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في موضوع :

A Postcolonial–Critical Discourse Analysis of Western

Media Representation of the Arab Revolutions

The Washington Post- The Guardian- Le Figaro

as Case Studies

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List of Acronyms

DA	: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
CDA	: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
CL	: CRITICAL LINGUISTICS
SFG	: SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR
MENA	: MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA
ISIS	: ISLAMIC STATE IN IRAK AND SYRIA
NGO	: Non Governmental Organization
CT	: Coding Time
RT	: Receiving Time
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
IFOP	: Institut Francais d'opinion Public (French Institute for Public Opinion)

DEDICATION

TO MY FATHER

MILOUDI EDOUIHRI

TO MY MOTHER

NADIA GUENOUN

TO MY DAUGHTER

TASNIME EDOUIHRI

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ABSTRACT

Western media coverage of the Arab revolutions provides an interesting corpus for the investigation of West and East encounters and representation. This dissertation seeks to analyze and deconstruct western press representation of the revolutions sweeping the Arab world since 2010. It aims at providing discursive and thematic analysis of newspaper articles from *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *Le Figaro* so as to unveil representation and ideology constructs embedded in the discourse of these newspapers. The data are collected from opinion and editorial articles written between 2010 and 2016. At the methodological level, this dissertation is conducted within the confinements of Critical Discourse Analysis with the application of Fairclough's (1989-1995) model of analysis. This latter is a textual analytical model and it is coupled with the mixed method to provide a deeper insight into the workings of the analyzed data. The research findings reflect a reproduction of such Orientalist discourse which is constructed on binarisms, otherness and alienation. The findings also prove the newspapers' inclinations to foreground the negative repercussions of the revolutions more than the positive.

Keywords: Arab Spring, representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, Orientalism, Media Discourse

مقتضب

توفر التغطية الإعلامية الغربية للثورات العربية مجموعة مثيرة للاهتمام من البيانات من أجل تحليل التمثلات الغربية للمشرق. تسعى هذه الأطروحة إلى تحليل وتفكيك تمثّل الصحافة الغربية للثورات التي تجتاح العالم العربي منذ عام 2010. وتهدف إلى تقديم تحليل استطرادي وموضوعي لمقالات صحفية من الواشنطن بوست والجارديان ولوفيجارو وذلك لكشف النقاب عن التمثلات و الايديولوجيات في خطاب هذه الصحف. تم جمع البيانات من مقالات الرأي والتحريرية المكتوبة بين عامي 2010 و 2016. على المستوى المنهجي، تم إجراء هذه البحث ضمن إطار تحليل الخطاب النقدي مع تطبيق نموذج (Fairclough's 1989-1995) للتحليل. هذا الأخير هو نموذج تحليلي نصي وتم مزاجته بطرق التحليل الكمي و الكيفي لتوفير رؤية أعمق في طريقة طبيعة وطريقة بناء البيانات التي تم تحليلها. وتعكس نتائج البحث إعادة إنتاج الخطاب الاستشراقي المبني على الثنائيات والاختلاف والاعترا ب. وتثبت النتائج أيضاً ميول الصحف إلى إبراز الانعكاسات السلبية للثورات أكثر منها إيجابية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الربيع العربي ، التمثيل ، تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، الاستشراق ، الخطاب الإعلامي

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 an indelible mark 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 problematized 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.

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 reconsideration of its representation of the region. 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 dissertation 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 neocolonial and postcolonial countries respectively. The study covers a seven-year 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 the journalistic texts that belong to three dominant countries (USA, France and Britain). 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 enquiries. In this manner, this study brings to the field of research novelties and grants the reader accesses 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 dissertation 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 study 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, violence and `despotism deservedness` are some of the 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 biased 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 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 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 dissertation 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 research seeks to answer. The rationale 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 Rvolutions. 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 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 represents a brief summary of the dissertation 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 unexplored horizons.

CHAPTER I: 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 an initiation to the main events 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

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 a dehumanizing and denigrating status. Bhabha (1983) 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." (p.70). 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), 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. (p.70)

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 Césaire's words (1977) "how colonization works to decivilize the colonized, 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” (p.2). In reality, the works of Frantz Fanon (1963), Aimé Césaire (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. 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.

2.2. Orientalism

The publication of Edward Said’s illuminating work, *Orientalism*¹ (1978), tremendously quaked the fields of cultural and postcolonial studies for its analytical accounts of the Western mode of representation in which the non-Western, who is located outside of the Eurocentric frame of thought, is relegated to an ‘Other’. Ashcroft (2013) states that “the study of the discursive power of colonial representation was initiated by Edward Said’s landmark work *Orientalism* in 1978 and led to the development of what came to be called ‘colonialist discourse theory’” (p.9). On this ground, *Orientalism*’s main concern is to lay bare the shrouded constructs of colonial discourse which capitalizes on Eurocentric superiority and dehumanizes all that is non-Western. More than that, Edward Said’s work presents a form of counter narrative and counter discourse; the discourse of the subaltern, in Spivak’s term, who has long been silenced and spoken on behalf of, represented and presented to the world through Western pens and eyes. Indeed, Edward Said insists that the Foucauldian concept of

¹ Other major works such as *Covering Islam* and *Culture and Imperialism* present Edward Said’s contentions about East and West encounters.

discourse is crucially decisive in the definition and identification of Orientalism. He warns us that:

without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormous systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and even produce- the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. (1978, p.3)

In the same vein, Orientalist discourse maintains its power through various ideologically loaded discursive constructs which make up the core of the stereotypical and representational issues of its texts. These texts have formulated the Orient into, Edward Said argues, “an idea that has a history and tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West” (p.5). These texts, stresses Said, have been the spine of an academic structure which maintains and guarantees the domination of colonial discourse. Edward Said’s designation of Orientalism as an academic tradition further investigates how the inscription and representation of the Orient is driven by a great will to power and informed by uneven power relations. Said bluntly contends:

To believe that the Orient was created- or, as I call it “Orientalized”- and to believe that such things happen simply as a necessity of the imagination, is to be disingenuous. The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination. (1978, p 6)

Ensuring the West’s hegemonic fist over the Orient is important as much as, what can be termed as the “Orientalization” of it in Western’s consciousness for an existential purpose. One of the major leitmotifs across *Orientalism* is the European identification of the East as a necessary “Other” for the definition, recognition and actualization of itself. In fact, the whole

postcolonial field of investigation discusses the West's need² for the "Other", the non-Western, the "different" so as to come to terms with its own being. For this end, Said argues, the "Other" is not only needed in colonial discourse but at times invented. He contends that "the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences" (p.1). In the same respect, Fanon (1963) presents the other side of the coin and conversely declares that the West "is literally the creation of the Third World" p.8-9) since Europe's development is built upon "the sweat and bodies of Negroes, Arabs, Indians and the yellow races". Clearly, the creation of the imagined Orient, for Edward Said, "has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience." (p.1-2). This idea plainly illustrates the dichotomous/binary opposition nature of colonial discourse and its inclination towards categorization and drawing contrastive lines of demarcation between West and East, Self and Other. This is in fact what makes up the essence of the notion of "Othering" in cultural and postcolonial studies which, in Farenga's (2005) designation, stands for "a strategy of symbolic exclusion that is used to create artificial boundaries of race, culture, religion, sexuality, and gender difference." (p.290) Edward Said asserts consequently that the ontological and epistemological divisions of the Occident and Orient have dominated the Western view for a long time. He points out that "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient), the East, "them")." (p.44)

In view of the fact that Orientalist discourse is premised upon knowledge and power duality, the exercise of power and dominance features in the process of representation. Hall (2013) states that "representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged [...] it involves the use of language, of signs, and images which

² This need is based on a lot of canonical texts written during expeditions and travel and produced about the orient in the English, French and German languages.

stand for or represent things” (p.15). In the process of meaning making, Orientalist discourse presents itself as a mediator between the Orientals and the outside world following Marx’s note (1852) “they cannot represent themselves, they must be represented” (p.602). Therefore, Edward Said believes this representation is governed by forms of binary oppositions, negations and polarities where the Western is rational, civilized, and white while the non-Western is irrational, uncivilized and colored. The asymmetry of power relation ruling West and East encounters ensures widening differences and “strong–weak” mode of relations; here Edward Said maintains that:

Orientalism can also express the strength of the West and the Orient’s weakness-as seen by the West. Such strength and such weakness are as intrinsic to Orientalism as they are to any view that divides the world into large general divisions, entities that coexist in state of tension produced by what is believed to be radical difference.”(p.46).

Believing in Western superiority ignited the whole inferno of imperialism and colonization to spread Western “civilization” and consequently save the non-Western from the claws of “barbarism”. Certainly, armed with knowledge and power and the Western conception of the righteousness of its “civilizing mission”³, the West occupied and annexed large parts of the “primitive world”. This latter had also to undergo, in Western eyes, a process of pacification, as Achebe (1958) refers to at the end of his prominent novel *Things Fall Apart* when he says in the commissioner words “the pacification of the lower primitive tribes of lower Niger” (p.74). Indeed, assumes Edward Said, Orientalist discourse facilitates imperialism through providing a totalizing and reductionist image of the Other; homogenizing and essentializing the whole East into one entity which is devoid of cultural, geographical and

³ A mission which was used as a rationale from the 15th to 20th centuries for justifying colonization and bringing the indigenous people “modernization” and “Westernization”

political differences⁴. Pratt (1992) agrees with Edward Said about this homogenization and adds that even Western travelers “homogenize (d) the people to be subjected, transmuted them into “a collective they” or “iconic *he*” and accorded them a “pregiven custom or trait” ” (p.63). Edward Said is aware that the homogenization and antagonistic binarism towards the East is a lingering surviving feature present even in the postcolonial and post independent era. He strongly maintains that:

there is no avoiding the fact that even if we disregard the Orientalist distinctions between “them” and “us”, a powerful series of political and ultimately ideological realities inform scholarship today, no one can escape dealing with, if not the East/West division, then North/South one, the have/have-not one, the imperialist/anti-imperialist one, the white/colored one. (p 222)

The durability of these categories and divisions is much more sustained and fed by the gigantic media corporations and the boom in the whole mass media sphere which is strongly owned and dominated by the West. Media, in Edward Said’s view, not only spread stereotypical and fallacious representations of the Orient, but also fuel and guarantee their survival. He patently puts it that “one aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and the all media’s resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds.” (p. 27). Western mass media have reproduced Orientalist clichés about the Orientals as being terrorist, lustful, deceiving, to reiterate but a few; to provide a constant pretext for the West to interfere in the East⁵.

⁴ Edward Said criticizes western look at the orient which does not differentiate the far East (China, India) from the Middle East’s specificities and particularities.

⁵ Biased Western media representation of Orientals can be found in films such as the Siege, cartoons like Aladine, news covered of Israeli-Palestinian conflict to mention but a few. Published in 2006, Reel Bad Arabs, by Sut Jhally summaries myriad of this negative representation.

Said's analysis of Western canonical texts, literary criticism and deconstruction of Western modes of representation gave *Orientalism* almost an immortal effect on cultural, postcolonial, sociological, anthropological and even psychological areas of investigation. It will continue to enlighten studies on identity, power, politics and domination providing a road map for reading international relations from hegemony and control perspectives. It is in light of the *Orientalist discourse* that this research aims to deconstruct and analyze West-centric conception of the Orient at a delicate turning point in the history of the Middle East and North Africa known as the "Arab Spring". Edward Said's work also remains very crucial for reading "neo-Orientalist" discourse(s) dominating East and West relations to get a deep understanding of the intricate workings of Western discourse on the Arab revolutions' era. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that despite Orientalism groundbreaking effect on scholarship, *Orientalist* has not escaped dissection and criticism from different critics.

2.2.1. Edward Said Criticized

The exceptionality of Edward Said's work seems far from escaping criticism and even sometimes ferocious evaluation. For many scholars and critics, the flawlessness of *Orientalism* is nothing but a mere mythical construction. Major figures as Bernard Lewis, Homi Bhabha, James Clifford, Ibn Warraq and Aijaz Ahmed lead the unearthing of what they believe is unsaid and knotted in the background of Edward Said's thesis.

The British American historian Bernard Lewis summarizes most of his criticism of Said's thesis in controversial works such as (1982) *The Question of Orientalism* and (1994) *Islam and the West*. Lewis (1982) believes that Said has methodological flaws since he closes the eyes to a great deal of Western studies of the East prior to the eighteenth century. More than that, for Lewis, Edward Said's selective approach renders his thesis into a reductionist study of the Orient. Here Lewis (1982) argues that Said has made:

A number of very arbitrary decisions. His Orient is reduced to the Middle East, and his Middle East to a part of the Arab world. By eliminating Turkish and Persian studies on the one hand and Semitic studies on the other, he isolates Arabic studies from both their historical and philological contexts. The period and area of Orientalism are similarly restricted. (p 9)

For Lewis (1982), Said does not only ignore the academic presence of Arabic studies in the Western conceptual frame of the Orient, but also “expresses a contempt for modern Arab scholarly achievement worse than anything that he attributes to his demonic Orientalists” (p, 10). Edward Said’s “unscholarly” disdain of Occidentalists, believes Lewis, is outrageously interwoven in his “absurd” line of argumentation hiding hostility and anti-Westernism towards the Western liberal thought⁶.

Similarly, yet in a more scholarly fashion, James Clifford levels more methodological criticism against Said’s construction of colonialist discourse. The well-known anthropologist notes that *Orientalism* does not cover essential parts of Western Orientalist history, hence, neglecting the role of cultures which, according to him (1988), should not be thought of as “organically unified or traditionally continuous but rather as negotiated present processes” (p.273). For Clifford, Saidean reliance on Foucauldian notion of discourse is unequivocally critical in deconstructing Orientalist discourse. Nevertheless, he (1988) stresses that “Said abandons the level of cultural criticism proposed by Foucault and relapses into traditional intellectual history” (p.268). Besides the lack of anthropological query, Clifford is afraid that Edward Said falls prey to totalizing, essentialist and monolithic modes of discourse he is trying to debunk in his work and ignores the fact that the “humanizing” crux of his thesis is

⁶ This harsh criticism of Edward Said’s thoughts is according to Lewis, linked to the fact that he could not analyze this objectively out of his Palestinian origins, on the other hand, this very antagonistic attitude of Lewis towards Said stems from Lewis’ clear bias towards the Zionist cause

enlightened and shaped by a Western occidental mode of thought he is trying to counter attack.

Equally, the prominent Indian theorist Aijaz Ahmad sees that Edward Said's selection of Western canonicity caught him in the trap of reproducing a Westernized humanist belief. Further, Ahmad notes that Saidean diachronic traces of Western thought leads to a confusing existential fact of which one bred the other between colonialism and Orientalism. One of the significant remarks Ahmad makes about Edward Said's work is that while it presents itself as a fierce criticism of Western silencing discourse of the "subaltern"; it, deliberately or not, does not voice nor does it give the opportunity for the colonial subjects to voice their agonies and counter the discourse of the empire. Ahmad (1998) argues:

With the exception of Said's own voice, the only voices we encounter in the books are precisely those of the very Western canonicity which, Said complains, has always silenced the Orient. Who is silencing whom, who is refusing to permit a historicized encounter between the so-called 'orientalist' and the many voices that 'Orientalism' is said to so utterly suppress, as a question very had to determine as we read this book [Orientalism]. (p.102)

Edward Said, in a way or another, silences the voices of the colonial subjects unintentionally smothering any form of resistance. Therefore, Ahmad contends, this way, the colonized cannot escape the cage of inferiority, passivity and powerlessness⁷.

Likewise, with more sharpened criticism in his (2007) book *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*, Ibn Warraq's reconsiderations of Said's arguments expose what Bukay (2011) considers as the teaching of "an entire generation of Arabs the art of self-pity, the politics of victimhood." (p.25). For Ibn Warraq (2007), Said's underestimation

⁷ Edward Said and the colonizer are considered alike here in presenting a monolithic discourse and silencing the other, each one from their perspective.

of Western knowledge and skepticism of its values would not make the East any better since the West has developed a great civilization and modern science out of negotiation with other cultures. Indeed, he encourages other civilizations to draw on Western values and incorporate its civilization's assets if they aspire to modernization and science. For such end, he believes that the West is deservedly distinct from the whole Rest by its universalism, rationalism and self-criticism.

The best reading of Said's work is undertaken by a pioneer postcolonial theorist, Homi Bhabha. He identifies Said's work as the inaugural thesis for postcolonial studies, yet differs from him on several ideas. Bhabha is not comfortable with Edward Said's identification of power relations between East and West where the colonized is deprived of any form of activity and influence. Bhabha (1983) puts it "there is always in Said the suggestion that colonial power is entirely possessed by the colonizer, which is an historical and heretical simplification" (p 200). He stresses that the monolithic power system, which Said's work is very suggestive of, relegates the Orient to a static homogenized space. Bhabha builds on Edward Said's thesis and tries to transcend it providing an alternative reading and understanding of West and East encounters. In *The Location of Culture (1994)*, he maintains that probing into the mechanisms of colonial discourse should go beyond binarism and dualities to negotiating what he terms as "the third space". Such concept and others like mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity make up the heart of Bhabha's contribution.

2.3. Bhabha's Contribution

A thoughtful understanding of colonial discourse is crippled without drawing on the works of an outstanding theorist as Homi K. Bhabha. As a major figure in postcolonial and cultural studies, Bhabha left indelible marks in elucidating cultural practices as well as colonial encounters. Though enlightened by the Saidean tradition, Bhabha takes a quite different path in approaching colonizer-colonized relation and the whole colonial situation.

He believes that to probe into and decipher the complex cruxes of colonial discourse we should transcend the classical binaries and poles dominating Edward Said's theory to what bonds the colonizer and colonized as fundamental components of the colonial equation. Childs and Williams (1997) (p.1) see that unlike Edward Said, who highlights oppositions and dissimilarities between colonized and colonizer, Bhabha focuses more on similarities and points in common. Indeed, his major ideas mainly draw on psychoanalysis and poststructuralism and are presented in his (1990) seminal work *Nation and Narration*⁸ and (1994) prominent essay collection, *The Location of Culture*⁹. Pregnant with neologisms and loaded concepts, Bhabha's works are chiefly well-known for foregrounding the significance and interaction of notions as ambivalence, mimicry, hybridity and in-betweenness.

Borrowed from the realm of psychoanalysis, Bhabha uses the concept of ambivalence to describe colonizer-colonized encounters. According to Ashcroft et al (2013) ambivalence "describes the complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between colonizer and colonized" (p.10). The colonized, therefore, is torn between looking up to and idealizing the colonizer and resisting the mechanisms of colonization. Bhabha asserts that the colonizer indulges in the forging and remaking of a prototypical model of the colonized to follow. This is a crucial aspect in the colonizer's process of self-identification and identity recognition. In this respect, Childs and Williams (1997) maintain that "only through the Other can the subject locate its desire for difference while constructing, and finding confirmation of, the fantasy of its identity" (p.125). The ambivalent colonial discourse is chiefly reinforced by this mandatory presence of a derided, yet for-self-desired, Other, but it is also typified by an unconscious pity and sympathy with the colonized. The whole conflictual feelings of desirability and undesirability characterizing colonial discourse would

⁸ In this book he discusses the idea of nationhood and the ambivalence inherent in the language used to narrate the nation's history.

⁹ Bhabha postulates that cultural production is more significant where it mirrors with ambivalence. He rethinks issues of national affiliation, identity, cultural hybridity and social agency.

do nothing but enhance the attractiveness of the European self and mimicry for the non-European Other. Hence, Andreotti (2011) concludes that due to this mimicry “ambivalence (where the colonizer sees the colonized as possibly equal, but necessarily inferior) produces ambivalent colonial subjects who produce “translated” copies of the colonizer’s cultural habits, assumptions, institutions, and values” (p.26).

Basic to Bhabha’s theorization of colonial discourse is the concept of mimicry which is an extension of colonial ambivalence. In his (1984) influential essay “*Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse*”, Bhabha means by colonial mimicry “the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite” (p 122). For him, the colonized is locked into a mimetic process of imitating the colonial culture and identity which upholds colonial power and superiority over subjugated and appropriated “mimic man¹⁰”, in Naipaul’s term. Yet, the instrumentalization of mimicking the white Eurocentric self through missionaries, language and religion has backfired and enhanced ambivalence instead. Bhabha accordingly contends that “the doubling of difference that is almost the same but not quite, almost the same but not white, results in ambivalence, which comes to define the failure of mimicry” (p 349). In the same vein, Ashcroft, et al. (2007) stress that:

When colonial discourse encourages the colonized subject to ‘mimic’ the colonizer, by adopting the colonizer’s cultural habits, assumptions, institutions and values, the result is never a simple reproduction of those traits. Rather, the result is a ‘blurred copy’ of the colonizer that can be quite threatening....Mimicry therefore locates a crack in the certainty of colonial dominance, an uncertainty in its control of the behaviour of the colonized. (p.124-125)

¹⁰ Naipaul’s 1967 novel tells the story of Ralph Singh who after decolonization recounts his memories during colonization and how they had a deep influence on his later life in the west.

The menace of mimicry is, argues Bhabha, further represented in the decentering of the asymmetrical power relation that rules the colonizer and colonized since the non- Western Other uses it to shield against colonial authority and as a strategic form of resistance. Overwhelmed by the ambivalent colonial situation and repercussions of mimicry, the colonial subject, for Bhabha, is molded into a hybrid object of the colonial making.

An insightful reading of Bhabha's postcolonial theorization should inevitably comprise the notion of hybridity. Coupled with the notions of ambivalence and mimicry, hybridity finalizes Bhabha's analysis of colonial encounters and chiefly the process of identity making. He examines hybridity as a normal outcome of the conscious and unconscious process of mimicry where it is bred within contact zones of the colonizer and colonized confronting cultures. According to Ashcroft et, al (2007):

Hybridity occurs in post-colonial societies both as a result of conscious moments of cultural suppression, as when the colonial power invades to consolidate political and economic control, or when settler-invaders dispossess indigenous peoples and force them to 'assimilate' to new social patterns. It may also occur in later periods when patterns of immigration from the metropolitan societies and from other imperial areas of influence (e.g. indentured labourers from India and China) continue to produce complex cultural palimpsests with the post-colonized world. (p.183)

Similarly, Fuchs et, al (2013) contend that "the identity of the colonized is split: it still bears traces of the former, genuine identity, but it has also engulfed features belonging to the colonizer's culture" (p.178). Cultural hybridization stems from, in Bhabha's (1994) eyes, a subversive renegotiation of colonial authority; he argues that it "unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but re-implicates its identifications in strategies of

subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power” (p112). This results in the creation of what Bhabha calls the third space; an in-between zone of cultural formation which yields prototypes of a variety of linguistic, cultural, political and racial hybridization. Bhabha’s notion of third space or in-betweenness refutes the historical claims and accounts for cultural fixity and stability. In his essay *Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences*, he argues (2006):

It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew. (p.208)

This third space has transcended the colonial and orientalist binarism into constituting, in L. Gandhi’s (1998) words an “indeterminate zone, or ‘place of hybridity’, where anti-colonial politics first begins to articulate its agenda” (p 131). It is, therefore, a site of resistance, a zone for disclosing colonial subversion and hegemony.

2.4. Spivak and the Subaltern

Colonial hegemony and imperialism theorizations are inspected by another influential postcolonial scholar, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. The Indian intellectual’s multidisciplinary raises her to prominence and establishes her as one of the cornerstones of literary criticism, cultural theory and feminist activism. Morton (2003) valorizes her “critical interventions” which “encompass a range of theoretical interests, including Marxism, feminism, deconstruction, postcolonial theory and cutting-edge work on globalization” (p.1). Her writings brought an added value to the deconstruction and decolonization of Eurocentric imperialism. In this respect, Childs and Williams (1997) contend that “her essays do not explicitly seek to problematize the authority of colonial discourse like Bhabha’s, to point out

its ambivalence or hybridity, but to detail the ways in which imperialism has constructed narratives of history, geography, gender, and identity” (p.158). In practice, she criticizes colonial discourse through one of her controversial, yet insightful, essays, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*

This complex and revealing question essay came as a reaction to, and enriching of, work on Subaltern Groups¹¹ and what came to be later called Subalterneity. In discussing the origin of the word subaltern, Gandhi (1998) states that “By ‘subaltern’ Spivak meant the oppressed subject, the members of Antonio Gramsci’s ‘subaltern classes’, or more generally those ‘of inferior rank’.” (p 1). Based on Derridian deconstruction, Foucault’s and Deleuze’s contentions along with a critique of Marxist theory, Spivak tries to speak for the silenced groups of subaltern women, laborers and the marginalized. Clearly, towards the end of the essay, Spivak’s arguments culminate in a bluntly concluding answer that “the subaltern cannot speak”. However, Ashcroft et al (2013) caution that “ Spivak’s essay is not an assertion of the inability of the subaltern voice to be accessed or given agency, but only a warning to avoid the idea that the subaltern can ever be isolated in some absolute, essentialist way from the play of discourses and institutional practices that give it its voice”.

The process of silencing the Other, Spivak believes, has further, and profoundly, been institutionalized through capitalism and the stratification not only of social classes, but also the world’s nations. The division of the world into center vs periphery, developed vs underdeveloped, Spivak points out, widens the gap between center and margin constructing Western master narrative as the “legitimate” source of representation, hence, “worlding” the third world. Nayar (2008) explains that “what Spivak is suggesting is that the institutionalization of marginality is a dangerous trend. The West’s longing for its Other

¹¹ Group of South Asian researchers whose interest centered on postcolonial studies and post-imperial societies.

figures in the institutional investment it makes in the form of postcolonialism” (p.25). More than that, Childs and Williams (1997) argue that:

The imperialist project both represents (portrays) India and constructs itself as India’s (political) representative, and so Spivak wants to produce a new narrative of how The Third World was “worlded” by the West not only for the West itself but also as a representation for those it represented.(p.166).

Spivak is also well-recognized for inducing skeptical contentions about the construction of Western historiography. For her, the subaltern colonial subject, and especially the woman, is trapped in an interwoven colonial and patriarchal history as well as a literary production which aims at reinforcing the silencing of these subalterns. She, further, stresses that “the archival, historiographic, disciplinary-critical, and, inevitably, interventionist work involved here is indeed a task of “measuring silences” (1988, p.286). Therefore, Spivak’s contribution, along with Subaltern Studies Group, aims to unearth and provide a counter narrative for Eurocentric historiography in an attempt to voice the subaltern’s being. In this same vein Gandhi (1998) argues that “ ‘Subaltern Studies’ defined itself as an attempt to allow the ‘people’ finally to speak within the jealous pages of elitist historiography and, in so doing, to speak for, or to sound the muted voices of, the truly oppressed.” (p.2). The same contention is taken up and accentuated by Childs and Williams (1997) who maintain that:

Spivak’s concern is not then with history but historiography, not with making a narrative of the past but a narrative of the construction of the past. To counter the imperial representation, in both senses, of India she does not offer an alternative history but unearths the assumptions and workings of that representation: the ways in which the `Third World` was worlded”. (p.165).

By all odds, Spivak's key concepts as "the subaltern" give an added value to postcolonial studies, literary criticism and cultural studies. More than that, her ideas about representation, feminism, subalterneity and elitism make her a rich reference and authority no less than Edward Said and Bhabha.

2.5. Summary

On the whole, having charted an eclectic account of colonial discourse and postcolonial (re)readings, represented in the influential conceptualizations of Said, Bhabha and Spivak, it is significant to place this type of discourse into the large scale of Discourse Analysis Studies. This would certainly provide a deeper understanding into the components, workings, effects and aims of the notion of discourse through dissecting its construction and dissemination; this is the focus of the subsequent section.

3. Discourse Analysis

3.1. Introduction

The extricable 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 perspective¹², is framed and influenced by social, cultural and educational backgrounds. Indeed, Whorf (1956) 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” (p.214). Similarly, language, according to O’Brien (2010), “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” (p.81). Hence, this way, language makes up the backbone of variety types of discourses where the dissection and

¹² 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.

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) qualifies a “reality creating social practice” (p.62), 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.

3.2. Representation

The term ‘representation’ lends itself to a myriad domains and fields. It has become common to daily encounters and occupies a substantial room in the process of meaning-making bearing, to mention but a few, philosophical, epistemological, linguistic, literary, psychological, philosophical dimensions. This dimensionality makes defining this slippery term quite challenging. According to Cambridge Online Dictionary, in its basic sense, representation refers to “a person or organization that speaks, acts, or is present officially for someone else”. This definition refers to two meanings. The first covers a “concrete” legislative/legal aspect in which representation encompasses institutions such as parliaments and persons like lawyers. The second deals with a “symbolic” aspect which gives representation a, more or less, philosophical/ideological breadth. Webb (2008,p.5) argues that representation is an epistemological process. He maintains that “it is considerably more than a simple matter of standing in for; it is also productive of what we know, and how we know it: that is to say, it is constitutive – it makes us”. In such process the neutrality is questioned since the “representer” cannot trace limits for themselves not to interfere or affect the making of the new meaning. Being an essential part of meaning making, we are interested in this dissertation in looking into the role of language as a vehicle of representation. In this context, Hall (1997) defines representation as “using language to say something meaningful about, or represent, the world meaningfully, to other people” (p.15).

Such definition situates representation within the framework of discourse analysis. Indeed, the investigation of the construction and production of representation in the analytical study of discourse substantially helped in uncovering the underlying constructs and mechanisms of how the represented is represented. According to L. Wenden (2005) “ as used in discourse analysis, representation refers to the language used in a text or talk to assign meaning to groups and their social practices, to events, and to social and ecological conditions and objects (e.g. Fairclough, 1989;1995; Van Dijk, 2002)” (p.90). Hence, the examination of representation in this research seeks the analysis of the language the newspaper article writers used to discuss the event of the Arab Spring. This analysis targets the unveiling of the ideological structures and power relations that guide the writing line about this event.

3.3. Discourse

Bringing the term Discourse under a magnifier to define it is almost unattainable since it is an intrinsic common term to a variety of areas of investigation and knowledge where it bears specific meanings depending on the field under study. The notion of discourse occupies considerable room in fields as Linguistics, Literature, Philosophy, Psychology and Culture contributing to the construction of other notions, arguments and line of thought. Several attempts have been made to delineate this mercurous concept as a first step towards the exploration of its construction, manifestation, and maintenance.

In its basic sense, discourse is a communicative occurrence conveyed through a linguistic means. Simply stated, Johnson (2002) defines discourse as “actual instances of communication in the medium of language” (p.2). Another straightforward definition is put forward by Rotimi (2010) who qualifies it as “language use in speech and writing” (p.60). Further, the linguistic dimension is present in Gunnarsson’s (2014) definition which states that “discourse is often used to refer to connected language in general, a generalization or an abstraction which is realized in specific pieces of connected and coherent language, or text.

Discourse in this sense is no more that stretches of connected spoken or written language” (p.x). These preliminary identifications of discourse through linguistic lenses underline the significance of text and talk in a purely semantic and grammatical use. Nonetheless, because the notion of discourse is unstable and in incessant adaptation, it has transcended the linguistic boundaries to wider dimensions. In this context, Davidson (1993) contends that “discourse is constantly in motion, and the mechanism of that motion is dialogism, the active process of weaving together different kinds of texts against various axiological backgrounds, moving in and out of those perspectives, constantly creating new forms.” (p.5).

