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في موضوع :

A Postضcolonial-Critical Discourse Analysis of Western Press Media Representation of the Arab Muslims during the Arab Spring
The Washington Post- The Guardian- Le Figaro as Case Studies

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CHAPTER I :   GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.   Setting the Scene

The most remarkable event in the twentieth first century, after the 9/11, is the Arab Spring. It is a series of sweeping revolts which have voiced the Arabs´ long awaited embrace of democracy, freedom and social justice. Such a historical event caused ravaging quakes across the region and sent strong aftershocks echoing in the different corners of the world. Indeed, the Tunisian vendor´s self-immolation in protest to confiscating his vegetables´ cart was the needed straw to break an overburdened camel´s back. The effect of the upheavals was similar to a rolling snowball which moved and affected most of the Arab countries, though differently, and marked the beginning of a new era in the region. These revolutions created an unprecedented momentum for the Arabs to call for the revival of nationalism, identity valorization and adoption of democratic rule. More than that, the events shook western capitals and awakened them to a new reality being born on the ground. Indeed, the Arab Spring provided a golden opportunity for the discussion and revisiting of problemitized issues as East and West encounters which is governed by a heavy colonial legacy and a well-defined colonial discourse. Such discourse is premised on subjugation, binarisms and othering and the representation of the whole orient is seen through the lens of what Edward Said calls orientalism.

Obviously, such event alarmed the West and revived its representational encounters with its ex-colonial Other who has long been considered a submissive agent and a normalizer with dictatorship. According to Hochman Rand (2013)

> Middle East comparative politics specialists considered the endurance of authoritarianism in this region a puzzling anomaly. Most of the developing world had at least experimented with some type of democratization from the 1970s through the 1990s—even if many of these states later regressed

back to "hybrid" regime types, neither fully democratic nor fully authoritarian. Yet, the states of the Middle East and North Africa remained undemocratic, lagging on all of the global rankings that measure political freedom and civil liberties. (vii)

Such contention stands for the traditional orientalist western representation of the Middle East which is based on denigration and polarities. Yet, the momentum created by the Arab Spring seems to have shaken the western eye on the orient and pushed it to indulge in a new process of representation reconsideration. The need to revisit the portrait of the Arab Muslim in the western mindset became more necessary during the revolutions given the prodigious impact these revolutions have had worldwide. Therefore, this thesis aims at analyzing western representation of the Arab Muslim world during the Arab Spring revolution. It is based on an ideological and discursive examination of Op-ed articles taken from *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *Le Figaro*. the choice of these newspapers is justified by their widespread reach across the world, the considerable number of articles written about the topic and, most importantly, their representativeness of a neocolonial and postcolonial countries respectively. The study covers a seven years' time span stretching from 2010 to 2016.

2.   Rationale

Despite the extensive research on the western representation of the Arab Muslims, few studies have discursively dealt with the western press analysis of the Arab Spring revolutions. The impetus for the present investigation goes a step further to provide an ideological and discursive examination of journalistic text that belong to three dominant countries. Practically, the analysis is conducted within the conceptual framework of postcolonial studies and critical discourse analysis. Such combination is further strengthened by the implementation of quantitative and qualitative methods of enquires. In this manner, the study at hand brings to the field of research novelties and grants the reader access to linguistic and ideological

understanding of the underlying construct of the western representation of the Arab Muslim during the revolutions.

3. Hypotheses and Research Questions

Enlightened with postcolonial framework, this thesis embarks on providing a discursive analysis of the prevailing themes about the Arab Muslims across opinion and editorial articles of *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *Le Figaro* published between 2010 and 2016 through securitizing the dominant linguistic constructs harboring ideologies and representational modes. Basically, the thesis at hand is set to answer the following research questions:

▶ 1- What are the main discursive strategies and linguistic constructs that the selected newspapers opinion and editorial writers deployed to ideologically represent the Arab Muslims during the Arab Spring?

▶ 2- What are the dominant ideological areas that stereotypically frame the Arab Muslims within the Arab Spring?

▶ 3- To what extent have the Arab Muslims escaped the stereotypical colonial representation during the Arab Spring?

▶ 4- what is the writers´ position? Are they biased or objective?

Building on the aforementioned research questions, the subsequent research hypotheses are formulated:

▶ The newspapers opinion and editorial writers´ resort to some discursive strategies and linguistic constructs more than others to represent the Arab Muslims.

▶ Othering, gender, violence and `despotism deservedness` are some of the possibly prevalent themes that still dominate the western perception of the Arab Muslim Other.

- The Arab Muslims are, to a high probability, still negatively represented.

- The writers take a bias stance in representing the Arab Muslims during the revolutions.

4.   Methodology

The methodological construction this research is based on employs the mixed method. Combing quantitative as well as qualitative methods of analysis is meant to apply a multilayered examination of the data and come up with high quality findings. The quantitative analysis of the data is used to provide a numerical and statistical insight of the recurrences and use of the discursive constructs deployed in the analyzed extracts. On the other hand, the qualitative method seeks to unveil the ideological structures the writers embed in their line of argumentation. According to F. Molina-Azorin (2016, p 37)

> The overall purpose and central premise of mixed methods studies is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems and complex phenomena than either approach alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Better understanding can be obtained by triangulating one set of results with another and thereby enhancing the validity of inferences. Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) point out other important purposes, rationales and advantages of mixed methods research: complementarity (elaboration or clarification of the results from one method with the findings from the other method), development (when the researcher uses the results from one method to help develop the use of the other method) and expansion (seeking to extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components).

