 263-278.
- Abdel Rahim, Y. (2005). *Imaging Identity: A Study of Aljazeera's Online News and Its Representation of Arabness with Particular Attention to "Arabs in Diaspora"* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Dissertation Number NR25081).
- Abdel Samei, M. (2010). *Public Diplomacy in the Age of Regional Media: Winning the War of Hearts and Minds in the Middle East Al-Jazeera and al-Hurra*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (DissertationNumber 3411814).
- Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In L. Althusser (Ed.), *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (pp. 121-173). London: New Left Books.
- Aljazeera online. 2017. *Ahmed Al Sheikh*. [www.aljazeera.com/ahmedalsheikh](http://www.aljazeera.com/ahmedalsheikh). (accessed 25/7/2020).
- Aljazeera online. 2016. *About Us*. [www.aljazeera.com/aboutus](http://www.aljazeera.com/aboutus). (accessed 25/7/2020).
- Aljazeera online. 2018. *Management*. [www.aljazeera.com/management](http://www.aljazeera.com/management). (accessed 23/7/2020).
- Aljazeera online. 2014. *Staff*. [www.aljazeera.com/staff](http://www.aljazeera.com/staff). (accessed 23/7/2020).

Aljazeera online. 9<sup>th</sup> August 2020. *Egypt Extends detention of Aljazeera Journalist Mahmoud Hussein*. [www.aljazeera.com/arabnews](http://www.aljazeera.com/arabnews). (accessed 11/8/2020).

Ammar, T. (2010). *The Language of Terrorism: Aljazeera and the Framing of Terrorism Discourse*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Dissertation Number 3390608).

Aouragh, M. & Alexander, A. (2011). The Egyptian experience: Sense and nonsense of the Internet Revolution. *International Journal of Communication*, 5.1, 1344-1358.

Apter, D. & Saich, T. (1994). *Revolutionary Discourse in Mao's Republic*. Harvard University Press.

Alhumaidi, M. (2013). *A critical discourse analysis of al-Ahram and Aljazeera's online Coverage of Egypt's 2011 Revolution*. PhD dissertation University of Florida.

Alshareif, O. (2017). *Western media representation of the Arab Spring revolutions and its impact on staff and students in a Libyan university setting*. PhD Dissertation Liverpool John Moores University

Bahry, L. Y. (2001). The New Arab Media Phenomenon: Qatar's Al-Jazeera. *Middle East Policy*, 8(2), 88-99.

Baker, P. 2006. *Using corpora in discourse analysis*. London, New York: Continuum.

Baker, P. 2011. Social involvement in corpus studies: Interview with Paul Baker. In Viana, V., S. Zyngier & G. Barnbrook (eds.), *Perspectives on corpus linguistics*, 17–28. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub.

Baker, P. 2012. Acceptable bias? Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies* 9:3: 247–256.

Barakat, S. (2012). *The Qatari Spring: Qatar's emerging role in peace-making*.

Barkho, L. (2006) 'The Arabic Aljazeera vs Britain's BBC and America's CNN: Who does journalism right', *American Communication Journal*, 8(1), pp. 1-15.

Barkho, L. (2008) 'The BBC's Discursive Strategy and Practices The Palestinian–Israeli Conflict', *Journalism Studies*, 9(2), pp. 278-294.

Barkho, L. (2008) 'The Discursive and Social Power of News Discourse: The case of Aljazeera in comparison and parallel with the BBC and CNN', *Studies in Language and Capitalism*, 1(3/4), pp. 111-159.

Barkho, L. (2011) 'The role of internal guidelines in shaping news narratives: ethnographic insights into the discursive rhetoric of Middle East reporting by the BBC and Al-Jazeera English', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8(4), pp. 297-309.

- Baum, M.A. and Groeling, T., 2008. New media and the polarization of American political discourse. *Political Communication*, 25(4), pp.345-365.
- Bauer, M. and Schiller, T. (2012) 'The Arab spring in 2012', Center for Applied Policy Research· Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich· [www. cap-lmu. de](http://www.cap-lmu.de) No.
- Bayat, A. (2013) 'The Arab Spring and its surprises', *Development and Change*, 44(3), pp. 587- 601.
- BBC. 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2011. *BBC Journalist Shaima Khalil Released in Cairo*. [www.bbc.com/news/world](http://www.bbc.com/news/world). (accessed 20/7/2020).
- BBC. 28<sup>th</sup> January 2011. *BBC Journalist Arrest and Beaten by Egyptian Police*. [www.bbc.com/news/world](http://www.bbc.com/news/world). (accessed 28/7/2020).
- BBC. 7<sup>th</sup> October 2016. *Samir Farah Has Been Appointed as the New Head of BBC Arabic*. [www.bbc.com/news/mediacentre](http://www.bbc.com/news/mediacentre). (accessed 28/7/2020).
- Beblawi, H. (1987) 'The rentier state in the Arab world', *Arab Studies Quarterly*, pp. 383-398.
- Bellin, E. (2012) 'Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring', *Comparative Politics*, 44(2), pp. 127-149.
- Benkirane, Reda. "The Alchemy of Revolution: The Role of Social Networks and New Media in the Arab Spring." *GCSP Policy Paper* 7 (2012): 1-5.
- Besley, T. and Burgess, R., 2001. Political agency, government responsiveness and the role of the media. *European Economic Review*, 45(4), pp.629-640.
- Bhuiyan, S.I., 2011. Social media and its effectiveness in the political reform movement in Egypt. *Middle East Media Educator*, 1(1), pp.14-20.
- Blommaert, J. (2005) 'Discourse: Key topics in sociolinguistics', *Discourse: Key topics in sociolinguistics*.
- Blommaert, J. and Bulcaen, C. (2000) 'Critical discourse analysis', *Annual review of Anthropology*, pp. 447-466.
- Brown, J. A. (1998). Media literacy perspectives. *Journal of communication*, 48(1), 44-57.
- Bruns, A., Highfield, T. and Burgess, J., 2013. The Arab Spring and social media audiences: English and Arabic Twitter users and their networks. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7), pp.871-898.
- Breckman, Warren. 2013. *Adventures of the Symbolic: Postmarxism and Radical Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bar'el, Z. (2012). Reshaping the hegemony: State-owned media in Egypt after the revolution. *Global Media Journal*, 2.1, 1-17.
- Barkho, L. (2011). The discursive and social paradigm of Al Jazeera English in comparison and parallel with the BBC. *Communication Studies*, 62.1, 23–40.

- Barkho, L. (2008). The discursive and social power of news discourse: the case of Aljazeera in comparison and parallel with the BBC and CNN. *Studies in Language & Capitalism*, 3.4, 111-159.
- Baynham, M., and Slembrouck, S. (1999). Speech representation and institutional discourse. *Text*, 19.4, 439-592.
- Beeman, W. (1984). The cultural role of the media in Iran: The revolution of 1978- 79 and after. In A. Arno and W. Dissanayake (Eds.), *The News Media in National and International Conflict* (pp. 147-164). Boulder and London: Westview Press.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Billing, M. (2002). Critical discourse analysis and the rhetoric of critique. In G. Weiss & W. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* (pp. 35-46). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press.
- Black, J. (2008). Egypt's press: More free, still fettered. *Arab Media and Society*, 4.1, 1-13.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, 447-466.
- Bruno, G. (2009). The Media Landscape in Iran. *Council on Foreign Relations*, <http://www.cfr.org/iran/media-landscape-iran/p19889>. (accessed 12/17/2012).
- Campante, F.R. and Chor, D. (2012) '167-187', Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41495309> (Accessed: 2).
- Cassel, M., Al-Zubaidi, L. and Roderick, N.C. (2013) *Writing Revolution: The Voices from Tunis to Damascus*. Ib tauris.
- Castells, M. (2011) Interview posted on <http://globalsociology.com/2011/02/07/the-sociology-elders-on-the-socialmovements-in-tunisia-and-egypt/> (accessed 25 June 2011).
- Castells, M., 2011. Network Theory| A Network Theory of Power. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, p.15.
- Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999) *Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Collier, P., 1999. On the economic consequences of civil war. *Oxford economic papers*, 51(1), pp.168-183.
- Collis, J., and Hussey, R. (2009). *Business Research* (3: e uppl.). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Comunello, F. and Anzera, G., 2012. Will the revolution be tweeted? A conceptual framework for understanding the social media and the Arab Spring. *Islam and Christian– Muslim Relations*, 23(4), pp.453-470.

Cook, S. (2011) *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*. Oxford University Press.

Couri, Faris. 2013. *BBC Arabic and the Complexity of the Arab World*. [www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs/theeditors](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs/theeditors). (accessed 29/7/2020).

Chen, L. (2004). Evaluation in media texts: a cross-cultural linguistic investigation. *Language in Society*, 33.5, 673-702.

Chen, L. (2005). Transitivity in media texts: Negative verbal process sub-functions and narrator bias. *IRAL*, 43, 33–51.

Cook, S. (2012). *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*. Oxford University Press.

Cooper, K. (2008). Politics and priorities: Inside the Egyptian press. *Arab Media and Society*, <http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=689>. (accessed 2/8/2013).

Cotter, C. (2001). Discourse and media. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 416-436). Oxford: Blackwell.

Cherkaoui, T. (2014). Al Jazeera's Changing Editorial Perspectives and the Saudi-Qatari Relationship in *The Political Economy of Communication*, Vol 2, No 1. Doha: Qatar.

Critchley, Simon and Oliver Marchart (eds). (2004). *Laclau: A Critical Reader*. London: Routledge.

Dalacoura, K. (2012). The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications. *International Affairs*, 88(1), 63-79. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01057.x>. (accessed 6/9/2018).

Dabashi, H. (2012) *The Arab Spring: Delayed Defiance and the End of Postcolonialism*. Zed Books Limited.

Dalacoura, K. 2012. The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications. *International Affairs*, 88, 63-79.

Davies, M. B., and Hughes, N. (2014). *Doing a successful research project: Using qualitative or quantitative methods*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Diga, M., and Kelleher, T. (2009). Social media use, perceptions of decision-making power, and public relations roles. *Public Relations Review*: 35, 4: 440-442.

Dunmire (1995) 'Realising the hypothetical: a critical linguistic analysis of a projected event', the conference on Political Linguistics, University of Antwerp.