The main form discourse embodies outside of the linguistic arena is being a social practice. This aspect is presented and discussed by major discourse analysts namely Foucault (1972), Folwer (1985), Fairclough (1989), Van Dijk (2001) and Gramsci (2001), to mention but a few. The social aspects of discourse is evidently referred to by Lupton (1992) while defining discourse as “a group of ideas or patterned ways of thinking which can be identified in textual and verbal communications and can also be located in wider social structures” (p.145). Hence, the social context is crucially significant where discourse can be best processed, negotiated and demonstrated. Within this context, discourse in Laclau and Mouffe (1985) is rendered into “a given collection of phenomena through which the social production of meaning takes place” (p 105). Such definition pours into the same vein with Bakhtin’s (1981) who highlights discourse’s social dimension as being “social through its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning” (p.259) . Similarly, Van Dijk (1997) stresses the sociological and historical aspects in dealing with discourse, and in his delineation of discourse he argues that it is “linguistic forms correlating with social practice which has to be investigated sociologically and historically” (p.18) . This way, discourse bears a sense of continuity and representation of the world for a social group. Therefore, it becomes “a practice not just representing the world, but

of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.” (Fairclough, 1992, p 64)

The notion of discourse put forward here shrouds a world view, a conceptualization of meaning making and an ideological form of thought. It makes up a mechanism of ruling and subduing the world through institutional constructs using dominating and hegemonic linguistic, political and cultural components. The best representative of this theoretical inclination of discourse as power and ideological representation of the world is the salient French philosopher and theorist Michel Foucault. He believes discourse is:

ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern (cited in Weedon, 1987, p. 108).

Foucault (1981) further stresses, in *The Order of Discourse*¹³, the significance of the procedural reproduction of discourse within social confinements that shape knowledge and produce power. He contends that “in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.” (p,52). The reproduction and distribution of discourse is reinforced, in Foucault’s view, by social institutions which, hence, are responsible for a wide range of discourses. Essentially, media discourse, and particularly journalistic discourse, which this dissertation seeks to analyze, is a major reservoir for the production and manifestation of ideology and power whose investigation is an indispensable step towards

¹³ He discusses the automatisms of discourse production and their relationship to institutional contexts.

deciphering power relations. Therefore, linguists, sociologists and philosophers have devoted a whole area for the investigation of discourse and its power labeled Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

3.3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Analyzing daily interactions is an (un)conscious process of the communicators' cognitive ability where the implied, unsaid and between the lines is considered in information processing. The roots of the study and examination of text and talk and everyday interactions dates to Aristotle and Plato of ancient Greece. Yet, in modern times, with the rise of Critical Linguistics and mainly the publication of the Foucauldian seminal work, *The Archeology of Knowledge*¹⁴, the inauguration of a systematic, analytical and academic study of discourse came into being. Discourse analysts systematize people's spontaneous reflections and reactions to discursive practices into an area of scientific examination. Trappes-Lomax (2013) contends:

Discourse analysts do what people in their everyday experience of language do instinctively and largely unconsciously: notice patternings of language in use and the circumstances (participants, situations, purposes, outcomes) with which these are typically associated. The discourse analyst's particular contribution to this otherwise mundane activity is to do the noticing consciously, deliberately, systematically, and as far as possible, objectively, and to produce accounts (descriptions, interpretations, explanations) of what their investigations have revealed.(p.133)

¹⁴ It summarizes the analytical and methodological approach Foucault applied in his works (*Madness and Civilization: a History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961), *The Birth of the Clinic: an Archeology of Medical Perception* (1963) and *the Order of Things: an Archeology of the Human Sciences* (1966))

Discourse analysis is characterized by an enriching multi-disciplinarity where the pertinence of a variety of analytical approaches as well as theoretical perspectives gives the discourse analyst a multidimensional view of the corpus under study. The interdisciplinary nature of discourse analysis is constituted by Stylistics, Functional Grammar, Applied Linguistics, Conversation Analysis, Psychoanalysis, Pragmatics, to mention but a few. Such heterogeneity enriches the investigation of discursive practices in a myriad of discourse genres as in political, educational, religious and media discourses.

A further stride has been made in the area of analyzing discourse moving from the descriptive level towards a profound and critical dimension. Fairclough (1980) picks apart the descriptive and non-critical inclinations dominating discourse analysis. For him “this latter is criticized for its lack of concern with explanation-with how discursive practices are socially shaped, or their social effects.” (p.26). Thus, the criticality of discourse analysis aims at unraveling the ideological constructs, inequalities and dominations embedded in everyday encounters which a descriptive analysis fails to fulfill. For this reason, the birth of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a branch of Critical Linguistics and the analytical study of discourse transcends the analysis of language as a social practice to how discourse constructs produce and maintain ideology and domination. Van Dijk (1995) sees that (CDA):

Has become the general label for special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication. As is the case for many fields, approaches and subdisciplines in language and discourse studies; however, it is not easy to precisely delimit the special principles, practices, aims, theories or methods of CDA. (p.1)

On the other side, in his definition, Fairclough (1995) considers power relations and the social structures that make up his understanding of (CDA). He argues:

By critical discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (pp.132-133)

In essence, linguistic and philosophical foundations represented in Gramsci's hegemony, Marx's socialism, Foucault's and Althusser's conceptualization of ideology, Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and Derrida's deconstruction equip critical discourse analysts with the necessary theories and tools to examine the construction and manifestation of power and domination in social contexts. Notably, Van Dijk (2001) reintroduces another explanation for (CDA) which this time he considers as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, domination and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p 85). In the process, the analyst is no longer neutral, rather, they, Van Dijk goes on, "take an explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality." (ibid). In the process of understanding the social constructs embedded in the discursive interactions, critical discourse analysts apply micro and macro analysis.

CDA analysts such as Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak deem Micro and Macro levels of analysis of paramount significance. At the micro scale, analysis considers the linguistic make-up of a discourse focusing on sentence structure, clause, rhetoric and

grammaticality. The analysis should deal with “language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication of the social order” (Van Dijk 2001, p 87). The linguistic frame enables the analyst to examine the linguistic structures opted for by the discourse producer and how they help framing their world view. As for the macro model, it is the global manifestation of the discursive interaction; global in the sense that it differs from the micro (local) level in reflecting power, ideology, dominance and inequality. Likewise, Van Dijk points out that “power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro level of analysis.” (ibid). The Micro-Macro distinction is further practically exemplified by Van Dijk. He states that “a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the micro level of social interaction and the specific situation of a debate but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro level” (ibid). These two models of analysis, along with other CDA analytical tools, are employed by CDA practitioners to disclose two pivotal notions that constitute any discursive practice, power and ideology. Indeed, the whole CDA investigation aims at deconstructing discourse in order to unravel the workings of power and ideology and lay them bare before the layperson to enable them to grasp the discursive forces underlying the making of social relations.

The concept of power is central to a variety of linguistic and literary areas of study collocating with other essential notions as knowledge, control, institution, hegemony and domination. Fowler (1985) gives a thorough explanation of what power stands for and states that:

Let us say that power is the ability of people and institutions to control the behavior and the material lives of others. It is obviously a transitive concept entailing an asymmetrical relationship: X is more powerful than/has power over Y. It is also a very general concept: an abstraction

picking out one feature in an indefinitely large number of very diverse kinds of relationship. When we talk about power, we may be referring to relationships between parents and children, employer and employees, doctor and patients, a government and its subjects, and so on. Features of the relationships including those that contribute to having or not having power, are remarkably diverse.(p.61)

This definition provides an array of power manifestations and identifies it in terms of social control. Similarly, Van Dijk (2001) explains that power is a tool of control in the hands of powerful social groups by which they subdue powerless groups through several sources as money, fame, force, and other patterns of public discourse and communication (p.4). Also, what is pertinent to our examination of the notion of power in Fowler's contention is its nature of abstraction; the sense of abstraction is best reflected in discursive terms. Language and discursive practices remain an evident site for the exercise and control of power. In the same way, Foucault associates power with knowledge and builds a whole theory upon the intertwine between power and knowledge and how they are both mutually constitutive. In fact, he takes a step further in dealing with the concept of power and rids it of the negative connotations of repression and assigns it productivity. He states that:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (Foucault (1980, p 119)-cited in Jorgensen and J. Philips (2002, p 13)

Foucauldian understanding of power does not exclude the submissive form of power; rather he sees it reflected in the production and attainment of knowledge. This latter comprises world understanding and view clustered in forms of representations and ideologies most of which are discursive constructs. In this context, investigating the concept of ideology is of decisive pertinence to CDA understanding.

Opaque and slippery, delineating ideology seems far from an easy attainability since it denotes a variety of meanings depending on the field it occupies. Gramsci (1971) considers ideology as “a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in the manifestations of individual and collective life” (p.328). The conceptual nature of ideology in Gramsci’s perspective and its implicit and abstract presence in the social system goes in accordance with Van Dijk’s (1995) own understanding of the term. Van Dijk asserts that ideologies are “basic systems of fundamental social cognitions and organizing attitudes and other social representations shared by members of groups” which “indirectly control the mental representations (models) that form the interpretation basis and contextual embeddedness of discourse and its structures” (p 243). In the same pattern, Hall, in his *The Problem of Ideology Marxism without Guarantees*¹⁵, underlines the discursive and linguistic dimension of ideology as a system of thought which organizes social activities. He sees ideology as “the mental frameworks- the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation- which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and renders intelligible the way society works”. In much a similar fashion, Althusser (1969), building on Lacanian and Gramscian conceptualization, underscores the representational and abstractive role of ideological constructs in the social sphere. However, he moves on a step further by assigning ideology a practical manifestation through what he labels as an “apparatus”. For him, through this

¹⁵ Hall argues that social classes are in constant negotiation so ideology floats across these classes reflecting each one’s identity.

apparatus, the state can guarantee its subjects' subordination and have control over their ideologies and modes of thoughts. This way, ideology is in the services of power, control and domination by means of its "significations/constructions [...] which are built into various dimensions of forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough 1992, p.87). In fact, the best elaboration of how ideology is manifested and realized in terms of discursive practices and how linguistic choices determine language users' mode of thought is presented by Kress (1989), he explains that:

The systematic organization of content in discourse, drawing on and deriving from the prior classification of this material in an ideological system, leads to the systematic selection of linguistic categories and features in a text. Hence the presence of a linguistic feature in a text is always a sign of the presence of one term from a discursive and ideological system appearing in the context of the co presence of the other terms from that system. A linguistic feature or category therefore never appears simply by itself- it always appears as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which themselves realize discursive and ideological systems. The linguistic term in a discourse and in a text therefore derives a specific meaning from its place in a system of other linguistic terms. That is, the system gives specific meaning to terms in the system. (p, 30)

Most notably, the concept of ideology is used interchangeably with the notion of discourse. Foucault analyzed the embeddedness of the two terms and how they both determine to a large extent worldview, knowledge production and the social order. People's perceptions of things and identity formation cannot escape the unconscious boundaries of

discourse, power and ideology. Hence, CDA's main endeavor is to expose ideologies and render the construction of discourse and the social interaction practices accessible to people to shield themselves against dominance and control. Again, Van Dijk (1997) reminds us that CDA's principal objective is to disclose "the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p.352). For this reason, CDA has developed an interdisciplinary framework which draws on a variety of theories and approaches that constitute its richness and openness. In the following, a brief overview of the major approaches to CDA is presented.

3.3.2. Major Approaches to CDA

As has been reiterated, drawing on various areas in linguistics and human sciences has provided the study of CDA with a rich multidisciplinary through which the deconstruction and analysis of discourse elements bring the unraveling of discourse constructs as ideology, domination, inequality and power to our best understanding. The best insight gained into analyzing any type of discourse combines linguistic features as grammar, syntax and semantics and non-linguistic elements as cultural beliefs and traditions, historical perspectives, argumentation and socioeconomic backgrounds. In this manner, this interdisciplinarity enables CDA practitioners to investigate this relationship between the bone (linguistic elements) and the flesh (non-linguistic elements) in the production of any given discourse. In this context, Fairclough (2000) highlights the significance of interdisciplinarity in CDA and asserts that:

Clearly, a critical discourse analyst will approach research topics with a theoretical predilection to highlight semiosis, but since this is inevitably a matter of initially establishing relations between semiosis and other elements, the theorisation of the research topic should be conceived of as an interdisciplinary (more specifically, transdisciplinary in the sense I

have given to that term) process, involving a combination of disciplines and theories including CDA. (p.13)

Discourse's heterogeneity imposes a multidimensional perspective in the examination of discursive constructs. Hence, to probe into theories and approaches that nurture CDA, special light is spotted on Systemic Functional Grammar and pragmatics theory.

3.3.2.1. Hallidialian's Systemic Functional Grammar

One of the major advances that marked the development in the twentieth century linguistics is the rise of Hallidialian Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). This new approach to language moves beyond the traditional formalist study of the set of grammatical rules to a wider functionalist and operative dimension of language within a social context. Eggins (2004) maintains that:

although Halliday's functional grammar deals in detail with the structural organization of English clauses, phrases and sentences. Halliday's interest has always been with the meaning of language in use in the textual processes of social life, or 'the sociosemantics of text'. (p.2)

Meaning making for Halliday is, therefore, not an outcome of purely linguistic choices, but rather, a social process of selection, negotiation and production of those choices. In SFG, the semiotic/semantic dimension of language is prioritized, and the functionality of linguistic patterns is the target of the communicative interaction within a socially contextualized setting. SFG draws on the functional trend of linguistics which emphasizes the inter-intra personal perspective of communication. Van Patten and Williams (2015) put forward that "functionalist approaches to language hold that language is primarily used for communication and does not exist without language users. Functionalists view language in terms of *form-to-function* and *function-to-form* mappings." (p,2). Indeed, the functional dimension has become

a solid ground for language analysis in areas as Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Communication and Discourse Analysis. Along with the functionality in SFG, the systemization of language constitutes a focal concept in the social perspective of language use. Halliday views language as a communicative system as opposed to Chomsky's system of rules. L. Holland and M. Forbes (1993) highlight this notion of Systemization and point out that:

The "systemic" part of systemic functional grammar involves the notion of choice within the linguistic system and provides a way of focusing on paradigmatic relations rather than the syntagmatic ones that have been the focus of syntactically oriented formal grammars. The paradigmatic axis of language is the axis from which selections are made by the speaker from within certain linguistic categories such as speech function (e.g., request, denial) or lexical class (e.g., noun). The syntagmatic axis of language is the axis on which language linearly unfolds in time and syntactic ordering of the above choices is achieved, with one lexical class combining with another to create meaning, as for example the noun + verb formation. (p.267)

One of the central paradigmatic concepts in SFG is choice. Halliday's analysis of language as a system focuses on the choices made by language users and how these choices relate the structural and functional levels. He stresses that "a language is a resource for making meaning and meaning resides in systemic patterns of choice" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 p.23). These choices serve the language user's message in terms of preferences, ideology, standpoint and many other meaningful constructs. The language user's choices between, for instance, passive and active voices, noun or verb, a specific semantic field or concept instead of another reflect to a large extent their purpose behind using a certain language and the interactional relation between structure and semantics. In practice, "the

grammar simply stores up the choices of semantic features that are made for each semantic unit, and then generates the appropriate syntactic unit” (Fawcett 2010, p 5). Hence, in SFG as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) explain “when we analyze a text, we show the functional organization of its structure; and we show what meaningful choices have been made, each one seen in the context of what might have been meant but was not” (p.24). At the level of realization, these choices function within two other essential conceptual dimensions, mainly stratification and metafunction. Halliday (2014) maintains that “language is a complex semiotic system, having various levels or strata” (p 24). Within SFG, language is stratified into four main strata: Context, Lexico-Grammar, Phonology-Graphology and Semantics. At the contextual stratum, attention is addressed to the Field, Tenor and the Mode which focus on what is happening, the participants and their social relations and the communicative channel (text/talk--contact/visual) respectively. As for the Lexico-grammatical stratum, analysis covers the syntactic and lexical levels that are deployed by the language users and which reflect actor, agent, mood, theme and other aspects of the structure and vocabulary. The Phonology-Graphology stratum deals with sound system pronunciation phonemes, intonation and rhythm and word sign. The last stratum, semantics, concerns the relation between words, phrases and sentences in meaning making. Halliday divides this level into three main metafunctions namely ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function. Each layer of these metafunctions is explained by Caffarel-Cayron (2006) in the following quote:

Thus, language constructs and is constructed by different types of meaning which the theory models as metafunctions: ideational (construing our experience of the world around us and inside us as meaning), interpersonal (enacting the world of social roles and relations as meaning) and textual (constructing ideational and interpersonal

meaning as semiotic world of information organized as text in context).

(p.5)

Practically, each of the metafunctions is realized through linguistic means. The language user's world view and experience can be seen and lived, for instance, through transitivity lens where the types of the chosen verbs define to a considerable extent this metafunction. The social roles and relations assigned to the language user and their addressee within the interpersonal metafunction can be played using modal auxiliaries in some communicative encounters. The last metafunction, textual, which deals with the text's internal construction, can be realized through coherence mechanism and cohesive devices. (Wang,2010).

As a realization of the ideational metafunction, transitivity is one of the key concepts in SFG which enables language analysts to recognize discourse producers' covert intentions, ideological constructs and world's perception at large. For Halliday and Matthiessen (2014):

The transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of PROCESS TYPES." By process; Halliday means the type of verbs deployed by language users which can be emotional, physical, mental, static or relational. He states that "Each process type provides its own model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience as a figure of a particular kind" (ibid). (p.170)

The following figure summarizes the main six processes that reflect the writer's/speaker's world experience according to Halliday:

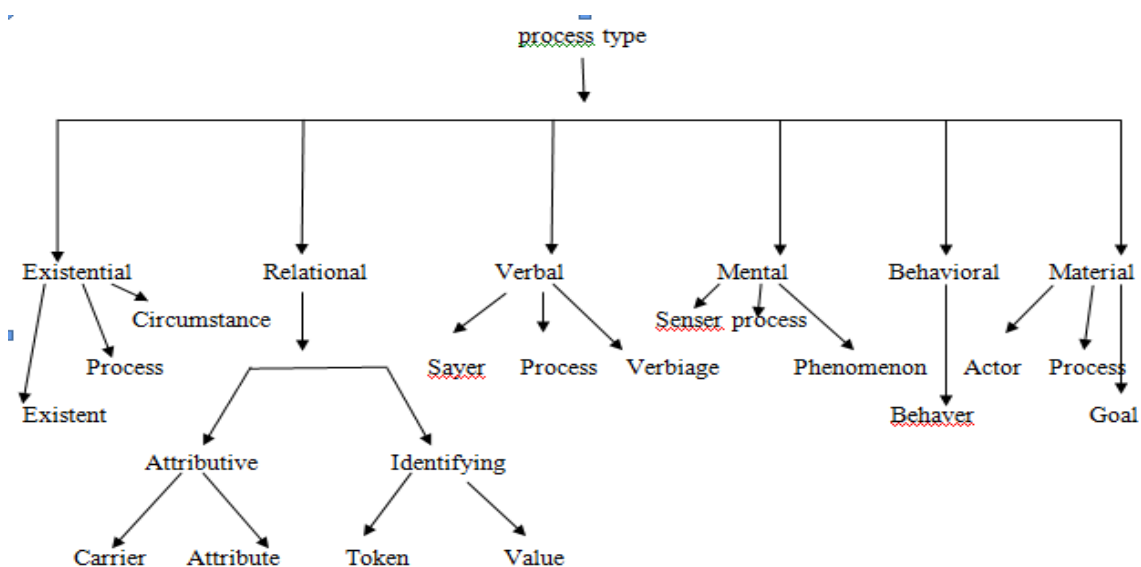


Figure 1: Main Process Types Transitivity represented as a system network.

Adapted and modified from Halliday and Matthiessen : *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*.3rd edition, 2004.

Halliday goes on in his explanation and clarifies that the notion of process comprises three components that serve the system of transitivity. Halliday contends that processes “are construed as a configuration of components of three types: (i) the process itself; (ii) the participants in that process; and (iii) any circumstantial factors such as time, manner or cause.” (p.79). Hence, the process component is manifested in the verb phrase, the participants, who are basically actions doers or receivers, are expressed in noun phrases, and the circumstances are realized through adverbials and prepositional phrases. The following tables exemplify each process along with its constituents:

Examples	Actor	Process	Goal
- John ate a sandwich	John	ate	a sandwich
-The girl sewed new sockets	The girl	Sewed	new sockets

Table 1: Material process

Examples	Senser	Process	Phenomenon
-He solved the equation	He	solved	the equation
-The students understand the lesson	The students	understand	the lesson

Table 2: Mental process

Examples	Carrier	Process	Attribute
-Andrew was smart	Andrew	Was	smart
-Mom is inspirational	Mom	is	inspirational

Table 3: Relational process

Examples	Bahaver	Process
-Laura cries -	Laura	cries
He shouted	He	shouted

Table 4: Behavioral process

Examples	Sayer	Process	Verbiage
-They spoke French	They	spoke	French
-I said no	I	Said	no

Table 5: Verbal process

Examples	Process	Existent	Circumstance
-There was created a new barn at the farm	There was created	a new barn	at the farm
-There existed a lot of orphans in the village	There existed	a lot of orphans	at the village

Table 6: Existential process

The embedment of worldview and/or ideology into transitivity processes and how these processes reflect the language user's covert and overt intentions is concretely revealed in the following excerpt taken from US president's Donald Trump first speech before the UN general assembly. The patterns of language deployed in the speech are plainly revealing of the speaker's agenda:

We will stop radical Islamic terrorism because we cannot allow it to tear up our nation and, indeed, to tear up the entire world. We must deny the terrorists safe haven, transit, funding, and any form of support for their vile and sinister ideology. We must drive them out of our nation. It is time to expose and hold responsible those countries who support and finance terror groups like al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, the Taliban, and others that slaughter innocent people.

(UN General Assembly Speech, Sep 19, 2017, 11:40am EDT, www.cnn.com)

In the above extract, transitive verbs are essentially related to the speaker's actions and control e.g., "we will stop.... we cannot allow..... we must deny...". More than that, the use of modality is clearly an aiding complementary tool which expresses Trump's functional intentions in terms of future plans, prohibition and obligation. Conversely, the "terrorist" groups are ascribed objective nominal forms as passive receivers of the speaker's actions like in "safe haven, transit, funding and any form of support". The speaker's choice of the transitive verbs establishes some form of activity, free will and superiority of the USA, whereas the "terrorist" groups are relegated to a helpless, passive and inferior state of being. Besides, as clearly shown, the use of modality is unquestionably decisive in the construction of a discourse's foundation within a specific context. This latter is a foremost component in the communicative process as well as in the fabrication and interpretation of any type of

discourse. Indeed, context, the fabrication and interpretation of discourse make up the essence of the field of pragmatics which is a threshold to analyzing meaning making.

3.3.2.2. Pragmatics

Within the realm of Linguistics, language is stratified into areas that serve in and facilitate the construction and production of meaning such as syntax, phonology, morphology, semiotics and semantics. Added to all these areas, the notion of context and linguistic sign's interpretation are central and have more thoroughly been investigated in Semiotics' offshoot, Pragmatics. Charles Morris (1938) is believed to be the innovator of the field of Pragmatics and states that "pragmatics is the study of the relation of signs to interpreters" (cited in Levinson, 1983, p. 1). He adds that "pragmatics is that portion of semiotics which deals with the origin, uses and effects of signs within the behavior in which they occur" (ibid). Morris's definitions foreground the significance of context and interpretation in enlightening the correlation between what the speaker's literal words mean and what can be understood from these words. Here, Yule's (1996) definition can be introduced to shed more clarifying light on the notion of pragmatics. He points out that:

Pragmatics is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader). It has, consequently, more to do with the analysis of what people mean by their utterances than what the words or phrases in those utterances might mean by themselves. Pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning. (p.3)

These contentions underscore the language user's intention rather than the surface linguistic utterances themselves. The combination of context and interpretation results in an analysis that goes beyond the literal meaning and which attempts to highlight language and its uses rather than the finalized linguistic product. In the process of pragmatic analysis, the

language users' presupposition, implicature, deixis and speech acts are of extreme significance in unveiling intentions and the unsaid.

3.3.2.2.1. Presupposition

Sharing the same background binds the speaker and the addressee in an intelligible mutual act of communication. To be appropriately discerned, utterances or propositions should bear a common reference to language users in terms of content and context and employ defined grammatical and lexical features. Central to the field of Pragmatics, the notion of presupposition traces the common ground, point of departure and shared knowledge that demarcate the roles and messages of a reciprocal communicative situation. According to Green (2012), presuppositions stand for "propositions whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a linguistic expression, propositions without which the utterance cannot be evaluated" (p.72). Similarly, Cruse (2006) stresses that these propositions "must be known and taken account of for the utterance to make sense to an interpreter". To illustrate, Yule (1996,p.26) gives an example and points out that:

If we say that the sentence in [2a.] contains the proposition p and the sentence in [2b.] contains the proposition q, then, using the symbol \gg to mean 'presupposes', we can represent the relationship as in [2c.].

[2] a. Mary's dog is cute (=p)

b. Mary has a dog. (=q)

c. $p \gg q$ "

Hence, speakers and addressees make use of contextual, referential and content clues to form their propositions, which would constitute the encoding and decoding tools of presupposition. For deeper analysis of the grammatical and lexical constructs of the speaker's assumptions and propositions, Yule (ibid) distinguishes six fundamental types of

presuppositions: existential, factive, non-factive, lexical, structural and counterfactual. He sums and exemplifies them in the following table:

Type	Example	Presupposition
Existential	The X	>> X exists
Factive	I regret leaving	>> I left
Non-factive	He pretended to be happy	>> he wasn't happy
Lexical	He managed to escape	>> he tried to escape
Structural	When did she die?	>> she died
Counterfactual	If I weren't ill	>> I am ill

Table 7: Types of presuppositions

Equipped with these presupposition types, the speaker and the addressee succeed in encoding and deciphering the unsaid and transcend the overt communicative acts towards a more covert and coded level of meaning making. For this end, Pragmatics came forth to make meaning accessible to all language users through analyzing social and linguistic structures in real life communicative situations and emphasizing the functional outcome of the meaningful interaction. In the same vein, in pragmatics theory the concept of implicature is introduced alongside with presupposition to fully unravel the hidden and implied intentions of the communicative utterance.

First introduced by H. Paul Grice (1989), the notion of implicature exposes what a speaker implies, suggests and embeds in a certain utterance. In his discussion of implicature, Grice avoids defining this concept and delves into providing illustrative examples to clarify his theory of implicature. In his article *Logic and Conversation* (1989), he gives the following example:

Suppose that A and B are talking about a mutual friend, C, who is now working in a bank. A asks B how C is getting on in his job, and B replies, Oh quite well, I think; he likes his colleagues, and he hasn't been to prison yet. At this point, A might well inquire what B was implying, what he was suggesting, or even what he meant by saying that C had not yet been to prison. (p.24)

The answer to the above example may vary as many as the intentions of the speaker might differ. What is important for Grice is the addressee's ability to identify the possible implied or, as Grice terms it, implicated. For the sake of elucidation, Grice differentiates between conversational implicature and conventional implicature. In the first type, the speaker's and the addressee's exchange is supposed to be framed and guided by the cooperative principle and its conversational maxims. For Grice, there should be cooperation in talk exchanges to be acceptable, purposeful and engaging. This cooperation between the conversation participants is grounded on four main maxims namely; quantity, quality, relevance and manner. Hence, the speaker's and the addressee's utterances should contain sufficient information, be characterized by truthfulness and sincerity and be pertinent and enjoy clarity and orderliness. In the second type, Grice postulates that conventional implicature is characterized by the conventionality of language use and is independent from the cooperative principle and its maxims. The utterance in this type bears traditional implication which the language users are familiar with and is detected at the surface level of language analysis.

Thus, the recognition of presupposition and implicature is fundamental to the deconstruction and analysis of any type of discourse which certainly aids in revealing hidden and embedded constructs of thought. For the same aim, this analysis would be crippled

without coupling it with spotting the reference structures in language as in the study of indexicality.

3.3.2.2.2. Deixis

In pragmatics, discourse participants, time and place indicators have been the center of deixis study which definitely reveals a lot about power relations in Discourse Analysis. The speaker's and addressee's roles, context, propositions and references are governed by a variety of deictic expressions which reflect worldviews, embedded structures and points of reference. Levinson (1983) argues that:

the term is borrowed from the Greek word for pointing or indicating, and has as prototypical or focal exemplars the use of demonstratives, first and second person pronouns, tense, specific time and place adverbs like *now* and *here*, and a variety of other grammatical features tied directly to the circumstances of utterances. (p.54)

Hence, deixes are referent linguistic items which demarcate the link between language and context and define the discursive entities of exchange. These linguistic features are classified by Levinson into five main categories namely person, place, time, discourse and social deixes.

3.3.2.2.2.1. Person Deixis

The choice and employment of pronouns in discourse greatly determine the attribution of roles as well as the relationship between the participants. The use of person deixis covers honorifics and address forms which vary from one language to another including all types of pronouns (personal, object, possessive, relative reflexive and possessive adjectives). Several studies (Levinson 1983, Wilson 1990, Van Dijk, 1995, 1997, Fairclough 2001) have

uncovered the impact of pronoun selection on the discursive outcome and particularly the political one. Fairclough (2001) asserts that the pronominal choice by politicians is manipulative and ideologically loaded to a large extent. Pronouns, he contends, sustain a relationship of solidarity and power between the participants and they establish groups, boundaries and categories. Thus, this categorization positions the speaker within an in-group, the *Us* class, which claims the entire positive attributes vis a vis the addressee who belongs to the stigmatized, misrepresented and tarnished out-group, the *Them* class. For Van Dijk (1997) this is conceptualized as “ideological polarization”; he explains:

Ideological polarization is strategically reinforced through positively representing the self via pronouns such as “we” and “our” on the one hand, while attributing a negative evaluation to the other side through the use of “them” or “their”. Given the nature of political polarization in the political process, we may further expect the typical positive evaluation of US and OUR actions in positive terms and of THEM and THEIR actions in negative terms. (p.28)

Therefore, inclusive person deixis such as I/we/us usually relegate the exclusive you/they/them to secondary passive positions where inequality, inferiority and dominance are best exercised.

3.3.2.2.2. Place Deixis

The way the speaker talks about and refers to place defines proximity/distance, intimacy/unfamiliarity and activeness/passiveness towards the location, and, hence, the addressee. The variety of spatial references and orientations vary from a language user to another and culture to another and foreground or background the place being indicated in the exchange. Levinson (1983) mentions locatives such as here/there and this/that as proximity

or distance indicators as well as emotions measurements between the participants themselves and between them and the location. More than that, he adds that:

Place or space deixis concerns the specification of locations relative to anchorage points in the speech event. The importance of location specifications in general can be gauged from the fact that there seem to be two basic ways of referring to objects- by describing or naming them on the one hand, and by locating them on the other (Lyons, 1977a, p.648). Now, locations can be specified relative to other objects or fixed reference points, as in:

(66) The station is two hundred yard from the cathedral

(67) Kabul lies at latitude 34 degrees, longitude 70 degrees. (p.79)

Alternatively, they can be deictically specified relative to the location of participants at the time of speaking (CT), as in

(68) It's two hundred yards away

(69) Kabul is four hundred miles West of here.

Significantly, place deixis reflects the speaker's and the addressee's worldview and point of reference which automatically influence the discursive content. As S.A Marmaridou (2000) puts it "participant roles, their social identification and their construction in and through discourse are inscribed in space." (p.86). As such, place deixes are not randomly or innocently employed; rather, they exercise and represent power in discourse.

3.3.2.2.2.3. Time Deixis

In harmony with place deixis, time or temporal deixis situate the communicative utterances in their contextual and situational timing. They reflect the moment of the exchange via a variety of temporal expressions depending on the specificity of the language of use.

Particularly, Levinson (1989, p 62) maintains that “time deixis is commonly grammaticalized in deictic adverbs of time (like English *now* and *then*, *yesterday* and *this year*), but above all in tense.” These temporal expressions delineate the sending and receiving time of the spoken or written message which obviously influences the communicative process. To elaborate, Levinson (1983) maintains that:

time deixis concerns the encoding of temporal points and spans relative to the time at which an utterance was spoken (or a written message inscribed). This time, following Fillmore (1971b), we shall call **coding time** or CT, which may be distinct from **receiving time** or RT.” (ibid).

In Discourse Analysis, time, as well as place, deixes can define, in addition to temporal and spatial references, categories of belonging, poles of confrontation and in Fabian’s (1893) term “the denial of coevalness”.