the use of the mixed method is applied to a total number of 103 articles which were randomly selected according to their availability in each newspaper. the choice of random sampling is justified by the nature of the study as well as the maxims of objectivity, reliability and validity. Furthermore, the application of the mixed method of analysis is conducted within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Fairclough´s (1989-1995) three-dimensional model of analysis. CDA originates from the critical linguistic theory which considers the use of language as a social practice. This latter is defined by contexts and within which social relations are contested or reproduced and power relations among discourse participants are demarcated. Indeed, the analysis in CDA aims at understating how discourse is produced and implicated in the process of power relations´ making. Here comes the role of Fairclough´s model of analysis to break the discourse into its immediate constituents to unravel the working of power relations and ideology construction. The three dimensions cover description (textual analysis), interpretation (processing analysis) and explanation (social analysis). The interconnectedness of these three levels of analysis provides the analyst with more flexibility and richness in the process of investigating the significant patterns and junctions that should be described, interpreted and explained.

5. Thesis Structure

In order to answer the formulated research questions, the present thesis is divided into six chapters: general introduction, review of the literature, methodology, data analysis, discussion and general conclusion.

The general introduction chapter is the threshold of this thesis. It sets the scene and puts the research in its general context. Moreover, it presents the hypotheses and research questions this thesis seeks to answer. The rational and objectives of this study are also comprised in the introduction. This latter provides a glimpse of the methodology on which this thesis is constructed.

Chapter two presents the theoretical framework that demarcates the background of this research. It is divided into four sections. The first section covers the key concepts and thoughts which make up the core focus of orientalist discourse. Arguments of prominent thinkers such as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak are highlighted. The second section deals with discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. It discusses the major approaches to critical discourse analysis and pertinent concepts as power and ideology. The third section is devoted to the discussion of the discourse and study of media. it also sheds light on theories of media as well as the discourse of the newspaper. the last section of this chapter aims at presenting a holistic overview of the colossal event of the Arab Spring. The main contexts, causes and repercussions of the revolutions are dealt with in this section.

Chapter three is dedicated to the methodology which guides the conduction of the thesis. It presents the theoretical and analytical frameworks. Special discussion of Fairclough´s three-dimensional model is put forward and the significance of mixing quantitative and qualitative analysis is highlighted in this chapter. Moreover, this latter covers the study period, hypotheses, research questions and data sampling.

Chapter four is comprised of the data analysis and research findings. It presents the results and answers the research queries. This chapter is, indeed, the added value this research endeavors to add to academia. The most dominant discursive tools and ideological constructs the selected newspapers employ to represent the Arab Spring´s events and actors are all exposed.

Chapter five gives a comprehensive summary of the findings and discusses the main arguments of the thesis. It reacquaints the reader with the major results and highlights the research´s contribution. This is done through revisiting the research questions and providing empirical responses to them. this chapter paves the path to the last chapter of this thesis, the general conclusion.

Chapter six closes the curtains on this research and brings it to its final shore. It re-presents a brief summary of the thesis gist as well as its implications. It also sheds light on the limitations of the study and reformulates its major contribution to the field under study. This chapter ends with suggestions for further research which makes this thesis a bridge towards other unexploited horizons.

CHAPTER II : LITERATURE REVIEW: POSTCOLONIALISM AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND/ FRAMEWORK

1.   Introduction

This part is mainly divided into four sections. The first one is devoted to highlighting major theoretical works and thoughts that frame East and West encounters within the discourse of colonialism and what Edward Said qualified as Orientalism. It chiefly covers Edward Said´s groundbreaking work of *Orientalism*, Homi Bhabha´s major postcolonial contributions and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak´s pertinent anti-colonial interventions

The second section deals with the notions of representation and discourse. It also provides a considerable account of Critical Discourse Analysis and its major approaches such as systemic functional grammar, pragmatics and deconstruction.

The third section comprises an investigation of media studies and media discourse. Besides, it covers some of the essential and relevant approaches and theories that govern the discourse of media and, further, a special discussion is devoted to the discourse of the newspaper.

The fourth section of this review provides a rough initiation to the world-shattering event of the Arab Spring. This initiation mainly relies on two major accounts presented in two enlightening books written about this event namely James L. Gelvin´s (2015), *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know* and Tarik Ramadan´s (2011) *Islam and the Arab Awakening.*

2.   Postcolonialism

II.2.1.   Introduction

Eurocentric colonialism occupied and subjugated vast spaces of the earth starting from the Renaissance up till the mid of the twentieth century. Europe´s invasion of the rest of the world was not only driven by its military and economic upper hand, but also mainly by its belief in its race´s cultural, religious and intellectual "superiority". The whole colonial discourse was premised on and nurtured by such "creed" which relegates the non-western Other to dehumanizing and denigrating status. Bhabha (1983, p 70) unravels the latent intention of colonial discourse which is "to construct the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.". The compartmentalization of the colonized was facilitated by the abundant knowledge made at the colonizer´s disposal from geographical discoveries, travel discourse and expeditions. This knowledge, most of which is stereotypical, fed colonial discourse and defined the colonial enterprise`s "predominant strategic function", maintains Bhabha (1994, p70), which is:

> the creation of the space for a "subject people" through the production of knowledge in terms of which surveillance is exercised and complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited. It seeks authorization for its strategies by the production of colonizer and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated.