- Durac, V. (2013) 'Protest movements and political change: an analysis of the 'Arab uprisings' of 2011', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31(2), pp. 175-193.
- DeFronzo, J. (1991). *Revolutions & Revolutionary Movements*. Cambridge/New York Westview Press, 2007.
- De Graaf, J. (2008). *Aljazeera English: The Opinion and the Other Opinion. A Comparison between Ideologies in CNN International and Al-Jazeera English Concerning the Withdrawal of the Jewish Settlers from the Gaza Strip in August 2005*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Utrecht. [http://igiturarchive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2008-0429-201317/Thesis%20Al-Jazeera%20English%20Appendices%20\(J.J.%20de%20Graaf\).pdf](http://igiturarchive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2008-0429-201317/Thesis%20Al-Jazeera%20English%20Appendices%20(J.J.%20de%20Graaf).pdf). (accessed 2/11/2014).
- Dowell, B. (2012). BBC Trust: Coverage on the Arab Spring needed more breadth and context. 25 June 2012. London: The Guardian
- Edwards, H. (2011). Former Al Jazeera head on quitting, the Arab Spring, and Qatar's role. *The Atlantic*, 30.
- Eggins, S. (2004) *Introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Eilders, C., 2000. Media as political actors? Issue focusing and selective emphasis in the German quality press. *German Politics*, 9(3), pp.181-206.
- Eisenwort, B. and Sonneck, G., 2010. Role of media reports in completed and prevented suicide: Werther v. Papageno effects. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 197(3), pp.234-243.
- Elmasry, M. H., El Shamy, A., Manning, P., Mills, A., and Auter, P. J. (2013). Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya framing of the Israel–Palestine conflict during war and calm periods. *International Communication Gazette*: 1748048513482545.
- El-Nawawy, M. and Iskander, A. (2002) *Al-Jazeera: How the free Arab news network scooped the world and changed the Middle East*. Westview Cambridge, MA.
- Eltantawy, N. and Wiest, J.B. (2011) 'The Arab Spring| Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory', *International Journal of Communication*, 5, p. 18.
- Erdle, S. (2010) *Ben Ali's 'New Tunisia' (1987-2009): a case study of authoritarian modernization in the Arab world*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz.
- Eickelman, D. & Anderson, T. (1999). *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- El Gody, A. (2007). New media, new audience, new topics, and new forms of censorship in the Middle East. In P. Seib (Ed.), *New Media and the New Middle East* (pp. 213-234). Palgrave Macmillan, the Palgrave Macmillan Series in International Political Communication.

- Elmasry, M. (2011). Producing news in Mubarak's Egypt: An analysis of Egyptian newspaper production during the late Hosni Mubarak era. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 4.2+3, 121-144.
- El-Nawawy, M. (2003). Why Aljazeera is the most popular network in the Arab world. *Television Quarterly*, 34, 10–15.
- El-Nawawy, M. & A. Iskandar (2002). *Aljazeera: How the Free Arab News Network Scooped the World and Changed the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Farooq, S., Bukhari, S., & Ahmed, M. (2017) Arab Spring and the Theory of Relative Deprivation. *International Journal of Business and Social Science* Vol. 8, No. 1. Retrieve from [https://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol\\_8\\_No\\_1\\_January\\_2017/13.pdf](https://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_8_No_1_January_2017/13.pdf). (accessed 12/3/2019).
- Fahmy, S. S., and Al Emad, M. (2011). Al-Jazeera vs Al-Jazeera: A comparison of the network's English and Arabic online coverage of the US/Al Qaeda conflict. *International Communication Gazette*: 73, 3: 216-232.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) 'Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis', *Discourse and Society*: 3,2: pp. 193-217.
- Fairclough, N. (1995) 'Media discourse'. Pearson Education.
- Fairclough, N. (1996) 'A reply to Henry Widdowson's' *Discourse analysis: a critical view*', *Language and literature*, 5(1), pp. 49-56.
- Fairclough, N. (2001) *Language and power*. Pearson Education.
- Fairclough, N. (2013) *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. and Chouliaraki, L. (1999) 'Discourse in late modernity: rethinking critical discourse analysis'. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J. and Wodak, R. (2011) 'Critical discourse analysis', *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*, pp. 357-378.
- Fekete, E. and Warf, B. (2013) 'Information Technology and the “Arab Spring”', *The Arab World Geographer*, 16(2), pp. 210-227.
- Fowler, R. (1991) 'Language in the News'. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, R. (1991) *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. Routledge.
- Fowler, R. (1996) 'On critical linguistics1', *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*, p. 1.
- Fowler, R. (2013) *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. Routledge.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, R.I.V., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (1979) *Language and control*. Routledge and K. Paul.

- Frangonikolopoulos, C. A., and Chapsos, I. (2012). Explaining the role and the impact of the social media in the Arab Spring. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition*, 7(2), 10-20.
- Fahmy, S. & Johnson, T. (2007). The caged bird sings: How reliance on Al-Jazeera affects views regarding press freedom in the Arab world. In Philip Seib (Ed.), *New Media and the New Middle East* (pp. 81-100). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (1998). Political discourse in the media: An analytical framework. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse* (pp. 142-162). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 121-138). London: Sage.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough N., Mulderrig J., & Wodak R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (pp. 357-378). London: Sage.
- Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis: An overview. In T.A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse and Interaction* (pp. 67-97). London: Sage.
- Fornaciari, F. (2011). Framing the Egyptian revolution: A content analysis of Al Jazeera English and the BBC, *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 4.2+3, 223-
- Foucault, M. (1991). *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of a Prison*. London, Penguin.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. & Trew, T. (Eds.). (1979). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Fowler, R. (1987). The intervention of the media in the reproduction of power. In Díaz-Diocaretz, van Dijk & Zavala (Eds.), *Approaches to Discourse, Poetics and Psychiatry* (pp. 67-80). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Garrett, P. and Bell, A. (1998) 'Media and discourse: A critical overview', *Approaches to media discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1-20.
- Gana, Nouri. 2013. *The Making of Tunisian Revolution: Context, Architects and Prospects*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.



Gentzkow, M., and Shapiro, J. M. (2003). Media, education, and anti-Americanism in the Muslim world. *Education, and Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World* (November 19, 2003).

Ghannam, J. (2011). *Social Media in the Arab World: Leading up to the Uprisings of 2011*. Center for International Media Assistance, 3.

Goodwin, J. (2011) 'Why we were surprised (again) by the Arab Spring', *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17(4), pp. 452-456.

Gurevitch, M., Coleman, S. and Blumler, J.G., 2009. Political communication—Old and new media relationships. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 625(1), pp.164-181.

Gwinn Wilkins, K. (2000). The role of media in public disengagement from political life. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*: 44, 4:569-580.

Ghannam, F. (2012). Meanings and feelings: Local interpretations of the use of violence in the Egyptian revolution. *American Ethnologist*, 39.1, 32–36.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Goldstone, J. (2011). Understanding the revolutions of 2011. *Foreign Affairs*, 90.3, 8-16.

Goldstone, J. (Ed.) (1994). *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*. New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Goodwin, C. & Duranti, A. (1992). Rethinking context: an introduction. In A. Duranti & C.

Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* (pp. 1-42). *Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language*, No 11. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. (2004). Participation. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 222-244). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York, International Publishers.

Groshek, J. (2008). Homogenous agendas, disparate Frames: CNN and CNN International coverage online. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 52.1, 52-68.

Hakam, J. (2009) 'The cartoons controversy': a Critical Discourse Analysis of English-language Arab newspaper discourse', *Discourse and Society*: 20,1: pp. 33-57.

Hakimian, H., 2011. The economic prospects of the 'Arab Spring': A bumpy road ahead. *CDPR Development ViewPoint*, (63), pp.1-2.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1975) *The First LACUS Forum*: Hombean Press.

- Halliday, M.A.K. (1979) Proc. 4th Australian reading conference: Adelaide, Australia.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985) An introduction to functional grammar. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1993) 'Towards a language-based theory of learning', *Linguistics and education*, 5, 2: pp. 93-116.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) Introduction to functional grammar. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halverson, J.R., Ruston, S.W. and Trethewey, A., 2013. Mediated martyrs of the Arab Spring: New media, civil religion, and narrative in Tunisia and Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, 63(2), pp.312-332.
- Han, L., 2011. "Lucky cloud" over the world: The journalistic discourse of nationalism beyond China in the Beijing Olympics global torch relay. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 28(4), pp.275-291.
- Harb, Z. (2011). Arab revolutions and the social media effect. *M/C Journal*: 14(2).
- Harlow, S. and Johnson, T.J., 2011. The arab spring| overthrowing the protest paradigm? how the new york times, global voices and twitter covered the egyptian revolution. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, p.16.
- Haseeb, K. (2013) The Arab Spring: Critical Analyses. Routledge.
- Hopwood, D. (1992a) Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia : the tragedy of longevity. Basingstoke: Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford.
- Hopwood, D. (1992b) Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia: the tragedy of longevity. St. Martin's Press.
- Hourani, G. and Sam Van Vliet, A. (2014) 'Refugees of the Arab Spring, Syrian refugees in Lebanon', Carthage Center for Research and Information, 23.
- Howard, P.N. and Hussain, M.M., 2011. The role of digital media. *Journal of democracy*, 22(3), pp.35-48.
- Howard, P.N. and Parks, M.R., 2012. Social media and political change: Capacity, constraint, and consequence. *Journal of communication*, 62(2), pp.359-362.
- Hafez, K. (2006). Arab satellite broadcasting: Democracy without political parties? *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, <http://www.tbsjournal.com/Hafez.html>. (accessed 13/1/2015).
- Hafez, K. (2008). Introduction. In K. Hafez (Ed.), *Arab Media: Power and Weakness* (pp. 1–14). New York: Continuum.
- Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In C.C.C.S. Hall, S., Hobson, D., Lowe, A. and Willis, P. (Eds.), *Culture, Media, Language* (pp. 128-138). Hutchinson, London.
- Hall, S. (1982). The rediscovery of "ideology": Return of the repressed in media studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, Society*,

*and the Media* (pp. 56-90). London: Routledge.

Halliday, M. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.

Halliday, M. (1994). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd ed.). London: Arnold

Hamamou, S. (2011). Egyptian journalism: An oddly connected mix of old and new media. *Neiman Reports*, 65.3, 51-53.

Hamdy, N. & Gomaa, E. (2012). Framing the Egyptian uprising in Arabic language newspapers and social media. *Journal of Communication*, 62, 195–211.

Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies*, 2.2, 261-280.

Herman, E. & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon.

Holmes, A. (2012). There are weeks when decades happen: Structure and strategy in the Egyptian Revolution. *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 17.4, 391-410.

Huckin, T. (1995). Critical discourse analysis. *The Journal of TESOL*, 2.3, 95–112.

Hussain, F. (2011). What Al Jazeera did right: This revolution was televised. *Express Tribune*, [http://wardheernews.com/News\\_2011/Feb/18\\_what\\_Al\\_Jazeera\\_did\\_right.html](http://wardheernews.com/News_2011/Feb/18_what_Al_Jazeera_did_right.html). (accessed 15/3/2015).

Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality: Toward An Understanding of Voice*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Howarth, David, Aletta Norval and Yannis Stavrakakis (eds). (2002). *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Howarth, David and Jacob Torfing (eds). (2005). *Discourse Theory in European Politics*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

Howarth, David. (2000). *Discourse*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Idle, N. and Nunns, A. (2011) *Tweets from Tahrir : Egypt's revolution as it unfolded, in the words of the people who made it*. Doha: Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing.

Izadi, F. and Saghaye-Biria, H., 2007. A discourse analysis of elite American newspaper editorials: The case of Iran's nuclear program. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 31(2), pp.140-165.

Ileto, R. (1998). *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

International Monetary Fund (2011). Arab Republic of Egypt—2010 Article IV Consultation Mission, Concluding Statement, Feb. 16, 2010. <http://www.imf.org/external/np/ms/2010/021610.htm>. (accessed 3/9/2015)

Issawi, F (2016). A Comparative Analysis of Traditional Media Industry Transitions in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt in *Media and Politics in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings*. Hurst: Oxford University Press.

Iskandar A. (2006). Egypt's media deficit. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 7.1, 17–23.

Iskandar, E. (2012). The 'mediation' of Muslim–Christian relations in Egypt: The strategies and discourses of the official Egyptian press during Mubarak's presidency. *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 23.1, 31-44.

Ismail, S. (2006). Political Life in Cairo's New Quarters: Encountering the Everyday State. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ismail, M., Harun, F., Daoudi, A. (2018). Naming Strategies in Modern Standard Arabic Online News Discourse: The Case of Al-Jazeera And BBC Coverage on the 2011 Tunisian Jasmine Revolution in *Journal of Global Business and Social Entrepreneurship* (GBSE) Vol. 4: No. 11 (May 2018) page 158-171

Ismail, M. & Mohammad, W. (2009). *Kajian Semantik dan Mukjam Arabiy*. Nilai: USIM Press.

JOFFÉ, G. 2011. The Arab Spring in North Africa: origins and prospects. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 16, 507-532.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., and Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*: 1, 2: 112-133.

Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1999). Deductive reasoning. *Annual review of psychology*:50,1: 109-135.

Johnstone, S. and Mazo, J. (2011) 'Global warming and the Arab Spring', *Survival*: 53,2: pp. 11-17.

Joya, A. (2011). The Egyptian revolution: crisis of neoliberalism and the potential for democratic politics. *Review of African Political Economy* [Online], 38.129. 367-386. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2011.602544>. (accessed 21/5/2015).

Jacobs, Thomas. (2018). *The Dislocated Universe of Laclau and Mouffe: An Introduction to Post-Structuralist Discourse Theory*. *Critical Review* 30(3-4).

Kandil, M.A. (2009) 'The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American, Arab, and British media: Corpus-based critical discourse analysis'.

Kaplan, A. (2015). Opinion: Paradigms, methods, and the (as yet) failed striving for methodological diversity in educational psychology published research. *Frontiers in psychology*, 6.

- Kadhumi, Mustafa. 9<sup>th</sup> March 2018. *BBC Arabic at 80: From radio to Digital*. [www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs/aboutthebbc](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs/aboutthebbc). (accessed 29/7/2020).
- Khalil, A. (2012). *Liberation Square: Inside the Egyptian Revolution and the Rebirth of a Nation*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Khamis, S. (2011). The transformative Egyptian media landscape. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 1159–1177.
- Kodmani, B. (2005). The dangers of political exclusion: Egypt's Islamist problem, democracy and rule of law project, *Cambridge Endowment for International Peace*, Carnegie Papers, 63, Washington D.C.
- Kortam, H. (2013, February 3). The Battle of the Camel: the final straw for Mubarak's regime. *Daily News Egypt*, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/02/03/thebattle-of-the-camel-the-final-straw-for-mubaraks-regime/>. (accessed 14/8/2016).
- Kress, G. (1983). Linguistic and ideological transformations in news reporting. In Davis, Howard & Paul Walton (Eds.), *Language, Image, Media* (pp. 120-138). Great Britain: Basil Blackwell.
- Kress, G. (1985). Ideological structures in discourse. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 27-42). London: Academic Press.
- Khatib, L. (2013). Qatar's foreign policy: the limits of pragmatism. *International Affairs*: 89,2: 417-431.
- Khondker, H.H., 2011. Role of the new media in the Arab Spring. *Globalizations*, 8(5), pp.675-679.
- Kilani, K.A. (1988) *The evolution and status of accounting in Libya*: University of Hull.
- KIM, Y. J. (1992) *Framing of Hegemonic Ideology: Across Cultural Analysis of News as Discourse* Carbondale, Southern Illinois University
- Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. (2013) *Conducting research in human geography: theory, methodology and practice*. Routledge.
- Kuhn, R. (2012) 'On the role of human development in the Arab Spring', *Population and Development Review*:38,4: pp. 649-683.
- Laclau, E, & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London: Verso
- Louise Philips and Marianne Jorgensen, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London: Sage, 2002.
- Lahlali, E. M. (2011). *Contemporary Arab broadcast media*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lynch, M. (2006). *Voices of the new Arab public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East politics today*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lynch, M. (2012). *The Arab uprising: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*. New York: Public Affairs.

Lahoud, N., DiMeo, D., Jebb, C., Perliger, A., Beitler, R., & Ringquist, J. (2011). The 'Arab Spring': Investing in Durable Peace. West Point, NY: Combatting Terrorism Center, U.S. Military Academy.

Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loomis, K. (2009). A comparison of broadcast world news Web pages: Al Jazeera English, BBC, CBS, and CNN. *Electronic News*, 3.3, 143–60.

Lynch, M. (2005). Assessing the democratizing power of Arab satellite TV. *Transnational Broadcasting Studies Journal (TBS)*, 1, 150–155.

Laremont, R. (2013) Revolution, Revolt and Reform in North Africa: The Arab Spring and Beyond. Routledge.

Lee, Y.S., Papineni, K., Roukos, S., Emam, O. and Hassan, H., 2003, July. Language model based Arabic word segmentation. In *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics-Volume 1* (pp. 399-406). Association for Computational Linguistics.

Leeson, P.T., 2008. Media freedom, political knowledge, and participation. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 22(2), pp.155-155.

Lindsey, R.A., 2013. What the Arab Spring tells us about the future of social media in revolutionary movements. *Journal Article| Jul*, 29(8), p.53pm.

Liu, S.H., Liao, H.L. and Pratt, J.A., 2009. Impact of media richness and flow on e-learning technology acceptance. *Computers & Education*, 52(3), pp.599-607.

Lotan, G., Graeff, E., Ananny, M., Gaffney, D., Pearce, I. and boyd, d. (2011) The Arab Spring| The Revolutions Were Tweeted: Information Flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions.

Lynch, M. (2013) The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East. PublicAffairs.

Mack, N., Woodson, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G., and Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative research methods: a data collectors field guide*.

Malik, N. (2014) 'Revolutionizing the Revolution: An Examination of Social Media's Role in the Egyptian Arab Spring'.

Marczyk, G., DeMatteo, D., and Festinger, D. (2005). *Essentials of research design and methodology*. John Wiley and Sons Inc.

McLeod, J.M., Scheufele, D.A. and Moy, P., 1999. Community, communication, and participation: The role of mass media and interpersonal discussion in local political participation. *Political communication*, 16(3), pp.315-336.

- McQuinn, B. (2013) 'Assessing (In) security after the Arab Spring: The Case of Libya', *PS: Political Science and Politics*: 46, 04: pp. 716-720.
- Miladi, N. (2006) 'Satellite TV news and the Arab diaspora in Britain: Comparing Al-Jazeera, the BBC and CNN', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*:32,6: pp. 947-960.
- Miles, H. (2005) *Al-Jazeera: The inside story of the Arab news channel that is challenging the West*. Grove Press.
- Miles, H. (2005) *Al-Jazeera: The inside story of the Arab news channel that is challenging the West*. Grove Press.
- Matheson, D. (2005). *Media Discourses: Analyzing Media Texts*. New York: Open University Press.
- Mekay, E. (2004). Washington urges media freedom - but not for Al-Jazeera. *Inter Press Service*, [www.commondreams.org/headlines04/0526-06.htm](http://www.commondreams.org/headlines04/0526-06.htm) (accessed 12/7/2016).
- Meyer, M. (2001). Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA. In W. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 14-31). London, England: Sage.
- Moaddel, M. (1992). Ideology as episodic discourse: The case of the Iranian Revolution. *American Sociological Review*, 57.3, 353-379.
- Mohamed, Baher. 2017. *My 1,124 Hours of Solitary Confinement in Prison*. 17<sup>th</sup> April 2017. [www.aljazeera.com](http://www.aljazeera.com). (accessed 11/8/2020).
- Moustafa, T. (2000). Conflict and cooperation between the state and religious institutions in contemporary Egypt. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 32.1, 3-22.
- Mameli, P. (2013). Under New Management: What the Arab Spring Tells Us About Leadership Needs in the Middle East and North Africa. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 22(2), 377–404.
- Mellor, N. (2011). Arab media: An overview of recent trends. In *Arab media: Globalisation and emerging media industries* (pp. 12–28). Cambridge: Polity.
- Miladi, N. (2006). Satellite TV news and the Arab diaspora in Britain: Comparing Al-Jazeera, the BBC and CNN. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(6), 947–960. doi:10.1080/13691830600761552.
- Nepstad, S.E. (2013) 'Mutiny and nonviolence in the Arab Spring Exploring military defections and loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria', *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3), pp. 337-349.
- Newman, I., and Benz, C. R. (1998). *Qualitative-quantitative research methodology: Exploring the interactive continuum*. SIU Press.
- Newstead, S. E., Handley, S. J., Harley, C., Wright, H., and Farrelly, D. (2004). Individual differences in deductive reasoning. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology Section A*, 57, 1: 33-60.