3.3.2.2.2.4. Social Deixis:

The deictic fabric uniting person, time and space would get loose unless the social deictic needle interweaves them all through social and relational threads. In other words, the social deictic reflects the relationship between discourse participants, time and place and how they construct the social communicative structures of discourse. According to Levinson (1989) social deixes are “those aspects of language structures that encode the social identities of participants (property, incumbents of participants roles) or the social relationship between them, or between one of them and persons and entities referred to” (p.89). In Pragmatics (Buhler 1934, Fillmore 1975, Levinson 1989), social deixes include elements as dis/honorifics, titles, intimacy markers and politeness expressions. This way, social deixis defines and maintains referential as well as relational functions of the language exchange

which help the discourse analyst expose inequality structures, submissive forms and control mechanisms hidden in the discursive practice.

3.3.2.2.2.5. Discourse Deixis

Discourse deixis is identified in Pragmatics as linguistic entities that are used to refer to large chunks of the communicative utterance. Levinson (1989) states that “discourse deixis has to do with the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance (which includes the text referring expression) is located.” (p.62). He argues that to refer to these portions, deictic expressions such as *this, that, the next chapter, the issue, what has been mentioned* are commonly used. Other discourse deixes include connectors like *in addition, however, furthermore, anyway* and *well*. These deictic markers help relate segments within the text itself to enhance cohesion and coherence and to provide points of reference to the addressee. Levinson (1989) warns us not to confuse discourse deixis with anaphoric references; he points out that:

anaphora concerns the use of (usually) a pronoun to refer to the same referent as some prior term [...] Anaphora can, of course, hold within sentences, across sentences, and cross turns at speaking in a dialogue. Deictic or other definite referring expressions are often used to introduce a referent, and anaphoric pronouns used to refer to the same entity thereafter. (p.85-90)

In any case, both reference markers, for Levinson, contribute to the charting of the exchange and act as keys to points of departure in the text.

Ultimately, deictic markers provide an insightful understanding into the constructs of reference in discourse. They unfold the interacting embedded components of discourse orientations, propositions and contexts giving the discourse analyst a lucid perception of who

says what to whom, when, where and how. Indeed, to fossilize deixis understanding, another pragmatics notion has to come into play; that of speech acts.

3.3.2.2.3. Speech Acts

Discourse is the interplay of symmetrical linguistic components belonging to the fields of Syntax, Semantics, Pragmatics, Phonology and Morphology and which are made at the language user's disposal to perform specific communicative functions. In the realm of Pragmatics, light is shed on these functions and how they are assigned meaning by participants in a given context. Practically, analysis of language functions and acts makes up the core focus of a major branch in pragmatics entitled Speech Acts Theory. First Initiated by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), Speech Acts Theory deals with the utterances a language user can produce and what they can do with them in a context. Austin contends that language utterances are not mono-functional entities; rather, they can perform myriads of pragmatically recognized purposes. Searle (1969) elucidates speech acts in his *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* as follows:

Speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises and so on, and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating, and secondly that these acts are in general made possible by and are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements. (p.16)

Austin (1962) identifies three essential types of speech acts: locution, perlocution and illocution. Locutionary acts cover the construction of meaningful linguistic elements of an utterance that can be reflected in a sentence with a denotative determinate reference and sense. Perlocutionary acts bring about the desired effect the speaker wants to have on the

addressee such as to inform, entertain, persuade, and frighten. Concerning Illocutionary acts, they refer to the intentional and functional social realization of the communicative utterance as in making order, giving advice, expressing promise. Additionally, speech acts are clearly realized through the illocutionary force of verbs; hence, Searle further divides these acts into five types according to the actions they perform. Representatives are acts which reflect the speaker's commitment of the truth of the utterance such as in assertions and conclusions. Declaratives acts convey an informative function which aims to introduce change to the communicative situation as in declaring wars, announcing orders and delivery verdicts. As for expressives, they are acts which reveal the speaker's psychological, emotional and attitudinal states for instance expressing apology, appreciation and regret. Commissives stand for acts of doing and future actions as in promises, offers and invitations. Regarding directives, they express acts which intend to make the addressee do something as in commands, orders and requests.

Major critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, Van Leen have focalized a great deal of their analysis on speech acts to reveal ideological constructs, inequality and power relations. Wodak (2009), for instance, stresses the significance of speech acts in understanding the embedded structures of a variety of discourse types such as the political one and maintains that it "involves a sequence of speech acts such as assertions, questions, or accusations, as well as conversational moves and strategies such as responding to critique, agreeing with members of your own party, refusing to be interrupted" (p.81). Similarly, in the discourse of newspaper, speech acts occupy a central position in understanding the construction of events, opinions and analysis where "the centrality of speech acts as events is borne out by the high density of speech act verbs in newspapers"(Fowler 1991). Hence, Fowler adds that "speech acts are integrally enmeshed with the systems of conventions that constitute a social and political world, and speech act

analysis offers critical linguistics a direct point of entry into some practices through which society's ideas and rules are constructed" (ibid). These speech acts, for Fairclough (1989), should not be de-contextualized from their social and inter-intrapersonal atmosphere and analyzed as pure linguistic elements. Along the same line, Cutting (2002) contends that:

Fairclough says that the idea of Speech acts, 'uttering as acting', is central to what he calls CLS (Critical Language Study). CLS 'analyses social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements', and how language affects and is affected by the system of social relationships.(p.119)

Accordingly, the mixture of social elements and linguistic ones should be scrutinized by discourse analysts as a step towards deciphering the socially constructed discursive practices and examining power manifestation.

3.3.2.3. Deconstruction

The study of linguistic constructs, and thus the making of meaning, witnessed a tremendous shift with the inauguration of the post-structuralist technique of undoing texts known as deconstruction. It is widely associated with the works of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida and essentially his (1967) *Of Grammatology*¹⁶; yet deconstruction finds its roots and comes as a reaction to Nietzsche's notion of truth, Saussurian structuralism, Freudian psychoanalysis and Husserl's phenomenology. Derrida confines his notion of deconstruction to the textual boundaries where no one true meaning exists and the unraveling of these possible meanings goes through breaking the text into its immediate linguistic (phonic, semiotic, semantic) constituents with an eye on their interplay within a particular context to yield a variety of meanings. In fact, defining deconstruction is as challenging as its core

¹⁶ It examines how speech and writing developed as forms of language and the relation between them.

conceptualization. Yet, Derrida and most scholars see it as a technique or reading and critiquing of texts. One of the possible delineations of deconstruction is put forward by Sbisa et al (2011):

Deconstruction is most easily defined in terms of what it is not: it is not a concept, program or system of philosophy. It is perhaps best defined as a strategy of reading, writing and analysis specifically aimed at the `textual unconscious`; that is to say, it works to bring to light aspects of textuality such as idealisms, paradoxes, contradictions, excesses and differences which are `repressed` or passed over in silence by the text, but which, at the same time, enable narratives, discourse and systems of thought- that is to say, texts- to be produced. (p.71)

Therefore, it is an analytical tool which examines the internal mechanisms of a text where words are meaningless unless they exist in a juxtaposed relation with each other. That is to say, a word gets its meaning not just from being a signifier of a signified; rather from being different from another word where both are governed by a specific context. In this sense, J.A Cuddon (2012) in his *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*) maintains that “If anything is destroyed in a deconstructive reading, it is not the text, but the claim to unequivocal domination of one mode of signifying over another. A deconstructive reading is a reading which analyses the specificity of a text's critical difference from itself.” It is this internal textual difference that gives the elements of the text sense and coexistence. For Derrida (1976) “there is nothing outside of the text”. He, similarly, contends that a text is the sum of some contradictions, paradoxes and binarisms such as man/woman, matter/form, theory/practice whose meaning is not meta-structural. Fundamentally, Derrida’s deconstruction is strongly premised upon the notion of differance. Sbisa (2011) defines differance as “the way in which any term is always different from itself; that is to say, is

partly constituted by what it is not. This means that identity is always sliding across a chain of signifiers and is therefore constantly deferred” (p.74). In this sense, meaning is no longer static and fixed, but it is engendered from interaction and negotiation among the text’s constituents.

Derrida’s sense of binary oppositions is produced within a hierarchal system of dominance between concepts. Dominant concepts present themselves as the real bearers of truth/meaning by defining themselves against weaker concepts whose meaning is deemphasized, excluded and squeezed. For instance, Derrida maintains that man is biologically and culturally seen as independent of and more powerful than woman. Hence, man is defined as not `being woman` where both words exist in a hierarchy of dominance that attributes to man “positive/ superior” distinctive qualities from the “negative” and “inferior” woman. In this context, asserts Derrida, deconstruction comes to play to expose this hierarchy of dominance and the fixity of binarisms as a step towards allowing a second reading; perhaps a bottom up reading which overturns the hierarchy and destabilizes our fixed structures of understanding. Derrida also suggests, here, reversing the binary opposition and analyzing the new possible meaning within the same structure to go beyond the subordination relation to examine how ideas are constructed and search for and accept other “floating” meanings. In the same vein, Derrida introduces the term *dissemination* as a key concept in deconstruction to account for the mobility of meaning across the linguistic structure. In an attempt to delineate the term dissemination E. Taylor and E. Winquist (2001) state that “ the conventional sense of the term, “to distribute, scatter about, diffuse”, suggests the process by which, in language, the meaning of any term or set of terms is distributed and diffused throughout the language system without ever coming to a final end” (p.103). Accordingly, meaning is no longer linear, predictable and prearranged. This imposes on the deconstructionist/ analyst to make a multidimensional investigation of the different layers and

constructs that host this multiplicity of meanings to unveil ideologies, hidden intentions and agendas. Derrida's deconstruction has also come up with interesting concepts such as *trace*, *text-margins*, *text-center*, *privileged elements* and *minor elements* whose influence is plain on the analysis of discourse.

The main tenets of deconstruction can be summarized in the following:

- ✓ Exploring specific tensions and instabilities within a text
- ✓ Questioning the priority of things which are set up as original, natural, and/or self-evident
- ✓ Charting how key terms, motifs, and characters are defined by binary oppositions within a text, how the oppositions are hierarchical (one term is prioritized and the other treated as derivative or subordinate), and demonstrating that these oppositions are unstable, reversible, and mutually dependent on one another
- ✓ Attending to how texts subvert, exceed or even overturn their author's stated purposes
- ✓ To examine the "rhetoricity" of a work, the reliance on rhetorical figures and figurative language

In effect, deconstructive analysis can be an effective tool within the general analytical frame of CDA. It also seeks to unearth what is embedded, overlooked, demoted and backgrounded in a discourse through a process of "destruction" and reconstruction. This way, the analyst is cable of identifying the excluded and marginalized "floating" meanings/constructs and bringing to light the obscured and disseminated forms of expression.

3.4. Summary

This section has accounted for and embraced several issues germane to the core study of this research. The prime aim of this section has been to put forward a definition of the term discourse and an explanation of what the field of discourse analysis brings under scrutiny. In

connection, it has delimited the scope of the critical study of discourse along with a focus on what differentiates it from discourse analysis. In addition, attention in this part has been drawn to the significance of major approaches to the study of critical discourse analysis mainly Systemic Functional Grammar, Pragmatics and Deconstruction as indisputably inherent areas to the construction, analysis and interpretation of discourse. The next section reviews and discusses the main issues, ideas and theories of one of the prominent types of discourse, particularly the discourse of media.

4. The Discourse of Media

4.1. 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 on 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 policy of privatizing this sector by breaking free from state-based and state-supported corporations. Rozell and D. Mayer (2008) point out that “control of information makes the official media more powerful. Nevertheless, resistance media developed simultaneously to challenge state-run propaganda” (pp.3-4). In any event, media, in all its forms, can be tools of control and have an inherent power to dominate and manipulate. As Paletz (1996) 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” (p.10). 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 are 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.

4.2. Media Studies and Media Discourse

Receiving and disseminating information and news have been revolutionized ever since the closing of the nineteenth century and on with the blooming of the newspaper industry, invention of the radio, the age of television and the booming of the Internet. These media tools aim to mediate and channel meaning to the mass receivers. M. Janowitz (1968) (cited in McQuail 2009) states that “Mass communication comprises the institutions and techniques by which specialized groups employ technological devices (Radio, TV, Press, films) to disseminate symbolic content to large heterogeneous and widely dispersed audiences”. The purposes of communicating or transmitting this mediated input vary from informing, entertaining, persuading, and mobilizing to educating, to name but a few. To this end, media rely on text, audio, video and image to cater for recipients’ preferable modes of `consumption`.

The emergence of a field of investigation that comprises, and frames media and mass communication interests became a necessity since the beginning of the twentieth century as an attempt to cope with and provide a better understanding of a fraught-with-events and fast-growing world. The label Media Studies became popularized in the mid-twentieth century and

it reframed the production of meaning, cultural identities and perceptual constructs through the deployment of a variety of communication tools. In effect, the delimitation of Media Studies' scope is quite challenging and requires meticulous scrutiny since the field is the offshoot of a heterogeneous multidisciplinary. Mitchell and Hamsen (2010) maintain that:

Media studies remain an amorphous enterprise, more of a loosely associated set of approaches than a unified field. One can find practitioners who apply statistical methods to analyze audience response to media content and others who focus on the political impact of media consolidation and deregulation. "Media studies" embraces researchers who study virtual reality environments, hypertext fiction, materialist anthropology and culture, the history of information theory, precinematic devices, the institution of print, and word frequency in Greek literature. Indeed, the circle could be expanded to embrace any practice involving material artifacts, which is to say, the vast majority of practices in the humanities and humanistic social sciences. We are, it seems, all practitioners of media studies, whether we recognize it or not. (p.xi)

In this sense, Media Studies derive its essence from the interplay between a myriad of areas of investigation ranging from Philosophy, Anthropology, Philology, Information Technology, Linguistics, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Communication Theory to mention but a few. Yet, a simplified definition of Media Studies can be found in media glossaries and well-known dictionaries. For instance, according to the Macmillan dictionary, media studies refer to the study of newspapers, television, advertising and their influence on society as an "educational subject". Hence, it established itself as an academic area of investigation across universities, institutes and schools with the aim of examining the correlation between media and mass communication and the economic, social, cultural and political realities in a

scientific and systematic manner of enquiry. Fourie (2007) identifies, among others, five main concerns Media Studies take at the heart of its examination:

- ✓ Nature and practices of the media as power institutions
- ✓ Political economy of the media
- ✓ Functions and effects of the media
- ✓ Media as producers and disseminators of meaning
- ✓ Nature of media audiences. (p.xx)

Fourie is aware that there exist other focal concerns of Media Studies, but he draws these ones from social sciences to cast light on how media affect and determine power relations, meaning making and communication processes.

Having consolidated its presence as a prominent field of enquiry, the study of media has also constructed a dominant powerful type of discourse. Incontrovertibly, tracing the boundaries of Media Discourse is exigent given its fuzzy edges and holistic scope of interest. Researchers in Media Studies postulate that the core focus of Media Discourse is inspired by Foucault's notions of discourse and institutions, Gramsci's hegemony, Fowler's understanding of power, Fairclough's and Van Dijk's theorization of Critical Discourse Analysis, Althusser's notion of state apparatus, developments in information technology, principles of argumentation and political theories, to cite but a few. Yet, attempts to demarcate Media Discourse have been initiated and two interesting definitions are formulated by O'Keeffe and Talbot. O'Keeffe (2011) argues that "Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer" (p.441). In this sense, Media Discourse's purpose is focalized on the transmission and mediation of specific input to a specific audience. Another insightful definition is exposed by Talbot (2007) where she states that:

Media discourse is a multidisciplinary field. In addition to extensive interest in media and cultural studies, it is the subject of scrutiny in linguistics-particularly conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, pragmatics and sociolinguistics- and also in cultural geography, psychology, sociology and tourism studies. (p.3)

Indeed, Media Discourse has rapidly gained ground and overridden other types of discourses given its richness and inherent interdisciplinarity which allow it to cover a wide range of interrelated or separate challenging issues like religion, identity, and propaganda.

The significant effect of Media Discourse is reflected in its influence on other types of discourses through a powerful combination of language, picture, audio and video. It, to a large extent, constructs frames and directs their modes of representation and conceptual references. Van Dijk (1985) points out that “media discourse reflects policies of media institutions and enters into the cultivation of conceptions.” (p.13). Therefore, most other types of discourses filter through Media Discourse and reach the consumer bearing media institutions’ and corporations’ agendas and ideologies. The ultimate objective of Media Discourse principally remains to influence the audiences’ attitudes and perceptions via the injection of a set of selected news, arguments and lines of reasoning. Other chief concerns that characterize Media Discourse are summarized by Schriffrin et al. (2008) in the following:

- ✓ The narrative or sociolinguistic elements that construct or underline news discourse.
- ✓ The implications of quotation and reported speech.
- ✓ The exercise of power, bias, and ideology in press.
- ✓ The effects of the media in perpetuating social imbalance, notably racism and immigration (the focus of the European researchers) and minority representation (the focus of US researchers).

- ✓ Key genres, including broadcast interviews.
- ✓ The role of the audience in terms of sociolinguistic news “design” (Bell 1984, 1991), reception. (Richardson 1998), discourse comprehension (Van Dijk 1987), and position within the media process (Cotter 1996a, 1996b, 1999a).
- ✓ Issues of production and process of newsgathering and writing. (p.419)

These areas of interest that guide Media Studies and Media Discourse are the outcomes of and framed by several approaches and theories that govern the underlying conceptions and principles of Mass Media. Practically, it is of paramount importance to cover some of these approaches and theories to fully grasp the complete picture of Media Studies as well as Media Discourse.

4.3. Approaching Media Discourse

Media Discourse, on account of the previously discussed contentions, is an enlightened upshot of a variety of overlapping approaches. In this respect, Fairclough (1995), in his *Media Discourse*, outlines some of the major approaches that nurture the conceptual framework of Media Discourse and Media Studies. These approaches primarily encompass linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis, Conversational analysis, Semiotic analysis, Critical linguistics and Social semiotics, Van Dijk’s social cognitive model, Cultural-generic analysis and Desiderata for a critical analysis of media discourse.

4.3.1. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Analysis

Linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis of Media Discourse focalize around language use and choice through the examination of specific grammatical forms, sentence structures and intonation as well as the social context within which the discursive pattern is produced. In probing into the underlying constructs of Media Discourse, Fairclough highlights the interplay between the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects or what he refers to as “form and texture” and how they inform the socio-cultural dimension of news media. In this context, a number of

linguistic and sociolinguistic analyses (Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1998) have examined how linguistic elements such as transitivity, modality, passivisation, nominalization and phonological items could reveal much about the latent social and cultural constructs of media discourse.

4.3.2. Conversational Analysis

Early research in Conversation Analysis (CA) was conducted by Emanuel Schegloff, Gail Jefferson and Harvey Sacks during the 1960s. They delineate its interest in the examination of processes and structures of social interaction incorporating the verbal and non-verbal aspects of every day talk. Fairclough (1995) maintains that CA:

shares with linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis strengths in the detailed description of organizational properties of media language. It extended the resources of descriptive linguistics through its analysis of the organization of interaction (turn-taking, topic-control, formulation, etc.).
(p.23)

Primarily, Fairclough emphasizes how investigating CA's structures and processes such as questioning, turn-taking, interruptions, assessments and reformulation helps inspect a major component of Media Discourse, interviews. To exposit, Fairclough cites the study of reformulation in interviews by Heritage (1985), Greatbatch (1986) and Hutchby (1991) and extracts the following excerpt:

INT: would you be happy to see Prince Charlges become King of Wales?

MAN: well, I couldn't I- you know I just couldn't care tuppence who comes King and who don't like (0.5)

INT: You don't think it makes any difference to you (my emphasis)

The interviewer's reformulation is used as a form of summary and strategy to expose implications and infuse suggestive presuppositions. This technical device remains an

important managerial strategy at the interviewer's disposal to direct and dominate media content.

4.3.2.1. Semiotic Analysis

Enlightened by Saussurian semiology, which examines linguistic sign systems, semiotics focuses on the study of signs as images, objects, musical sounds and gestures within a system of cultural conventions. In fact, Media Discourse, maintains Fairclough, is a fertile soil for semiotic analysis where the interplay of different signs is an inherent part of the general picture of media messages. In this type of analysis, the linguistic perspective is overshadowed and going beyond the linguistic form is recommended, and here, Fairclough (1995) mentions Hartley's (1982) study of news discourse to elaborate and postulate that:

analysis of visual codes attends to different modes of news presentation on television- the `talking head` (newsreader or correspondent looking directly at the camera), use of graphics and still photographs, various types of `actuality` or film report [...] as well as the framing of pictures, camera movements (pans zooms) and sequencing of shots. (p.24)

It is the choice of such semiotic items that is highly revelatory of Media Discourse's agendas and ideologies.

4.3.3. Critical Linguistics and Social Semiotics

Fowler et al. (1979), Kress and Hodge (1979) are the pioneers of Critical linguistics, which is a discourse analytical theory inspired by systemic linguistics. It applies systemic linguistic principles in the analysis of Media Discourse to look at issues such as representation, identity and social discrimination via the analysis of text's functions and processes along with grammatical and vocabulary choices. By means of illustration, Fairclough (1995) gives the following example:

On a BBC Radio 4 Today programme (11 March 1993) the following comment was made about ‘cheap’ Russian fish being ‘dumped’ on the British market: ‘the funny thing is it’s not transforming itself to the consumer at terribly low price at all’. This might have been worded as, for instance, ‘the dealers involved in this distribution of the fish are overcharging the consumer’, coding the pricing of the fish as an action process with a responsible agent (the dealers). Instead, we have the distribution of the fish coded with an action process verb (transfer) used reflexively, and the process of pricing is transformed into a state (at terribly low prices). Responsibility and agency are elided. (pp.25-26)

Also, critical linguistic analysis of Media Discourse, asserts Fairclough, unravels much about gender discrimination through a focus on vocabulary choices that can enhance the “classical” stereotypical images of women through the employment of categorizational lexical items and the overlook of others that can promote equality.

4.3.4. Van Dijk’s Social Cognitive Model

Van Dijk’s (1988a, 1988b, 1991) cognitive approach goes above the linguistic analysis of discourse to the investigation of the social representation and mental perceptions/dimensions of the discursive construct. Van Dijk contends that world knowledge along with the set of beliefs, culture and values of discourse participants are of paramount importance to the discourse analyst. Therefore, the analysis of discourse should incorporate ideologies, knowledge and attitudes of the participants in the manufacture of any discourse type. These discursive components determine the success of a discourse’s persuasiveness and cohesion. Indeed, Van Dijk’s approach is used in the analysis of news reports especially newspaper ones and, particularly, Fairclough draws our attention to the two prerequisite levels

of analysis on which Van Dijk constructs his whole approach, mainly micro and macro levels of inquiry. Fairclough (1995) maintains that:

Van Dijk's Framework analyses news texts in terms of what he calls the 'structures of news', processes of news production, processes of news comprehension. The analysis aims to show relationships between texts, production processes and comprehension processes, and between the 'macro' and 'micro' structures of news discourse. The former relates to the overall content of a text- its 'thematic' structure- and the overall form of a text- its 'schematic' structure. (p.29)

More light will be shed on this social-cognitive model in the methodology chapter.

4.3.5. Cultural-Generic Analysis

This approach draws on cultural studies and incorporates its aspects in the analysis of samples of media genres such as chat, interview, talk shows, radio broadcast and documentary. The aim of this approach is to identify cultural facets that are interwoven in media messages to expose issues germane to the construction of representation, public sphere, identity and audiences' personalities. Fairclough states that the analysis of culture generic takes into consideration narration, communicative ethos, interrogative and imperative clauses, pronouns and intertextuality, to cite but few. To exemplify, he mentions significant culture generic analytical studies by Montgomery (1988-1991), Goffman (1981), Labov (1972), Habermas (1989) and Scannel (1992). To capitalize on some of the characteristics of this approach, Fairclough (1995, p 31) points out that:

an important feature of this approach is that it simultaneously attends to interaction (and relational features of texts) and representation (see also Van Leeuwen 1993). It draws upon work by Goffman (1981) on how radio announces addresses audiences and the orientation in conversation

analysis towards the ongoing accomplishment of social relationships in talk, as well as a Hallidayan Multifunctional view of text (see Mancini 1988,p.69).

Such analysis tries also to account for cultural individualism, reflexivity and meta-discursive personalities of media discourse participants in a variety of media genres.

4.3.6. Desiderata for a Critical Analysis of Media Discourse

At the end of his collection of germane approaches to the analysis of media discourse, Fairclough suggests a very rich and holistic list of appropriate critical analytical steps that would help complement the framework of media analysis. He lists them as follows:

1. One focus of analysis should be on how wider changes in society and culture are manifest in changing media discourse practices. The selection of data should correspondingly reflect areas of variability and instability as well as areas of stability. (Cultural- generic analysis. Compare conversation analysis, critical linguistic, social cognitive analysis.)
2. The analysis of media texts should include detailed attention to the language and 'texture' (compare linguistically oriented approach with semiotics). It should also include detailed analysis of visual image and sound effects (compare semiotics and social with the other approaches.)
3. Text analysis should be complemented by analysis of practices of text production and text consumption (compare social- cognitive analysis with the other approaches), including transformations which texts regularly undergo across networks of discourse practices (compare critical linguistics and social-cognitive analysis with other approaches).
4. Analysis of texts and practices should be mapped on to analysis of the institutional and wider social and cultural context of media practices, including relations of power

and ideologies (compare semiotic analysis, critical linguistics and cultural-generic analysis with linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis and with conversation analysis).

5. Text analysis should include linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis in terms of genres and discourses. It should be recognized that texts are commonly hybrid intertextually with mixtures of genres and discourses, and that such hybridity is manifest in heterogeneous linguistic features. (Compare cultural-generic analysis and social semiotics with other approaches.)
6. Linguistic analysis of texts should be conceived multifunctionally and be oriented towards representation and the constitution of relations and identities as simultaneous processes in texts, and the important relationships between them. (Compare cultural-generic analysis and, to a degree, critical linguistics with other approaches.)
7. Linguistic analysis of texts involves analysis at a number of levels, including phonic, lexical, grammatical, and macrostructural/ schematic. (Compare social- cognitive analysis with conversation analysis with critical linguistics.)
8. The relationship between texts and society/ culture is to be seen dialectically. Texts are socioculturally shaped, but they also constitute society and culture, in ways which may be transformative as well as reproductive. (Compare more recent with earlier critical approaches.) (p.33)

These approaches to Media Discourse need to be coupled with the main theories that guide the conceptual framework from which Media Discourse obtains its principles, concepts and referential modes. In the literature, two key distinguishable theories of media can be identified, mainly Needle Hypodermic and Uses and Gratification theories.

4.4. Theories of Media

4.4.1. Needle Hypodermic Theory

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable bloom in media particularly in press, radio and cinema given the abundant and rapid economic, political and social changes. Events as world war I and II as well as the Great Depression provided a golden opportunity for the flourishing of media's widespread dominance and control over the audiences' minds and behaviors. Within this impetus, a variety of researches were conducted within Media Studies to provide an understanding into how media affect and shape attitudes. The initial explanations originated and sprang from what came to be labeled as the Hypodermic Needle Theory or the Magic Bullet Theory which assumes that media inject messages through the audiences' veins or shoot bullets/ideas at their minds with the aim of arising desired emotions, triggering predictable behaviors and homogenizing collective reactions (McQueen 1998). Similarly, J. Kirsh (2010) states that within this theory "media is like a hypodermic needle injecting its messages into consumers or magic bullet that upon hitting its target creates uniformity in thought and action." (p.27). Some of the major advocates of this theory are Harold Kaswell and Herbert Blumer in America and the German Frankfurt School members Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer who studied how media affected the minds and behaviors of the audiences and came to conclusions that within this theory the audience is an enslaved passive sitting duck who consume without questioning.

The Hypodermic Needle Theory is influenced by a behaviorist principle of stimulus-response and best serves the states' and ruling regimes' agendas through diffusing strong propagandas to orient the masses towards desired ends. In describing how propaganda operates within this theory Lasswell (1927) (pp.220–221) maintains that:

In the Great Society it is no longer possible to fuse the waywardness of individuals in the furnace of the war dance; a newer and subtler

instrument must weld thousands and even millions of human beings into one amalgamated mass of hate and will and hope. A new flame must burn out the canker of dissent and temper the steel of bellicose enthusiasm. The name of this new hammer and anvil of social solidarity is propaganda.” (cited in Baran and Dennis 2009, p 78).

In the same way, Adorno and Horkheimer (1970s) argue that via the deployment of propaganda, advertisement and selected news the Hypodermic Needle Theory entitles companies and governments to control the audience since, they believe, the message being transmitted is transparent, the meaning is fixed and defined by the sender and the audience is a powerless passive receiver of meaning. Along with other pillars of the Frankfurt school, both scholars highlight the concept of ‘culture industry’ which reflects the process of popular culture production through mass media. They contend that audiences refrain from questioning media content and incline towards absorbing it which entitles popular culture to enhance social conformity (cited in Etherington-wright and Doughty 2011, p.86). The most germane exemplar of the successful realization of this theory is manifested in Hitler’s monopolization of the German media during World War II to achieve a collective mobilization and support from the German people for his actions.

The aim behind the Hypodermic Needle Theory was seriously questioned and challenged by many scholars such as Lazarsfeld (1948), Gramsci (1971) and Hall (1973). Gramsci maintains that the hypodermic needle model is nothing but a means for the reproduction and encoding of dominant ideologies and representations that serve elitist and ruling classes. By injecting those ideologies and modes of representation, media owners, adds Gramsci, homogenize the audience as a first step towards the exercise of hegemony. This, indeed, conforms to Althusser’s (1970) idea of repressive state apparatus’s domination of the lower classes via a totalizing, submissive and ideologically loaded Media Discourse that

renders them into reflexive inactive consumers. Within the same frame, Althusser introduces the concept of interpellation to account for media control. This notion, he explains, describes the audiences' uncritical consumption of a certain media product which interpellates them into certain claims and assumptions and pushes them to adopt the transmitted worldview. Equally, Hall (1973) levels considerable criticism against the Hypodermic Needle Theory while studying media reception. He stresses that meaning is negotiable and unstable, and that the audience is not a passive helpless consumer of meaning. In his 1973 seminal essay *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*, Hall criticizes the traditional linear model of communication sender/message/receiver. He adds that (1973):

It is also possible (and useful) to think of this process in terms of a structure produced and sustained through the articulation of linked but distinctive moments - production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction. This would be to think of the process as a complex structure in dominance', sustained through the articulation of connected practices, each of which, however, retains its distinctiveness and has its own specific modality, its own forms and conditions of existence. This second approach, homologous to that which forms the skeleton of commodity production offered in Marx's *Grundrisse* and in *Capital*, has the added advantage of bringing out more sharply how a continuous circuit -production-distribution-production - can be sustained through a 'passage offorms'.¹ It also highlights the specificity of the forms in which the product of the process 'appears' in each moment, and thus what distinguishes discursive' production' from other types of production in our society and in modern media systems. (p.5)

The model proposed by Hall equips the audience with an effective process of decoding that allows them negotiation, dissection and acceptance or refusal of the transmitted message/meaning. Thus, being challenged this much, the need for a new transcendental approach to media, especially with the growing international events and developments in the field itself, has become a necessity and the glitter of the Hypodermic Needle Theory started to extinguish. In this context, the birth of the Uses and Gratification Theory attracted considerable attention and sparked discussions.