Undeniably, the juxtaposed nature of colonial belief, its "superiority" complex and military ravaging conquests sparked military as well as intellectual forms of resistance. In Foucault´s view, power´s natural breed is resistance, hence; the birth of anti-colonial discourse came as an attempt to recount the colonized´s side of the story and show, in Cesaire´s words (1977,p 2) "how colonization works to decivilize the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the

word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism". In reality, the works of Frantz Fanon (1963), Amie Cesaire (1977) and later on, Edward Said (1978), Homi Bhabha (1983) and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1998), to mention but a few, inaugurated and spearheaded Postcolonial Studies; a field of intellectual dissection and resistance of colonial discourse. Incontestably, within postcolonial theory, the Palestinian-born Edward Said is deemed the corner stone of postcolonial and cultural studies with immortal works such as *Culture and imperialism* (1993), *Covering Islam* (1981) and *Orientalism* (1978). This groundbreaking latter has unquestionably provided insightful understanding into the East and West dichotomy unveiling the intricate workings of colonial discourse and offering alternative historical, political and psychological readings from a non-western perspective.

1. Discourse Analysis

II.1.1. Introduction

The Inextricable bond holding language, thought and social practices in a process of mutual definition, identification and co-production is an essential prerequisite for the construction of any type of discourse. Ostensibly, the unexampled invasion of the image, sign and symbol, in an age possessed by high-technology and a tendency towards shortcut communication, gives the impression that the indispensable role of language in the communicative and discursive interaction is de-emphasized and overshadowed. Such view is nurtured by the claim that language is a pure linguistic apparatus which can be substituted by any mechanical system of communication. This contention, unmistakably, is put back on shelves by advances in Sociolinguistics, Cultural Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Psychoanalysis, Discourse Analysis and Cultural Studies, to mention but a few, which all underscore the communicative, social, cultural and discursive dimensions of language giving it a lasting predominant presence in all types of communication and discourse(s).

The unceasing omnipresence of language in shaping our world view, from Sapir and Whorf perspective[1], is framed and influenced by social, cultural and educational backgrounds. Indeed, Whorf (1956, p 214) maintains "we cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significance as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way- an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language". Similarly, language, according to O´Brien (2010, p 81), "shapes our experiences. Language directs our focus-what we pay attention to and what we ignore. Language also shapes our values and our perceptions. Language can be dissected and examined to reveal underlying cultural beliefs and value systems". Hence, this way, language makes up the backbone of variety types of discourses where the dissection and examination of it would unearth its latent power and ideology. Certainly, the analysis of the discursive power of language and investigating it, as what Fowler (1985, p 62) qualifies a "reality creating social practice", is a precondition for understanding any type of discourse. Thus, this section is devoted to familiarizing the reader with the most important and pertinent concepts which guide the analysis of data. it also sheds light on the theoretical framework most discourse analysts refer to.

2.   **The Discourse of Media**

II.2.1.   **Introduction**

The fast-paced evolution of media and mass communication has tremendously had a profound effect not only on the way people get information but also how they react, interact, process and internalize it. The abundance of news and information in such a strong-growing and precarious world grants the media industry a golden opportunity to flourish and establish itself as the authority of information, the "truth bearer" and "news provider". Indeed, access to information has become easily guaranteed given the multiplicity of media resources and the

[1] They believe that language has a great influence on thought and that people from different cultural and social backgrounds think differently due to language differences.

policy of privatizing this sector by breaking free from state-based and state-supported corporations. Rozell and D. Mayer (2008, p3-4) point out that "control of information makes the official media more powerful. Nevertheless, resistance media developed simultaneously to challenge state-run propaganda". In any event, media, in all its forms, can be tools of control and have an inherent power to dominate and manipulate. As L. Paletz (1996, p 10) puts it, "media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers". Differently put, this control is exercised in a variety of ways such as by concealing, over-emphasizing, deemphasizing, censoring or even distorting news and information.

The "traditional" consumption of media input is being revolutionized by the advent of Critical Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis as a step towards resisting what Van Dijk calls the "Symbolic Power of Media". These theories have developed useful tools which are worth using to unveil media power, dominance and manipulation through deploying constructing, reconstructing and deconstructing methods. Analyzing the intricate constructs of Media Discourse is a key to understanding how media shape minds and frame representations. O´Keeffe (2011, p 31) stresses that:

> because media discourse is manufactured, we need to consider how this
> has been done – both in a literal sense of what goes into its making and at
> an ideological level. One important strand of research into media discourse
> is preoccupied with taking a critical stance to media discourse, namely
> critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Hence, since the data is collected from a source of media, this section is meant to contextualize the reader within the discourse of media. therefore, concepts as power, dominance, representation and ideology make up the core focus of Media Studies and Media Discourse and should be at the heart of approaching these two areas of investigation.

1.   The Arab Spring

II.1.1.   Introduction

The Arab Spring, The Arab Awakening, The Arab Revolutions/uprisings are all terms used to describe the earthshaking upheavals sweeping the Arab world since the beginning of the second decade of the twenty first century. First sparked by a street vendor´s self-immolation in the Tunisian city of Sidi Bouzid, the fast-growing demonstrations against poverty, inflation and unequal distribution of wealth turned into determined calls for liberty, social justice and downfall of the regime. All the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region was shaken and the contagion of regime overthrow spread like fire in the harmattan in most of Arab countries, which resulted in the step down of the Tunisian, Egyptian and Yamani presidents and the killing of Libya´s leader. The Arab Spring is seen as people´s endeavor to break the shackles of West supported/manipulated regimes in the region towards salvation from ignorance, poverty, inferiority and tyranny. Ostensibly, it is a historical moment in the Arab world which created an unprecedented momentum for Arabs to revisit problemitized issues as identity, nationalism and belongingness. The protestors´ thunderous calls for reviving nationalism and collective identity are strengthened by and coupled with the adoption of notions of democracy, freedom, gender equality and justice. Undeniably, echoing calls of "liberty, dignity, social justice" from Tahrir Square in Egypt or in front of the Tunisian ministry of interior have also shaken western capitals which seemed astonished by the nature of the unexpected events and the protestors´ demands.