- Omar, A. (2008). Dictionary of Contemporary Arabic (in Arabic). Alam Al-Kutub, Cairo. عمر ، أحمد مختار ( 0334 .) معجم اللغة العربية المعاصرة ، عالم الكتب ، القاهرة
- Owais, R., 2011. Arab media during the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia: Time for change. *Middle East Media Educator*, 1(1), pp.9-13.
- Owlia, M. S., and Aspinwall, E. M. (1996). A framework for the dimensions of quality in higher education. *Quality Assurance in Education*: 4,2: 12-20.
- Oyelere, R.U. and Wharton, K., 2013. The Impact of Low Intensity Conflict on Children's Education Attainment: Lessons from IDPs in Colombia.
- Pack, J. (2013) 'Exit Gaddafi: The Hidden History of the Libyan Revolution by Ethan Chorin (review)', *The Middle East Journal*: 67,2:pp. 319-322.
- Pan, Z., Ostman, R.E., Moy, P. and Reynolds, P., 1994. News media exposure and its learning effects during the Persian Gulf War. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 71(1), pp.7-19.
- Pasha, T., 2011. *Islamists in the headlines: Critical discourse analysis of the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian newspapers*. The University of Utah.
- Perthes, V. (2011) 'Europe and the Arab Spring', *Survival*:53,6:pp. 73-84.
- Pareene, A. (2011). Al Jazeera's Egypt coverage embarrasses U.S. cable news channels. *Salon.com*, [http://www.salon.com/2011/01/28/cable\\_news\\_egypt/](http://www.salon.com/2011/01/28/cable_news_egypt/). (accessed 21/9/2016).
- Pasha, T. (2011). *Islamists in the Headlines: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Newspapers*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Accession Order No. ED536017)
- Peterson, M. (2011). Egypt's media ecology in a time of revolution. *Arab Media Society*, [http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20110531103710\\_Peterson.pdf](http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20110531103710_Peterson.pdf). (accessed 11/1/2016).
- Phared, W. (2014). *The Lost Spring: U.S Policy in the Middle East and Catastrophes to Avoid*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pinar, A. (2015). *Qatar Regional Aspiration: Changing Mediator Role during the Arab Spring*. Project on Middle East and the Arab Spring. Doha.
- Pintak, L. (2006). *Reflections in a Bloodshot lens: America, Islam, and the War of Ideas*. Ann Arbor: Pluto.
- Pintak, L. (2011). The Aljazeera revolution. *Foreign Policy*, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/02/the\\_al\\_jazeera\\_revolution](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/02/the_al_jazeera_revolution). (accessed 16/7/2016).
- Pintak, L. & Ginges, J. (2008). The mission of Arab journalism: Creating change in a time of turmoil. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13.3, 193-227.



Philips, Louise & Jorgensen, Marianne. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage.

Pintak, L. (2007). BBC Arabic TV: A “Unique experience” Hosam El Sokkari talks to Arab Media and Society. *Arab Media & Society*, 1.

Robertson, A., 2013. Connecting in Crisis: “Old” and “New” Media and the Arab Spring. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(3), pp.325-341.

Ross, G. (2008) Introducing War: Visual Analysis of Online Media Discourse on Forces and Weapons of the Iraq Conflict. Carleton University.

Roumani, J. (2014) 'The 2011 Libyan Uprising and the Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future ed. by Jason Pack (review)', *The Middle East Journal*: 68, 1: pp. 166-169.

Rous, J. (1984) Habib Bourguiba. [Paris]: Martinsart.

Rowley, J. (2012). Conducting research interviews. *Management Research Review*: 35,3/4: 260-271.

Russell, A., 2011. The Arab Spring| Extra-National Information Flows, Social Media and the 2011 Egyptian Uprising. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, p.10.

Reah, D. (2002). *The Language of Newspapers*. London: Routledge.

Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination*. London, England: Routledge

Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2009). The discourse-historical approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 87-121). London: Sage.

Richardson, J. (2007). *Analyzing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

Rojo, L. (1995). Division and rejection: From the personification of the Gulf conflict to the demonization of Saddam Hussein. *Discourse and Society*, 6.1, 49–80.

Rugh, W. (2004). *The Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio and Television in Arab Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Sakr, N. (2005). Maverick or model? Al Jazeera’s impact on satellite television. In Chalaby J. (Ed.), *Transnational Television Worldwide* (pp. 66-95). New York: I.B. Tauris &Co. Ltd.

Sakr, N. (2010). News, transparency and the effectiveness of reporting from inside Arab dictatorships. *International Communication Gazette*, 72.1, 35–50.

Salwen, M. (2005). Online news trends. In M. B. Salwen, B. Garrison, & P. Driscoll (Eds.), *Online News and the Public* (pp. 47-80). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Sarquis, D. (2012). Democratization after the Arab Spring: The case of Egypt's political transition. *Politics & Policy*, 40.5, 871-903.

Seib, P. (2005). Hegemonic no More: Western media, the rise of Al Jazeera, and the influence of diverse voices. *International Studies Review*, 7.4, 601-615.

Seib, P. (2007). New media and prospects for democratization. In P. Seib (Ed.), *New Media and the New Middle East* (pp. 1–18). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seib, P. (2008). *The Aljazeera Effect*. Washington: Potomac Books, Inc.

Suleiman, Y. (2011). *Arabic, Self, and Identity: A Study in Conflict and Displacement*. Oxford University Press.

Simpson, P. & Mayr, A. (2010). *Language and Power: A Resource Book for Students*. London: Routledge.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. & Mohammadi, A. (1994). *Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Change and the Iranian Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Saleh, S.S., Alameddine, M.S., Natafqi, N.M., Mataria, A., Sabri, B., Nasher, J., Zeiton, M., Ahmad, S. and Siddiqi, S. (2014) 'The path towards universal health coverage in the Arab uprising countries Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen', *The Lancet*: 383,9914: pp. 368-381.

Salem, N. (1984) *Habib Bourguiba, Islam and the creation of Tunisia*. Croom Helm London.

Sarantakos, S. (1998). *Working with social research*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Scheufele, D.A., Nisbet, M.C. and Brossard, D., 2003. Pathways to political participation? Religion, communication contexts, and mass media. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 15(3), pp.300-324.

Schudson, M., 2002. The news media as political institutions. *Annual review of political science*, 5(1), pp.249-269.

Semetko, H.A. and Krasnoboka, N., 2003. The political role of the Internet in societies in transition: Russia and Ukraine compared. *Party Politics*, 9(1), pp.77-104.

Shabana, I.A.I. (2006) *A pragmatic study of aspects of political discourse in press headlines*. Al-Azhar University 2006.

Shanahan, E.A., McBeth, M.K., Hathaway, P.L. and Arnell, R.J., 2008. Conduit or contributor? The role of media in policy change theory. *Policy Sciences*, 41(2), p.115.

Sharp, J.M. (2011a) *Egypt: The January 25 Revolution and Implications for U. S. Foreign Policy*. DIANE Publishing.

Sharp, J.M. (2011b) *Egypt: The January 25 Revolution and implications for US foreign policy*. DIANE Publishing.

- Skinner, J. (2011) 'Social media and revolution: The arab spring and the occupy movement as seen through three information studies paradigms'.
- Storck, M. (2011) 'The role of social media in political mobilisation: a case study of the January 2011 Egyptian uprising', University of St Andrews, Scotland.
- Stroud, N.J., 2008. Media use and political predispositions: Revisiting the concept of selective exposure. *Political Behavior*, 30(3), pp.341-366.
- Sinclair, J. (1991). *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sghaier, Amira A. (2012) The Tunisian Revolution: The Revolution of Dignity, *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 3:1, 18-45, DOI: 10.1080/21520844.2012.675545
- Samuel-Azran, T. (2013). Al-Jazeera, Qatar, and new tactics in state-sponsored media diplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(9), 1293–1311.
- Samuel-Azran, T., & Pecht, N. (2014). Is there an Al-Jazeera-Qatari nexus? A study of Al-Jazeera's online reporting throughout the Qatari-Saudi conflict. *Media, War & Conflict*, 7(2), 218–232.
- Sultan, N. (2013). Al Jazeera: Reflections on the Arab Spring. *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 3(2), 249–264.
- Seib, P. (2010). Transnational journalism, public diplomacy, and virtual states. *Journalism Studies*, 11(5), 734–744.
- Smith, Anna Marie. (1998) Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary. London: Routledge.
- The Guradian. 7<sup>th</sup> May 2016. *Sentencing for Journalists and Several Others delayed Until 18 June*. [www.theguardian.com/egyptnews](http://www.theguardian.com/egyptnews). (accessed 1/8/2020).
- Torring, Jacob. (1999). *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe, Žižek*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Thompson, G. (1996) 'Introduction to functional grammar', London: Edward Arnold.

Totten, M.J. (2012) 'Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?', *World Affairs*: 174,5: pp. 23-42.  
 Trew, T. (1979) 'Theory and ideology at work', *Language and control*, pp. 94-116.  
 Tufekci, Z. and Wilson, C., 2012. Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), pp.363-379.

Thompson, J. (1990). *Ideology and Modern Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tunisian Interior Minister. 2011. *Open Data Records*. Tunis: Interior Minister. Retrieved from: [www.opndata.interieur.gov.tn/2011](http://www.opndata.interieur.gov.tn/2011). (accessed 19/6/2020).

van Dijk, T. (1985). Discourse analysis in (mass) communication research. In van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media and Communication* (pp. 69-93). Berlin: de Gruyter.

van Dijk, T. (1988a). *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

van Dijk, T. (1988b). *News Analysis*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates..

van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4.2, 249-83.

van Dijk, T. (1995). Discourse analysis as ideology analysis. In Schaffner C. & A. Wenden (Eds.), *Language and Peace* (pp. 17-33). Dartmouth: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited.

van Dijk, T. (1996). Discourse, power and access. In R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 84-104). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

van Dijk, T. (1998). Opinions and ideologies in the press. In A. Bell & P. Garret (Eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse* (pp. 21-63). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

van Dijk, T. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 352- 371). Oxford: Blackwell.

van Dijk, T. (2006). Discourse, context and cognition. *Discourse Studies*, 8.1, 159-177.  
 van Ginneken, J. (2002). *Global News. A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1993) *Elite discourse and racism*: Sage Publications, Inc.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1995) 4th International Symposium of Critical Discourse Analysis, Language, Social Life and Critical Thought, Athens.

Van Dijk, T.A. (2001) 'Critical discourse analysis', *The handbook of discourse analysis*, pp. 352-371.

van Niekerk, B., Pillay, K. and Maharaj, M. (2011) *The Arab Spring| Analyzing the Role of ICTs in the Tunisian and Egyptian Unrest from an Information Warfare Perspective*.

- Watania1. 2010. *Tunisie7 8pm News*. Tunis: WataniaTV. Retrieved from: [www.watania1.tn](http://www.watania1.tn). (accessed 19/6/2020).
- Wenden, A.L. (2005) 'The politics of representation: a critical discourse analysis of an Aljazeera special report', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 10(2), p. 89.
- Whiting, L. S. (2008). Semi-structured interviews: guidance for novice researchers. *Nursing Standard*: 22,23: 35.
- Wiley and Sons. Liu, S. H., Liao, H. L., and Pratt, J. A. (2009). Impact of media richness and flow on e-learning technology acceptance. *Computers and Education*:52,3: 599-607.
- Williamson, K., Qayyum, A., Hider, P., and Liu, Y. H. (2012). Young adults and everyday-life information: The role of news media. *Library and Information Science Research*: 34,4: 258- 264.
- Wilkins, D.E. and Stark, H.K., 2010. *American Indian politics and the American political system*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Witzel, A. (2012) *The 2011 Revolution in Egypt in US Print Media*. GRIN Verlag.
- Witzel, A. (2013) *This is what They Tell US: The US Printing Press on the 2011 Revolution in Egypt*. Diplomica Verlag.
- Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E. and Sheafer, T., 2013. Social media and the Arab Spring: Politics comes first. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), pp.115-137.
- Wulf, V., Misaki, K., Atam, M., Randall, D. and Rohde, M., 2013, February. 'On the ground'in Sidi Bouzid: investigating social media use during the tunisian revolution. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work* (pp. 1409-1418). ACM.
- Weiss, G., & Wodak, R. (Eds.). (2003). *CDA: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R. (1995). Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis. In J. Verschueren, , J. Östman & J. Blommaert (Eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp. 204-210). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about -a summary of its history, important concepts, and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-13). London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. (2007). Pragmatics and critical discourse analysis: A cross-disciplinary inquiry. In D. Saussure & P. Schulz (Eds.), *Pragmatic Interfaces* (pp. 203-225). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. & Koller, V. (2008). *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, England: Sage.