4.4.2. Uses and Gratification Theory

Originated in the 1940s, Uses and Gratification Theory came as a response to the breast feeding and dominant model of the Hypodermic Needle Theory. Theorist as Lazarsfeld (1948), Katz, Blumler, Gurevitch (1974) and McQuail (1983) laid the foundations of how audiences select and choose media content that would gratify their needs. In this sense, this theory is audience-centered which allows more room for freedom of choice and an outlet from the enslavement of the monopolizing discourse(s) imposed by some media. Balnaves (2009) et al maintain that:

A fundamental assumption of uses and gratification theory is that mass media audiences are not composed of passive individuals who are operated on by media stimuli, as in the basic stimulus-response model. Rather, they exercise freedom in their use of media. One theory is that they use the media most useful to them. Another is that they use the media because they have a motivation to do so. A third is that they use media as part of an effort to remain impervious to influence. But it is fundamental to the theory that media use is goal directed. It is assumed we use the media to satisfy specific needs and that we select particular media and particular content to satisfy those needs. These needs are

determined by our social environment, which includes our age, sex, marital status, group affiliations and personality. (pp.68-69)

This way, media content is seen as an unfixed open-to-myrriads of interpretations discourse by audiences who, at the same time, are considered free and active consumers rather than sitting ducks. This theory addresses what the audience does with the media rather than what the media do to the audience. Danesi points out that “according to this theory, the audience views the media as a self-confirmatory way. Thus, certain items in a representation are selected either because they provide entertainment or because they satisfy some needs.”(2009, p.296). By the same token, the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies, spearheaded by Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, focalizes its approach to media around the audience activeness and freewill within an interdisciplinary framework which embraces sociological, Marxist, cultural and post-structuralism dimensions. Here, Bolin (2011) asserts that:

another wave of active audience theory can be said to have been born from within British Cultural Studies, in the wake of Raymond Williams’s (1961/1965) work on the analysis of culture as a `whole way of life`, and Richard Hoggart’s (1957/1958f) work on working class cultures in Britain. Following from this interest in `our common life together`, as Williams put it, was also an intensified focus on media contents that the working classes enjoyed, and a will to literally take popular culture seriously. (p.69)

Hall goes beyond satisfying needs and gratifying desires of the audience to emphasizing the significance of reception and interpretation as key concepts in decoding media contents which, he contends, automatically influence the audience’s representational and perceptual frames. He argues that:

Before this message can have an 'effect' (however defined), satisfy a 'need' or be put to a 'use', it must first be appropriated as a meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded. It is this set of decoded meanings, which 'have an effect', influence, entertain, instruct or persuade, with very complex perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioral consequences. In a 'determinate' moment the structure employs a code and yields a 'message': at another determinate moment the 'message', via its decodings, issues into the structure of social practices. We are now fully aware that this reentry into the practices of audience reception and 'use' cannot be understood in simple behavioural terms. The typical processes identified in positivistic research on isolated elements - effects, uses, 'gratifications' - are themselves framed by structures of understanding, as well as being produced by social and economic relations, which shape their 'realization' at the reception end of the chain and which permit the meanings signified in the discourse to be transposed into practice or consciousness (to acquire social use value or political effectivity). (1980, p 93)

In fact, the flourishing of Uses and Gratification theory is supported by the increasing role media started to play in voicing people's points of views and concerns especially with the rise of emancipation and freedom movements, human rights and freedom of expression in an age of the Internet and globalized media. With the elapse of time, mass media continue to influence people and shape their mindsets and worldviews, each type in its special manner. Major dominant media such as TV, radio and Internet occupy a significant space and scope within the media industry, affect and reach to the audience and seem to overshadow other

types of media. Nevertheless, the e.newspaper remains a strong pillar of mass media which has survived, resisted and adapted to the developments and changes the history of mass media has witnessed. Clearly one of the challenges the newspaper faced is the dying out of the hardcopy and rise of the electronic version in the age of internet and technology. More than that, the whole newspaper industry had to undergo the harsh effects of the spread of pandemics such as Covid19. Such circumstances strengthened the position of the soft/electronic copy and gave it more durability.

4.5. The Discourse of Newspaper

From the early Greek cave carvings, as a means of public informing, through Gutenberg's invention of the printing press and up to the digital age, the newspaper has substantially established itself as a major means for information and contributed to the spread of news simultaneously undergoing considerable changes and developments. It has struggled to maintain its attraction via the variety of its sectioned contents, designs and layouts, style and analysis and the move from paper to digital form to keep up with a fast-paced hectic world. In highlighting the paramount weight of newspapers, Walravens (2008) states that:

the importance of newspapers as a resource for scholars and researchers cannot be underestimated. Even in this time of media proliferation, the newspaper is still a very important medium [...] as a resource for scholar and researcher, no form of public records captures the day to day life of the community and citizens better than the local newspaper. (p.9)

In effect, the newspaper has been the focus of plenty of research areas as in Linguistics, Sociology, Journalism, Sociolinguistics and Education which all attempt to explore its linguistic and semiotic content to explain social and philosophical phenomena. Within the area of Critical Discourse Analysis, studies of power, inequality and social

practices in newspapers' discourse have extensively been conducted. Richardson (2007, p.2)

Points out that:

given the power and significance of news journalism to contemporary society, it should come as no surprise that the discourse of newspapers has been, and continues to be, scrutinized (Fairclough,1995a; Fowler et al, 1979; Richardson, 2001a, 2004; Richardson and Franklin, 2004; van Dijk, 1991).

Newspapers' scope of function is generally focused on providing information, advertising, entertaining and interpreting events. Danesi (2013) puts it in more plain words and states that:

newspapers have always provided a platform for debating, showcasing, and critiquing public figures and issues. But they are also entertainment, advertising, and pure information texts. With their comics sections, puzzle pages, sports sections, classified information, entertainment news, book and movie reviews, they constitute what can be called 'collage texts' that are not read as narratives, but as collages, that is, as assemblages of items that nonetheless create a whole

This "collage" is rather a specific world view that is guided by the newspaper's ideology and agenda which determine what to be highlighted and what to be shadowed and the news to be added in and the one left out.

The discourse and structure of newspaper is particularly distinguishable with special specificities and identifiable traits. The newspaper is structured around a cataloged set of recurrent genres such as news reports, editorials, opinion articles, reviews, weather forecasts, commercial advertisements and entertainments. Some of these genres are presented with the

help of or in accompaniment with some pertinent elements that are meant to aid the reader delve into the newspaper content. These elements are presented in the following table:

Element	Function
Anchor	A soft secondary news story written at the bottom of the front page
Headline	The title of a news report usually summarizing the main ideas and written in bold to catch attention.
Column	An eight or six vertical lined division of newspaper page. It can be written weekly or fortnightly by a journalist or specialist.
Caption	A sentence written below a photograph used to describe or identify its content. (it is also called a cutline)
Editorial	An article usually written by the editor to give the newspaper opinion on special issues.
Deck	A line of each newspaper headline
Copy	The words contained in a newspaper
Banner	A headline that runs across the top of the page (it is also called streamer)
Classifieds	Ads that are written in small type usually paid for according to the number of words.
Dateline	A line that covers the location and date of a news story
Infographic	It is a form of art where photographs, illustrations, graphs and charts are used with words to present a news story.
Byline	Name of the reporter or story writer. Sometimes a news agency can be a byline.
Kicker	The small headline written above or below the main headline (it is also called the shoulder)
Box	A story framed in four-sided lines (it is also called panel)
Lead	The first paragraph of a news story that usually answer the W-H words (what, where, who, why, when and how).
Teaser	A box on the top of the front page which announces interesting news that occurs inside the newspaper.
Masthead	The top of the page part which contains the title of the newspaper, issue number and date of publication.
Hard news	Important and interesting news about main events based on facts and evidence.
In-depth reporting	Critical analysis and consideration of a news story
Analytical reporting	A type of reporting that provides along with information analysis as well as recommendations about major events and issues.

Table 8: Elements of recurrent genres of newspapers (Adapted from Lorrie Lynch's (2013) *Exploring Journalism and the Media*)

News reports and articles are the prototypical genres of newspaper content. They usually follow the structure of headline, lead and main body, which is characterized by a factual, short and interconnected narrative of hard news as in political and social issues. In the realm of journalism, these types of articles, including editorials, are constructed following the inverted pyramid structure where most important news/information is foregrounded

responding to the W-H question words, succeeded by secondary details and concluded by minor news. Evidently put, Dwyer (2013) explains that:

The inverted pyramid sequence directs the user to the most relevant information first by placing it above the page fold. The above the page fold content is the lead or critical information that must be conveyed to enable the user to understand the message. The secondary information reveals in order of importance additional facts and details. While helpful, secondary information is not critical: the user can still understand the most important part of the message without the secondary information. The minor or least important details are not necessary for comprehension of the message but are there for the benefit of the most interested users. (p.578)

This form of news presentation coheres with Halliday's (1994) theme-rheme duality in which not only the comments are linked to and interwoven with the preceding clauses and sentences, but they also largely refer to the lead and headlines establishing a harmonious and a whole text hyper-theme/macro-theme. The inverted pyramid, sometimes called bottom-up structure, looks like the following:

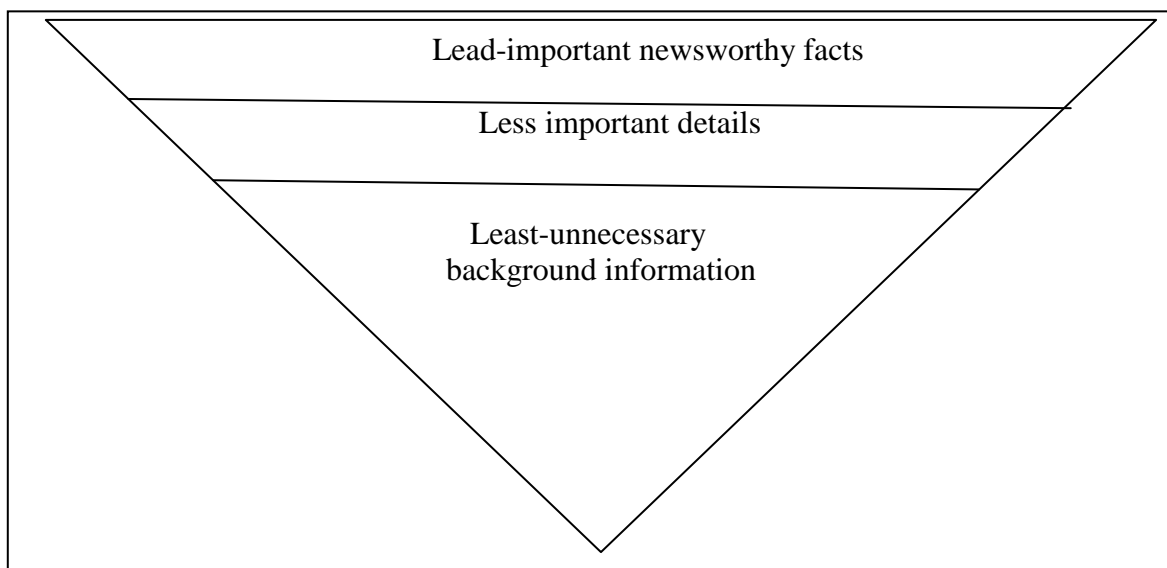


Figure 2: The inverted pyramid (Nolan 1989)

The amalgamation of the afore-discussed newspaper discourse characteristics helps this type of discourse transcend the informative function of playing manipulative and controlling roles. Indeed, the linguistic features of newspaper discourse are ideologically loaded and serve particular agendas and usually, as in media discourse at large, operate within Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing models of media theoretical analysis. These prominent models have their roots in the prolific research within the confinements of Cognitive Media¹⁷ as well as the noticeable development in studies of media effects on public attitudes and conceptualization of audience opinion. Attributed to the works of Donald Shaw and Maxwell McCombs (1972), Agenda Setting is rested on the premise that since media is the main source of information, it determines what the audience will consider newsworthy, accept as facts and eternalize points of views. F. Eadie (2009) maintains that “the main idea behind agenda setting is that the issues that the media deem salient will influence what the public in turn deems salient” (p.516). Put differently, Agenda Setting believes that media tells the audience what and how to think about a particular issue or topic , which is already deemed salient by the media itself, and select the frames from which news stories have to be approached, McCombs (1992). In the same vein, Priming is logically linked to and extends from Agenda Setting and it is ascribed to the political science works advocated by Donald R. Kinder and Mark Peters (1982). It addresses media’s prioritizing and priming of issues according to its standards and agendas which are presented to the audience in a hierarchical order of importance; this accounts for the amount of time and space allocated to news stories, for instance. On the other hand, Framing, initiated by Eving Goffman (1974), has gone a bit beyond Priming in the sense that it puts the selected issues within a frame of interpretation that helps it place the audience in a particular framework for perceiving things. This way, Framing, according to Kupers (2002), “is the process whereby communicators act to construct

¹⁷ It focuses on employing cognitive computing technologies to cater for the consumer’s needs by making the media output more personalized, meaningful and rich.

a particular point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed (or ignored) in a particular manner, with some facts made more noticeable than others.” (p.7). It is also a contextualization of news in a focused environment where the audience is impacted by the frame and led to interpret and evaluate accordingly. Lucidly maintained, Entman (1993) argues that:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (p.52)

Probing into the workings of these models entitles a deeper understanding of Media Discourse at large and newspaper one in particular. These models, along with the afore-discussed theoretical foundations of newspaper discourse are reflected and put into practice through the linguistic/discursive components analysis that furnish and characterize newspaper language. Some of these linguistic/discursive elements have been discussed in the previous section and more are presented in the following table:

Metaphor	Comparison
Irony	Humour
Sentence structure	Implicature
Person Deixis	Rhetorical questions
Intertextuality	Speech Acts
Fallacies	Logos, Ethos, Pathos
Passivisation	Lexicalization
Modality	Vagueness
Anaphora-cataphora-exophora	Proverb
Narrative type	Presupposition

Table 9: Linguistic/discursive elements

Some of these linguistic/discursive devices and others are also discussed in detail in the methodology chapter which presents the analytical tool we intend to apply so as to unveil the representational constructs embedded in the discourse of the newspapers under study about the Arab Spring. Certainly, the most interesting and world-shaking topic of the second decade of the twenty first century that busied not only world media, but also all the fields of analysis is the Arab Spring. Such a fertile and rich topic provided media with a golden opportunity to not only disseminate information, but also use its entangled issues/news to manipulate audiences' mind and direct the course of actions. Thus, the next section in this chapter is devoted to a holistic overview of the Arab Spring.

4.6. Summary

The core focus of this section has been the delineation of a rich area as Media Studies as well as the understanding of the underlying principles of Media Discourse. Approaches to media discourse, theories of media and the discourse of newspaper have made up the backbone of this section. Next, outlining some of the most pertinent approaches and theories of media discourse has been carried out to provide a more theoretical background. Practically, this section has encompassed a discussion on the discourse of newspaper as the backbone and focus of this thesis. The following section is dedicated to discussing one of the earthshaking events in the twenty first century which has captivated and occupied all the international mass media, the Arab Spring.

5. The Arab Spring

5.1. 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 problematized 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.

5.2. A Holistic View

In fact, the whole circumstances and repercussions of the Arab Spring are challengingly unattainable given the rich and interlaced nature of the events. Yet, an approachable account of the main events and the underlying workings of the Arab Spring is accessible in some of the significant and pertinent books written about this colossal event. A

good sample of these books is James L. Gelvin's (2015) *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know* and Tarik Ramadan's (2011) *Islam and the Arab Awakening*.

The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know is James L. Gelvin's perceptive eye on the unprecedented events sweeping the Arab world since Tunisia's Bouazizi set himself on fire late in 2010. This book provides a savvy political and historical analysis of events dominating the postcolonial Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region during the "surprise" revolutions. Using question-answer format, Gelvin craftily unravels the causes, impacts, economic situations, outside interventions, political atmospheres, historical backgrounds and social climates governing the MENA region. His informative, thorough and lucid style lays bare before the reader all the indispensable information needed to fully grasp the nature of these revolutions with a critical analytical approach. As an expert in the field, Gelvin divides his book into five comprehensive chapters assigning each a relevant precise bulk of information he deems essential for the gradual understanding of what underlies the uprisings. Interestingly, each chapter is organized into a set of questions, Gelvin expects the reader to ask, followed by detailed and analytical answers.

Entitled *A Revolution Wave*, the first chapter is organized into a preliminary set of questions that aim to describe the state of the Arab World on the eve of the awakening. He begins by defining the Arab World as a geographical and cultural entity with a special indication to the heterogeneous divisions in religion (Sunni vs Shi'is Muslims), language (Arabic vs Amazigh) and ethnicity (Arab vs Kurd vs Amazigh). However, he insists, the Arabs could still identify with one another given their long-shared history, religion, school systems and most recently media corporations, which explains how other Arab countries caught fire from the first uprising in Tunisia. Gelvin also refers to the Regional Bureau for Arab States of the United Nations Development Program's report to describe the political, economic and social characteristics pertinent to all Arab countries which helped ignite the

torch of revolution. Further, the writer poses a crucial question: why have authoritarian governments been so common in the Arab world? A question for which he provides two reasons/answers “the first has to do with the Arab state’s control over resources, the second with American foreign policy” (p.8). In fact, Gelvin emphasizes that the unfair distribution of wealth and promises in the wind given by ruling regimes coupled with human rights abuses and the iron fist of the states accelerated the pouring of people into streets.

The second chapter of the book is devoted to the cradle of the revolutions, Tunisia, and the first path follower, Egypt. At the first glance, Tunisia and Egypt seem to have less in common than what may unite them in the process of uprising. Though, Gelvin stresses, they differ at the levels of geography, demography, economic strength and access to education, both countries share several characteristics such as religious homogeneity, neoliberal reforms, adoption of European governance systems and, hence, solid state structures. Another common feature to both countries is the post-independence long standing autocracies, Bourguiba and Ben Ali in Tunisia and Nassar, Sadat and Mubarak in Egypt. These autocracies strengthened, though differently, their regimes and smothered any attempt for change opening wide doors for corruption, injustice and oppression. As expected, the carrot and stick policy in dealing with people’s demands for change has fallen the day of Bouazizi’s wares confiscation and, consequently, self-immolation; an event that would set fire in the straw of most Arab countries. Bouazizi’s suicide ignited unrest throughout all Tunisia lifting people’s demands high from economy and freedom reform to the fall of the state’s head. Tunisian peaceful demonstrations and successful regime overthrow, Gelvin postulates, would inspire Egyptians to take to the streets to bring down Mubarak. These demonstrations and the Arab uprisings whole intentions would not, insists the writer, see light without the undeniable contribution of social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Yet, he points out that “social media certainly played a role in the uprisings, but they did not cause the uprisings” (p 57). Thanks, he goes

on, should also go to the long fighting civil associations and different political movements. What further draws Gelvin's attention is the peacefulness and nonviolent acts of protests demonstrators resorted to in both countries. Protesters gathering in front of the ministry of interior in Tunis or in the Tahrir Square in Cairo showed a high sense of self restraint and patience in the face of the violent interventions by the police forces. The peacefulness of the demonstrations is also reflected in the slogans raised such as "Salmiya" "peaceful" (p.57). Indeed, the peacefulness of the demonstrations is good reason for the armies not to put down the uprisings, which is another characteristic both countries had in common. Neither in Tunisia nor in Egypt, the armies held their fire against the protesters' chests, unlike police forces; a fact Gelvin relates to the symbolic state and role the army enjoys in people's collective consciousness as a source of unity and independence. Both armies, stresses Gelvin, have deep roots in the states' structures and systems which justify the army's sustenance of the state's institutions from total fall; perhaps as a step towards regaining power just like what happened in Egypt. A military coup took place in Egypt after the worldly acclaimed free elections bringing the Muslim Brotherhood president Mohamed Mourssi to power; which is not the case for Nahda party in Tunisia, though it faced strong opposition from inside and outside. The Islamist groups' / parties' incapability of ruling is further discussed by Gelvin who asserts that national and international geopolitical and economic factors were to serve the stumbling block of the Islamist regimes in these two countries.

Unlike Tunisia and Egypt, Libya and Yemen failed to build modern states institutions ever since independence. In the book's second chapter, the writer tackles in depth the situation in both countries before the uprisings. The two longest ruling presidents in the Arab world, Muammar Qaddafi of Libya and Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen stifled, maintains Gelvin, "civic and economic life lorded it over states they treated as their personal fiefdoms" (P 86). Such climate is suitable for corruption and despotism guaranteeing both rulers the

room to tighten their iron fists on their states' structures. This is made possible through their heavy dependence on security forces and agencies which suffocated peoples' life. More than that, both rulers took advantage of the tribal nature and religious divisions in Libya and Yemen to enhance their philosophy of divide and rule. This pushed Gelvin to categorize these two countries into what political scientists define as "weak states". Drawing on political sciences, the writer points out that "normal states exhibit three characteristics: a territory, a functioning government and bureaucracy that rules over the entirety of the territory, and a national identity" (p 93).

In the same vein, Gelvin adds that there are four main factors which contribute to the weakness of both countries; these include geographic variety, short history of institutional state, leaders' choices as well as the abundance of oil. As a result, this weakness of both states would bear a great effect on the aftermaths of the uprisings where, unlike Tunisia and Egypt, Libya and Yemen fell into chaos due to the absence of a unifying and autonomous military. Unfortunately, both countries sank into bloody civil wars which were sometimes even fueled by the hiring of mercenaries like in the case of Libya. The intense bloodshed and especially the use of air raids on civilians and demonstrators obliged the West to interfere in the form of NATO. Such intervention brought Quaddafi's regime down leaving Libyans in a hot struggle for power; whereas the Yemeni regime of Saleh managed to but at the expense of civil war that is still going on. Significantly, the chaotic state of both countries, insists Gelvin, made them vulnerable becoming in the process backdrops for extremist groups such as Al Qaida. The West's late intervention and "soft" approach to the situation in both Libya and Yemen have taught them a lesson which is to intervene as soon as the revolution broke out in Syria.

The Syrian uprising is extensively discussed, along with the aborted rebellion in Bahrain, in chapter three. At first glance, the writer states that both Syria and Bahrain differ at various levels mainly geography, demography, economy and foreign alliances. Indeed, Syria

possesses larger geographic space and population than the tiny archipelago of Bahrain. Yet, the tiny and less populated Bahrain benefits from the welfare provided by the abundant oil availability leaving Syria lagging with a poor economy which relies mainly on agriculture. More than that, both countries differ even in their allegiance to great powers since Syria is a strong ally of Russia and Bahrain is one of the back gardens of USA in the Middle East. Regardless of these dissimilarities, Gelvin highlights a number of factors that explain why the uprisings in both countries would follow the same path. The writer points out that these factors are “the heterogeneity of the two countries and their rule by members of religious minorities, on the one hand, and the strategies their rulers used to stay in power, on the other” (p 118). Religiously, almost three quarters of Bahraini population is Shi’i and the same number in Syria but this time of Sunni. Unjustly, both minorities, Sunni in Bahrain and Alawites in Syria, tighten their fist on the reign and government leaving minorities in the swamp of injustice, discrimination, lack of government services and joblessness. The other similar aspect between both countries, stresses Gelvin, is how rulers claim their legitimacy through enhancing ethnic and religious minorities and by demonizing the majority group and presenting it as a threat to the minorities’ interests. Rulers went further by using blackmails, conspiracies and even militarizing these minorities as it is the case in Syria to defend the regime against falling. In the same vein, Gelvin contends that, in order to fortify their systems from within, both regimes resort to what he calls “coup-proofing”. Coup-proofing, maintains Gelvin (2015):

Involves a series of steps a leader might take in order to protect himself. In Bahrain and Syria (and Saddam Hussein’s Iraq and elsewhere), it centered on two processes: distribution of “coup-critical positions” to trusted members of family and religious sect, and the creation of armed

forces parallel to the regular military along with multiple security agencies having overlapping jurisdiction (p 120).

The use of Coup-proofing, along with other factors, greatly affected the course of actions and the end of the uprisings. Bahrain succeeded in aborting the uprising with the help of the neighboring gulf countries' Al Jazeera Shield army, in spite of the desperate interference of Iran to fuel the revolution. As for Syria, coup-proofing is coupled with the military intervention of the allies Russia and Hizb Allah militia to prolong regimes' days at the expense of heavy civilian losses turning the country into a muddy swamp of not only civil war, but also foreign greed. Unfortunately, the chaotic situation in Syria provided a fertile soil for the emergence of extremist groups such as Noursra and Islamic State. The Syrian revolution casted gloomy shadows not only on the country itself, but also on the whole region and perhaps the world at large through becoming a safe haven to the Islamic State.

Having discussed the main uprisings and their repercussions, *The Arab Uprisings What Everyone Needs to Know* ends with an interesting chapter. Entitled *The Regional and Global Meanings of the Arab Uprisings*, the last chapter tackles significant issues such as uprisings in Arab monarchies, the role of gulf monarchies in igniting uprisings elsewhere, the US power and reaction to the uprisings, the impact of the uprisings on AL- Qaeda, the spread of the uprisings beyond Arab borders and the conclusions drawn from the Arab uprisings. In referring to Arab monarchies, Gelvin notes that most dynasties were created and protected by imperial powers given their strategic territorial locations or profusion of natural resources such as oil and gas. Thus, rebels in these countries asked for reform from within the system instead of its total overthrow. More than that, the writer believes that some monarchies, especially gulf ones, moved from arranging their home affairs into interfering and affecting the course of action in other boiling Arab countries. He gives the example of Qatar's based news agency, Al Jazeera channel, in spreading and directing the uprisings. He also mentions

how Saudi Arabia affected actions in Yemen through brokering the deal of Ali Abdullah Saleh's retreat. Saudi Arabia also was responsible for smothering the uprising in Bahrain through sending the Al Jazeera Shield. Similarly, Qatar is accused of supporting the Syrian rebels. The growing power of such gulf countries, maintains Gelvin, has somehow overshadowed the US role in the region. The writer points out that "the United States could not do or did nothing to prevent the overthrow of allied strongmen and wields little influence in the messy Syrian situation" (p164). The US failure at solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the American people's weariness of waging wars in the region have weakened its strong hold over the Middle East giving room for the dominance of regional players as Iran and Saudi Arabia. The writer also sees that the Arab uprisings have weakened other forces, apart from the USA, namely Al Qaeda. He argues that:

The outbreak of the uprisings demonstrated that AL Qaeda's message had fallen on deaf ears in the Arab world. ideologues associated with the organization had argued for years that removing local autocrats- the "near enemy"- did not matter so long as the Crusader-Zionist conspiracy- the "far enemy"- still controlled the world and warred against Islam. Protestors in the Arab world clearly did not listen and even scored successes by taking the near enemy (p 172).

These successes accomplished by Arab demonstrators have inspired other nations to follow the Arabs peaceful style of "occupy movements". Angry protestors against their countries' austerity measures, authoritarianism or injustice have been instigated by the occupation of Tahrir Square in Egypt or the Pearl rotary in Bahrain to voice their needs and sufferings. In fact, the inspiring essence of the Arab Uprisings has pushed the writer to list main conclusions that can be drawn from this still unfolding event. Some of these conclusions, Gelvin stresses, are the predictability nature of the event itself, the significance

of the nation-state in the Arab world, the overblown role of media and underappreciated contribution of economies in the making of the Arab uprisings, the spontaneity and leaderlessness of the uprisings and the neoliberal policies' fueling of rebellions.

The investigation of the main social, political and geostrategic changes brought about to North Africa and the Middle East during the Arab Spring is further thoroughly undergone by Tarik Ramadan. In his (2011) book *Islam and the Arab Awakening*, the writer elaborates on the uprisings' origins, significance and future implications for the history of the whole region of the Middle East and North Africa. Ramadan's focal contention revolves around the state and role of Islam in the middle of the hard travail the Arab-Muslim world is undergoing. To clearly outline his arguments, the author divides the book into four parts along with a long article-based appendix. The parts at hand are further subdivided into subheadings each examining pertinent issues to the writer's central argument.

In the first part, *Made-to-Order Uprisings?*, Ramadan aims to identify the right term he sees representative of the events. He opts for the use of the term "uprisings" and states that "as against "unfinished revolutions" and conspiracy theories, I prefer to use the term "uprisings" to describe the common character of the mass movements that have shaken the Arab countries" (p 8). Moreover, the writer highlights the unpredictability of the whole events and how such unshakable and long standing West-supported regimes of Tunisia and Egypt have been brought down over night. Further, he insists that social and economic congestion have certainly taken people into the streets stating that "simple analysis of the social and economic realities of both countries shows that all the components of a social explosion were present" (p 9). More than that, Ramadan maintains that Western countries, especially US, have taken on their shoulder to proceed with a "democratizing" project of the Middle East. This is made possible through the training of social activists such as the Egyptian 6th April Movement in such areas as popular mobilization, planning and nonviolent discipline.

Ramadan mentions that “a significant number of young activists and bloggers were given training by three American government-financed nongovernmental organizations (NGOs): The Albert Einstein Institute, Freedom House, and the International Republic Institute” (p.1). The writer is also aware that the complexity of the issue does not present the West as a mere democratizing driving force behind the uprisings, and he is against the naïve analysis which considers the West as a good doer; rather, he stresses that the West is a manipulative hand and that the uprisings are not mere spontaneous and arbitrary actions. The cyber corporations’ trainings in areas like nonviolent protests organized by Google, Twitter, Facebook military aid and NGOs’ role are just a case in point. Yet, the Western powers are afraid that the uprisings would be hijacked by the Islamists and turn the whole region into a long-dreamt of Islamic Caliphate state. Ramadan maintains that Arab autocrats have long been supported by the West since they are the safeguards of Western interests in the region. However, after close analysis, the West finds out that the uprisings are non-religiously driven and that aspiration for freedom, social justice and dignity are what trigger the demonstrators; therefore, collaboration with Islamist is top agenda if they guarantee Western interests. This is an opportunity for Ramadan to call on the West to abandon its colonial binary and inferior view of the Arabs, especially Muslims, as uncivilized, threatening and out of time Other. For Ramadan the ex-colonized have proven through these uprisings that they are no longer the Other the West has always stood against and that now they share common ground as of freedom, justice, and human dignity.

Entitled *Cautious Optimism*, the book’s second chapter is devoted to the careful understanding of the uprising’s origins. Ramadan goes back to the idea of whether the Arab Awakening is a form of Western manipulation or a process of self-liberation. He reminds us of the cyber training of young Arabs and how these cyber-dissidents were a tool for manipulating the events and containing demonstrators’ “spontaneity”. At the same time, the

writer wonders “ it was as if the United States and Europe were supporting despots while at the same time training their opponents” (p.56); a fact that stuck the West in an apparent contradiction between manipulation and liberation of the region. Indeed, for the writer, the rapidly flowing events obliged the West to manage the situation through a shifting overlap between manipulation and liberation leading it to an inadequate reaction or what he calls “unequal treatment” towards each revolting country. Ramadan states that “responses to the uprisings in the Arab world have been disparate, to say the least” (p.32). He draws on the Iranian revolution and how the West supported opposition led protest and compares it to how Europe and America handled the Arab uprisings. Even with the Arab Awakening, Ramadan stresses that the West approached each country’s uprising differently. In the case of Tunisia and Egypt, the west’s intervention was diplomatic and focused on ensuring a smooth and peaceful transition of power. Whereas in the case of Libya and Syria, for example, the West turned both countries into a battle ground using not only diplomatic means, but also military ones to guarantee its geopolitical and economic interests. This mission is best accomplished through the use of a strong media arsenal like prominent TV channels as BBC, CNN, Fox News and France 24. The same mass media have been mobilized to cover the death of Osama Bin Laden as a turning point in the history of the region. Ramadan links between the killing of Bin Laden and the Arab uprisings in terms of the latter marking the end of an era of Al Qaeda’s domination and leading influence on a large number of Arab Muslims. The protestors, Ramadan argues, rid themselves not only of AL Qaeda’s ideology and suffocating regimes, but also of the colonial belief of the Arabs incapability of embracing democracy principles. He values the uprisings as an opening platform for Arabs to consider the establishment of civil states where a strong civil society flourishes, the issue of Islamism and secularism is settled and most importantly the rule of law is respected.