CHAPTER III :   METHODOLOGY

1.   Introduction

The nucleus of this research part encompasses pertinent issues to the methodological construction on which this thesis is inherently constructed. It first foregrounds the theoretical framework which confines the conceptual and notional foundations of this study. This

framework eclectically readdresses germane thoughts from Discourse Analysis as well as Critical Linguistics. The second aim of this part is to cast light on the analytical framework used to empirically bring forth the results and findings of the core of the study. The analytical framework is adopted from Critical Discourse Analysis and applies quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis where the former is used to quantitatively spot the recurrence of the dominant discursive constructs that are deployed to forge the selected newspapers ideological and representational stands, and the latter to qualitatively analyze the main thoughts and themes through which the writers see and represent the Arab Muslim during the revolutions. The conduction of quantitative and qualitative research models´ combination is done in the light of Fairclough´s (1989, 1995) model of analysis, which is essential not only to identifying the main and most resorted to linguistic and discursive features by the newspapers articles essential to writers to represent and cover the Arab Muslim during the Arab Spring, but also the thematic and ideological constructs interwoven in these features as a step towards highlighting the significance of this possible choice and correlation between the discursive and thematic. Subsequently, this part also covers data collation and analysis procedures and at the end presents the sample of the study.

III.1.1. Study Period, Research Questions and Hypothesis

III.1.1.1. Period of the Study

The present research covers an all-swarming with events period in the history of the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region which stretches from 2010 to 2016. A period which witnessed the spark and ignition of a series of revolutions and unrest known as the Arab Spring emerging first from Tunisia with Mohamed Bouazizi´s self-immolation and differently engulfing most of the MENA countries. This period goes from the explosion of the revolutions in late 2010 and what can be seen as some sort of denouement of events towards 2016 with the

inauguration of what can be called a post revolution era. In this phase, people´s zeal seemed to diminish, and the empowerment of the counter revolution parties became more apparent.

Such an unprecedented event echoed across the world sending loaded messages and codes to the rest of the world as an attempt to voice local people´s aches and suffering. Interestingly, the nature of the protestors´ demands for social justice, liberty and dignity, and hence the call for regimes overthrow, seemed to take the world, and especially the West, by surprise. The West´s encounters with the MENA region have always been framed by a long colonial tradition of stereotypical representations and various forms of domination. In fact, one of the Arab Spring´s aims, apart from local economic, political and social reforms, is to redefine and reestablish East and West relationships on a more equal footing with a mutual recognition and benefit. The rise of these events came in such a crucial and sensitive era which is haunted by the aftermaths of 9/11 terrorist attacks, the spread of a frantic Islamophobia, the so called W. Bush´s initiative of the great Middle East, and the 2008 economic crisis.

The momentum of these revolutions has created a golden opportunity for media, and especially western ones, not only to cover and analyze the still unfolding events, but also to revisit controversial issues of East and West historical, cultural and representational encounters guided by a long legacy of colonization. Truly, the Arab Spring is a great opportunity for these media, especially the press, to either demolish the stereotypical western hegemonic lenses through which they see the Arab Muslims of MENA or reproduce and enhance colonial discourse. Worthy of notice is that the newspapers opinion and editorial articles under study have implicitly been chewing and reproducing the Western essentialist and homogenizing discourse about the MENA Arab Muslims of violence, a natural inclination towards despotism and rooted gender discrimination.

III.1.1.2. Research Questions and Hypothesis

Enlightened with postcolonial framework, this thesis embarks on providing a discursive analysis of the prevailing themes about the Arab Muslims across opinion and editorial articles of *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *Le Figaro* published between 2010 and 2016 through securitizing the dominant linguistic constructs harboring ideologies and representational modes. Basically, the thesis at hand is set to answer the following research questions:

▸ 1- What are the main discursive strategies and linguistic constructs that the selected newspapers opinion and editorial writers deployed to ideologically represent the Arab Muslims during the Arab Spring?

▸ 2- What are the dominant ideological areas that stereotypically frame the Arab Muslims within the Arab Spring?

▸ 3- To what extent have the Arab Muslims escaped the stereotypical colonial representation during the Arab Spring?

▸ 4- what is the writers´ position? Are they biased or objective?

Building on the aforementioned research questions, the subsequent research hypotheses are formulated:

▸ The newspapers opinion and editorial writers' resort to some discursive strategies and linguistic constructs more than others to represent the Arab Muslims.

▸ Othering, gender, violence and `despotism deservedness` are some of the possibly prevalent themes that still dominate the western perception of the Arab Muslim Other.

▸ The Arab Muslims are, to a high probability, still negatively represented.

▸ The writers take a bias stance in representing the Arab Muslims during the revolutions.

III.1.2. Data Collection and Analysis

III.1.2.1. Data Collection

III.1.2.1.1. Data Sources

The present data are collected from the opinion and editorial articles of three different western newspapers namely the American *The Washington Post*, the British *The Guardian* and the French *Le Figaro*. The reason behind choosing three different newspapers goes beyond the abundance and variety of articles these papers provide to drawing on, more or less, a shared western ideological and representational background towards the orient and a history of colonization legacy. Moreover, they are some of the oldest western newspapers, 1877, 1821 and 1826 respectively, which gives them a deeper insight into the local and international issues. indeed, a substantial part of these international issues dealt with the Arab Muslims and the MENA region. More importantly, these newspapers provide varied

and complementary political and editorial stances, *The Washington Post* has right wing inclinations, *The Guardian* is slightly more of a leftist orientation and *le Figaro* is considered right and center wing. These varied ideological stances or inclinations, I believe, provide multi-perspectives interpretation of the data. Another reason behind the choice of these newspapers is their high credibility rate; according to statista.com, they are ranked among the best trusted and credible news sources either locally or the international scale. Besides, opting for the selected newspapers has another justification related to the abundant number of articles that deal the Arab spring.