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory, and methodology. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-33). London: Sage.

W. K. Mujani and S. N. Musa. (2018). Arab Spring: Review of Factors for People's Uprising in Tunisia, *International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology*, 9(3), 2018, pp. 558–565.  
Retrieve from  
<http://www.iaeme.com/IJCIET/issues.asp?JType=IJCIET&VType=9&IType=3>. (accessed 17/6/2019).

Yehia, A. (2011). The Framing of the Egyptian Revolution Portrayed through the Aljazeera and CNN Media Outlets and How They Compare and Contrast. (Master's thesis). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Thesis Number 1517433)

Zayani, M. & Ayish, M. (2006). Arab satellite television and crisis reporting: Covering the fall of Baghdad. *International Communication Gazette*, 68.5+6, 473–97.

Zayani, M. (2005) *The Al Jazeera phenomenon: Critical perspectives on new Arab media*. Pluto Press London.

Zayani, M., & Sahraoui, S. (2007). *The culture of Al Jazeera: Inside an Arab media giant*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.

## APPENDIX 1

## SAMPLE OF CONCORDANCE ANALYSIS

AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

BBA ER Concordance.t

Concordance Concordance Plot File View Clusters/N-Grams Collocates Word List Keyword List

Concordance Hits 105

Hit	KWIC	File
1	تغيير من خلال حكومة واسعة عملية إجراء إلى مبارك وزى والمستشارة الألمانية أنجيلا ميركيل دعا الرئيس	BBA ER Conc
2	شعبه. وفي موسكو، دعت وزارة لمطالب الاستجابة إلى مبارك عن قلقه من سوء الأوضاع في مصر داعياً	BBA ER Conc
3	في الحفاظ على أمن مصر يتهاون لن إنه مبارك يا ونحو 140 جريحا بينهم 73 من أفراد الشرطة. قال	BBA ER Conc
4	في الحفاظ على أمن مصر يتهاون لن إنه مبارك ياحية في البحر الاحمر، وفق تقديرات الوزارة. قال	BBA ER Conc
5	شرعيته الدولية من وجود الإخوان من جزءا استمد مبارك فقد لوحظ غياب الشعارات الإسلامية، ويرى الكاتب إن	BBA ER Conc
6	أريد توجيه دعوة واضحة إلى" دقيقة ثلاثين استمرت مبارك المصري". وقال اوباما بعيد اجرائته محاذة هاتفية مع	BBA ER Conc
7	مساء الجمعة اقالة الحكومة وتعهد خطاب في اعلن مبارك لتعهدات التي قطعها في خطابه للمصريين الجمعة. وكان	BBA ER Conc
8	( البرادعي عن مصر لفترات طويلة غياب ان الا.مبارك تنجح في توحيد القوى المعارضة لنظام الرئيس حسني	BBA ER Conc
9	حوار مع المعارضة لادخال اصلاحات في "فورا" البدء مبارك بعيدة عن الناس. " يجب على الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
10	حوار مع المعارضة لادخال اصلاحات في "فورا" البدء مبارك بعيدة عن الناس. " يجب على الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
11	حوار مع المعارضة لادخال اصلاحات في "فورا" البدء مبارك بعيدة عن الناس. " يجب على الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
12	عاما. ويبلغ سليمان من العمر ثلاثين قبل الحكم مبارك رئيس الجمهورية شاعر منذ تولي الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
13	عاما. ويبلغ سليمان من العمر ثلاثين قبل الحكم مبارك أن منصب رئيس الجمهورية شاعر منذ تولي الرئيس	BBA ER Conc
14	تحديث: السبت، 29 يناير/ كانون آخر بوعوده مبارك مصر: دعوات دولية لوقف العنف وأوباما طلب من	BBA ER Conc
15	لموسومة" للصلح السياسي والامتنا" خطوات اتخاذ الى مبارك عا الرئيس الاميركي باراك اوباما نظيره المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
16	في حوار مع المعارضة لادخال "فورا" البدء الى كيمار الاورويي كاترين اشتون الاثنين الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
17	ياي تمن استخدام العنف ضد يتفادي ان الى مبارك العنف مهما كلف الأمر". وأضاف البيان" ندعو الرئيس	BBA ER Conc
18	جديدة لادارة البلاد بعد اعلانه حكومة السبت اليوم مبارك رسميا، من المقرر أن يعين الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
19	جديدة لادارة البلاد بعد اعلانه حكومة السبت اليوم مبارك الغضب". من المقرر أن يعين الرئيس المصري حسني	BBA ER Conc
20	التي قطعها في خطابه للمصريين بالتعهدات يفي ان مبارك التعبير وامكانية تقرير المصير". وأكد انه طلب من	BBA ER Conc
21	الجديدة بالتعامل مع اولويات الم الحكومة سيكلف انه مبارك غير المسبوقة خلال حكمه الممتد منذ 30 عاما. وقال	BBA ER Conc
22	التي قطعها في خطابه للمصريين بالتعهدات يفي ان مبارك التعبير وامكانية تقرير المصير". وأكد انه طلب من	BBA ER Conc

Search Term ☒ Words ☒ Case ☒ Regex  Search Window Size 50

Show Every Nth Row 1

Kwic Sort ☒ Level 1 1R ☒ Level 2 2R ☒ Level 3 3R

AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

BBA ER Concordance.t

Concordance Concordance Plot File View Clusters/N-Grams Collocates Word List Keyword List

Concordance Hits 194

Hit	KWIC	File
1	بالسفارة المصرية في لن المحيطة الشوارع أغلقوا هرين متطا موقد بي بي سي أحمد الشيع إن آلاف ال	BBA ER Conc
2	على أرواح قتلى الإشتياكات الغائب صلاة أقاموا هرين متطا وقال مراسل بي بي سي في القاهرة ان ال .	BBA ER Conc
3	الأربعين الذي أحرق بالأمس شرطة قسم أمام هرين متطا في الحفاظ على أمن مصر وتجمع الفئات من ال	BBA ER Conc
4	والمدير السابق لوکالة المصري بالمعارض احاطوا هرين متطا وكانت الشرطة المصرية قد اشتبكت في البداية مع .	BBA ER Conc
5	والمدير السابق لوکالة المصري بالمعارض احاطوا هرين متطا وكانت الشرطة المصرية قد اشتبكت في البداية مع .	BBA ER Conc
6	والمدير السابق لوکالة المصري بالمعارض احاطوا هرين متطا وكانت الشرطة المصرية قد اشتبكت في البداية مع .	BBA ER Conc
7	امثال محيط جامعة القاهرة مناطق في احتجاجاتهم هرون متطا زبون وتحولت الاحتجاجات إلى تظاهرات متفرقة وواصل ال	BBA ER Conc
8	امثال محيط جامعة القاهرة مناطق في احتجاجاتهم هرون متطا وان التظاهرات تحولت الى تظاهرات متفرقة وواصل ال .	BBA ER Conc
9	امثال محيط جامعة القاهرة مناطق في احتجاجاتهم هرون متطا زبون وتحولت الاحتجاجات إلى تظاهرات متفرقة وواصل ال	BBA ER Conc
10	التحول كما احرق متظاهرون خطر وتحدي احتجاجاتهم هرون متطا متظاهرا على الاقل في مدينة بني سويف. واصل ال 17	BBA ER Conc
11	الامن المركزي في الجزيرة. و سيارات احدي احرقوا هرين متطا ي قلب القاهرة، وافاد التلفزيون المصري الرسمي ان ال	BBA ER Conc
12	الامن المركزي في الجزيرة. و سيارات احدي احرقوا هرين متطا ي قلب القاهرة، وافاد التلفزيون المصري الرسمي ان ال	BBA ER Conc
13	الاربعين في المدينة وقد استول شرطة قسم احرقوا هرين متطا بي بي سي في السويس معوض جودة ان ال	BBA ER Conc
14	الاربعين في المدينة وقد استول شرطة قسم احرقوا هرين متطا بي بي سي في السويس معوض جودة ان ال	BBA ER Conc
15	الاربعين في المدينة وقد استول شرطة قسم احرقوا هرين متطا بي بي سي في السويس معوض جودة ان ال	BBA ER Conc
16	المصري التي انتشرت في شوا الجيش دبابات اغتلاوا هرين متطا خطر التجوال ونقلت عن شهود عيان ان بعض ال	BBA ER Conc
17	المصري التي انتشرت في شوا الجيش دبابات اغتلاوا هرين متطا خطر التجوال ونقلت عن شهود عيان ان بعض ال	BBA ER Conc
18	مبنى وزارة الداخلية التي تت اقتحام من الآخرين هرين متطا عن وقوع إصابات،واقامت قوات الجيش حاجزا لمنع ال	BBA ER Conc
19	مبنى وزارة الداخلية التي تت اقتحام من الآخرين هرين متطا عن وقوع إصابات،واقامت قوات الجيش حاجزا لمنع ال	BBA ER Conc
20	الرئاسي، وهم يهتفون بسقوط ال القصر الى التوجه هرون متطا الرصاص المطاطي على المتظاهرين قرب الازهر، وحاول ال	BBA ER Conc
21	قرب أحد مساجد القاهرة بالبرادعي احاطوا الذين هرين متطا باتجاه مبنى محافظة الدقهلية. اشتبكت الشرطة مع ال	BBA ER Conc
22	قرب أحد مساجد القاهرة بالبرادعي احاطوا الذين هرين متطا باتجاه مبنى محافظة الدقهلية. اشتبكت الشرطة مع ال	BBA ER Conc

Search Term ☒ Words ☒ Case ☒ Regex  Search Window Size 50

Show Every Nth Row 1

Kwic Sort ☒ Level 1 1R ☒ Level 2 2R ☒ Level 3 3R

AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

Concordance Concordance Plot File View Clusters/N-Grams Collocates Word List Keyword List