It is not until the third chapter that Ramadan starts discussing the main arguments of *Islam and the Arab Awakening*. In chapter three, *Islam, Islamism and Secularization*, the author aims at providing an analysis of the possible role “Islam as reference will and can play at this critical moment in the evolution of the Arab world” (p .67). He maintains that the Arab Awakening’s wind of change sparked concerns about Islam’s compatibility with democratic pluralism, its embrace of religious diversity and the rule of Islamist parties in post-dictators’ era. For Ramadan, a clear distinction should be made between both Islamic unity and diversity and how they function within the Islamic framework. By unity, he means, the Muslims unanimous agreement on the validity of the scriptural sources (the Quran and the Sunna) as the origin of all Islamic creed, teaching and way of life. As for diversity, Ramadan maintains that the interpretation of these scriptural sources divided Muslims into Shiite and Sunni and paved the path for the rise of trends such as reformists, literalists, traditionalists, rationalists and Sufi. Along with this, the author draws our attention to the interaction between the Islamic civilization and non-Islamic ones which bore special influence on the way the Islamic principles are lived and practiced.

Further, Ramadan cites prominent figures of political Islam like Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Mohamed Tahar Ben Ibn Ashur, Mohammed Allal El-Fassi and Hassan al-Banna and how their views have largely shaped current vision of political Islam. It is a conviction for Ramadan that the current trends of political Islam have gone through a substantial self-consideration in order to fit in the new context of the Arab revolutions. This fact has been overridden by the non-Islamic orientation of the protestors who opted for a more universal discourse of freedom, justice and equality than a religiously loaded one. Considerably, Muslim Arabs prefer to adopt Islamism than Secularization. Ramadan recalls Muslim Arabs’ frustrating experiences with secularization in countries such as Turkey, Tunisia, Syria, Egypt and Iraq and explains that for Arabs “Secularization, far from being linked with the march

toward freedom, became identified with the threefold experience of repression, colonialism and the assault on Islam” (p.76). Indeed, he gives the example of Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan where Islamist parties have seemed to attract a large number of voters and lead their countries. Nonetheless, Ramadan wants us to overcome the dichotomy of Islamism vs. secularization and describes it as pointless and counterproductive. It is more important for him to consider the correlation between Islam and authority. In other words, he calls for a fair reasonable combination of divine authority and human authority in this momentum created by the Arab Awakening to bring about and sustain democratization and civil state without having to polarize the Arab world into extreme ends of either Islamic fanaticism or secular marginalization.

The status and role of Islam in the new realities brought about by the Arab Awakening are further highlighted in the book’s last chapter. Entitled *The Islamic Reference*, this chapter considers the challenges of Islamism in the construction of the civil state. Ramadan is aware of the, sometimes fundamental, changes and reconsiderations made by Islamic movements to meet the demands of the new era. Yet, he is careful in describing these considerations as signs of the end of political Islam. He maintains that “political Islam is not dead but is facing a new conjuncture and stands poised to undergo a profound shift brought on by the dynamics of history and the new political, economic, cultural, and broad geostrategic environment” (p.102). This shift would help Muslim majority countries embrace basic pillars of civil state as political pluralism, liberty and democratization. In the same vein, the author stresses that “Muslim Majority society must enjoy a taste for liberty and democracy... a sense of their own genius; they must have the confidence that they can find solutions, to point to another way and to surmount the crises that are sapping the strength of contemporary societies” (p.111).

More than that, Ramadan calls on the Arab Muslim countries in such critical moment to rid themselves of blaming the West for all the miseries they endure and depend on

themselves and have faith in their potentials. He argues “if free critical intelligence has fallen into disarray, none but the Arab countries are responsible” (p.119). One of the forms of self-dependence, Ramadan emphasizes, is economic strength which should go hand in hand with the political one. For Ramadan, economic reform should emancipate Arab Muslim majority societies from organizations such as IMF or from dependency on economic powers like China and the States. It is true, the writer contends, that “there can be no political liberation in the Arab world without economic emancipation. Just as there can be no political justice without economic equity.” (p.123). Along with this economic emancipation, the author brings to light the importance of culture revitalization and meaning making. For him, reconciliation with roots, traditions and deepest spirituality is essential for the promotion of the Arab identity. It is henceforth crucial for Arab Muslim countries to undergo a deep process of mind decolonization to be able to enforce a strong transition towards self-political, cultural, economic and ethical reconciliation. On the other hand, Ramadan pleads the West to change its approach towards Arabs and Muslims and argues that:

true deconstruction of representation cannot be completed (nor can it be possible) until Western academic circles and media allow for more objective and less ideologically biased analysis of the diversity of approaches and discourses coming from Arab and Muslim majority societies, and from Western Muslim voices.(p.135).

It is also of paramount importance that Western Muslims take the torch to enlighten the West about the “moderate style” of Islam, and thus, build a supportive audience and legitimacy for Muslims within the West.

This book insightful and critical approach to the Arab Awakening and more precisely the role and status of Islam in such historical juncture is concluded by the writer’s prospective vision of what should come of such remarkable events. He states:

Now too is the time to define priorities, to determine the human, humanistic, and ethical goals to be pursued. History expects Arab and Muslim majority societies to be equal to the task, to meet the challenges inherent in the complexity of the world. From good governance to economic justice, from pluralism to women's rights, from rejecting corruption to rejecting poverty, from accepting universal values to defending singularity, daunting tasks lie ahead. Facing eastward after facing westward for so long will not alter the reality of the crisis. For all that, it is now essential to turn inward, to engage in self-criticism, to know our strengths and weaknesses, to yield nothing to doubt and to offer everything to hope. Beyond the question of East and West lie freedom, autonomy, courage, and determination. In them lies awakening and revolution. (p.144)

This revolution has been peculiarly distinguishable not only because of the nature of the protestors' demands or their huge numbers, or its dispersion and rapid evolution or the repertoire it developed and used to weld and fuel the demonstrations, but also the universal influence it casted over the world.

5.3. Summary

Providing a summary of the main events, actors, causes, repercussions and significances has been the rationale behind this section. It has shed light on the socio-economic and political factors, the stance of the West, the reaction of the youth towards their despotic regions and the role and position of Islam in all these tumultuous events. The two books discussed in this section, have endeavored to account for the still unfolding travails of a fully hard-to-grasp event as the Arab Spring.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been the capitalization of essential and germane theories and issues that make up the basis of the present research. Drawing on relevant theories such as Postcolonialism, Discourse Analysis and Media Discourse along with a holistic account of the main events and contentions about the Arab Spring is meant to establish a prerequisite understanding of the crux of this thesis before delving into the practical part. Basically, the link between theory and practice is traced in the following chapter which, in essence, presents the methodological construction of the whole research.

CHAPTER II : 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 to identifying not only 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.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Critical Linguistics

The academic critical study of language was first initiated through the publication of Roger Fowler's (1979) *Language and Control* and the works of his colleagues Kress, Hodge and Trew at East Anglia University. Being one of the multidisciplinary areas constituting CDA, Critical Linguistics is the forerunner to debunk the claim that language is purely an innocent means of communication and unravel the latent messages imbedded within language. Fowler (1996, p.5) explains that critical linguists:

Occupy a variety of socialist positions, and are concerned to use linguistic analysis to expose misrepresentations and discrimination in a variety of modes of public discourse: they offer critical readings of newspapers, political propaganda, official documents, regulations, formal genres such as the interview, and so. Topics examined include sexism, racism, inequality in education, employment, the courts and so on; war, nuclear weapons and nuclear power; political strategies; and commercial practices. In relation to public discourse on such matters, the goals of the critical linguists are in general terms the defamiliarization or consciousness-raising. (cited in Seidlhofer 2003, p.127)

In unveiling the hidden structures in language, Critical Linguistics calls for the implementation of linguistic analysis which entitles the analyst to decode the discursive structures which harbor world representation and ideological patterns. This analysis is enlightened by Critical Theory and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics to present a sort of homogeneous sociolinguistic interpretation. Malmkjaer (2004) contends that:

Critical linguistics proposes that analysis using appropriate linguistic tools, and referring to relevant historical and social contexts, can bring ideology (normally hidden through the habitualization of discourse) to the surface for inspection. In this way, critical linguistics can shed light on social and political processes. (p.102)

The embedding of ideology, asserts Fowler (1991), starts with the selection of the topic to be discussed, which identifies the thematic field, participants and discursive strategies to be implemented. He elucidates that in the case of newspaper articles, for instance, journalists tend to address certain themes than others due to ideological inclinations and previously defined standpoints. That is what justifies the writer's (over) lexicalization which is the over-reliance and use of selected lexical items over others in the thematisation of the given topic. Ideological construction, representation and manipulation are further consolidated by the conscious deployment of the concepts of nominalization and passivisation. Here, Fowler highlights the use of nominalization and passivisation by writers who, for the sake of ambiguity, attracting attention and omitting agents, resort to nominalizing verbs, adjectives and adverbs and passiving sentences so as to hide agency, focalize certain ideas, and disclaim responsibility.

Hence, since the core theory of Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics stem from the same principles and converge in supplying a linguistic and discursive analysis which transcends the sentence level and structure, both theories concretize and crystallize in concrete methods and models of textual analysis which aim at bridging the text structure with a certain sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and sociopolitical world view. Practically, following Fairclough's (1995) account, CDA in this chapter is tackled more as an analytical method which encompasses the principles and tenets that guide Fairclough's (1995) three model of

analysis; this research relies on in unveiling the representational modes of the Arab Muslim during the Arab Spring.

3. The Analytical Framework

3.1. CDA

The interdisciplinarity or transdisciplinarity of Critical Discourse Analysis (in Fairclough's terms) has enriched it with a variety of interactive homogenous approaches and well defined analytical methods and models in the quest of investigating the semiotic constructions of power, ideology, representation and social change at the discursive level. It is this transdisciplinarity that allows an eclectic account of the analyzed topic granting the analyst a wider range of theoretical selection and appropriation to be applied on the chosen topic. This is undertaken within a systematic textual analysis of the linguistic and semiotic makeup of discourse and focalization of some revealing discursive elements. According to Fairclough (2001):

CDA entails some form of detailed textual analysis. It specifically includes a combination of interdiscursive analysis of texts (ie of how different genres, discourses and styles are articulated together) and linguistic and other semiotic analysis. What data is selected, how it is collected, depend upon the project and object of research. So too does the particular nature of linguistic and other forms of semiotic analysis- whether for instance one focuses on argumentation, narrative, modality, transitivity, nominalization, voice, etc. (p.8)

Practically, for this reason, CDA analysts put the theoretical notions and conceptualizations into practical plain models of analysis where interplay between the micro, macro and meso levels is required to deconstruct and reconstruct the discourse structures and themes being analyzed. Van Dik (2004) maintains that the micro level analyzes and describes the lexical as

well as the grammatical items of the discourse which itself serves to interpret the representational and ideological patterns articulated at the macro level, and that both levels are interconnected by the meso one which stands for the context where the discourse is produced and how it is perceived. Within this momentum, major critical discourse analysts developed empirical models of analysis to critically account for discourse and not only detect how ideology, inequality, power and domination are articulated within language, but also how these constructs can be challenged, demystified and deconstructed to bring about some sort of intellectual and pragmatic social change.

3.1.1. Major Analytical Models Within CDA

3.1.1.1. Van Dijk Sociocognitive Model

Van Dijk's analysis of discourse stems from an anchored belief in the interaction and mutual constitution of the triangulation of discourse, cognition and society. He underscores the significance of cognition and mental structures in the processing of socially construed discourse(s). Such analysis, in Van Dijk's perspective, transcends the structural-linguistic level of analysis to the analysis of discourse's production and comprehension within a socially informed mental structure. Here he underlines the bound between discourse and social cognition and instantiates that:

Discourse is thus defined as a form of social interaction in society and at the same time as the expression and reproduction of social cognition. Local and global social structures condition discourse but they do so through the cognitive mediation of the socially shared knowledge, ideologies and personal mental models of social members as they subjectively define communicative events as context models. (2014, p 12)

In unraveling ideologies and representations, Van Dijk insists on incorporating social cognition analysis or sociocognitive analysis along with discourse and social analysis. He means by social cognition “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (1995, p 18). He believes that understanding social practices is tied with these mental representations where ideologies identify social realities in dichotomous forms of in and out groups. In this context, Tileaga (2016) argues that “van Dijk takes the importance of grammatical and syntactic features in the textual presentation of ‘us’ and ‘them’ to a different level by embedding linguistic analysis in a socio-cognitive framework” (p.82). Indeed, Van Dijk’s famous sociocognitive analysis works (1987, 1991, 1995) center on media and newspaper discourses where he studies the discourse of racism and discrimination of ethnic minorities.

Sociocognitive analysis in Van Dijk’s view entitles the examination of a set of mental models which are forms of mental representations of content elements such as participants, setting and time. The knowledge about these mental models is mediated from microstructures (linguistic and discursive level) to macrostructures (thematic and topical level) and filtered through a common shared political, cultural and social background since, argues Van Dijk, (2014, p173) “both discourse and knowledge belong to the cultural sphere of societies, and both have cognitive as well as embodied, social, and practical or interactive levels and dimensions”. Thus, Van Dijk’s analysis presents itself as a practical combinatory examination of discourse’s cohesion, coherence, social context and mental processes of discourse participants and his model can be summed in his following contention:

Here we touch upon the core of critical discourse analysis: that is, a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of

concrete models. More specifically, we need to know how specific discourse structures determine specific mental processes or facilitate the formation of specific social representations. Thus, it may be the case that specific rhetorical figures, such as hyperboles or metaphors, preferentially affect the organization of models or formation of opinions embodied in such models. Similarly, semantic moves may directly facilitate the formation of or change of social attitudes, or they may do so indirectly, that is, through the generalization or decontextualization of personal models (including opinions) of specific events. [...] we need to focus on these relations between discourse structures and structures of social cognition. At the same time the analysis of both discursive and cognitive structures must in turn be embedded in a broader social, political or cultural theory of the situations, contexts, institutions, groups and overall power relations that enable or result from such 'symbolic' structures. (p 259)

Practically, in journalism, for instance, the journalist's final product, the article, is a sort of discourse which is constructed on micro (linguistic) and macro (topical/thematic) bases that are informed by the journalist knowledge, social and political backgrounds and the mental processes of the article subject. The journalist's choices of certain discursive structures, as Van Dijk observes, create a desired effect on the reader as of control and dominance to fulfill indoctrination, mobilization, stigmatization and persuasion, for instance. To illustrate Van Dijk (1995) states that:

a newspaper report about (specific event in) the war in Bosnia is based on journalistic models of that war, and these models may in turn have been constructed during the interpretation of many source texts, e.g. of other

media, key witnesses, or the press conference of politicians. At the same time, such models are shaped by existing knowledge (about Yugoslavia, wars, ethnic conflict, etc.), and by more or less variables or shared general attitudes and ideologies. (p.258)

Van Dijk's sociocognitive model is an enlightening addition in the deconstruction and analysis of discourse which allows the analyst to relate the discursive structures to the social representation models to come up with adequate interpretation of the underlying constructs of discourse.

3.1.1.2. Wodak's Historical Model

Ruth Wodak's analytical model too draws on CDA's discursive analysis as well as its social representational dimension. Its analysis is abductive and multidisciplinary which endeavors to examine discourses from diachronic or synchronic historical perspectives. She (2004) maintains that "every discourse is historically embedded and has repercussions on current and future discourse" (p.111). Wodak (2001) further argues that the incorporation of the historical, social and political backgrounds of a given discourse along with the application of discursive and argumentative approaches is essential in unveiling the embedded structures of ideology, representation, power relations and hegemony. The need for a historical analytical perspective is inspired by Van Dijk sociocognitive model. Wodak (2002) admits that "in the discourse-historical approach, we elaborate and relate to the sociocognitive theory of Teun Dan Dijk (1985,1993, 1998) and view *discourse* as a form of knowledge and memory, whereas *text* illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001)" (p.109). Wodak's historical dimension is well articulated in her 1990 works on political discourse and anti-Semitic discourse in particular in which she deems the historical context a mandatory element especially in the process of explanation and

interpretation. Starting from the premise that language harbors and constitutes social processes and interactions, Wodak (1999) contends that discourse is the evident site of power and ideology and that it is diachronically and synchronically related to other discursive events which take place at either the same or different time.

Wodak calls on discourse historical analysts to consider the extralinguistic social or sociological components, the text, discourse genres and interdiscursive relationships. While doing so, the analyst's own stance should be plainly stated and accounted for with the purpose of exposing the reader to one possible interpretation of the given discourse. Wodak (2009) stresses that discourse historical analysis "should make the object under investigation and the analyst's own position transparent and should justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others" (p.88). Practically, Wodak (2009) argues that discourse historical analysis should follow eight interrelated steps:

- 1- Literature review, activation of theoretical knowledge (i.e., recollection, reading, discussion of previous research);
- 2- Systematic collection of data and context information (depending on the research questions, various discourses, genres, and text are focused on);
- 3- Selection and preparation of data for specific analysis (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc);
- 4- Specification of the research questions and formulation of assumptions (on the basis of a literature review and first skimming of the data);
- 5- Qualitative pilot analysis (this allows for testing categories and first assumptions as well as for the further specification of assumptions);
- 6- Detailed case studies (of a whole range of data, primarily qualitatively, but in part also quantitatively);

- 7- Formulation of critique (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique);
- 8- Application of the detailed analytical results (if possible, the results may be applied or proposed for application). (pp.96-97)

These steps are premised on a variety of discursive strategies that Wodak (2009) deems essential to apply a discourse historical analysis. The following table summarizes some of these discursive items:

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/ nomination	Discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/events, and processes/actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Membership categorization devices, deictics, and anthroponyms, etc. - Tropes such as metaphors, metonymies, synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro parte) - Verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions.
Prediction	Discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena/events/processes, and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g., in the form of adjectives, appositions prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, infinitive clauses, and participle clauses or groups) - Explicit predicates or predicative nouns/ adjectives/pronouns - Collocations - Explicit comparison, similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes,, euphemisms) - Allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures - Other
Argumentation	Justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Topoi (formal or more content-related) - Fallacies
Perspectivation, framing, or discourse representation.	Positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deictics - Direct, indirect or free indirect speech - Quotation marks, discourse markers/particles - Metaphors - Animating prosody - Other
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - diminutives or augmentatives - (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. - Hyperbole, litotes - Indirect speech acts (e.g., question instead of assertion) - Verbs of saying, feeling, thinking - Other

Table 10: A selection of discourse historical analysis' discursive strategies

Interestingly, Wodak presents an inclusive and illustrative chart which summaries the main analytical models in the critical analysis of discourse:

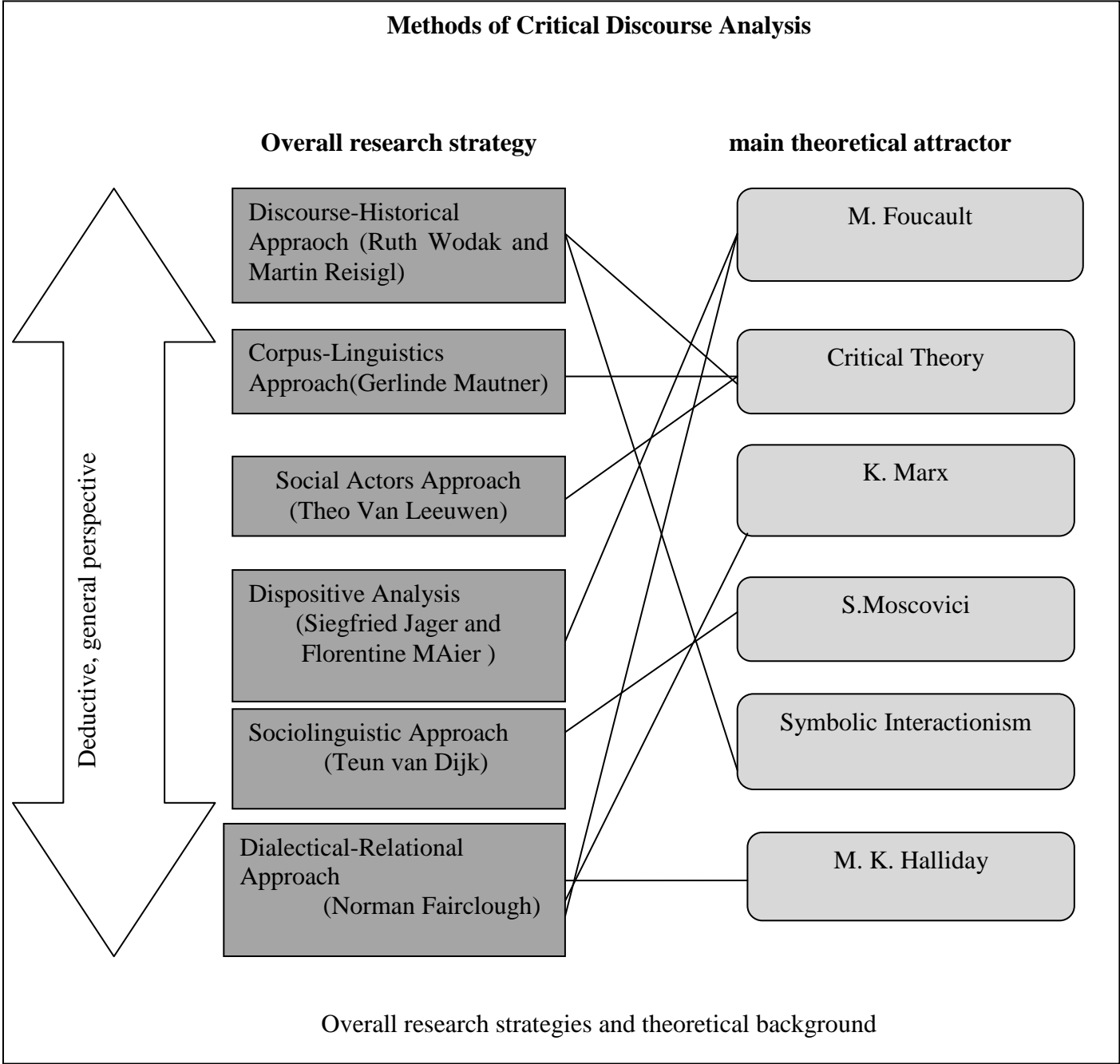


Figure 3: Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis

3.1.1.3. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

Fairclough (1989, 1995) developed a very insightful and multidimensional analytical model which this thesis relies on to analyze the newspapers' opinion and editorial articles under study and unravel their stereotypical and representational constructs about the Arab Muslims during the Arab Spring. Starting from the premise language is a social practice, Fairclough (1989) "draws on a range of existing literature, including work on postmodernism, systemic linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, critical linguistics and social theory" (baker & Ellece 2011, p.191) to build an analytical model which transcends the merely descriptive view of language to a more interpretive and explanatory account. Hence, he sees CDA as:

A 'three-dimensional' framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice. (1995, p.2)

In other words, to probe into the discursive construction of any type of discourse, Fairclough stresses that close attention must be paid to the three elements of text, discursive practice and social practice. The presence of a text necessitates a thorough analysis of its linguistic components as well as its discursive practices. This is made possible, according to Fairclough (1992), through scrutinizing four essential areas; namely grammar, vocabulary, text structure and cohesion. The social practice is linked to the text via the discursive practice. To Fairclough's understanding, the text is determined by the social practice via moving through the discursive practice's stages of production, distribution and consumption. Indeed, the consumption of a text highly depends on the social contexts and its interpretation is governed

by the representational and referential modes. Fairclough presents the following chart as an illustration of his three dimensions model of analysis:

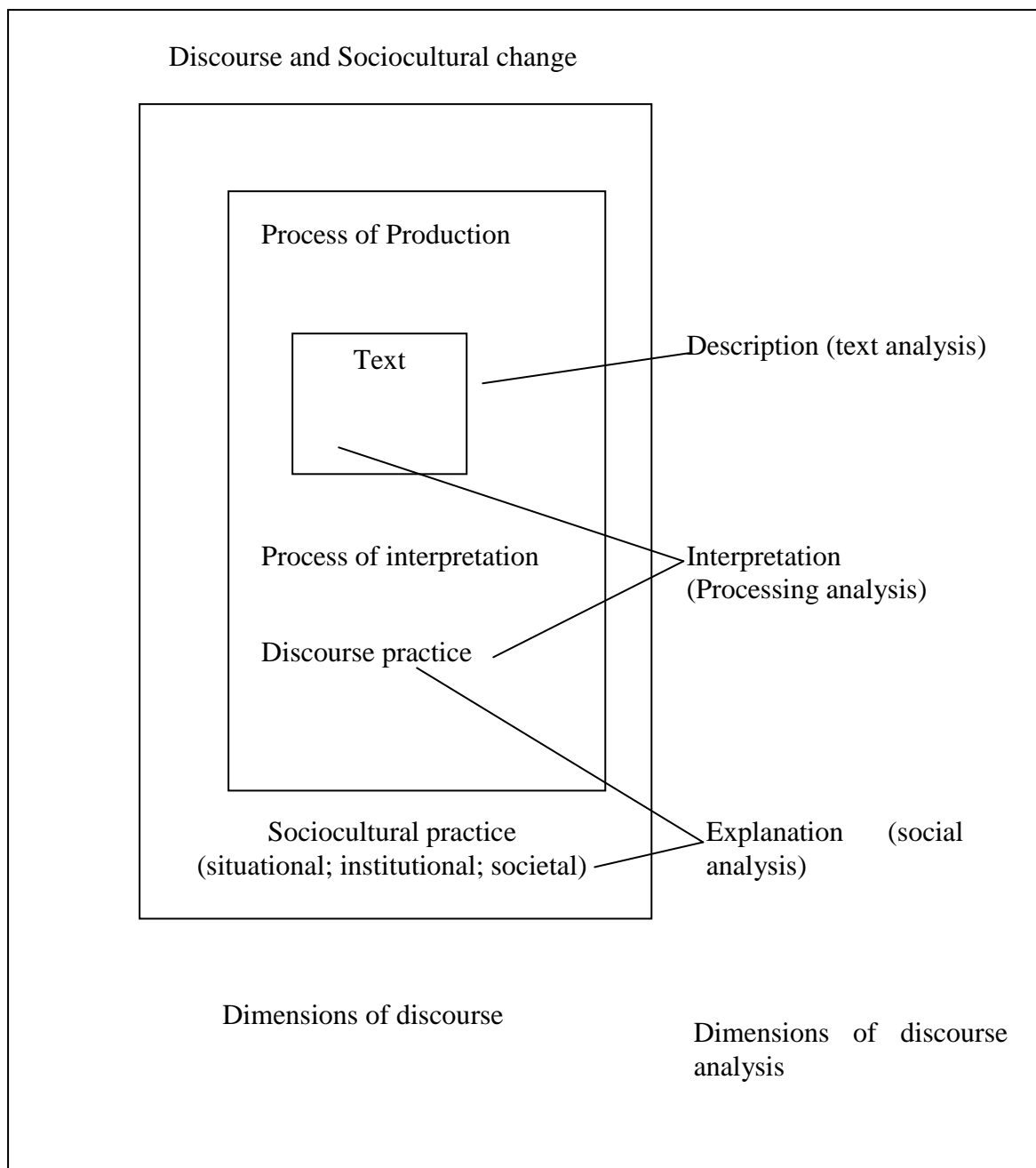


Figure 4: Dimensions of Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1992a, p.73)

For concretization purposes, the above chart's elements are adapted to suit the aim of this research in the following diagram:

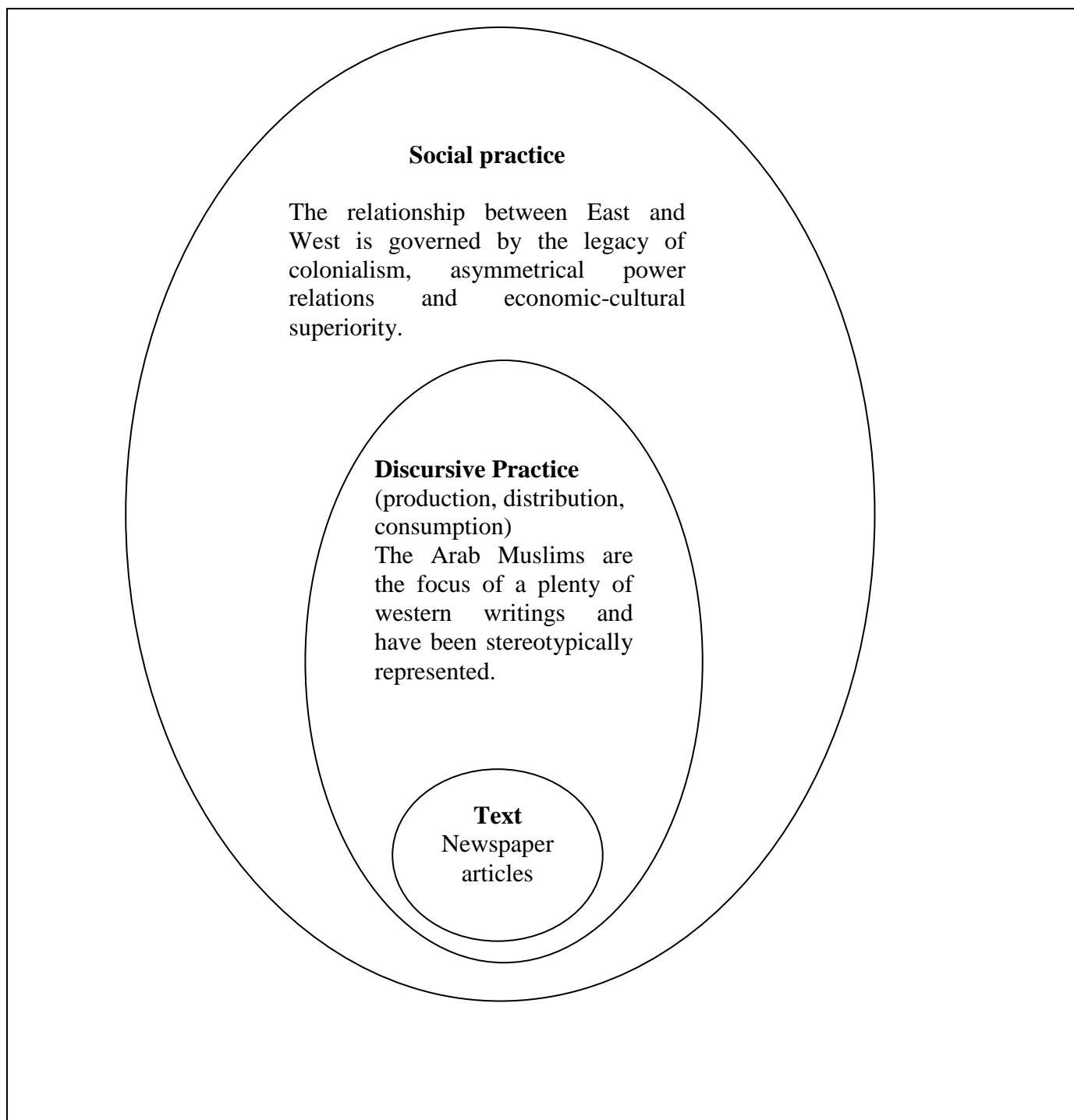


Figure 5: Adaptation of Fairclough's model to the present study

Within Fairclough's model, textual analysis of linguistic features is an indispensable prerequisite in deconstructing hegemony, representation and power constructs in discourse. He (1995) stresses that he regards "textual analysis as subsuming two complementary types of analysis: linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis" and that he sees:

linguistic analysis in an extended sense to cover not only the traditional levels of analysis within linguistics (phonology, grammar up to the levels of the sentence, and vocabulary and semantics) but also analysis of textual organization above the sentence, including intersentential cohesion and various aspects of the structure of texts which have been investigated by discourse analysts and conversation analysts. (p.188)

In his analysis he considers other texts' properties that can be ideologically loaded such as presuppositions, implicatures, politeness conventions, style, generic structures, and speech exchanges systems (p.97). To put the analysis in practical terms Fairclough underscores the significance of three steps to be followed to conduct the analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. He maintains that "the method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretive) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (ibid, p.97). These three steps would respectively account for the linguistic description of the text, the interpretation of the correlation between the text, discourse processes and the explanation of the interaction of these discourse processes and social processes. He outlines these steps as follows:

- ❖ Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- ❖ Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction- with seeing the text as product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process

of interpretation; notice that I use the term interpretation for both the interactional process and a stage of analysis.