III.1.2.1.2.   Population

Identifying and specifying research population is an essential requirement and determiner in reaching well defined research results and findings. As described by Polit & Hungler (1999, p 37) population refers to an aggregate or sum of objects, elements, cases and subjects that are governed by the same criteria and follow a set of specifications. The study at hand comprises the opinion and editorial articles written about the Arab Spring in the three selected newspapers from 2010 to 2016. Following (Polit & Hungler 1999p 278) the population must possess common criteria to be eligible. Therefore, the selected articles have all been taken from Western newspapers, have addressed the issue of the Arab Spring and discursively revealed the dominant ideologies and representations.

In order to collect the data, a one-year's subscription in the websites of the selected newspapers was needed to have an unlimited access to their articles´ data base and archives. Furthermore, a key search in the newspapers search engines using vocabulary items such as the Arab Spring, the Arab Awakening, the Arab Revolutions, the Arab uprising and the Middle East revolution was used to filter through the articles. The following table presents the total of the germane op-ed and editorial articles written from 2010 to 2016:

Newspaper					
The Washington Post		The Guardian		Le Figaro	
op-ed	editorial	op-ed	Editorial	op-ed	editorial
44	28	55	14	62	18
Total					
72		69		80	

Table 11: Germane op-ed and editorial articles written from 2010 to 2016

III.1.2.1.3. Sampling

The previous statistical population is extremely large, therefore, to attain a highly representative sample we resorted to stratified random sampling. As the term implies, stratified random sampling is a sampling method which allows the division of the population into homogenous strata whose shared attributes are apparent. Thus, random samples are taken from every newspaper for the sake of representativeness and then they are classified and analyzed in specific strata. A total of one hundred and three articles were randomly sampled according to the availability and relevance of these articles in each newspaper. The following table reveals the number of the sampled articles and their percentages in every newspaper:

	Newspaper					
	The Washington Post		The Guardian		Le Figaro	
Number of sampled	op-ed	Editorial	op-ed	editorial	op-ed	editorial
Newspaper articles	20	14	25	7	28	9
Total	34		32		37	
Percentage	31%		33%		36%	

Table 12: Sampled articles

As previously explained, the data analysis crosses two major axes; discursive and thematic. Essentially, the analysis has covered eleven prevailing discursive elements as well as five dominant thematic areas across the articles. The discursive constructs and the thematic

areas are qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed in the light of Fairclough´s model with reference to postcolonial readings. In practice, the major thematic areas as well as the recurrent discursive constructs have been stratified into dominant investigative constituents as will be outlined in the data analysis and finding chapter.

III.1.2.2. Data Analysis

Analyzing and interpreting data are guided by the application of the two principal analytical methods namely the quantitative and qualitative methods. Opting for either one or both is largely motivated by the nature of the research itself and the collected data. Yet, mixing the two methods grants the researcher a better inspection of the multilayered dimensions of the research subject. This combination, known as the mixed method, provides a complementary approach to blending the numerical and statistical aspects of the quantitative method with the interpretative and explanatory dimensions of its qualitative counterpart. Johnson et al. (2007,p 120) contend that the mixed method:

> can be used to gain a fuller picture and deeper understanding of the investigated phenomenon by relating complementary findings to each other which result from the use of methods from the different methodological traditions of qualitative and quantitative research.

This combination is intended to provide more flexibility and profoundness to the researcher as well as validity and reliability to the research.

As the term suggests, the quantitative method primarily analyzes quantifiable data by breaking it down into manageably quantifiable constituents and foregrounding numerical findings such as numbers, statistics and reoccurrences of a prevailing phenomenon.

The implementation of quantitative analysis in this study aims at defining the major thematic areas along with identifying and enumerating the dominant discursive strategies and linguistic constructs in the opinion and editorial articles of the selected newspapers. To help in

the process, words and phrases counts and frequencies have been provided with the help of Microsoft Word search tool as well as Hermetic Word (and Phrase) Frequency Counter Advanced Version software, which is available at www.hermetic.ch, to count frequencies and occurrences of key words and phrases. Therefore, this quantitative analysis provides a clear picture about the articles´ writers and the extent of their reliance on some linguistic items more than others to build their arguments and how these items interact and complement one another.

On the other hand, qualitative analysis focalizes on the quality of the data at hand by inspecting the latent ideological and representational structures embedded in the sentences, vocabulary items and over all choices made by the writer. In elucidating what qualitative analysis stands for, Wilson (1989,p 454) defines it as " the non-numerical organization and interpretation of data in order to discover patterns, themes, forms, exemplars, and qualities found in field notes, interview transcripts, open-ended questionnaires, journals, diaries, documents, case studies, and other texts". The main aim of qualitative analysis is to generate meaning from the texts studied through a process of description, interpretation and explanation of the central phenomenon and how this meaning is related to its contexts and how it affects the realities of meaning making about that phenomenon. In critical discourse analysis, works of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, 2003), Van Dijk (1988, 1992) and Fowler (1991) have approached the study of discourse from a qualitative perspective applying the techniques mentioned in part I of this chapter to examine a text´s production, distribution and consumption. Practically, this study substantially relies on qualitative analysis more specifically at the thematic analytical section. The inclination to deploy and foreground qualitative analysis more than quantitative is justified by the fact that the former provides deep insight into the embedded structures and ideologies of discourse by drawing on a variety of theoretical and philosophical backgrounds, it also can relate and justify the findings of the quantitative analysis and the general context and background of the topic under study.