Concordance Hits 37

Hit KWIC

1 سيدي بوزيد التي انطلقت والي الخميس أمس علي (الفرنسية) عزل الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن  
 2 "وراء أبواب مغلقة" أو ثورة تونس" أو "علي الفرنسية وبينها" جيل فيسوك أقوى من بن  
 3 اعتدت على مؤسسات رسمية ملتمة عصابات" إن علي من الخارج تضرر بالبلد". وقال الرئيس بن  
 4 أي عاطل عن العمل شعور يقدر إنه علي سيطبق علي هؤلاء بكل حزم". وقال بن  
 5 بالتوظيف السياسي للأحداث (الجزير الأطراف بعض انهم علي فيها وعلى قطاع السياحة. زين العابدين بن  
 6 من المسؤولية وتجاهل مطالب-حسبها- تنصل الذي علي التونسية المحظورة لخطاب الرئيس زين العابدين بن  
 7 من المسؤولية، وتجاهل مطالب فيه تنصل الذي علي التونسية المحظورة لخطاب الرئيس زين العابدين بن  
 8 الجمعة علي إحراق نفسه العمل عن العاطلين اعلي علي خلفية إقدام شاب من حاملي الشهادات ال  
 9 العمل يدعى محمد بوعزيري عن عاطل العالي معلي انطلقت شرارتها بعد إقدام شاب من خريجي الت  
 10 بالحزم في تطبيق القانون توعد لكنه، العالي معلي حكومته مزيدا من الجهود لمواجهة بظالة خريجي الت  
 11 التعامل مع المواطنين، واستق في بالمرونة المسؤولين علي والمأجورين ضد مصالح بلدهم. كما طالب بن  
 12 النار في نفسه (الفرنس أضرم البوعزيري النار همعلي المتظاهرين ثم رشتهم بالماء قبل أن تطلق  
 13 هذه الوضعية "دفعت أغلبية إن وقال، اليوم هاعلي الاختيارات التي أوصلت البلاد إلى الحالة التي  
 14 مزيدا من الجهود لتوفير حكومته تبدل بأن علي الاجتماعية، وتعهده الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن  
 15 النار فوراً "حفاظا علي إطلاق يوقف بالأمر علي في الحزب الديمقراطي التقدمي- طالب الرئيس بن  
 16 عليه، وكانت المدينة قد اعتدوا ثم ببضاعته هاعلي وطالبوه بنقل عربة اليد التي كان يعرض ،  
 17 وقال رئيس حركة النهضة الاجتماعية الاحتجاجات حول علي التونسية مضامين خطاب الرئيس زين العابدين بن  
 18 التفريزون الرسمي اليوم إنه عبر خطاب في علي (الجزيرة) قال الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن  
 19 خلفية الاحتجاجات التي تشهدها علي- خطاب في علي اتهم الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن 29\12\2010  
 20 إنه يأسف لما خلفته خطابه مستهل في علي في عدة ولايات ومدن تونسية، وقال بن  
 21 الحميد العلوي واليا علي عبد تعيين قرر علي وكالة الأنباء التونسية الحكومية أن الرئيس بن  
 22

Search Term ☐ Words ☐ Case ☒ Regex ☐ Advanced Search Window Size 50

Total No. 1

Files Processed

Start Stop Sort Show Every Nth Row 1

Kwic Sort

Level 1 Level 2 Level 3

Clone Results

AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

Concordance Concordance Plot File View Clusters/N-Grams Collocates Word List Keyword List

Concordance Hits 11

Hit KWIC

1 الأوضاع المعيشية (الجزيرة) ا تردى علي احتجاجوا هرون متظاهرين.. قتلى في مواجهات عنيفة بنونس • 2011#1#9 ال  
 2 يفك حصار سيدي بوزيد مطالب الجزيرة : المصدر. هرين متظا العنيفة التي تدخلت بها قوات الأمن لتفريق ال  
 3 على الفور. وعبرت مسؤولة تونس في المعتقلين هرين متظا المتواصلة، فقد طالب الاتحاد الأوروبي بإطلاق سراح ال  
 4 في مدينة جلمة التابعة للتلاء صباح اندلعت هرين متظا مصادر نقابية أن مواجهات بين قوات الأمن و  
 5 "إدارة التجهيز" الحكومية في مقر أحرقوا بعدما هرين متظا سكان بالمدينة إن الشرطة أطلقت النار على ال  
 6 عددا من القتلى والجرحى خلفت، القصرين بولاية هرين متظا اندلعت مواجهات عنيفة بين قوات الأمن التونسي و  
 7 قبل أن تطلق عليهم بالماء رشتهم ثم هرين متظا أن الشرطة استعملت أولا قتال الغاز لتفريق ال  
 8 "فتح بوابة" رأس الجدير بإعادة طالبوا عاضبين هرين متظا احتجاجات شعبية ومصادمات عنيفة بين قوات الأمن و  
 9 بوزيان التابعة لسيدي بوزيد منزل مدينة في هرين متظا الأمن الرصاص يوم 24 من الشهر الماضي لتفريق  
 10 الحارقة وحاولوا اقتحامه بالرجاجات الخرس مركز هرون متظا نطاق الدفاع الشرعي عن أنفسهم"، بعدما هاجم  
 11 مسيرة نحو المدينة، كما في الخروج من هرين متظا تونس، منع رئيس الاتحاد العام التونسي للشغل ال

Search Term ☐ Words ☐ Case ☒ Regex ☐ Advanced Search Window Size 50

Total No. 1

Files Processed

Start Stop Sort Show Every Nth Row 1

Kwic Sort

Level 1 Level 2 Level 3

Clone Results



AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

Concordance Hits 66

Hit KWIC

File

1 فيه إقالة الحكومة، وتواصلت أعلن بحطاب أمس هرين متطا ارحل" على الرغم من محاولة مبارك تهدئة ال

2 مدينة رفح المتاخمة لحدود شرطة قسم أمس هرون متطا شبه جزيرة سيناء شرقي مصر حيث احتل ال

3 حياتية، مشيرة إلى احتمال بأعمال مرتبطون أمس هري متطا اليوم أقل من أمس لأن الكثير من

4 تغيير النظام. وفي نفس إلى تقود أن هرون متطا استعدادا لجولة جديدة من الاحتجاجات التي يأمل ال

5 النظام ورجيل مبارك مردين بإسقاط المطالبة إلى هرين متطا الابن باطل" و"لا للتوريث". وانتهى الأمر بال

6 العنف. جاءت تعليقات أوباما استخدام عدم إلى هرين متطا نتيجة "الإحباط المكبوت"، ودعا كلا من الحكومة وال

7 خوفا من حدوث احتكاكات للرئيس مؤيدن إليه هرين متطا أن وحدات الجيش المرابطة بالميدان رفضت دخول

8 الأوضاع المعيشية (الجزيرة) ا تردى على احتجوا هرون متطا ين.. قتلى في مواجهات عنيفة بتونس 2011#1#9 • ال

9 الإذاعة والتلفزيون في ا لمبنى الرئيسية الباحة هرون متطا مواجهة المتظاهرين. وفي وقت سابق الجمعة، أقحم

10 بالسلب والنهب ونصحهم "أي يشاركوا لم الحقيقين هرين متطا الأمن مما تسبب بمقتل العشرات. وأكد أن ال

11 كورنيش النيل في المدينة بهم اكتظ الذين هرين متطا الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام" وقال شاهد إن ال

12 قال وزير الخارجية الإبط .اعتقالهم تم الذين هرين متطا تحت السلطات المصرية على الإفراج عن جميع ال

13 محافظات مصرية، احتجاجا على بعدة خرجوا الذين هرين متطا وقف احتجاجية أمام السفارة المصرية، تضامنا مع ال

14 برجيل الرئيس صالح. وفي يهتفون كانوا الذين هرين متطا علي عبد الله صالح وانهالوا ضريا على ال

15 بكف حصار سبدي بوزيد مطالب الجزيرة : المصدر. هرين متطا العنيفة التي تدخلت بها قوات الأمن لتفريق ال

16 ميدان التحرير بوسط القاهرة على تدفقهم المصريون هرون متطا تدفقهم اليوم على ميدان التحرير (الجزيرة) واصل ال

17 النظام في اليمن. وقد بتغيير ومطالبة المصري هرين متطا دون ذلك. وردد المتظاهرون شعارات مؤيدة لمطالب ال

18 سياسية واقتصادية وإصلاحات بالتغيير المطالبين هرين متطا دعنها إلى عدم استخدام العنف في التصدي لل

19 على الفور. وعبرت مسؤولة تونس في المعتقلين هرين متطا المتواصلة، فقد طالب الاتحاد الأوروبي بإطلاق سراح ال

20 في مدينة حلة التابعة للتلاء صياح اندلعت هرين متطا مصادر نقابية أن مواجهات بين قوات الأمن و

21 من الإجرام السياسي، وقال" نوعا تشكل بأنها هرين متطا التي أظهرت سيارات الأمن المركزي وهي تدهس ال

22

Search Term Words Case Regex Search Window Size

متطا Advanced 50

Total No. 2

Files Processed

Kwic Sort Show Every Nth Row 1

Level 1 Level 2 Level 3

Clone Results

AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows) 2019

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

Concordance Hits 112

Hit KWIC

File

1 تخرج على رجليك" لتحاكم أن لك أريد، مبارك وأردف القرضاوي "لم يعد لك مكان يا "

2 الفقي دعا في وقت وكان أمني أسلوب " مبارك التي ستحدد مدى قبول الشارع المصري لحطاب

3 وزير الخارجية البريطاني وليام وصرح .مهيدا أصبح مبارك أن الوقت ما زال ميكرا للقول بأن

4 مخيا للآمال ولا يلبي جاء الجمعة أمس مبارك شابه ذلك. وأضاف أن خطاب الرئيس حسني

5 انتهى وأن تعيين حكومة قد وقته أن مبارك يقول أوباما وديفد كامبيرون وقادة الاتحاد الأوروبي ل

6 عن الأنظمة التي لم أما .يرحل أن كيمبار سيطروا على مستقبل بلدهم ولذلك يجب على

7 عاجل لتدارس مستقبل المنطقة عربي اجتماع إلى -مبارك في اتصال هاتفي مع الرئيس المصري حسني-

8 الوضع، نافيا إمكانية معالجة لمعالجة التدخل إلى مبارك وكان الفقي دعا في وقت سابق الرئيس

9 البلاد مخاطر الانزلاق إلى لتجنب التنحي إلى مبارك الجمعية الوطنية للتغيير في مصر الرئيس حسني |

10 رجليه مختارا قبل أن على الرجيل إلى مبارك المسلمين الشيخ يوسف القرضاوي الرئيس المصري حسني