- ❖ Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context- with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effect. (1989, p.26)

The stage of description is further elucidated by Fairclough (1989) through proposing ten main categories which the analysis should address. These categories are further detailed in a form of a list of questions, which, stresses Fairclough, are neither an exhaustive nor an inclusive account; but rather some of the main available areas of investigation.

A. Vocabulary

1. What experiential values do words have?

- What classification schemes are drawn upon?
- Are there words which are ideologically contested?
- Is there rewording or overwording?
- What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words?

2. What relational values do words have?

- Are there euphemistic expressions?
- Are there markedly formal or informal words?

3. What expressive values do words have?

4. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?

- What types of process and participants predominate?
- Is agency unclear?

- Are processes what they seem?
 - Are nominalizations used?
 - Are sentences active or passive?
 - Are sentences positive or negative?
6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
- What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used?
 - Are there important features of relational modality?
 - Are the pronouns We and You used, and if so, how?
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
- Are there important features of expressive modality?
8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
- What logical connectors are used?
 - Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or/subordination?
 - What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?
- C. Textual Structures
9. What interactional conventions are used?
- Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?
10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

These questions serve as the springboard for relating interpretation and explanation stages towards deciphering the discursive constructs and probing into the representations and ideologies they harbor and lay them bare before the readers to raise their awareness and fortify them against the dominating and controlling power of discourse.

3.2. Study Period, Research Questions and Hypotheses

3.2.1. 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. 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. 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 Arab Muslims of violence, a natural inclination towards despotism and rooted gender discrimination.

3.2.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses

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, 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.

3.3. Data Collection and Analysis

3.3.1. Data Collection

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 at the international scale. Besides, opting for the selected newspapers has another justification related to the abundant number of articles that deal with the Arab spring.

3.3.1.1. 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) 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 1999) 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

3.3.1.2. 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	
	op-ed	Editorial	op-ed	editorial	op-ed	editorial
Number of sampled 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.

3.3.2. 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) 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. (p.120)

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) 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” (p.454). 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, 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) point out that “the understanding of human behaviours, problems, and characteristics is best advanced by the judicious use of both qualitative and quantitative data” (p.325). 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) 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.(p.12)

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

3.4. Summary

This research chapter shed light on the methodological foundation of the present thesis. It has foregrounded the theoretical framework which enlightens the dissertation's path as well as the analytical tool which is used to examine the data. This part has also specified the research questions, hypothesis and period, methods of data collection along with a glimpse on data analysis.

CHAPTER III : 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 the 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.

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*

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.

2.2. Figures of Speech

A word or expression which possesses a different meaning from its literal one is called a figure of speech such as metaphor, simile and irony. The oxford online dictionary defines figure of speech as "a word or phrase used in a different way from its usual meaning in order to create a particular mental picture or effect". Data analysis has uncovered the use of four recurrent figures of speech in the analyzed articles namely metaphor, accumulation, hyperbole and comparison.

2.2.1. Metaphor

Ever since the Aristotelian epoch, the study and analysis of metaphor shed much ink on the role of this figurative means in representing the world. In his *Poetics* (1457b) Aristotle delineates metaphor as “the application of a strange term either transferred from the genus, or from one species to another or else by analogy”. Thus, it is a form of comparison in which the literal meaning is substituted by a more figurative one to help in, as put by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.5) “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. Indeed, the publication of Lakoff and Johnson’s *Metaphors We Live by* widened the scope of the study and analysis of metaphor and principally initiated the study of metaphor from cognitive linguistics’ perspective. They highlight the significance of source and target domain as key concepts where the source domain is the conceptual framework from which the metaphorical expression is drawn to characterize and identify a targeted concept or thing. Significantly, source and target domains determine to a large extent the desired impact a language user wants to have on an addressee. For this, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 4) warn against a belittling take on the study of metaphor and contend that:

most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our conceptual system, in terms which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.

Therefore, metaphor is one of the pillars of not only language learning, but also language use and world view construction. Fairclough (1995) emphasizes that metaphor constructs our conceptualization of reality and it is socially triggered where metaphors can differ according to corresponding perspectives and ideological intentions. He asserts that:

metaphor is a means of representing one aspect in terms of another, and by no means restricted to the sort of discourse it intends to be stereotypically associated with- poetry and literary discourse. But any aspect of experience can be represented in any number of metaphors, and it is the relationship between alternative metaphors that is of particular interest here, for different metaphors have different ideological attachments. (1989, p.119)

This way, metaphors harbor stereotypical and ideological representations of the language user, who, according to Van Dijk (2009), blends their emotional, pragmatic and linguistic knowledge with their ideological stances.

The analysis of data has revealed the use of many metaphors across the three newspapers articles. For the most part, these metaphors bear negative connotative meanings through which the authors see the events and the actors of the Arab Spring. The following extracts elucidate the use of metaphors:

Le Figaro

Extract 1	Translation
Symbole de cette « révolution assassinée », selon les acteurs de la révolte de 2011, une activiste a été tuée en pleine rue par un tir de chevrotine en janvier 2015, date anniversaire de la «révolte du Nil».	Symbol of this "assassinated revolution," according to the protesters of the 2011 revolt, an activist was killed in the street by a shot of buckshot in January 2015, the anniversary of the "Nile revolt".

The writer uses the adjective “assassinated” to indicate the smothering of a perhaps annoying voice and the killing of a political or religious rival. The source domain in this metaphor is political assassination which is drawn upon to describe and depict the target

domain of revolution by evoking violence, bloodshed and death. It is the killing of protesters and their hopes that the writer implies leaving the agency unidentified to give the reader a wider range of possible interpretations. This metaphor can also be read from the perspective of personification where revolution is likened to a person who has to be disposed of apparently by means of military forces, despotic decrees, opposing political, ethnic and religious forces or even outside intervention. Another possible reading of this extract can be that the revolutionaries have failed to unite and make up a solid force due to their ravaging political and religious conflicts and, therefore, become an easy prey to repressive regimes. Filiu (2015) comments on the brutality of these repressive regimes and states that:

Nearly four years later, I readily confess that my focus on the Arab revolution prevented me from assessing the full potential of the Arab counter-revolution. I thought I had seen it all from the Arab despots: their perversity, their brutality, their voracity. But I was still underestimating their ferocity and their readiness to literally burn down their country in order to cling to the absolute power. Bashar al-Assad has climbed to the top of this murderous class of Arab tyrants, driving nearly half Syrian population from their homes. (p.x)

The “assassination” of the revolution is done by some mechanisms like the so-called deep state. Deep state is a concept used to refer to the existence of an organized “hidden” state, within the real state, represented in intelligence and security forces, political figures and parallel institutions of control such as lobbies. The rise of a counter revolution in most of Arab Spring countries is believed to be triggered by deep state actors. Springborg (2017) maintains that “deep states can only exist where citizens are unable to freely organize politically and so cannot change their governments through elections or subordinate militaries and intelligence services to their institutionalized control” (p.12).

Extract 2

Translation

<p>La Syrie est en phase avancée de démembrement. Au lieu d'attendre un très hypothétique effondrement du régime ou, pire encore, de miser sur une solution diplomatique depuis longtemps introuvable, l'opposition et ses alliés dans les capitales occidentales devraient en tenir compte pour organiser sans tarder les zones « libérées» et y construire un pouvoir alternatif.</p>	<p>Syria is in an advanced phase of dismemberment. Instead of waiting for a very hypothetical collapse of the regime or, even worse, to rely on a long-standing diplomatic solution, the opposition and its allies in Western capitals should take this into account in order to organize the "liberated" zones without delay to build an alternative power</p>
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Borrowing from the jargon of medicine and anatomy, the writer uses the noun “dismemberment” to describe the atrocities that have been afflicted upon Syria and Syrians because of the revolution and its repercussions. This metaphor is suggestive of the geographical, ethnic and religious mutations that have resulted from a devastating civil war which changed the rosy dreams and lively chants of the revolution into lamenting and heartbreaking mourning. The case of Syria is not very much different from those of Yemen and Libya which brings to mind the idea that some Middle East countries, if not all of them, do not control their destinies and that they are the site for outside forces’ competitions.

<p>«Depuis l'accord de paix israélo-égyptien de 1978, même l'unanimité historique autour du slogan anti-israélien a été ébréchée et la Ligue arabe est vraiment devenue une organisation comateuse», explique Joseph Bahout.</p>	<p>"Since the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement in 1978, even the historic unanimity around the anti-Israeli slogan has been chipped and the Arab League has really become a comatose organization," says Joseph Bahout.</p>
<p>En ce qui concerne la Syrie, la volonté initiale de la Ligue arabe, qui craignait la contagion révolutionnaire, était aussi de sauver le régime de Bachar el-Assad grâce à des concessions.</p>	<p>As far as Syria is concerned, the initial will of the Arab League, which feared revolutionary contagion, was also to save the regime of Bashar al-Assad through concessions.</p>

In these extracts, criticism is leveled against an essential symbol of unification and a fierce guardian of the so called “pan Arabism”, namely the Arab League. The metaphor “comatose organization” reflects the state of clinical death or hibernation this organization is going through during an all shaking and rebirthing momentum created by the Arab Spring; the spring in which the Arab league has chosen to continue its long deep snooze ever since the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement of 1978. It seems that this organization has missed a historical moment to assert itself and assume its responsibility in building up a better and more democratic Arab world. Alkebsi et.al (2017) contend that:

regional organizations, including the Arab League, are usually criticized and accused that their involvement in democracy is reactive and not proactive. Furthermore, they are criticized because democracy-building effort is not based on a strategic vision related to how democracy can be

advanced in a comprehensive and coherent manner and is usually associated with, and born out of efforts in addressing political crises and post-conflict situations in their member states. (p.240)

Obviously, one of the post-conflict situations in which the Arab League has endeavored not to address the issue of democracy but to put out the spark of liberation and social justice is the Arab Spring. It has gone even further to conspire on the protestors and wrap around their demands and try to help the dictators sustain their positions. One of the examples of these “conspiratorial” instances is presented in extract 4 in which the revolution is metaphorically depicted as a contagious disease or epidemic that is feared to spread like wildfire across the Arab world. That is why, according to the writer, the Arab League tries to make concessions to save the Syrian president. More than that, the Arab League’s “bad intention” has early been expressed by electing the ex-foreign minister of the toppled Mubarak regime as a new secretary general. The Arab League’s state is summarized by an article published on 29th April 2016 in *The Economist* titled *What is the Point of the Arab League?*:

The Arab League is not alone in wrestling with the end of an age of heroes, and the erosion of multilateral ideology by resurgent nationalism. But unlike the European Union, it has failed to find a mechanism for managing rivalry. Too paralyzed by sectarian and regional differences, it has stood by as its members were engulfed by war. The former standard-bearer of anti-colonialism looked to European powers to sort out the mess, and in Libya even called on Western powers to send in warplanes. So dejected was Morocco at the prospect of hosting another stillborn summit in March that it cancelled its invitations. Perhaps the Arab League’s only real use these days is as a retirement home for Egypt’s Politicians.

Therefore, the Arab League is considered by the writer as part of the problem more than the solution and that the revolutions have been able to strip it of the resonant slogans of pan Arabism and expose its anti-change and democracy plots.

Extract 5-6

Translation

<p>Mais au fil des soubresauts politiques, l'espoir démocratique a viré à la désillusion : fiasco de l'intérim militaire, parenthèse frériste, retour à l'ordre sous la férule du président Sissi... Depuis l'élection du maréchal Sissi, en juin 2014, le musellement de la presse s'est renforcé et les activistes de tous bords sont traqués.</p>	<p>But over the course of political upheavals, the democratic hope has turned to disillusion fiasco military interim, parenthesis Brother, return to order under the rule of President Sissi... Since the election of Marshal Sissi in June 2014, the muzzling of the press has been reinforced and activists of all stripes are hunted down</p>
<p>Et pour élargir leur chasse aux sorcières à toutes les voix critiques du pays.</p>	<p>And to widen their witch hunt to all the critical voices of the country.</p>

Extract five's metaphor "the democratic hope has turned to disillusion" shows that the dreamers of a democratic hope and change have been disillusioned and woken up on a harsh reality of military rule Egyptians perhaps thought they rid themselves of once for all. The interim phase of the military has disenchanting the liberal and progressive Egyptian forces of the military ability to undermine the overwhelming Muslim brotherhood and trapped them into a worse alternative of fiasco. The disillusionment process comes to its high peak with the election of marshal Sissi during whose term "the muzzling of the press has been reinforced and activists of all stripes are hunted down", as the metaphors in extract 6 testify. In an interview with Aljazeera website published on 28th November 2017, the opposition leader and ex-presidential candidate Ayman Nour maintains that the military hijacked the revolution and that president Sissi has turned Egypt into a "swamp of tyranny". He insists that "there is no opposition without a parliament. There is no opposition without freedom of the press. There is no opposition without freedom of speech and freedom of assembly". The hunt down of

oppositional forces is further elucidated in extract 6 in which the writer uses the metaphor of “witch hunt” which is reminiscent or suggestive of the McCarthyism accusations of disloyalty of people associated with communist and fascist affiliations sometimes without substantial evidence. In the abstract for his article *The Quest for Legitimacy in Post-revolutionary Egypt: Propaganda and Controlling Narratives* De Bildt (2015) asserts that:

the military-backed Egyptian interim government has used propaganda and has promoted a certain representation of the past to achieve its political agenda of building legitimacy and consolidating power in a post-revolutionary state. In support of this objective, the interim government installed by Abd al-Fatah al-Sisi has relied on a discourse that revolves around a few central themes: demonization of the Muslim Brotherhood, the war on terror, the continuity of the January 25 Revolution in the June 30 Revolution and the inseparability of the army and the people throughout Egyptian history.

Thus, post revolution Egypt seems trapped between the Hammer of the Islamists and the anvil of the military.

The Washington Post

Extract 1

One year after a Tunisian fruit vendor set himself on fire in an act of defiance that would ignite protests and unseat long-standing dictatorships, a harsh chill is settling over the Arab world. The peaceful demonstrations in Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen that were supposed to bring democracy have instead given way to bloodshed and chaos, with the forces of tyranny trying to turn back the clock.

In this extract the writer depicts the atmosphere after one year of the beginning of the Arab Spring as a cold wind that casts its shivery blows over the Arab world. The metaphor “harsh chill” also gives the impression of a blistering-winter more than of a lively spring-with its gloomy and cold weather and suggestion of death. In fact, the writer plainly refers to the bloody and chaotic outcomes of the peaceful demonstrations in a number of Arab spring countries. These outcomes have been caused by the long-standing dictators ruling these countries. The second metaphor, “turn back the clock”, demonstrates the extent to which the forces of tyranny cling to the power and strive to turn back the clock hands of change and preserve their reigns even through the use of force.

Extract 2

Elsewhere in the Middle East, Saudi troops helped orchestrate a crackdown on demonstrators in Bahrain, regime forces gun down protesters in Syria, and Yemen crumbles into civil war, with al-Qaeda running rampant in the countryside.

This extract gives an exemplary idea on what the Arab Spring brought about to the region. The first metaphor in this extract, “Saudi troops helped orchestrate a crackdown on demonstrators in Bahrain”, presents Saudi Arabia as an orchestra conductor who is manipulating the rhythm and musicians. With its troops of Aljazeera shield going into Bahrain, Saudi Arabia seems to have the upper hand over a neighboring independent country and interferes to put out the demonstrations fearing to catch up revolutionary fire itself. The second metaphor, “crumbles into civil war”, depicts Yemen as a falling or brittle house due to civil war and the presence of al-Qaeda turning the country into a mud swamp.

Extract 3

Saudi Arabia remains mired in the dark ages: Human rights are trampled upon, and free expression crushed. This is entirely out of sync with ambitions to create a thriving and modern state.

Though unaffected by the revolutionary waves of the Arab Spring, the case of Saudi Arabia is further discussed in this extract with a series of negative metaphors. The reference to the dark ages is extremely significant to cast light on the prevalence of a totalitarian and theological system of rule which tramples on human rights and crushes free expression. This state of affairs proves that the kingdom preaches what it does not do since there is a difference between the positive images it wants to sell to the outside world and the dark reality of the inside. Added to that is Saudi Arabia's anti-revolutionary policies towards the protests in Arab Spring countries and its attempts to smother and stop them because they represent a threat to its regime.

Extract 4

Hence the Arab Spring, serial uprisings that spread east from Tunisia in early 2011. Many Westerners naively believed the future belonged to the hip, secular, tweeting kids of Tahrir Square. Alas, this sliver of Westernization was no match for the highly organized, widely supported, politically serious Islamists who effortlessly swept them aside in national elections.

The debate over who is at the steering wheel and the real beneficiary of the Arab Spring has been quite worrying for many Western capitals. In the extract above, the writer tries to disillusion anyone who believes that the Western styled and pro-west protestors are the real leaders and destiny controllers of the Arab Spring. He presents them as trendy, secular and tweeting kids who seem playful and indulged in their virtual world of social media. More

than that, the writer uses a derogative metaphor to disparage and underestimate this category of protestors by describing them as “sliver of Westernization”. The use of the word “sliver” is very indicative by the writer since he wants to show that these “kids” are fragmented and broken down not only among themselves but perhaps also in their assimilation and absorption of Western culture and mindset. Interestingly, the use of the adverb “alas” is employed as a lowering note and breaker of any positive expectations and potential dependence on those “kids”; it is also used to introduce the real beneficiaries of the Arab spring, the Islamists. These latter are sarcastically described with positive adjectives and intensifying adverbs as in “highly organized” and “widely supported” and appreciated for their serious political work. This characterization has made the Islamist a sweeping force in the elections during which they swept aside the “tweeting kids”.

Extract 5

The only thing we can be sure of today, however, is that Arab nationalism is dead and Islamism is its successor. This is what the Arab Spring has wrought. The beginning of wisdom is facing that difficult reality.

The rise of Islamism and retreat of other ideologies during the Arab Spring is further accentuated in this extract. Through a metaphorical trope, the writer discusses the decadent state of Arab Nationalism and describes it as a dead person when he says “Arab nationalism is dead”. This clear declaration is not an end in itself but it is an announcement for the birth and flourishing of Islamism as an alternative and successor. Islamism has brought up a difficult reality to the Arab world’s scene since it has risen to prominence in an “abnormal” context of uprisings in which political Islam movements and parties present the Islamic discourse as the sole capable unifying force for the Arab world instead of “the dead nationalism”.

The Guardian

Extract 1

Four Arab leaders fell. Yet six short years on those dreams are now in tatters. In Egypt, the most populous Arab nation, a counter-revolution has returned a military dictatorship. Much of Libya and Yemen is reduced to rubble in a war where outside powers are the principal actors, prepared to fight until the last local is dead. Syria is in ruins, stained by rivers of blood.

To unveil the “ugly” face of the Arab Spring, the writer looks in retrospect at six years since the beginning of the uprisings. He uses a series of metaphors to put the reader face to face with the outcomes of a short period; though in which four leaders fell the “dreams are now in tatters”. The use of the noun “tatter” denotes violent tearing and breaking apart of something materialistic but the writer associates it with an abstract semantically positive noun “dreams”. These “dreams” have perhaps turned into nightmares in some countries like Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria. The chaotic and violent repercussions of the revolutions are manifested in an exemplary metaphoric sentence when the writer states that “much of Libya and Yemen is reduced to rubble”. The two countries have been turned into remains because of a destructive war rather than a peaceful revolution. This war is evocative of similar ones which have taken place on Arab lands by outside forces either to preserve their interests or look for new ones. Likewise, the writer employs another metaphor to illustrate the Syrian case, which does not much differ from the Libyan and Yemeni ones, when he says “Syria is in ruins, stained by rivers of blood” and shows the fatality of the situation by the hyperbolic use of “rivers of blood”.

Extract 2

In the geopolitics, recent events have exposed how Arabs have once again become pawns on the chess board. The landmark resolution at the UN demanding a halt to all Israeli settlement in the occupied territories was not presented by an Arab nation. In Syria, a peace plan was delivered not by a Sunni Arab power, but by Russia, Iran and Turkey.

Another instance of outside forces' manipulation of Arab countries is referred to in this extract. The writer metaphorically describes Arabs as "pawns on the chess board" and insists on this image by the phrase "once again". The writer cites two different examples to show Arabs' passivity and lack of control of their destiny when he refers to the Arabs' "first case", Palestine, and Syria, the so called "axis of resistance". The chess metaphor stands for an existential game of life that is manipulated by players, in this case the outside powers, who checkmate the pawns, Arabs in this metaphor, and control the moves and choices.

Extract 3

The Arab world bristles with swords not ploughs, spending \$75bn a year on arms in the past quarter of a century.

Instead of securing their living and independence, the writer criticizes the Arab countries for crazily investing in weapons rather than in other livelihood means. The metaphor "the Arab world bristles with swords rather than ploughs" demonstrates the extent to which Arab countries are haunted by warfare and the verb "bristle" is very telling of the shocking and mad race for weaponry. The use of the noun "swords" is not innocent since it can be evocative of a perhaps long Arab history of wars, bloodshed and destruction which seems to have occupied them from plough and development. Also, the use of statistics is revelatory of Arabs "greed" for arms; since \$75 billion of weapon spending a year for twenty five years is unquestionably a sort of madness.

Extract 4

In countering the uprisings, Saudi Arabia is doing no more and no less than what it has traditionally done when a major state threatens to upset the apple cart. That includes Nasser's Egypt, Saddam's Iraq, revolutionary Iran.

The metaphoric and figurative use of idioms in this extract is very expressive of the Saudis counter revolution intervention in other Arab countries. “To upset the apple cart” means to spoil and ruin plans and status quo, according to the Cambridge English dictionary, and that is, the writer maintains, Saudi Arabia’s traditional role in the region. The uprisings are faced by subduing and constringing attempts since they represent a menace like the one constituted by the free officers’ revolution in Egypt, the Iraqi Ba’ath revolution and the Khomeini revolution in Iran.

Hence, the considerable use of metaphor in the three newspapers has been employed by the writers as a sort of camouflage to harbor their ideologies and impart them in an artistic and esthetic language. Metaphor has also spared the writers the use of much language to express their ideas and has pushed the reader to go beyond the line and individual words to catch up with the writer’s argument. Indeed, the use of metaphor provides the writers with a figurative tool to chart their propositions and present them to the reader in depictive ways which symbolically simulate reality. These propositions are further sewn by the use of the needle of accumulation.

2.2.2. Accumulation

In the realm of rhetoric, the gathering and assembling of words and ideas closely enough in a sentence is an essential technique to summarize and emphasize a line of argumentation. This figure of speech is labeled accumulation, and it goes under the umbrella term of enumeration.

Le Figaro

Extract 7	Translation
La lutte pour une vie meilleure engendre gâchis, mort et destruction. Les étrangers règlent leurs comptes et se livrent bataille pour asseoir leur influence	The struggle for a better life breeds waste, death and destruction. The foreigners settle their accounts and fight to establish their influence

One of the echoing Arab Spring's mottos across the Arab world during the uprisings was "liberty, dignity and social justice". These deserved demands were not expected to open hell's doors on most of the region. In the above extract, the writer accumulates what the revolution bred through semantically listing negative words "waste, death and destruction". These words listed together create a gloomy atmosphere and disenchant any rosy dreams of a revolution that would bring about positive change to the concerned countries. The writer binds this accumulation with one of the causes of the prevailing statu quo in the region which is foreign intervention. The protestors' demands seem to break on the rocky shores of outside actors whose influence and control over the course of actions is stronger and deeper.

Extract 8	Translation
Ce prédicateur salafiste est connu pour ses appels au meurtre des juifs, sa conception rétrograde des femmes et sa défense d'une application directe de la charia.	This Salafist preacher is known for his calls to murder Jews, his retrograde conception of women and his defense of a direct application of sharia law.
En décembre, il s'envole pour l'Italie, avant de réapparaître en Irak. Et de s'afficher toujours sur Facebook en djellaba blanche, calotte sombre et barbe noire.	In December, he flies to Italy, before reappearing in Iraq. And to always appear on Facebook in white djellaba, dark cap and black beard.

The image of Islam and Muslims has undergone a tremendous mutation during the Arab Spring especially with the rise to prominence of Islamic and Salafist parties and movements and above all the birth of the so called The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. In the course of discussing the cases of some Arab youth who have been influenced by extremist ideologies, the writer here cites accumulatively what can be described as a typical “profile” of a Salafist/Jihadist. In the first paragraph, accumulation is used to emphasize the violent and exclusive ideologies of murder, gender discrimination and the imposition of a mode of governance. The second paragraph presents a more physical portrait and appearance style of a Salafist. Accumulating descriptive phrases as “white Djellaba”, “dark cap” and “black beard” helps give the reader a vivid image of this person. Interestingly, through referring to Facebook, the writer may imply that this powerful means of communication is not only used by “prodemocracy” activists, but extremists as well have had their share to propagate their ideologies and achievements.

Extract 9

Translation

Ces dernières années, il n'est pas une semaine sans que l'islam, pour des questions sociétales, voile, nourriture halal, ou pour une actualité dramatique, attentats, ou géopolitique, n'ait été au cœur de l'actualité.

In recent years, not a week passes without Islam, either for societal issues, veil, halal food, or for tragic news, attacks, or geopolitics, has been at the heart of the news.

This extract is taken from an article titled *L'image de l'islam se dégrade fortement en France*, the Image of Islam Strongly Degrades in France, and it discusses a survey conducted by IFOP “Institut Français d'opinion Public”, the French Institute for Public Opinion, for Le

Figaro in 2012. The writer states that the different aspects related to Muslims have become annoyingly visible in France. He accumulates a mixture of items such as the “Veil”, “halal food” and “attacks” as perhaps intruding elements in the French culture. The choice of these words is also deliberate to enforce the pejorative and stereotypical image of Muslims who are seen as close-minded concerning clothing, dramatic in terms of food and violent in their behavior.

The Washington Post

Extract 6

In Libya, we see warlords, Islamists, tribal leaders and would-be democrats vying for power in the post-Gaddafi world.

The toppling of a long-anchored dictator as Muammar Gaddafi has perhaps been one of the significant achievements of the Arab Spring, regardless of its despicable way. Unfortunately, to the protestors’ and the world’s misfortune, Libya has sunk into chaos. The writer in this extract accumulates the racing actors in the Libyan ring most of whom seem far from holding a saving plan for reuniting the country. These actors have different ideologies and plans that bring the country nearer to the state of dismemberment rather than unification. Warlords wish the state of chaos to prolong, Islamist have been tried in Syria and Iraq, tribal leaders hold totally conservative views vis-a-vis a modern democratic state rule and democrats are still unborn since the writer describes them as “would-be democrats”. Thus, accumulation here is, indeed, employed to give a sense of dispersion and dismemberment and reflect the real post revolution situation of Libya.

Extract 7

Entrenched dictators had long imprisoned or killed dissenters, bought off opponents, undermined civil society, and divided or intimidated their people. And when dictators fall, their means of preserving power do not always fall with them.

Through the employment of accumulation, the writer here lists and accounts for what can be considered as “strategies” rooted tyrants follow to secure their regimes. The imprisonment or killing of protestors comes on top of the list to reflect physical disposal. Next, bribing seems the best solution with another type of opponents and it reflects conscience buying. After that, weakening the tissue of society through taming NGOs and civil society activists ensures controlling the organizing forces of society. The last instance of accumulation is used to fraction the people either between, for example, weak and controlled political parties and movements or intimidate them by unleashing all types of police and secret services. Interestingly, the writer suggests that these accumulated “strategies” seem to serve the dictator even after his overthrow since they prolong the life of the regime or system and what happened in Egypt and Yemen is a case in point.

Extract 8

Putin and China’s Xi Jinping have helped to inspire the new Muslim models of authoritarianism. A decade ago, dictatorship looked untenable in a globalizing world dominated by the United States; consequently, Erdogan was pushing Turkey toward membership in the European Union, while Egyptian strongman Hosni Mubarak was allowing his son to privatize state companies and tolerating Western funding of Egyptian groups promoting democratic politics and the rule of law. Now the Chinese and Russian regimes seem to offer proof that it’s possible to

exclude democratic competition, suppress civil society, censor the Internet, practice crony capitalism, defy Washington — and still flourish.

In this extract, the writer levels harsh criticism against Russia and China and accuses them of having “inspired the new Muslim models of authoritarianism”. The use of accumulation here exposes the Russian and Chinese model of what can be seen as “iron fist rule” which foregrounds the exclusion of democratic completion, and hence, fosters totalitarianism, stifles social pluralism through suppressing civil society, watch over the internet, harness the economy and above all challenge the United States. This last item in this series of accumulation reveals a deep superiority complex that rules the American mindset which sees itself as “the only key holder” to democratic governance, economic triumph and world leadership. The writer is disillusioned though when he states that despite this series of negative accumulation Russia and China “still flourish”. This, he explains, is due to a retreat of American dominance which ten years before inspired Erdogan to join the European Union and Egypt to tolerate Western funding of groups promoting democratic politics and rule of law. Now Muslim countries literally follow the Russian and Chinese path which has perhaps accelerated the explosion of revolutions in some Arab countries and pushed Erdogan towards centralizing all powers in his hands.

The Guardian

Extract 5

The 87-year-old King Abdullah made two moves this week to present a more liberal face. He revoked a sentence to lash a woman 10 times for driving her car, and decreed that women could take part in council elections in 2015. Neither will make more than surface ripples. Only half of the council seats are up for election, and the councils themselves have no real powers. All the important posts in the provinces are chaired by

members of the royal family. And as for free speech in a country where the government already controls the print and television media, online publishers and bloggers will require a license.

The firm Saudi efforts to brighten the kingdom's picture in the post Arab Spring era have not been very fruitful. Though the writer cites the decree of a long-awaited royal decision to allow women to vote, he accumulates a number of negative counter arguments to demolish the king's step such as limiting elections only to half council seats, the triviality of electing councils since they are powerless, the domination of the royal family members of most articulated provincial posts. The last accumulation wraps up the writer's criticism and discloses the kingdom's oppressive take on freedom of speech. Controlling print and television media, and internet, through online publishers and bloggers, complete the picture of Saudi Arabia's pretense of bringing about real change. That is why, at the beginning, the writer metaphorically describes the king's decisions as "surface ripples"; which need to be deep and major tectonic ones to make real change.

Extract 6

The Sunni world is dealing with a psychology of anxiety. A people sharing a rich cultural, religious and linguistic heritage, the Arab world's largest ethnic group has seen its great cities fall to rivals: Mosul, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Baghdad and Damascus.

One of the Arab Spring's critical outcomes is the widening fragmentation between its two major components, Sunni and Shiite, due to outside forces intervention. In this extract, the writer uses accumulation to highlight the Sunni world and their loss perhaps not only of members, but also ground. Though the Sunni people constitute the largest ethnic group in the Arab world, and share strong cultural, religious and linguistic bonds, they failed to stand

against their foes and preserve their land. The writer gives examples of major Sunni capitals and cities that either fell under the Persian Shiite power like Damascus, Baghdad, Mosul and Aleppo or the Jewish occupation. This accumulative series of Sunni's qualities and lost cities serves as an alarming note of the critical state this large ethnic group of the Arab world is living and warns against the increasing outside forces' greed.

Another worth investigating figure of speech, which has been used by the writers to accentuate arguments, is hyperbole. The following data analysis reveals the implementation of hyperbole by the writers.

2.2.3. Hyperbole

Within DI and CDA the study of hyperbole has helped in the analysis and investigation of the writer's/speaker's underlying discursive intentions. To emphasize, overstate and underline a given statement, language users resort to a rhetorical device known as hyperbole. According to Kassabgy et al (2004) "hyperbolic expressions are extravagant exaggerations used deliberately and not meant to be taken literally. In other words, they involve intensification and excess, as opposed to hedges, which mitigate or attenuate the effect of the illocutionary force of the utterance" (p.171). Thus, the use of hyperbole is deliberate and sometimes selective to serve the purpose of persuasion or in some cases deception. Richardson (2007, p 65) cites the significance of hyperbolic analysis in Van Dijk's work on racist discourse. He says that:

Van Dijk (1991) points out that in his study of the reporting of `race` and `racial` minorities hyperbole was highly selective: `disturbances are not merely described as "riots" but even as "mob war" when young West Indians are involved, a policeman is not "stabbed" but "hacked down and mutilated in a fury of blood lust" when killed by a black man (p, 219).