Therefore, the integration and mixing of both analytical methods would help in getting the most out of the data and provide a synergistic explanation and interpretation of the expected findings. Polit & Hungler (1987, p 325) point out that "the understanding of human behaviours, problems, and characteristics is best advanced by the judicious use of both qualitative and quantitative data". Significantly, Bryman (1992) suggests that the mixed method could work at three different levels; where at the first level the quantitative facilitates the qualitative, and at the second the qualitative helps the quantitative and at the last one both qualitative and quantitative analysis are equally emphasized. In the same vein, Creswell and. Plano (2011, p12) stress that:

> Mixed methods research provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research. This has been the historical argument for mixed methods research for more than 30 years (e.g., see Jack, 1979). One might argue that quantitative research is weak in understanding the context or setting in which people talk. Also, the voices of participants are not directly heard in quantitative research. Further, quantitative researchers are in the background, and their own personal biases and interpretations are seldom discussed. Qualitative research makes up for these weaknesses. On the other hand, qualitative research is seen as deficient because of the personal interpretations made by the researcher, the ensuring bias created by this, and the difficulty in generalizing findings to a large group because of the limited number of participants studied. Quantitative research, it is argued, does not have these weaknesses. Thus, the combination of the strengths of one approach makes up for the weaknesses of the other approach.

Hence, the implementation of the mixed method is expected to enhance Fairclough´s three dimensions analysis and help come up with the findings.

CHAPTER IV : DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

1. Introduction

This chapter comprises the analysis of the collected data and the presentation of the findings. The analyzed data and research findings answer and account for the queries raised in the research questions section. As mentioned in the previous chapter (II), analyzing data has drawn on the mixed method of quantitative and qualitative methodologies which allows the coupling of a numerical quantitative analysis with an interpretive qualitative analysis of data. To reiterate, these methods of analysis are employed within Fairclough´s (1989, 1995) three dimensional model of analysis to probe into the modes of representations constructed in the discourse(s) of *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *Le Figaro´s* selected articles about the Arab Spring. Indeed, this framework entitles exploring the textual makeup, the opted-for discursive strategies, their juxtaposition and the overriding thematization. Practically, the systemic presentation, description, analysis and interpretation of the data pave the path for the identification and understanding of the dominant discursive constructs and thematic areas which govern the representational discourse and bias embedded in the selected articles.

That said, this chapter is structured into two main complementary sections. The first section presents the analysis of the main discursive constructs employed in the articles. It basically demonstrates the frequencies of these discursive constructs, their significance and interpretation. As for the second section, it mainly puts forward the analysis and interpretation of the major and most recurrent themes/issues around which the writers have constructed their coverage of the Arab Spring´s events.

2. The Dominant Discursive Strategies in the op-ed and Editorial Articles of *Le Figaro*, The *Washington Post* and *The Guardian*

IV.2.1. Introduction

The analysis of the data has yielded a high recurrence and dominance of certain discursive strategies, which have been opted for by the newspapers articles´ writers to construct their ideological representation of the events and actors of the Arab Spring. These prevailing discursive strategies and their frequencies are presented in the following table:

Discursive Strategy	Newspaper and Frequency		
	Le Figaro	The Washington Post	The Guardian
Metaphor	15%	12%	17%
Accumulation	9%	8%	10%
Hyperbole	10%	7%	6%
Comparison	12%	9%	13%
Aristotelian appeals: Logos, Ethos, Pathos	11%	9%	12%
Fallacies	7%	8%	5%
Deictic Pronouns	10%	9%	7%
Modality	10%	13%	12%
Presupposition	7%	8%	7%
Other	9%	17%	13%

Table 13: Prevailing discursive strategies

The employment of metaphor is quite eye-striking in the three newspapers´ articles with considerable frequencies. One of the justifications for this heavy reliance is the journalists´ attempts to understand and depict the events and actions of the Arab Spring in terms of

conceptual mapping where ideas and concepts are understood in terms of others. In other words, this apparent implementation of metaphors provides the writers with a wide range of source and target domains which allow the covering of the constantly unfolding events and transcend the literal meanings into richer and more elastic figurative ones.

As for accumulation, it occurs quite less than metaphor and comparison but with decent frequencies (9 %, 8 % 10 % respectively). The use of accumulation has been helpful to the writers in citing causes and repercussions of the Arab Spring. It has also been employed to list and enumerate actors, specificities and discrepancies of each country.

Besides, hyperbolic expressions seem to force their presence among other discursive strategies. They have been deployed mainly to attract the reader´s attention towards specific augmented and amplified points/events foregrounded by the writers and in some cases de-emphasize others.

On the other hand, comparison seems to occupy a noticeable status among the deployed discursive strategies with frequent recurrences. Obviously, the nature of the event pushed the writers to make several comparisons between the different actors of the Arab Spring (countries, regimes, demonstrations, East and West).

Clearly enough, argumentation techniques have had their share in the analyzed newspapers articles through relying on Aristotelian appeals and logical fallacies. Logos, pathos and ethos together have been useful tools to appeal to the reader´s logical faculty, emotional side and trust in the writer´s credibility. Yet, it is necessary to note that the frequency of each appeal differs as shall be explained and discussed in the analysis. Similarly, fallacies sometimes appear in the analyzed articles though differently.