11 بتنفيذ تعليماته بعدم استخدام التزمّت الحكومة إن مبارك مصر مراعاة مصالح الوطن وحماية مكتسباته". وقال

12 قليلك متقال ذرة من في كان إن مبارك القرضاوي مبارك عبر الجزيرة قائلا "ارحل يا

13 من الرئيس الفلسطيني محمود أيضا اليوم اتصالا مبارك قد أغضب التونسيين. ومن جهة أخرى تلقى

14 بالسويس والأمن المتظاهرين اشتباكات 28\1\2011 • مبارك متكافئة. المصدر: الجزيرة جمعة غاضبة تدعو لرجيل

15 حماية وحرية الصحفيين نضال مركز رئيس اعتبر، مبارك حقوق وفي معرض تعليقه على عهد الرئيس

16 أيام الغضب في مصر". يرحل أن الآن مبارك كيوم واحد، صرخ الشعب: "كفاية" ويجب على

17 الدول العربية المستيدة أن مصلحة ومن الآن مبارك مصر (رويتز-أرشفيف) يجب أن تنتهي ديكتاتورية

18 وقد أغفلت الحكومة مطالب المطالب تفهم (الأوروبية) مبارك وتزوير الانتخابات". المتظاهرون يطالبون برجيل

19 الانتقالية وشرح البرادعي المرحلة (وكالات) التنحي مبارك البرادعي توقع استمرار المظاهرات إذا رفض الرئيس

20 شعبية صاحبة أسفرت عن احتجاجات يواجه الذي مبارك الزعامات العربية تضامنها مع الرئيس المصري حسني

21 حكم البلد على مدى 30 الذي والمفلس القمعي مبارك في مصر تعني نهاية أيام نظام حسني

22

Search Term Words Case Regex Search Window Size

مبارك Advanced 50

Total No. 2

Files Processed

Kwic Sort Show Every Nth Row 1

Level 1 Level 2 Level 3

Clone Results

## BBC ARABIC

[←](#)
[→](#)
[↺](#)
[↻](#)
[⌂](#)

[www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/01/110128\\_egypt\\_mubarak\\_demo](#)
[ⓘ](#)
[⌕](#)
[⌕](#)
[⌕](#)

[Q](#)
[بحث](#)
[News](#)
[Sport](#)
[Weather](#)
[iPlayer](#)
[TV](#)
[Radio](#)
[More](#)

[BBC](#)

[عربي](#)

[الأخبار الرئيسية](#)
[الشرق الأوسط](#)
[العالم](#)
[شارك برأيك](#)
[علوم](#)
[فنون](#)
[رياضة](#)
[اقتصاد](#)
[مجلة](#)
[تقارير خاصة](#)
[فيديو](#)
[صور](#)
[راديو](#)
[تلفزيون](#)

تم أرشفة هذه الصفحة ولن نقوم بتحديثها.  
 (المزيد عن أرشفة الصفحات (باللغة الإنجليزية))

## مصر: عودة الاف المتظاهرين للاحتشاد وسط القاهرة

آخر تحديث: السبت، 29 يناير / كانون الثاني، 2011، GMT 05:54

[ⓘ](#)
[⌕](#)
[⌕](#)
[⌕](#)



بدأ الآلاف من المتظاهرين الاحتشاد وسط القاهرة استعدادا للانطلاق في تظاهرة جديدة في القاهرة.

واكدت وكالة فرانس برس وعدد من وسائل الاعلام توافد الآلاف الى

[روابط ذات صلة](#)

[illegible]

قيادة النهضة التونسية تعدّ للعودة

15/1/2011

أهم الأخبار

تركيا تطالب السعودية بالتعاون وتلوح بالتحقيق الدولي في مقتل خاشقجي

توجه في الكونغرس الأميركي لدعم عقوبات ضد السعودية

ترامب: استخباراتنا لم تجزم بتورط محمد بن سلمان في اغتيال خاشقجي

بومبيو يطالب السعودية بدفع فواتير الصفقات العسكرية في موعدها

أمنستي وهيومن رايتس: معتقلون بالسعودية يتعرضون للتعذيب والتحرش

راشد الغنوشي قال إن قيادات حركة النهضة ستعود إلى تونس قريبا (الجزيرة)

أعلن رئيس حركة النهضة التونسية للعارضة راشد الغنوشي -اليوم السبت في حديث للجزيرة- أنه وقياديين آخرين سيعودون قريبا إلى تونس، مبدئيا استعداد حركته للحظوظة في عهد النظام للخلوع للمشاركة في حكومة ائتلافية تعبد الطريق لديمقراطية حقيقية.

وجاءت تصريحات الغنوشي بعد قليل من دعوة الرئيس الجديد للوقت فؤاد البرّع الوزير الأول (رئيس الوزراء) محمد الغنوشي بتشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية "دون إقصاء أو استثناء".

مطالب بفك حصار سيدي بوزيد بتونس

20/12/2010

أهم الأخبار

تركيا تطالب السعودية بالتعاون وتلوح بالتحقيق الدولي في مقتل خاشقجي

توجه في الكونغرس الأميركي لدعم عقوبات ضد السعودية

ترامب: استخباراتنا لم تجزم بتورط محمد بن سلمان في اغتيال خاشقجي

بومبيو يطالب السعودية بدفع فواتير الصفقات العسكرية في موعدها

أمنستي وهيومن رايتس: معتقلون بالسعودية يتعرضون للتعذيب والتحرش

قوات الأمن تحاصر مدينة سيدي بوزيد بعد الاحتجاجات الشعبية (وكالات)

دعت أحزاب تونسية معارضة اليوم الاثنين إلى إطلاق سراح كافة اللوقوفين الذين اعتقلوا على خلفية مشاركتهم في المظاهرات الاحتجاجية التي شهدتها مدينة سيدي بوزيد في وسط البلاد، وإيقاف كافة الملاحقات ضدهم.

وطالبت حركة التجديد (الحزب الشيوعي سابقا) في بيان بفك الحصار الأمني على مدينة سيدي بوزيد وإطلاق سراح اللوقوفين فوراً، ودعت إلى رفع التعتيم الإعلامي و"فتح تحقيق عاجل للوقوف على أسباب هذه للأساءة ومحاسبة المسؤولين عن ذلك".

واعتبرت الحركة أن الأوان حان لاستخلاص الدروس من مختلف الأحداث التي شهدتها العديد من المناطق التونسية،

مظاهرات مصر من الخبر إلى مبارك

New Tab

www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2011/1/28/مبارك-إلى-الخبر-من-مظاهرات-مصر

الرئيسية الأخبار المعرفة البرامج الوسائط الموسوعة تعلم العربية رياضة مدونات ميدان الطقس البحث الحي


الأخبار | تقارير وحوارات

## مظاهرات مصر من الخبر إلى مبارك

28/1/2011

الاعلان

riverbed IDC On-Demand Webcast: Reinventing APM for the Digital Era User-Centric. All Data. Every App. VIEW THE WEBCAST



التظاهرون رفعوا شعارات تنادي بإسقاط مبارك والنظام المصري (الفرنسية)

وصلت احتجاجات الغضب في مصر ذروتها الجمعة بخروج عشرات الآلاف في عدة مدن مصرية إستجابة لدعوات أطلقتها حركة 6 أبريل للتظاهر منذ الثلاثاء الماضي. ومع غروب شمس اليوم الرابع للمظاهرات، أصدر الحاكم العسكري قرارا بحظر التجول في القاهرة.

وميز المظاهرات التي عمت أكبر المدن المصرية أنها لم تكن بدعوة من حزب سياسي، وليس لها قيادة تمثلها أو تحمل مطالب محددة، بل كانت غضبة من الشعب المصري تجاه أوضاعه للعيشية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية.

البرادعي يدعو مبارك للتنحي

New Tab

www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2011/1/29/البرادعي-يدعو-مبارك-للتنحي

الرئيسية الأخبار المعرفة البرامج الوسائط الموسوعة تعلم العربية رياضة مدونات ميدان الطقس البحث الحي

الأخبار | عربي

## البرادعي يدعو مبارك للتنحي

29/1/2011

الاعلان

riverbed IDC On-Demand Webcast: Reinventing APM for the Digital Era User-Centric. All Data. Every App. VIEW THE WEBCAST



البرادعي يشارك في إحدى مظاهرات جمعة الغضب بالقاهرة (الفرنسية)

دعا محمد البرادعي أحد أقطاب الجمعية الوطنية للتغيير في مصر الرئيس حسني مبارك إلى التنحي لتجنب البلاد مخاطر الانزلاق إلى الفوضى، وبالتالي إفساح المجال أمام مرحلة انتقالية تعيد إعادة بناء البلاد على أسس ديمقراطية تلي مطالب الشعب بالحرية والكرامة، على حد تعبيره.

جاء ذلك في مقابلة أجرتها اليوم السبت قناة الجزيرة مع البرادعي الذي قال إن المظاهرات والاحتجاجات التي تشهدها محافظات الجمهورية تأتي تعبيرا لكافة شرائح الشعب المصري بتغيير شامل وليس بإصلاحات جزئية تنصل باستقالة

أهم الأخبار

تغيب جنة حاشفي يخضع جيم منه

## APPENDIX 3

### Description of Online News Articles Subjected to Concordance Analysis

#### Aljazeera Arabic Online News

##### Articles on the Tunisian Revolution

No.	News Title	Date	word
1	مسيرة بتونس للمطالبة بفرص عمل <i>A March in Tunisia to Demand Jobs</i>	18/12/2010	222
2	مطالب بفك حصار سيدي بوزيد بتونس <i>Demanding the Dismantling of the Siege of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia</i>	20/12/2010	471
3	بن علي يتوعد "مثيري الشغب" <i>Ben Ali Vows "Troublemakers"</i>	29/12/2010	713
4	بن علي يعزل والي سيدي بوزيد <i>Ben Ali Fired Governour of Sidi Bouzid</i>	30/12/2010	338
5	اعتصامات جديدة في تونس <i>New Sit-Ins in Tunisia</i>	30/12/2010	786
6	وفاة البوعزيزي مفجر احتجاجات تونس <i>Death of Bouazizi the Exploder of Tunisian Protests</i>	05/01/2011	202
7	جيل فيسبوك أقوى من بن علي <i>Facebook generation stronger than Ben Ali</i>	06/01/2011	444
8	اعتقال مغن تونسي لانتقاده الحكومة <i>Tunisian Singer Arrested for Criticising the Government</i>	07/01/2011	263
9	قتلى في مواجهات عنيفة بتونس <i>Killed in Violent Clashes in Tunisia</i>	09/01/2011	363
10	بن علي يعد بوظائف والاحتجاج يستمر <i>Ben Ali Promises Jobs and Protests Continue</i>	10/01/2011	658
11	بن علي: الاضطرابات "عمل إرهابي" <i>Ben Ali: Disorders "Terrorist Act"</i>	10/01/2011	968
12	بن علي يتوعد ودعوة لحكومة إنقاذ <i>Ben Ali Vows and Calls for Rescue Government</i>	11/01/2011	747
13	بن علي يقيل وزير داخلته <i>Ben Ali Dismisses his Interior Minister</i>	12/01/2011	618
14	زين العابدين: لا رئاسة مدى الحياة <i>Zine El Abidine: No Presidency for Life</i>	13/01/2011	322
15	بن علي يعد بإصلاحات ديمقراطية <i>Ben Ali Promises Democratic Reforms</i>	14/01/2011	757