This way hyperbole can be used to give a deteriorated image of reality by intentionally emphasizing some news and leaving other overshadowed.

Le Figaro

Extract 10

Translation

Dans le flot des critiques, on trouve évidemment ceux qui ont toujours pensé que le monde musulman était incapable de mettre en place des démocraties. Depuis deux ans, ils meurent d'envie de dire : «On vous avait prévenus!». Mais nombre d'observateurs avisés vont également dans ce sens, dont Hussein Agha, du St. Antony's College d'Oxford, et Robert Malley, de l'International Crisis Group, qui ont récemment publié dans la revue The New York Review of Books un article intitulé «This Is Not a Revolution».

In the flood of criticism, there are obviously those who have always thought that the Muslim world was incapable of setting up democracies. For two years, they have been dying to say, "We warned you!" But a number of wise observers are also moving in this direction, including Hussein Agha of St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Robert Malley of the International Crisis Group, who recently published in The New York Review of Books a article entitled "This Is Not a Revolution".

Through this extract, the writer tries to foreground the idea that the Arab Spring has heavily been criticized. The use of the hyperbolic statement “in the flood of criticism” is very emphatic and telling of the huge amount of criticism leveled against the revolutions. To maintain this statement, the writer cites a typical Orientalist supporting example of those who believe Muslims are incapable of “setting up democracies”. This “vague” reference to an unknown “those” is further backed up by a strong reference to two major “reliable” authorities and their publications in a well-known source as “the New York Review of

Books”. The choice of the word “flood”, indeed, suggests massiveness and represents the revolutions as a wrong deed facing floods of underestimation. Also, mentioning the “This is not a Revolution” article gives the writer much room to perhaps demystify the “dreamy” contentions of the Arab revolutions as a form of salvation and a step in the right direction and suggests instead: if this is not a revolution then it is maybe a destruction.

The Washington Post

Extract 9

The Arab Spring is widely presented as a regional, youth-led revolution on behalf of liberal democratic principles. Yet Libya is not ruled by such forces; it hardly continues as a state. Neither is Egypt, whose electoral majority (possibly permanent) is overwhelmingly Islamist. Nor do democrats seem to predominate in the Syrian opposition. The Arab League consensus on Syria is not shaped by countries previously distinguished by the practice or advocacy of democracy. Rather, it largely reflects the millennium-old conflict between Shiite and Sunni and an attempt to reclaim Sunni dominance from a Shiite minority. It is also precisely why so many minority groups, such as Druzes, Kurds and Christians, are uneasy about regime change in Syria.

In the course of picking apart the positive view which introduces the Arab revolutions as led by pro-liberal and democratic principles youths, the writer mentions relevant counter arguments. He refers to Libya’s stateless situation, Egypt’s Islamist dominated elections and Syrian opposition’s powerless position. More than that, he criticizes the retreat of states “previously distinguished by the practice or advocacy of democracy” from playing leading roles in the Arab League and the resolution on Syrian is a case in point. The writer goes a step further in his criticism of the Arab League by discussing its role in widening the gap between

Shiite and Sunni. Using the hyperbolic phrase “the millennium-old conflict”, the writer wants to show the gravity of such conflict via referring to its long duration. The unsettlement of such long struggle casts its shadows on the members of the Arab League and the course of action of the revolution since, as the writer contends, this organization has been used in sizing the Shiite minority dominance. Such negative signal, according to the writer, has been caught by other minority groups and pushed them to prolong regimes’ life to preserve their interests like in Syria.

The Guardian

Extract 7

Why was the apparent success of the Tunisian revolution followed by so many disasters? Can it really be true that a largely peaceful development, which inspired millions around the world, contributed to the situation faced today: internationalised civil wars in both Syria and Yemen, the rise of Islamic State, authoritarian rule in Egypt, the collapse of central government in Libya, and migrants risking all to flee these horrors?

To describe the impact of the Tunisian revolution on other Arab Spring countries, the writer opts for the hyperbolic lexical item “disasters”. Employing the power of rhetorical questions, this extract raises queries about the hyperbolic consequence of this snowball revolution in a list form with examples. In fact, the writer wonders how such an inspirational and “largely peaceful development” would lead to all these disasters such as civil wars, extremism, authoritarianism, decentralization of states and migration. This way the writer seems to undermine the existential foundation of the Arab Spring, mostly not in Tunisia, since it brought calamities and turned the clock hands back instead of forth.

The writers’ need to stress and exaggerate the significance of an argument is typically satisfied by the power of hyperbole. It is via this figure of speech that writers openly

emphasize certain arguments and perhaps deemphasize others to serve their ideological agendas. Along with hyperbole, the writers tend to make a variety of comparisons to account for the course of events. Hence, a close eye on comparison as a figure of speech is pertinent here.

2.2.4. Comparison

As an essential type of analogy, comparison plays a significant role in discourse through highlighting similarities and differences. It is a rhetorical device which juxtaposes two or more people or things with the purpose of uncovering their common or discrepant points for persuasive or argumentative reasons. Comparisons are usually used through employing comparative tools such as: *as+ adjective + as, like, compare, similar to, adjective+ er, more+ adjective*. The use of this device manifests itself in the analyzed articles and comparisons are generally made between countries, leaders, protestors, East and West, before and after the revolution.

Le Figaro

Extract 11	Translation
Les manifestants de 2011 regrettent-ils leur fougue? «L'économie va mal et la violence policière s'est renforcée. C'est pire que sous Moubarak»	2011 protesters regret their passion? "The economy is bad and police violence has increased. It's worse than under Mubarak "

In Egypt, the reasons for fueling protests are still pressing since the outcomes of revolution seem unsatisfactory or even regressive. The writer's employment of comparison is strategic in devaluing the revolution's aftermath by bringing on stage the prerevolutionary Mubarak era. Two of the main impetuses behind the uprising, mainly the economic situation and police violence, have got even worse than they have been under Mubarak's regime. Thus,

the revolution has not been able to bring about real and tangible change; that is why the revolutionary passion is not expected to cool down.

Extract 12

Translation

Deux ans après le début du « printemps arabe », on assiste davantage à une désintégration des États au Proche-Orient qu'à une transition, que l'on voudrait démocratique, ou à une prise du pouvoir, dont on redoute qu'elle profite aux éléments islamistes les plus radicaux.

Two years after the beginning of the "Arab Spring", there is more of a disintegration of states in the Middle East than a transition, which one would like democratic, or a seizure of power, which is feared that it benefits the most radical Islamist elements.

State disintegration is one of the very worrying repercussions of the Arab Spring for the West. In this extract, the use of comparison is essential to discuss the reality on the ground, state disintegration, and what it is hoped to be (transition). Evidently, a democratic and powerful transition seems unattainable though a considerable span of time has elapsed. The writer believes that the state disintegration is a step in the wrong direction and that it would be a golden opportunity for Islamist to seize; something which the West is uncomfortable with.

Extract 13

Translation

La situation y est beaucoup moins grave qu'en Syrie ou même en Libye, mais on peut constater que Le Caire a perdu le contrôle d'une grande partie du Sinaï.

The situation is much less serious than in Syria or even in Libya, but it can be seen that Cairo has lost control of much of Sinai

Comparing the situations in Arab Spring countries is extensively used in the Analyzed articles to unravel the similar and discrepant consequences of the revolutions. The writer, here, compares the situation in Syria and Libya and Egypt. The phrase “much less serious” gives the impression that Egypt is way too far from the ravaging civil war as well as outside intervention which have been, the least to say, destructive in Libya. Yet, the writer’s comparison is redirected by the use of the concessive expression “but” to warn that the Egyptian situation is not better with the loss of Sinai. This loss, obviously, enhances the state of disintegration rather than rebuilding or transition and empowers radical groups.

The Washington Post

Extract 10

The exuberant protesters in Tahrir Square were irresistible, not just for Obama but for most of the world. But even in the streets, it was obvious that Egypt (with U.S. backing) was taking a risk. “The Egyptian people are making a bet that the Brotherhood won’t wreck their new experiment in democracy. But as is always the case with real political change, it’s impossible to be sure,” I wrote at the time, after watching hundreds of thousands of Egyptian Muslims in celebratory mass prayers in Tahrir Square, “an image that evokes Tehran more than Cairo.”

The uncertainty of the kind of political change in most Arab Spring countries has obsessed Western capitals. Quoting from secretary of state Hillary Clinton’s 2014 book *Hard Choices*, the writer discusses the Muslim Brotherhood ascendancy to power in Egypt. The American and Egyptian peoples’ bet on the Islamist was quite risky and unguaranteed. This fear stems from an old experience with a dominant Islamist revolution in the neighboring Iran. The prayers in Tahrir Square are quite reminiscent of Tehran’s 1979 streets. This evocative comparison between Egypt and Iran is nothing but a warning note for precaution from the

realization of a long-awaited dream of Chari's law rule in Egypt, something which has been aborted by Abd el Fatah Sisi's military coup in 2013.

Extract 11

Today the badly misnamed "Arab Spring" is beginning to look like an epic mess. An ugly civil war in Syria could easily spread across the Levant. In Egypt, the victory of an Islamist in a democratic presidential election has prompted a power struggle with the military. Violent political conflict continues in Yemen, Libya and Bahrain. Only Tunisia appears headed toward the new era of democracy and development that Obama promised to promote, and even there it's not clear how tolerant a new Islamist government will prove to be.

In this extract, the writer's negative stance against the Arab Spring is plainly put when he describes it as "the badly misnamed "Arab Spring"". He goes even further in his derogatory delineation by metaphorically comparing the Arab Spring to "an epic mess". According to the Cambridge online dictionary, the adjective epic is "used to describe events that happen over a long period and involve a lot of action and difficulty"; this is what the writer believes happening in the revolting countries with mess prevailing over order. The comparison here includes six countries which seem to share similar chaotic and failing repercussions of the revolution. Syria, Yemen, Libya and Bahrain have been turned into a swamp of violence and political struggle. Egypt, for the writer, has not become better even after a democratic election since the military is unwilling to tolerate an Islamist rule. Even the applauded for and leading Tunisian case is uncertain with the rise of Islamist to power and doubts about their degree of power sharing and political tolerance.

Extract 12

Since then, the two countries have, indeed, transformed their political systems and their relations with the United States — and the result has been a disaster for U.S. interests. As Obama prepares to leave office, Turkey and Egypt are emerging as twin models for a 21st-century Muslim authoritarianism, one Islamist and one secular. Their regimes are far more repressive than they were in 2009 and far less open to liberal ideas. But their most distinguishing feature, compared with a decade ago, is their anti-Americanism. [...] So both Muslim governments are importing those practices. Erdogan has copied Putin's political path, shifting from prime minister to the presidency while seeking a constitutional reform that would vastly increase the powers of the executive. Since the coup, he has targeted more than 50,000 perceived opponents. Sissi is preparing a draconian law that, like those already passed in Moscow and Beijing, would shut down any NGO with foreign connections or support. Most of these are already closed; U.S. citizen Aya Hijazi, who launched an organization to help impoverished street children, has been imprisoned for two years without trial.

In the extract above, the writer compares the transformation of the political system in an Arab Spring country, Egypt, to the one in a non-Arab Muslim country, Turkey. These two different models of governance, the Turkish Islamism and the Egyptian secularism, have become oppressive and less tolerant to liberal principles than they were before the revolutions. Besides, the writer stresses that this twenty first century model of “Muslim authoritarianism” has made a historical shift towards embracing anti-Americanism beliefs. The comparison goes even further when the writer draws an analogy between Erdogan and

Putin and how the Turkish president followed the “Putinian” model through “reforming” the presidency and constitution to centralize powers in his hands. On the other hand, the laws Egyptian president, Sissi, is about to pass are compared to those adopted by what the Americans might see as two “oppressive” capitals, Moscow and Beijing. To illustrate the cruelty of these laws, the writer compares them to those passed by Draco, the Athenian lawmaker who prescribed death penalty as a punishment for breaking his laws. This way, Sissi ensures control of political and civil life and the U.S. citizen Aya Hijazi is an exemplar victim of these laws.

The Guardian

Extract 8

The underlying reasons for revolt have not gone away. In many ways the conditions today are even more explosive than in 2011.

In this extract, the writer uses comparison to shed light on the conditions in the post revolution Arab Spring countries. The post revolution era seems to have brought no concrete change and hopes are deterred as stated in “the reasons for revolt have not gone away”. This is an implicit declaration of the failure of the revolutions and even an accusation of their role in aggravating the situation after 2011 since the “conditions today are more explosive”. This is obvious in the prevalence of violence, disorder and disintegration in most of the revolting countries.

Extract 9

The Arab state is in crisis almost everywhere: plunging oil prices have holed Saudi’s economy; Egypt’s flawed leadership has created crisis after crisis. The desperate men and women leaving for Europe want a better life than that found at home.

Another comparison is deployed in this extract to depict the difficult situation some of the Arab countries are living. The Saudi's economy is facing a serious threat with the fall of oil prices which casts gloomy consequences on the peoples' lives. Another difficulty is represented in the leadership crises as in the case of Egypt. Struggle over power and the Islamist experience as well as the military one have been a fiasco for the country at all levels. Within the revolutionary hope for change and better life, a lot of disappointed people choose to leave the country and look for a better life. A life they have been dreaming to improve in their homelands through revolutionary dreams which seem to have collapsed at the shores of dictatorship and deep state.

Obviously, the interconnectedness of events, adjacency of geography, common history, language and religion of the revolting countries have made the role of comparison more significant in probing into the similarities and discrepancies between these countries. Therefore, the writers have made different forms of comparisons and juxtapositions to give their take on the events.

Having dealt with the analysis and findings of the rhetoric components, the following part of the data analysis brings forth the analysis and interpretation of two argumentation elements, mainly Aristotelian appeals and fallacies.

2.2.5. Argumentation

Data analysis has revealed that the journalists of the analyzed articles draw on argumentation theory to wrap up their ideological and representational constructs of the Arab Spring. For persuasive purposes, they make use of certain argumentative techniques such as Aristotelian appeals, logos, ethos and pathos, and logical fallacies. Logos, ethos and pathos are roughly and respectively appeals to reason by using figures, facts and reference to authority, appeal to the speaker's or writer's authority and credibility and appeal to emotions

and sentiments. In her *Concise Encyclopedia of Semantics*, Allan (2009) summarizes Aristotelian appeals as follows:

Logos refers to the reasoning process of the speaker, whose claims are conveyed by means of two reasoning techniques, i.e., 'inductive' and 'deductive'. In Western rhetorical theory, inductive argument uses 'paradigms' that support a proposition by implying a universal conclusion from experience, which need not be expressed. Deductive argument involves the use of a rhetorical syllogism, called 'enthymeme': it is usually probable, though not a certainty, and it tends to assume one premise that is unexpressed.

Ethos was regarded by Aristotle as evidence that the speaker was to be trusted. For Aristotle, a speaker's ethos is persuasive when the speech demonstrates (1) phronesis 'practical wisdom and common sense', (2) arête 'moral virtue', and (3) eunoia 'goodwill towards the audience'. Later rhetoricians, such as Cicero, recognized, however, that there were other forms of ethos that regularly were involved in a speech. For example, a speaker might appeal to the moral character of the audience.[...]Ethos also has a nonartistic form-something that is brought to the occasion- such as the authority of the speaker, known to the audience from his/her position or previous actions.

Pathos was regarded by Aristotle as the emotion of the hearers aroused by a speech that moved them to accept what the speaker said. [...] 'pathos' was regarded as the expression of strong emotions, such as anger or outrage. The nature and intensity of emotional appeals are generally influenced by culture and time. (p.834)

As for logical fallacies, they are flaws and errors in reasoning which are meant to achieve a persuasive effect through taking advantage of the addressee's ignorance of these techniques. They are usually used in a way which makes them sound logical and acceptable and help harbor fallacious arguments and biased representation. The following table summarizes some of the most common logical fallacies:

Fallacy	Meaning
Bandwagon	Claiming that everyone believes the proposition to be true or valid so you should be with the majority and jump on the bandwagon.
Ad hominem	Attacking the person rather than the argument.
Slippery slope	Claiming that something will lead to a sequence of undesirable consequences.
Straw man	Presenting the opponent's weak argument as strong and important and then knocking it down, so that the debater's argument sounds more convincing and stronger.
Red herring	Presenting or introducing an irrelevant topic to avoid arguing the original topic and draw attention away from it.
Hasty generalization	Reaching conclusions by insufficient evidence
False dilemma	Claiming that something is locked in an either/or situation, where, in fact, there are other possible options.
Appeal to ignorance	Claiming that something is true simply because there is no evidence which proves it wrong.
False analogy	Just because two things are alike in some respect, they should necessarily be alike in others.

Table 14: Most common logical fallacies (Adapted from : Gambrill, Eileen, (2012).

Propaganda in the Helping Professions. New York ,Oxford University Press.)

2.2.5.1. Aristotelian Appeals

The analysis of data has concluded that there is a strategic and varied employment of Aristotelian appeals in the analyzed articles. The writers build up their arguments mainly on logos and pathos without resorting to ethos not even once. The frequencies of these appeals are presented in the table below:

Newspaper	Logos	Pathos	Ethos
Le Figaro	44 %	56 %	00 %
The Washington Post	51 %	49 %	00 %
The Guardian	62 %	38 %	00 %

Table 15: Aristotelian appeals

The first evident and catchy remark from the table above is the null presence of ethos appeals in all the analyzed articles. In fact, all the writers have avoided introducing themselves as credible sources of information and presenting their own experiences as backups for their arguments perhaps to stay on the safe side of objectivity. Conversely, logos and pathos have considerably been employed with close frequencies except in *The Guardian* in which logos almost double pathos. Below are two tables that further detail the use of logos and pathos.

Newspaper	Figures	Facts	Appeal to Authority
Le Figaro	32 %	36 %	32 %
The Washington Post	38 %	33 %	29 %
The Guardian	34 %	23 %	43 %

Table 16: Logos Types

The use of logos is made through three main constituents namely figures, facts and appeal to authority. Newspapers writers essentially rely on statistics, facts (most of which are scientifically or politically accredited) and citing political analysts, presidents and protestors on the field. The frequencies of these constituents are quite balanced in the articles of *le Figaro* and *The Washington Post*, it is apparent that *The Guardian* inclines more towards citing first hand information from different authorities.

Newspaper	Fear	Uncertainty/Doubt	Pity	Threat	Inferiority	Superiority
Le Figaro	21 %	17 %	18 %	17 %	12 %	15 %
The Washington Post	23 %	21 %	22 %	19 %	6 %	9 %
The Guardian	25 %	24 %	29 %	13 %	2 %	7 %

Table 17: Most Aroused Pathos

The above mentioned negative emotions serve to actualize the pathetic mood the writers seek to instill in the reader about the Arab Spring. Through various recurrences, fear, uncertainty/doubt, pity and threat cast gloomy, fearful and dubious shadows over the unfolding events and their repercussions. In the same vein, though quite less, senses of inferiority and superiority are being articulated especially more obviously in *Le Figaro* articles. In some instances, the writers highlight the West's superior position as a democratizing force, world guardian and model while relegate the East to an inferior position of despotism, corruption and violence.

Le Figaro

Logos

Extract 14

Translation

Un rapport de l'ONG Transparency Watch dresse un constat dramatique: en 2015 presque une personne sur trois déclare avoir payé un bakchich pour accéder à un service public dans les neuf pays passés au crible par l'association: le Maroc, l'Égypte, l'Algérie, le Soudan, la Tunisie, la Jordanie, la Palestine, le Yémen, et le Liban.

A report by the NGO Transparency Watch makes a dramatic statement: in 2015 almost one out of three people said they paid a bribe to access a public service in the nine countries screened by the association: Morocco, Egypt, Algeria, Sudan, Tunisia, Jordan, Palestine, Yemen, and Lebanon.

The appeal to the authority of surveys and reports strongly serves the writer's contention of criticizing the issue of bribery in the Arab world. Such report's trustworthiness is more enhanced since it is issued by the widely recognized and credible NGOs as Transparency Watch. Besides, the reference to figures, one in three people, strengthens the writer's arguments and shows the fatality of such an infamous phenomenon and how it engorges one third of the society. Also, citing nine countries as evidence helps the writer clear up any doubt about the exceptionality of this phenomenon and proves that it is something prevalent across the Arab world. Most importantly, the year of the report is very significant since it marks the mad spread of one of the ugly repercussions of the Arab Spring, corruption.

Extract 15

Translation

Combien sont partis en Syrie et Irak au nom de Dieu? Au moins 600, selon les autorités égyptiennes. À l'échelle d'un pays de plus de 82 millions d'habitants, le chiffre est dérisoire mais est suffisamment conséquent pour redouter le retour au pays de ces nouveaux djihadistes. Le phénomène illustre également les failles d'un régime répressif qui n'a pas su répondre aux attentes de sa population.

How many went to Syria and Iraq in the name of God? At least 600, according to the Egyptian authorities. At the scale of a country of more than 82 million inhabitants, the figure is ridiculous but is large enough to fear the return to the country of these new jihadists. The phenomenon also illustrates the flaws of a repressive regime that failed to meet the expectations of its population.

In this extract, the writer starts with a consciousness raising question about the number of Jihadist leaving for Syria and Iraq to situate the reader within the context of his argument. He calls on the authority of statistics to address the danger of the so called Jihadism on a country like Egypt and the pitfalls of its post-revolution regime. The writer cites Egyptian official numbers and uses the quantifier “at least” to talk about a minimum number, which implies that the number can be even larger than 600, of Jihadists who would, though, represent greater threat to their home countries rather than to Syria and Iraq when the waves of return start. Moreover, the writer draws a logical connection between the radicalization of Egyptians and their regime’s flaws. His argument would sound something like: had the regime met its peoples’ expectations, they would not have embraced Jihadist ideologies. This “repressive regime”, to use the writer’s words, then, is responsible for not only breaking the revolution’s hopes and promises, but also driving its people to the bosom of fundamentalism.

Extract 16

Translation

En témoigne l'histoire d'Ahmed Darawi, un aspirant démocrate mort l'an passé en Irak en faisant le djihad. À 38 ans, ce père de trois enfants était un pilier de la place Tahrir, l'épicentre de la révolte de 2011. Né de parents aisés et cultivés, il avait grandi à Maadi, banlieue huppée du Caire. Son engagement auprès de la dissidence commence fin 2010. Peu de temps avant, cet ex-officier de police avait lâché l'uniforme pour rejoindre l'opérateur Etisalat. « Il était éloquent et réfléchi. Nous partageons les mêmes revendications », se souvient l'activiste libéral Yasser Harawy. Mais à peine le tyran déboulonné, Darawi enchaîne les déceptions. À la présidentielle de 2012, son favori, l'islamiste modéré Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh est éliminé au premier tour. Lui qui n'a jamais été pro-Morsi finit pourtant par choisir son clan à l'été 2013.

Witness the story of Ahmed Darawi, a Democratic aspirant who died last year in Iraq by doing jihad. At 38, this father of three was a pillar of Tahrir Square, the epicenter of the 2011 revolt. Born to wealthy, educated parents, he grew up in Maadi, a posh suburb of Cairo. His commitment to dissent began in late 2010. Shortly before, this former police officer had dropped the uniform to join the operator Etisalat. "He was eloquent and thoughtful. We shared the same demands," recalls liberal activist Yasser Harawy. But just the tyrant debunked, Darawi chained disappointments. In the 2012 presidential election, his favorite moderate Islamist Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh is eliminated in the first round. He who has never been pro-Morsi ends up choosing his clan in summer 2013.

Another use of logos is evident in this extract through the recounting of facts and the life of a fundamentalist Egyptian dissident. The unexpected and dramatic end of someone who belongs to a wealthy and educated family, holds democratic aspirations, works in the

police sector and above all is a pillar of the Tahrir Square is shocking enough for those who stereotypically believe that a Jihadist must be uneducated, poor and reserved. Further, the writer appeals to the authority of Darawi's friend to give credibility to his argument and distance himself from subjectivity. The writer also indirectly talks about Darawi's belief in a new era through elections, but his hope of the presidential elections evaporates when his favourite candidate is knocked out in the first round; something which constituted the final nail in the coffin of change and opened the doors of Iraq for him.

Pathos

Extract 17

Translation

Et puis, un jour d'août 2013, le « beau gosse » a disparu. Quelques mois plus tard, il réapparaît, méconnaissable, sur la Toile, boucles folles, lunettes aux montures noires et sabre à la main. La photo, publiée sur son compte Twitter, a vraisemblablement été prise en Syrie. Les jours suivants, ses commentaires macabres, assortis de clichés de décapitation, confirment l'inimaginable: Islam Yaken a rejoint l'État islamique (EI). Depuis, le jeune combattant, d'abord annoncé mort dans la bataille de Kobané, à l'automne 2014, se serait retranché en Irak, autre foyer de Daech, à en croire ses apparitions ponctuelles - de plus en plus rares - sur les réseaux sociaux.

And then, one day in August 2013, the "handsome kid" has disappeared. A few months later, he reappears, unrecognizable, on the Web, crazy curls, glasses with black frames and sword in hand. The photo, posted on his Twitter account, was probably taken in Syria. The following days, his macabre comments, accompanied by decapitation clichés, confirm the unimaginable: Islam Yaken joined the Islamic State (IS). Since then, the young fighter, first announced dead in the battle of Kobane, in the fall of 2014, would have entrenched himself in Iraq, another home of Daesh, to believe his punctual appearances - more and more rare - on the networks social.

The writer in this extract arouses feelings of fear and terror through citing the story of a Daesh fighter, Islam Yaken. This latter’s photo summarizes his frightening look with “crazy curls and glasses with black frames” and above all a “sword in hand”. Moreover, the lexical items “macabre” and “decapitation” serve intensify the terrifying atmosphere and picture of this Jihadist and evoke the image of blood and heads everywhere. Such fighter’s rooted belief in his deeds encourages him to move his bloody actions from Syria to Iraq and kills any sympathy from the part of the readers with this “handsome kid” since he deliberately does what he does. The representation of Islam Yaken, here, makes no room for sympathy with (IS) fighters and reflects the free will of these fighters to exercise fully adopted radical ideologies.

Extract 18	Translation
Ben Laden est « un meurtrier de masse», et dès avant sa mort, son réseau «perdait sa lutte (...) car l'immense majorité des gens ont vu que le massacre d'innocents ne répondait pas à leur quête d'une vie meilleure», a déclaré le président américain.	Bin Laden is "a mass murderer", and even before his death, his network "lost its fight (...) because the vast majority of people saw that the massacre of innocents did not meet their quest for a better life, "said the US president.

In his attempt to discredit Ben Laden and Al Qaeda, the U.S. president Barak Obama evokes feelings of fear and terror. He uses negative vocabulary items such as “mass murderer”, “death” and “massacre” to describe Ben Laden and his organization and then serve as a scare tactic to shake up people’s sympathy with and belief in the project of Al Qaeda. The writer’s collocation “massacre of innocents” represents the savagery of Al Qaeda against innocent people. This may also imply that Al Qaeda’s actions are not directed towards those who “deserve” punishment. Therefore, through this contention, Obama concludes that Al

Qaeda's violent approach can be anything but the right path towards a better life and reliable alternative.

Extract 19	Translation
Hussein al-Jaziri, 16 ans, est mort jeudi, touché par des tirs de chevrotine à la poitrine dans le village de Daih.	16-year-old Hussein al-Jaziri died on Thursday with buckshot shot in his chest in Daih village.

Another instance of evoking death is evidently stated in this extract to arouse feelings of sympathy and victimization. The words “died”, “buckshot” and “shot” reveal the brutality of the Bahraini police and, hence, regime. Also, the reader's sympathy and pity increase when they read that this brutality is aimed at a kid aged 16 years who has not been given a chance to run away and got a shot in the chest. Indeed, arousing feelings of sympathy and pity with the demonstrators is quite recurrent and Al- Jaziri's case is, in fact, a miniature of the cases of many kids and demonstrators who have been the victims of the savagery of the regimes during the uprisings.

The Washington Post

Logos

Extract 13

Moreover, the demonstrations that led to the ouster of rulers such as Mubarak and Tunisia's Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali hardly offered a clear governing alternative. Although they embodied a genuine outpouring of popular rage, the protests were largely leaderless and loosely organized, often via social media; there was no African National Congress or Corazon Aquino to take the reins. You cannot govern by flash mob.

The logical demonstration of facts in this extract helps the writer criticize the disorganization and state of scatter of the demonstrators. The writer implies that the logical path the demonstrators should have followed is to ready an organized leading body which would fill the gap after toppling the dictators. The spontaneous flux of anger and outrage would go in vain unless a clear transitory alternative is concretized and put in practice to make a revolution successful. To exemplify, the writer mentions two famous alternatives that, though in different contexts, took the lead in post-apartheid South Africa, namely the African National Congress, and the Philippine People Power Revolution, the well-known leader Corazon Aquino. This logical contention is ended by a clear critical comparison when the writer compares the demonstrators' governance to the dispersed and social media inhabitants of flash mobs.

Extract 14

and the opposition voices that were organized were not necessarily the most democratic. With the Arab Spring, Islamist forces rose to prominence. In Tunisia, a moderate Islamist party won victory in the October elections, gaining 89 of 217 seats in parliament, dwarfing the 29 seats of its nearest — secular — competitor. In Morocco, where the king has opened the political system somewhat, the Islamist party likewise won a plurality of the vote in the November elections.

With the authority of statistics the writer reveals one of the expected outcomes of the Arab Spring, the rise of Islamism. Being the most organized and solid opposition forces, the Islamists managed to secure leadership in countries like Tunisia and Morocco. These forces, numerically strong but less democratic, may represent a threat to pro-Western and secular thought in a two previously recognized strongholds of Westernism and liberalism. The use of logos in this extract is enhanced by drawing an analogy between an Arab Spring country,

Tunisia, and a non-Arab Spring country, Morocco which shows that Islamist voices have previously been smothered and their rise, now, is no surprise after the room for more freedom and flexibility has been granted.

Extract 15

The most dangerous outcome of the Arab Winter, however, is the spread of chaos and violence. In Syria, where thousands have already died, the body count may grow exponentially as sectarian killings spread and peaceful protesters take up arms. In Yemen, the resignation of Ali Abdullah Saleh has not ended the turmoil throughout the country. And Libya, lacking strong institutions and divided by tribal and political factions, may never get its new government off the ground.

A factual contention is put forward by the writer here to unravel the ugly face of what he calls the Arab Winter and to, perhaps, disillusion those who expect rosy outcomes of the Arab Revolutions. To demonstrate the fatality of the Arab Spring's repercussions, chaos and violence, the writer gives examples and facts from different revolting countries like Syria, Yemen and Libya. The mass killing of civilians, disintegration of state institutions and ravaging upheavals seem to have turned the bright expectations of an Arab Spring into gloomy and dark realities of an Arab Winter. This way, the writer implicitly criticizes a revolution which would lead to chaos and violence instead of stability and peaceful change and perhaps the lack of readiness of the Arabs to lead a real revolution to the shores of safety.

Pathos

Extract 16

The swift toppling of the presidents of Tunisia and Egypt, in rapid succession, has been followed by months of deepening bloodshed and brutality across the Arab world, underscoring the power that autocrats still wield after decades of dictatorship.

The feelings of fear and terror of autocrats are what the writer is trying to instill in the reader through describing their bloody and brutal acts towards the protestors. This terrifying atmosphere casts its violent clouds across the Arab world proving the rootedness of such dictators, through their means of power like the police, army, militia or mercenaries, even after they have been toppled. Accentuating this death mood is also meant to stir empathy with the protestors who seem to be trapped between the hammer of years of dictatorship and the anvil of post-revolution autocrats' bloody retaliation.