Pronouns as well are strategically deployed by the writers. Their use and variety considerably differ from one newspaper to another. They have been used to identify groups,

delineate individuals and establish relationships. The types of these pronouns and their frequencies are further detailed in the analysis.

The role of modality is quite ostensible in the construction of the journalists´ ideologies. Basically, the focus has been on modal auxiliaries in *The Washington Post* and *The Guardian* and since modals do not have equivalents in the French language, analyzing some verbs and adverbs is done instead as shall be explained in the analysis.

It seems that the need for presupposition has been kept to a lesser extent in most of the analyzed newspaper articles with close frequencies (7 %, 8 %, and 7 % respectively). The founding of a common ground between the writer and the reader has been the substantial purpose for presupposition to help account for the complex workings of the Arab Spring with mutual intelligible references to space, time, events and actors.

These discursive strategies and the ideologies and representational modes they harbor will be analyzed and interpreted subsequently. In the same vein, a close analysis and interpretation of the most recurrent verb processes (transitivity analysis) and lexical items will follow to help provide a deeper understanding of the discourses of the articles at hand.

For the sake of unity, the first four discursive strategies (metaphor, comparison, hyperbole and accumulation) are grouped together under the umbrella term of "figures of speech". On the other hand, Aristotelian appeals and fallacies are analyzed together under the label of "argumentation". As for the rest, they appear separately; each referring to its theory.

3. **The Dominant and Recurrent Themes/Topics/Issues in the op-ed Articles of *Le Figaro*, The *Washington Post* and *The Guardian***

IV.3.1. Introduction

The present section is devoted to the investigation of five main mostly recurrent thematic areas which have been extensively discussed by the writers of the three newspapers and which, indeed, provide a valuable source for examining Western representation. These

issues have been touched upon in the previous section, especially in the lexical choices'
subsection. This investigation goes a step further and provides a more in-depth analysis. These
thematic issues cover the following axes:

1- From Autocracy to Democracy: The Rite of Passage.

2- From the Arab Spring to the Jihadist/Islamist Winter.

3- The Arab Spring and the Resurrection/Rootedness of Dictatorships.

4- The Arab Spring and the Sectarian Threat.

5- The fall of Regimes/Dictators and the Absence of a Real Alternative.

The abovementioned issues are further broken down into discursively revealing
constituents of colonial clichéd representations of a master discourse which seems to have been
given a "kiss of life" or reproduced during the Arab revolutions. Yet, it is necessary to mention
that the first axe summarizes the bright and positive standpoints of the writers towards the
revolutions and, for this reason, it is considered first.

CHAPTER V : DISCUSSION
1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the main findings and observations that were
empirically arrived at and made from the analyzed data in the previous chapter. Inspired by the
essence of the literature review chapter, the discussion, importance and relevance of these
results are reflected in their ability to account for the previously posed research questions and
test the hypotheses. The interest of this thesis revolves around how the selected newspapers
articles represent the Arab Spring revolutions and whether they reproduce the colonial
stereotypical discourse.

2. Summary and Discussion of the Results

The implementation of Critical Discourse Analysis inspired by a postcolonial reading
of the selected data has served in unveiling the western representational and stereotypical

constructs through which the Arab Spring is seen. Deconstructing the discursive as well as thematic choices of the writers has given a deep insight into their stances and attitudes toward the subject. For the sake of consolidation, the results summaries are presented alongside their corresponding research questions.

3.   Research Questions and Discussion

The rationale behind the formulation of this thesis´ research questions is to underscore the power of discourse in constructing representation and, hence, achieving persuasion. It further revolves around discursively deciphering the writers´ perceptions and representational encodings to lay bare the inequalities, power relations and biases embedded in their linguistic choices. It is, therefore, practical to remind the reader of the thesis´ research questions and present them with their corresponding answers.

CHAPTER VI :   GENERAL CONCLUSION
CHAPTER VII :
1.   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the general conclusion and, hence, bring this thesis to its final destination. Thus, it proceeds first with providing a concise summary of this dissertation´s findings and contentions. The summary of the key findings is followed by highlighting the most pertinent implications which place this research within the existing knowledge and foreground the value it adds to theory and practice. The next section of this chapter highlights the main contributions this research has added to the academic sphere. As all researches, the present thesis has its own limitations. The latters are presented to point out to the main obstacles and hindrances that popped up during the progress of this research. Finally, these limitations pave the path to opening new horizons, which are beyond the scope of this study and which should be researched and serve as suggestions for further research of the present study.

2. Summary

The novelty and impact of such event as the Arab Spring gave this research a stinger breath to (re)address East and West encounters within a world context marked by rise of nationalism, extremist ideologies, right wing and polarization. Indeed, the trigger of this research is the need to investigate a retrospective master discourse of the West towards the East and define the extent to which the reproduction of stereotypical representations has been fueled or diminished in western media discourse. With the application of CDA and guidance of postcolonial theory, this thesis has been able to provide an array of linguistic and thematic analysis of the ideological and representational constructs that frame the Western outlook in newspaper discourse. Such discourse seems to still retain its power in an age of social media invasion and the dominance of news channels.

The discursive approach of this study has helped in the dissection of the journalistic text for the reader through unearthing semantic, structural and thematic wakeups of the corpus. Such textual components revealed the writers´ ideologies, biases and, hence, representation which, indeed, largely reproduce the colonial discourse on the Orient. Most articles´ writers incline to manipulative and ideological use of a set of discursive strategies such as metaphors, fallacies, modality and presupposition and deploy them in the construction of a thematic framework through which the Arab Muslim Other is stigmatized and denigrated.