##### Articles on the Egyptian Revolution

No.	News Title	Date	word
1	مصريون بلندن يطالبون مبارك بالرحيل	25/01/2011	222

	Egyptians in London demanding Mubarak to leave		
2	البرادعي: نظام مبارك يرتعش ElBaradei: The Mubarak regime is shaking	25/01/2011	457
3	الأمن المصري يفرق آلاف المعتصمين Egyptian security disperses thousands of protesters	26/01/2011	466
4	أوباما يدعو مبارك لإصلاح شامل Obama calls Mubarak for comprehensive reform	27/01/2011	882
5	إجهاض مظاهرات الغضب بالإسكندرية Abortion of demonstrations of anger in Alexandria	27/01/2011	413
6	مبارك يستنجد بواشنطن Mubarak seeks help in Washington	28/01/2011	228
7	مظاهرات مصر من الخبز إلى مبارك Egypt demonstrations from bread to Mubarak	28/01/2011	648
8	جمعة غاضبة تدعو لرحيل مبارك An angry Friday calls for the departure of Mubarak	28/01/2011	490
9	مبارك يطلب من الحكومة الاستقالة Mubarak asks the government to resign	28/01/2011	126
10	القرضاوي يدعو مبارك للرحيل Qaradawi calls on Mubarak to leave	29/01/2011	351
11	البرادعي يدعو مبارك للنتحي ElBaradei calls on Mubarak to step down	29/01/2011	492
12	مبارك يقلل الحكومة ومطالب بتحيه Mubarak dismisses government and calls for his resignation	29/01/2011	537
13	تضامن عربي رسمي مع مبارك Official Arab solidarity with Mubarak	29/01/2011	794
14	غضب متزايد بمصر رغم خطاب مبارك Growing anger in Egypt despite Mubarak's speech	29/01/2011	858
15	متظاهرون بالقاهرة ينادون برحيل مبارك Demonstrators in Cairo call for Mubarak's departure	29/01/2011	1078
16	ديكتاتورية مبارك يجب أن تنتهي Mubarak's dictatorship must end	30/01/2011	516
17	مبارك يكلف سليمان بمفاوضة المعارضة Mubarak assigns Suleiman to negotiate with opposition	31/01/2011	403
18	إسرائيل تحث العالم على دعم مبارك Israel urges the world to support Mubarak	31/01/2011	418
19	حقوقيون: سجل أسود لعهد مبارك Human rights activists: black record of the Mubarak era	01/02/2011	558
20	واشنطن متواطئة مع دكتاتورية مبارك Washington is complicit with the dictatorship of Mubarak	01/02/2011	327

## BBC Arabic Online News

### Articles on the Tunisian Revolution

No.	News Title	Date	word
1	قتيل وجرحى في اشتباكات بين متظاهرين والشرطة في تونس <i>Dead and Wounded in Clashes between Demonstrators and Police in Tunisia</i>	24/12/2010	349
2	تونس: تجدد المواجهات في ولاية سيدي بوزيد <i>Tunisia: Renewed Clashes in the State of Sidi Bouzid</i>	26/12/2010	451
3	تونس: نقابيون يتظاهرون في العاصمة تضامنا مع محتجي سيدي بوزيد <i>Tunisia: Trade Unionists Demonstrate in the Capital in Solidarity with the Protesters of Sidi Bouzid</i>	27/12/2010	448
4	بن علي: الاحتجاجات ضد البطالة غير مقبولة وتضر بصورة تونس <i>Ben Ali: Protests Against Unemployment Are Unacceptable and Harm Tunisia's Image</i>	28/12/2010	484
5	تونس: بن علي يجري تعديلا وزاريا على خلفية الاضطرابات في البلاد <i>Tunisia: Ben Ali Is Reshuffling his Cabinet Members Following Unrest in The Country</i>	29/12/2010	254
6	تونس: بن علي يقلل محافظ "سيدي بوزيد" على خلفية المظاهرات الأخيرة <i>Tunisia: Ben Ali Dismisses Governor of Sidi Bouzid Following Recent Demonstrations</i>	30/12/2010	437
7	تونس: 14 قتيلا في المصادمات بين الأمن والمتظاهرين <i>Tunisia: 14 Dead in Clashes Between Security Forces and Demonstrators</i>	09/01/2011	539
8	تونس: الحكومة تغلق المدارس والجامعات على خلفية احتجاجات البطالة <i>Tunisia: Government Closes Schools and Universities Following Unemployment Protests</i>	10/01/2011	655
9	تونس: توتر مسلح يسود في بعض مناطق العاصمة <i>Tunisia: Armed Tension Prevails in Some Parts of the Capital</i>	10/01/2011	1121
10	الاضطرابات تمتد الى ضواحي العاصمة التونسية وواشنطن تبدي قلقها <i>The Unrest Extends to the Suburbs of Tunis and Washington Is Concerned</i>	11/01/2011	736
11	احتجاجات تونس: التلفزيون يوسع من تغطيته والمدونون يواصلون دعمهم <i>Tunisia Protests: TV Expands Coverage and Bloggers Continue Their Support</i>	12/01/2011	672
12	تونس: بن علي يعد بإصلاحات ويعلن عدم ترشحه في انتخابات 2014 <i>Tunisia: Ben Ali Promises Reforms and Declares He Will Not Run in the 2014 Elections</i>	13/01/2011	682
13	أحداث تونس تخيم على القمة الاقتصادية العربية في شرم الشيخ <i>Tunisia Events Looming Over the Arab Economic Summit in Sharm El-Sheikh</i>	19/01/2011	686
14	تونس: قطاعات من الشرطة التونسية تنضم الى المتظاهرين <i>Tunisia: Tunisian Police are Joining the Demonstrators</i>	21/01/2011	644
15	تونس: التحقيق في دور قوات الأمن في مقتل عشرات المتظاهرين <i>Tunisia: Investigation into the Role of the Security Forces in the Killing of Dozens Demonstrators</i>	23/01/2011	606

### Articles on the Egyptian Revolution

No.	News Title	Date	word
1	مصر: رجل يشعل النار في نفسه أمام مجلس الشعب وهو يردد هتافات ضد الشرطة <i>Egypt: A man sets fire to himself in front of the People's Assembly shouting slogans against the police</i>	17/01/2011	282
2	"جمعة الغضب" في مصر: حظر التجول بعدة مدن والجيش يحرس المنشآت الحيوية <i>"Friday of anger" in Egypt: a curfew in several cities and the army guarding vital institutions</i>	28/01/2011	1426



3	مصر للطيران وشركات أخرى تعلق رحلاتها من وإلى القاهرة Egypt Air and other companies suspend their flights to and from Cairo	28/01/2011	211
4	"جمعة الغضب" في مصر: المتظاهرون يسيطرون على مركز مدينة السويس ويحرقون مركزا للشرطة "Friday of anger" in Egypt: Demonstrators control the center of the city of Suez and burn a police station	28/01/2011	1629
5	مصر: الغرب يطالب بإصلاحات واسعة النطاق Egypt: West demands extensive reforms	29/01/2011	762
6	مصر: استمرار التظاهرات وتعيين عمر سليمان نائباً للرئيس واستقالة أحمد عز من الحزب الحاكم Egypt: the continuation of the demonstrations and the appointment of Omar Suleiman as Vice President and the resignation of Ahmed Ezz from the ruling party	29/01/2011	1627
7	أحداث مصر: دعوات دولية لوقف العنف وأوباما طلب من مبارك الوفاء بوعوده Egypt Events: International calls to stop violence and Obama asked Mubarak to fulfill his promises	29/01/2011	732
8	مصر: عودة آلاف المتظاهرين للاحتشاد وسط القاهرة Egypt: Thousands of demonstrators return to rally in central Cairo	29/01/2011	2206
9	إغلاق بورصة مصر الأحد وتأثيرات سلبية على السعودية Egypt's stock market closed Sunday and negative impacts on Saudi Arabia	29/01/2011	322
10	مصر: تعيين عمر سليمان نائباً للرئيس وأحمد شفيق رئيساً للحكومة والجيش والمواطنون يتصدون للنهب Egypt: Omar Suleiman appointed as vice president and Ahmed Shafiq head of government, army and citizens face looting	29/01/2011	1037
11	أصداء "جمعة الغضب" المصرية تتردد في دافوس The Egyptian "Friday of Anger" echoed in Davos	29/01/2011	535
12	البرادعي لحشود المحتجين في ميدان التحرير: "بدأنا عهداً جديداً". ElBaradei to the crowds of protesters in Tahrir Square: "We have begun a new era."	30/01/2011	748
13	مصر: الجيش يدفع بتعزيزات إضافية وطائرات حربية تحلق فوق المتظاهرين في القاهرة EGYPT: The army is pushing additional reinforcements and warplanes flying over the demonstrators in Cairo	30/01/2011	1119
14	مصر: تواصل التظاهرات في القاهرة والجيش يدفع بتعزيزات إضافية Egypt: Demonstrations continue in Cairo and the army is pushing further reinforcements	30/01/2011	1084
15	أحداث مصر: المستثمرون قلقون Events in Egypt: Investors are worried	30/01/2011	244
16	أوباما يؤيد انتقالاً منظماً للسلطة بمصر Obama supports an orderly transition of power in Egypt	31/01/2011	551
17	مصر: دعوة لاضراب عام و"تظاهرات مليونية" والحكومة الجديدة تؤدي اليمين Egypt: Call for a general strike and "million demonstrations" and the new government sworn in	31/01/2011	1184
18	مصر: الجيش يؤكد أنه لن يلجأ للقوة والحكومة تتفاوض مع المعارضة Egypt: Army confirms it will not resort to force and the government is negotiating with the opposition	31/01/2011	991
19	مصر: عشرات الآلاف من المتظاهرين وسط القاهرة يتحدون حظر التجوال Egypt: Tens of thousands of demonstrators in central Cairo challenge the curfew	31/01/2011	809
20	مصر: تظاهرات حاشدة ضد مبارك وواشنطن تطالبه بالتحضير لانتقال السلطة Egypt: Massive demonstrations against Mubarak and Washington, asking him to prepare for the transition of power	01/02/2011	1029