3. Implications

This thesis´ results and findings echo and add value to research enlightened by the critical discursive analysis of press discourse within the frame of discourse analysis. Guided by Fairclough´s model of analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis theory, the present research has been quite pertinent in debunking the claim that language is nothing but a mere means for conveying meaning and highlights language´s property as a lively social practice. This has been possible through the combination of both macro and micro levels of analysis which has helped

in linking the linguistic constructs of discourse to its thematic dimension. Indeed, the strength and particularity of this work are derived from its ability to merge critical discourse analysis with postcolonial conceptualizations. This way, the reader is provided with a double-perspective reading of the three selected newspapers´ articles´ take on the Arab Muslims during the Arab Spring where deeper interpretation of more than a discursive structure is provided and analysis of thematic representational constructs is deciphered.

In line with the discussed theories, the present thesis gives a mosaic interpretation of the analyzed articles concretizing theoretical tenets of postcolonialism, deconstruction, systemic functional grammar, pragmatics and media discourse. Following Fairclough´s (1989, 1995) model and fortified with quantitative and qualitative analysis of the selected articles gives a wider and deeper insight into the discourse of the three western newspapers exposing and enabling the reader to better probe into the stereotypical structures embedded in their discourse.

The significance of this study is, of course, not limited to its ability to combine critical discourse analysis and postcolonial theories, but it is also reflected in its rich and various data sources. The fact of combing three prominent western newspapers of three dominant western countries, whose past or present encounters with the East are extremely rich and revealing, helps complete the picture of how the West represents the Orientals of MENA. Such choice is not only ideologically varied, but also linguistically where the American, British and French writers´ ideologies and representations are diffused in two major languages, English and French; something which allows the demarcation of the intersecting or deviating lines between the two languages´ representational constructs.

Notably, this study adds another dimension to the literature and the critical examination of discourse analysis. This is evidently reflected in its ability to analyze discursive, persuasive, literary and political takes in forging the process of representation and Othering. Hence, the

reader is introduced into a set of theoretical and analytical perspectives which serve to provide an empirically multidimensional interpretation of the different layers of discourse that would help them immunize themselves against stereotypes, ideologies and biases.

4.   Contributions

The main contribution of this research study is twofold. Practically, through the combination of discursive and thematic analysis, the findings of the present thesis hopefully serve to provide the reader with a multidimensional and interdisciplinary reading of a text. The sense of awareness the reader is expected to develop can shield themselves against the embedded ideologies, stereotypes and discriminations any type of discourse may be fraught with. This awareness is consolidated with the empirical evidence and exemplary samples which contextualize the discourse "consumer" within the realm of the critical study of discourse. Obviously, this thesis does not claim a holistic take on the topic, nor does it present its findings as the sole acceptable examination of the analyzed corpus, however. Rather, the reader is invited to acquaint themselves with other reading possibilities that are guided by other theoretical frameworks and analytical tools.

Methodologically, the application of critical discourse analysis in the light of postcolonial theory adds more richness to the works done within the confinements of the critical study of language. Moreover, the implementation of qualitative and quantitative modes of analysis in textual analysis not only strengthens the validity of the findings, but also caters for the reader´s preferable analytical modes. Furthermore, the methodology used in this study can be built on for the investigation of the same or different subjects from other perspectives such as in political, religious and educational discourse(s). More importantly, the use of CDA entitles an interesting examination of the sociopolitical and cross-cultural understanding of East and West international relations´ prospects in a post Arab Spring era.

5.   Limitations

Despite being able to achieve its objectives, this research, as most of studies, has encountered the unavoidability of some reasonable limitations. If overcome, these limitations could give more potency and weight to the research findings and narrow any possible flaws looming over its overall structure. In fact, the methodological construction of any research is generally susceptible to face some limitations. From a methodological scope, the present thesis´ focus on CDA as a theoretical and analytical tool has empirically been useful in analyzing the data. Yet, it may be noted that the combination between CDA and postcolonial analysis gives more favor and prominence to the former than to the latter. Such uneven mixture might have had a potential influence on the balanced application of both methods. Another methodological limitation is perhaps seen in the choice of the three representative countries, and languages which would represent the Western press coverage, hence representation, of the Arab Muslims during the revolutions. For the sake of the generalisability of the findings, choosing another newspaper speaking in German, Spanish or Italian, for instance, could have given a wider picture and more revealing findings about this Western representation. In the same vein, some linguistic differences between the French and English languages can, sometimes, be a challenging hindrance in the data analysis process.

Also, though being one of the most objective and empirically revealing methods of sampling, random sampling may have, unintentionally of course, discarded some significant articles and, thus, slightly affected the research findings. Interestingly, the nature of the topic itself and the still unfolding events of the Arab Spring can influence the period of study. Articles written beyond the time span of this study (2010-2016) may either further help foster the research´s results or bring to the surface new findings.

To all intents and purposes, these limitations can be considered a springboard for future research and key considerations in boosting the validity and credibility of its findings.

6.   Suggestions for Further Research

The scope of the present research is limited to the critical discursive study of the corpus produced between 2010 and 2016. Such period covers the start of the Arab Spring revolutions and what is believed to be the denouement or the flattening of the events´ curve. Thus, though the findings add value to the literature dealing with this subject, the need for further research which goes beyond the time span of this study is highly recommended since the instable and still-unfolding events of the Arab Spring urge more accompaniment. As already mentioned in the limitations, further research can bring under study other newspapers´ articles written in other Western language as Italian, Spanish and German, for instance. This would definitely enhance representativeness and enlarge the picture about the topic. In addition, applying the present critical discourse analysis to other types of discourse, produced on the same topic, such as political speeches, news reports and religious sermons, can yield significant findings which would broaden the study of East and West representational encounters.