Extract 17

At this writing, traditional fundamentalist political forces, reinforced by alliance with radical revolutionaries, threaten to dominate the process while the social-network elements that shaped the beginning are being marginalized.

The concern of who will be at the driving seat after the fall of dictators has haunted many Western capitals. The writer in this extract warns against not only the rise of fundamentalist political forces, but also their marriage and alliance with radical revolutionaries. The feelings of threat and danger are dominating the writer's thought of untried forces which hijacked the revolution and put the real social-network activists on the margin.

Extract 18

Disciplined by years underground, Islamist groups have popular support because of the social services they provide and the repression they suffered.

The writer tries to account for the popular support Islamist groups are enjoying during the Arab revolutions. These groups have patiently been in the shadow and have been close to the people through their social services. Another reason for attaining support is enduring a long time of repression from the part of oppressive regimes; something which arouses feelings of empathy in the people and guilt in case they do not show their support to these groups. This creates a wave of backup for the “victimized” Islamists and grants them legitimacy for leading the country and fulfilling the project they have been dying to implement.

The Guardian

Logos

Extract 10

In foreign policy the Saudis are leading other monarchies in the region in the counterattack against political change. They backed the Tunisian and Egyptian dictators until the last minute. They gave Jordan \$1.4bn in aid and took both it and Morocco into the Saudi-dominated Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Along with other Gulf States, Saudi Arabia sent troops into Bahrain to quash the Shia-dominated protest.

The negative role Saudi Arabia played in smothering the revolutions is “logosly” undertaken by the writer here. Undeniable facts are demonstrated to expose the Saudis’ “counterattack” and “plot” against the uprisings starting from backing dictators, providing financial aids, taking countries into alliances to military intervention. Through listing these facts, the writer’s logical contentions give the reader an idea on the Saudis’ “notorious” role

and at the same time their strategy of self-defense against catching up the revolutionary fires and fortifying their domestic as well as regional fist.

Extract 11

According to the UN's Arab Development Report – the first since the Arab spring erupted – the Middle East is home to only 5% of the world's population, but accounts for 45% of the world's terrorism, 68% of its battle-related deaths and 58% of its refugees. This at a time, the UN warns, when the population of young Arabs exceeds 100 million and is growing fast – but not as fast as rates of unemployment, poverty and marginalization.

Calling on the authority of the UN and statistics, the writer discusses the situation of the Middle East after the breakout of the revolutions. He gives a dark image of the prevailing ails in Arab countries such as the spread of terrorism, death tolls and refugees. The fact that the Middle Eastern population constitutes only 5% of the world's, according to United Nations' 2017 Population Estimates and Projections but endures all these calamities gives a negative representation of such population compared to other larger ones which seem to lead a better life. Based on the UN report, significant comparison is further drawn to criticize the situation in the Middle East where the quick rise of unemployment, poverty and marginalization outrace the number of youths.

Extract 12

A hereditary elite hoards power. Business is undergirded by “wasta”, the Arabic for connections. Corruption has resulted in the waste of vast resources: the UN says about \$1tn has been pilfered over half a century. This could have been invested in creating jobs and improving basic services.

The use of logos, once again, is evident in this extract through which the writer uncovers the state of corruption in Arab Countries. Relying on the UN and giving statistics, he criticizes corruption and its results on the development. To support his argument, the writer gives an example of how corruption is practiced through “wasta”, the Arabic word for connections, and refers to UN statistics to decry the huge pilfered amount of money. The writer ends his contention with a logical reproach about what could have been done with the wasted money to emphasize his logos demonstration as well as his criticism of this situation.

Pathos

Extract 13

What does this tale of woe say about the capacity of civil resistance to liberate people from autocracy?

The pathetic lexical item “woe” reflects the writer’s sorrowful and negative perspective on the Arab Spring revolutions. In fact, the phrase “tale of woe” is an expression which means, according to the Cambridge Online Dictionary, “a report of the bad things that have happened” and it is used in an interrogative sentence to raise the reader’s consciousness about the ability and role of civil resistance to liberate people and perhaps end this “woeful tale” instead perhaps of an armed one.

Extract 14

In Egypt last week, it was revealed that hardline cleric Mahmoud Shaaban had appeared on a religious television channel calling for the deaths of main opposition figures Mohammed ElBaradei – a Nobel peace prize laureate – and former presidential candidate Hamdeen Sabahy.

In this extract, an aura of horror and terrifying suspicion is created around the Salafists’ project and approach during Muslim brotherhood’s ex-president Morci’s rein. Live calls for death of opposition figures dismantle Salafists readiness to accept and cooperate with

political rivals. Citing this example, the writer aims at arousing anxiety and fear about handing the country to people who consider killing and death penalties as the best ways to settle political and opinion conflicts.

Extract 15

In Egypt, large numbers of Coptic Christians have moved abroad in response to a tide of discrimination and outright oppression. Though still numbering at least 5.1 million of an 80 million-strong population (according to government estimates disputed by the Coptic church), Copts face many professional glass ceilings, and scores of their churches have been attacked by Salafist extremists.

Victimization of and sympathy with Coptic Christians are what the writer is trying to instill in the reader. Being a religious minority in Egypt, Coptic Christians during the Arab Spring have been subjected to discrimination and oppression from the regime at the professional level and from the Salafists at the religious one. Hence, feelings of victimization and pity created in this extract “relegate” these Christians to the “wretched” of the country and simulate feeling of guilt towards them.

Supporting arguments through logos and pathos have enabled the writers to target the readers’ minds and hearts and marionette them depending on their arguments and needs. The absence of ethos can be justified as a step away from subjectivity and bias. Yet, the trap of bias is unavoidable when writers consciously or unconsciously employ fallacious reasoning.

2.2.5.2. Fallacies

The use of fallacies is quite rampant in the analyzed data and the reliance on certain fallacies more than others is evident. The next table shows the dominant logical fallacies and their frequencies across the newspapers:

Newspaper	False dilemma	Hasty generalization	Slippery slope	Other
Le Figaro	35 %	27%	22 %	16 %
The Washington Post	25 %	30 %	15 %	30 %
The Guardian	28 %	25 %	19 %	28 %

Table 18: Fallacies and their Frequencies

Data analysis has revealed the dominance of three fallacies mainly false dilemma, hasty generalization and slippery slope. The use of false dilemma is more frequent than the other types and it has been employed in most of the cases to describe the impasses and either-or situations created by the Arab Spring. Hasty generalization and slippery slope have been used in a balanced way in the three newspapers' articles with close frequencies. The writers rely on these fallacies to generalize things which, after examination, seem untrue or ungeneralizable or claim that something/event would lead to other, especially negative, things.

Le Figaro

False Dilemma

Extract 20

Translation

«Les gens rejoignent Daech tout simplement parce qu'il ne se passe plus rien et que l'EI a remporté de grands succès, observe le chercheur James Dorsey. Les nouveaux venus n'en partagent pas toujours l'idéologie, mais ils ne voient pas d'autre choix pour amener le changement », dit-il.

"People are joining Daesh simply because nothing is happening and IS has been very successful," says researcher James Dorsey. Newcomers do not always share the ideology, but they do not see any other choice to bring about change, "he says.

False dilemma in this extract is used to create a state of predicament to account for the status quo during the Arab Spring. Building on the authority of James Dorsey, a well-known researcher in Middle Eastern and North African studies, the writer locks the reader into an either-or situation to justify the radicalization of people who seem to have no other way to bring about change. The fact that change is not happening through peaceful means leaves the only solution then: joining Daesh; even without necessarily sharing its extreme ideology. This use of false dilemma is meant to eliminate other possible alternatives or ways, other than joining ISIS, and criticizes both the radicals and regimes for not paving the path for transition and creating a third space for negotiation.

Hasty generalization

Extract 21	Translation
Le chaos est en train de s'installer dans la région à la faveur d'une guerre civile généralisée plus ou moins larvée selon les régions.	The chaos is settling in the region in favor of a generalized civil war more or less latent depending on the region.

The talk about a generalized civil war looming over the region gives the impression that the Arab world is shaken from ocean to gulf by sectarian wars. The writer falls in the trap of hasty generalization where he applies the effects of chaos in countries like Syria and Libya to all or most of other countries, with degrees though, dismissing the case of Tunisia, for instance. Hence, half-truth is amplified and the other half is shadowed with the purpose of reproducing the same homogenizing discourse about Arabs and how they share the same characteristics even in situations of chaos and instability.

Slippery Slope

Extract 22	Translation
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Que cela a simplement ouvert la voie aux islamistes. Que cela a conduit au chaos en Égypte et à des massacres en Syrie. En résumé, que ce n'était qu'une perte de temps, un prélude à un nouvel « hiver arabe».	That it simply opened the way for Islamists. That led to chaos in Egypt and massacres in Syria. In short, it was only a waste of time, a prelude to a new "Arab winter".
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The depiction of the Arab Spring in this extract is made through a fallacious comparison to a slippery slope in which the uprisings roll down like a snowball. The writer accuses the revolution of inducing damaging repercussions as the rise of Islamists, chaos and massacres. This slippery slope, in the writer's eyes, would lead to nothing but an "Arab Winter" which represents the peak of destruction and loss. The writer tries to relate the above consequences, which are not necessarily inherently associated, and turns the eye on other possible positive outcomes of such revolution.

The Washington post

False Dilemma

Extract 19

The Arab world provides no easy answers, trapped as it is between repressive dictators and illiberal democrats.

False dilemma fallacy is intentionally used here to substantiate the writer's dichotomous view towards the Arab world. The impasse of repressive dictators and illiberal democrats is the only equation, the writer believes, the Arab world's destiny is calculated through. This way, the presentation of another possible option or choice is deliberately eliminated and the fate of the region would not be at the hands of other forces like liberal democrats, moderate Islamists and supporters of secularism, for instance. Interestingly, this

short extract is reminiscent of the stereotypical discourse of inferiority the West has locked the Arab Muslims into and how they are incapable of creating a third option and breaking the chains of authoritarianism and illiberal democracy.

Hasty generalization

Extract 20

The Arab Spring is widely presented as a regional, youth-led revolution on behalf of liberal democratic principles. Yet Libya is not ruled by such forces; it hardly continues as a state. Neither is Egypt, whose electoral majority (possibly permanent) is overwhelmingly Islamist. Nor do democrats seem to predominate in the Syrian opposition.

The use of hasty generalization is deployed in this extract to undervalue the democratic orientation and outcomes of the Arab revolutions. The phrase “widely represented” is a form of generalization which gives the impression that almost everybody believes the Arab Spring is youth led and democratic in essence. Yet, the writer attempts to debunk this idea by giving an almost generalizing counter example of countries which are not led by youth nor do democratic principles prevail in them. Such counter generalization excludes countries like Tunisia and Morocco which represent two models of democratic transition and youth empowerment.

Slippery slope

Extract 21

If unrest spreads, families will leave their homes, burdening neighboring states and incubating fighters for future conflicts. Perhaps 1 million Libyans sought refuge in nearby countries while civil war raged there this year. Tens of thousands of Syrians have fled, and more will leave if the violence there escalates — as it shows every sign of doing. In Turkey,

Syrian refugees could become a source of recruits for a future opposition army that would fight the regime in Damascus. These conflicts could widen if neighbors intervene, whether because they fear more instability or because they want to consolidate their influence across borders. Saudi Arabia has long meddled in Yemen, for example, and the collapse of that regime may lead the Saudis to move directly against al-Qaeda forces and other perceived threats there. Meanwhile, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Jordan and Israel all have strong interests in Syria and may arm factions or otherwise get involved simply to offset their rivals. Neighboring Lebanon's history of civil war and foreign intervention offers a depressing precedent for how a local conflict can drag in neighbors.

The writer aggravates the situation and relates events that may not necessarily happen. He affirms that an action or measure would cause catastrophic situations because of a chain of causes and effects which appear after examination unlikely to happen or easily avoidable. The use of conditional expressions of uncertainty like "perhaps" and "could" gives a hypothetical tone to the writer's contention and makes the slippery slope's realization an uncertain one. The writer sees the repercussions of unrest from the lenses of pessimism and selection through which he discards the possibility of a thoughtful rebuilding and potential smooth transition after the unrest. Thus, the slippery slope fallacy grants the writer the opportunity to evoke feelings of fear and uncertainty of the consequences of the Arab Spring and to direct the reader's attention to disastrous outcomes more than other possible auspicious ones.

The Guardian

False dilemma

Extract 16

The legacy of colonial oppression and exploitation, followed by postcolonial despotism and corporatism, has left many Africans disillusioned and skeptical that they can become masters of their own destiny.

In addressing the issue of revolutions in North African countries, the writer presents himself as a “spokesperson” or a “psyche” guru who speaks on behalf and knows what is in people’s minds. He constructs an implicit false dilemma situation in which he locks African people between what it seems an “inevitable destiny” of either colonialism or local despotism between which self-rule is hard to see light. He even implies that the revolutions, especially in North African countries, are not “strong” to break the shackles of a heavy legacy of colonialism and long years of despotism and, hence, the state of skepticism of self-rule is a natural breed of this dilemmatic situation.

Hasty generalization

Extract 17

An important factor in this is Arabs' sense of a common identity: they are aware of what is happening in neighbouring countries and draw inspiration from it with regard to their own situation.

A subtle generalization is embedded in the extract above. The writer implies that the Arab’s common sense of identity has been a crucial incentive for the spread of the revolutions across the Arab world’s body. This basically applies to some revolting countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, but not to other countries like U.A.E., Oman, Lebanon and Kuwait.

Perhaps this Arab's common sense of identity is questioned in some conflicting instances induced by the revolution between Arab Muslims and Christians and Sunni and Shiite.

Slippery slope

Extract 18

About 600,000 Copts – more than the entire population of Manchester – have left their homeland since the early 1980s. If Mohamed Morsi's new constitution is implemented, the second-class status of Christians will be set in stone. Egypt will stagnate still further in consequence.

The writer is addressing the issue of a sect of Christian Egyptians, Copts, who have faced difficulties that even pushed many of them into displacement during the 1980s. The now threat this sect is encountering is the implementation of what the writer calls “Morsi's new constitution”. He relies on conditional type one structure to wrap up the slippery slope fallacy. The implementation of this constitution, according to the writer, will lead to unfavorable consequences such as the setting in stone of Christians' status and stagnation in the country. Worth noting is the use of the qualifying adjective “second-class” to create a mood of victimization and stir sympathy and warn against the unfairness inflicted upon Christians provided this constitution implemented.

Fallacious reasoning can be an effective persuasive strategy with readers whose readings and interpretations are shallow. Fallacies are, indeed, a rampant tool for misleading and deceiving which are constructed to sound logical and true. Ostensibly, the ever-unfolding events of the Arab Spring have facilitated the writers' use of fallacies since their verification seems far from attainability. Another interesting tool for argument manipulation and ideology construction enlightened by pragmatics theory is the deployment of pronouns.

2.2.6. Deictic Pronouns

The use and distribution of pronouns is very strategic in discourse to assign roles, construct in-groups and out-groups, alienation and endearment. The data analysis has revealed the use of a variety of deictic pronouns whereby the writers situate themselves vis-a-vis the course of actions, protestors, regimes/rulers and East and West entities. The use and type of these pronouns vary from newspaper to newspaper and across articles. The following tables present the dominant types and frequencies of deictic pronouns in the analyzed newspapers:

Newspaper	Deictic Pronoun	Frequency
Le Figaro	On (undefined we)	21 %
	Il (he)	19 %
	Nous (we)	18 %
	Il/elle (they)	20%
	Notre (our)	7 %
	Les (them)	3 %
	Other	12 %
The	We	27 %
Washington	They	28 %
Post	He	22 %
	You	13 %
	Other	10%
The	We	36 %
Guardian	I	9 %
	They	24%
	He	20 %
	Other	11%

Table 19: Dominant types and frequencies of deictic pronouns

Le Figaro writers make use of a variety of pronouns more than The Washington Post and The Guardian writers. The use of the impersonal pronoun “On” in French gives the writers much room for maneuvering by referring to an unidentified speaker/writer and allows them a margin of objectivity. Besides, the subject pronoun “Nous” (we) is often used (18%) in instances to specify the writer’s group and assign characteristics vs the “Ils/elles”/ (They) group (20%). Likewise, the same pronoun is more frequently used in The Guardian (36%) and The Washington Post (27%) for the same purpose. Clearly, the reliance on the pronoun “He” is apparent in the three newspapers articles especially when reference is made to despotic rulers and individual protestors. Interestingly, the American newspaper writers make use of the pronoun “You” (13%) to refer to a virtual reader and the British paper writers in few instances employ the subject pronoun “I” to refer to their take on the events while the French writers in some cases use the possessive adjective “Notre” (our) (7%) and object pronoun “les” (them) (3%) to further enforce the dichotomous relation between the “We” and “They” groups. The abovementioned person deixis have specific referents which are associated with and assigned certain representational characteristics as the following table shows:

Newspaper	Deictic Pronoun	Referent	Representational Characteristics	
Le Figaro	On	• The writer/the West	Wise Responsible in control	
	Il	• One of the protestors • One of the Arab rulers	violent/extremist/ oppressive/violent/corrupt/totalitarian	
	Nous	• Arabs	sinking in darkness/ corrupt	
	Nous	• The French people	liberal/ democratic/victim	
	Notre	• The French people	help/support/democracy	
	Les	• Arabs	helpless/ oppressed/ submissive	
	The Washington Post	We	• The writer/the west	right/ just/ democratic
		They	• Arab rulers	dictatorial/ violent/pro-west/anti-west
		He	• Arab ruler	
		You	• Protestors	unwise/violent/extremist
The Guardian	We	• The writer /the west	democratic/typical/free/liberal/referential	
	I	• Protestors	victimized/powerless/violent/peaceful	
	They	• Arabs/Muslims	passive/rigid/Islamist/violent/revolutionary	

Table 20: Use of Deictic Pronouns

Le Figaro

Extract 23

Translation

« Il ne s'en est jamais remis. IL y a vu un signe de Dieu, une sorte de punition pour avoir trop “péché”, raconte Khaled. Il s'est fait pousser la barbe mais continuait à sortir avec nous. ». Au fil de sa mutation, il développe une haine profonde de l'ouest

“He never recovered. He saw a sign of God, a kind of punishment for being too "sinned," says Khaled. He grew his beard but continued to go out with us”. As he changed, he developed a deep hatred of the west.

In the words of his friend Khalid, the writer refers to the transformation story of an Egyptian youth and how he started to radicalize. Khalid recounts how his friend moved from the life of discos, hanging out with girls and drinking to praying and growing his beard during the revolution. This form of "catharsis" and "purging" is necessary, for him, to compensate and repent from having “too sinned”. The writer then, concludes that khalid’s friend started to hate the West and perhaps sees in it the real responsible for all the mess in his country. This case, in fact, is a prototype of other youth who have seen in the West a full responsible for all the ills of the Arab world and who found console in radical and terrorist groups like ISIS.

Extract 24

Translation

Deux ans après le début du « printemps arabe», on assiste davantage à une désintégration des États au Proche-Orient qu'à une transition, que l'on voudrait démocratique, ou à une prise du pouvoir, dont on redoute qu'elle profite aux éléments islamistes les plus radicaux.

Two years after the beginning of the "Arab Spring", we see more of a disintegration of states in the Middle East than a transition, which we would like democratic, or a seizure of power, which is feared that it benefits to the most radical Islamist elements.

The use of “We” in this extract is very significant of how the West looks at the East. The writer’s use of “We” represents the West as an observer and close follower of the transformations taking place in the Arab world; a place in which the West has a lot of interests and is not willing to let go. The choice of the verb “see” indicates that there is no direct Western intervention in the region and that it reflects the Western approach of “laissez faire” towards the events. Also, the phrase “we would like democratic” implies that the West is a part that has to be satisfied or that holds the right model of democracy and that transition, perhaps, towards the Western model is needed instead of disintegration which serves radical Islamists.

Extract 25	Translation
« Les États-Unis soutiennent un ensemble de droits universels», valables «que l'on vive à Bagdad ou à Damas, à Sanaa ou à Téhéran», et «notre soutien à ces principes n'est pas un intérêt secondaire», a affirmé le président américain.	"The United States supports a set of universal rights", valid "whether one lives in Baghdad or Damascus, Sanaa or Tehran", and "our support for these principles is not a secondary interest", said the US president.

Citing an important Western authority, US president, gives the writer a better chance to promote the West’s embrace of universal values and rights. The employment of the possessive adjective “our” highlights the top priority position the US ascribes to these rights and how its support and implementation of them do not have boundaries. Implicitly, the extract represents the U.S.A. as a fair, international and sober watcher of these rights especially in countries where it may have been accused of double-standards and dereliction as in Iraq and Yemen, for instance. Hence, the use of the possessive adjective “our” grants the

US a state of guardianship over these rights and gives it the “rightfulness” for patrolling them everywhere.

The Washington Post

Extract 22

“We ought to have been calling for an orderly transition, rather than telling Mubarak ‘get out of town, get out of government,’ with no strategy for what happens next. We needed a responsible path to stability and evolution, not revolution.” Hilary Clinton.

Ex-secretary of state Hilary Clinton chooses to use the inclusive deictic pronoun “We”, rather than, for instance, the personal pronoun “I” or the generic term the “U.S. government”, to create an all-inclusive and superior American in-group which is in control of and gives orders to a submissive and inferior out-group, the Egyptian president and state. Clinton’s reproaching tone of the American handling of the Egyptian revolution reveals the “authoritarian and bossy” way through which the U.S. approaches the Middle Eastern revolutions by giving orders and asserting personal wishes. The wish Americans had is of a transition rather than a revolution which would guarantee their interests and spare them instability and rise of unwanted powers, like the Islamists, in a pivotal place in the world. It is a matter of what “We” want and need rather than what “You”, Egyptians, want and need; “We” order and “You” obey, “We” believe stability and evolution are just what you need not the “misnamed” revolution.

Extract 23

Erdogan and Abdel Fatah al-Sissi, Egypt’s general-turned-president, have become certifiably paranoid in their views of the United States. They not only embrace wild anti-American conspiracy theories, but articulate them in public. They seed the media they control with propaganda that makes

Vladimir Putin's anti-U.S. diatribes look tame. They go out of their way to persecute civil society groups, politicians and journalists they perceive as having U.S. support or connections.

In-grouping two major states' presidents in the region, the majority led Islamist Turkey and the pro-secular Egypt, in one basket reveals a deep transformation of the American relation with these countries. Both presidents, Erdogan and al-Sissi, are placed within an outside anaphoric group which is stigmatized and derogated by a virtual victimized and threatened Western inside group. These two presidents represent a pain in the butt for the United States since they embrace anti-American thoughts and policies and encourage a wilder propaganda, one which is way too anti-American than the Russian. They are even personified as hunters of U.S. supported or connected civil society activists, politicians and journalists.

Extract 24

You cannot govern by flash mob.

In this short line, the writer criticizes the protestors' disorganization and way of conducting and leading the revolution. He uses the address deictic pronoun "You" to talk to all the protestors, who seem not to present a clear alternative, and denies their "flash mob" approach to reach power. According to Collins online dictionary a flash mob is a "group of people coordinated by email and social media to meet to perform some predetermined action at a particular place and time and then disperse quickly". The writer may also imply that the only way to power goes through following the Islamist's path of organization and patience and long struggle which seems to have been fruitful to them in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt since they were the only organized and ready group to take power.

Extract 25

We must also recognize that the Arab Spring may not bring freedom to much, or even most, of the Arab world. Even as the United States prepares to work with the region's new democracies, it also must prepare for the chaos, stagnation and misrule that will mark the Arab Winter.

The writer advises his country to be ready for the worst since this Arab Spring is unlikely to bring democracy; rather it would turn into an "Arab Winter" which promises chaos, stagnation and misrule. Here the use of "We" represents the United States as rational, in control of the world and cautious vs. a chaotic and misruling "They", represented and summarized in the Arab world and its would be rulers and governments. This Arab world seems far from embracing freedom and is threatened to sink in the darkness of the Arab winter; something which the United States of America is trying to be prepared for and cautious about to redefine its relations with a worse than before region.

Extract 26

Yemen was ruled for 33 years by a secular dictator, Ali Abdullah Saleh. He ruthlessly suppressed opposition groups, especially those with a religious or sectarian orientation (in this case, the Houthis, who are Shiite). After 9/11, he cooperated wholeheartedly with Washington's war on terrorism, which meant he got money, arms and training from the United States.

This extract gives the profile of an Arab dictator who oppresses minorities and religious groups and who is a war mercenary for the West. This use of the third person singular "He" puts the referent, Yemen president here, in a lower position and ascribes him pejorative characterizations such as intolerance, violent oppression and above all a long entrenched 33 years of clinging to power. Interestingly, despite this negative representation of

Ali Abdullah Saleh, the United States relied on him in its “war on terrorism” which may reflect a double standard approach in its policies; criticizing domestically oppressive rulers and at the same time using them as long arms to achieve certain goals.

The Guardian

Extract 19

It now seems perfectly natural and taken for granted that the oppressed should rise up against brutal and corrupt regimes – and we wonder what took them so long to get round to it.

The inclusive pronoun “We” is employed in this extract to refer to the writer’s country, the west or even “the liberal world”, all of which criticize the Arabs’ lateness in revolting against oppression, brutality and corruption. The conditions for uprising have been ripe for the igniting of revolution in the Arab world, yet the writer is confused why Arabs have taken so much time to react. “We” is associated with wisdom and rightness and “them” is ascribed miscalculation, lateness and perhaps slumber. That is why one of the labels assigned to the Arab revolutions, the Arab Awakening, is coined to describe this long state of hibernation and passivity which has perhaps accustomed Arabs to dictatorship and submission.

Extract 20

"I was throwing stones when they started shooting from the roof. The bullet hit me in the throat and came out through my chest here," he gestured, lifting his T-shirt – the scar tissue livid and stretched tightly over his ribs.

Quoting one of the demonstrators, the writer tries to provide firsthand information about the course of events on the ground. The personal pronoun “I” is the sound of an informant who has been subjected to the brutality of the Libyan forces and its use allows the

writer more objectivity and credibility. Indeed, as much as this deictic pronoun is victimized and stirs sympathy, it opens a window on how some protestors incline towards violence as stated in “I was throwing stones”. Hence, the sometimes violent and provocative acts of some protestors towards police or military forces reflect the aggressive and deadly retaliations from the part of these latter which even led to civil wars in Libya, Syria and Yemen.

Extract 21

The Middle East heavily bears this risk, and one of the reasons is the authoritarian decrees in classical Islamic law (sharia) that incumbent Islamists might wish to impose. For example, the sharia bans apostasy and penalises it with capital punishment. A Muslim who decides to become a Christian, in other words, can be given a death sentence – as it tragically happened in recent years in Afghanistan or Iran. Sharia verdicts against blasphemers (real or perceived), non-practicing Muslims, and women can also be very oppressive. Of course, this problem has been discussed intensely over the years, especially in the past decade, and secularist Muslims have found the solution in denouncing the sharia. (The most extreme among them, such as the self-declared "infidel" Ayaan Hirsi Ali, even denounced Islam all together.) But while they have raised some applause in the west, such ultra-secularists have caused only more defensiveness and hence rigidity in the Muslim world.

The anaphoric pronoun “they” is used to identify one of the West-betted on portions of the Muslim societies, secularist Muslims. This group has presented itself as an antagonist to the implementation of Sharia law and has been applauded for by the West since it may hold a more open and moderate view of Islam which perhaps matches Western liberal principles. However, the writer maintains that this portion’s acts have backfired and instead of pushing

Muslims towards embracing their approach, they have made them shrink on themselves and even shield against secularism.

It is significantly apparent that the role of pronouns to define the participants and their statuses in an argument is significantly apparent. Juggling pronouns ideologically entitles the writer to manipulate the participants' functions, groupings and positions. It is through pronouns' manipulation that writers identify asymmetry/symmetry of power relations. These power relations are usually built upon a common ground and using this shared ground to convey arguments is what presupposition analysis is set to investigate.

2.2.7. Presupposition

The use of presupposition as an encoder of meaning in the analyzed data is another prominent technique the reader is invited to consider in order to decipher the writer's representational constructs about the Arab Spring. This inference triggering technique allows the writer to impart certain propositions on common ground with the reader and activate their background knowledge to analyze implicit utterances/propositions.

Le Figaro

Extract 26	Translation
Revenant sur la mort d'Oussama Ben Laden sous les balles d'un commando américain, M. Obama a pris soin de remarquer que les révoltes arabes semblaient, à ses yeux, tourner le dos à l'extrémisme.	Returning to the death of Osama Bin Laden under the bullets of an American commando, Mr. Obama was careful to note that the Arab revolts seemed, in his eyes, to turn their backs on extremism.

The statement the "Arab revolts seemed, in his eyes, to turn their backs on extremism" presupposes that Arabs have previously embraced extremism. The adjective "careful" and predicate "seemed" indicate caution and uncertainty from the part of the writer concerning Arabs' relinquishing of extremism. More to the point, the killing of Bin Laden implies that

Americans are the guardians and saviors of the world and that they have helped Arabs, in a way or another, to rid themselves of extremist ideologies by the disposing of the head of a terrorist organization.

Extract 27

Translation

« Le soutien des réformes politiques et économiques » permettant aux sociétés arabes d'accéder en fin à une vie digne et prospère devra devenir une « priorité essentielle », a-t-il poursuivi, évoquant un vaste plan de milliards d'aide économique et d'intégration commerciale, sur le modèle de ce qui avait été fait après la Guerre froide pour amarrer l'Europe de l'Est au monde démocratique.

"Supporting the political and economic reforms" that will allow Arab societies to finally reach a dignified and prosperous life should become a "key priority", he said, evoking a vast plan of billions of economic aid and trade integration, modeled after what was done after the Cold War to tie Eastern Europe to the democratic world.

Obama's statement reveals America's approach towards the uprisings. He presupposes that Arab societies have long lived an undignified life and that the change of this situation is at the hands of the U.S.A. Besides, supporting the political and economic transformations in the region and making them a top priority for Obama's administration imply that the U.S. holds the keys of international relations and that its billion dollar aids are a sort of "bribers" to maintain its domination over other countries. This is plainly stated in the case of tying post-cold war Eastern European countries to the so-called democratic world. It is presupposed, here, that the same approach is followed with Arab countries which benefit from financial aids but not from a clear and real political and democratic support.

The Washington Post

Extract 27

The confluence of many disparate grievances avowing general slogans is not yet a democratic outcome.

The writer implicitly criticizes the revolutions' approach and attacks the revolutionaries' demands which he describes as "disparate grievances". What the writer presupposes in this extract is that for a successful revolution there should be organized work, real and clear alternative which would lead to democratic outcomes. The use of the concessive adverb "yet" implies that the revolutions are not ripe enough and that the process needs more time and work to reap real outcomes and achieve genuine transformation.

Extract 28

The latest sign of this backwardness is the fate of 14 Saudi men, all from the country's Shiite minority, who are facing execution for allegedly staging protests in the kingdom.

The use of presupposition in this extract is meant to expose Saudi Arabia's repressive rule. The phrase "the latest sign of this backwardness" presupposes that Saudis have a long legacy of "backwardness" and that the writer is mentioning only one. Also, the writer presupposes that the Sunni majority is behind the call for executing the 14 men and that they open no room for protest, hence, oppress freedom of expression and assembly. Moreover, the lexical item "execution" strengthens the presupposition that the Saudi authorities practice capital punishment and, therefore, violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' article 3, the right to life.

The Guardian

Extract 22

Building democratic institutions, and restoring confidence in a flawed state, are much harder tasks. It was a failure to understand this that led the US and Britain into their disastrous Iraq adventure in 2003.

The writer presupposes that the US and Britain's 2003 war on Iraq backfired and that instead of waging a destructive "adventure" not only on the regime, but also on the whole country; they should have invested more in building democratic institutions and fostering the state. The lexical item "adventure" evokes wildness and excitement more than rationality and planning. It is the same implicit criticism the writer is leveling against the Arab Spring's protestors who should have avoided bringing their countries into the swamp of anarchy and should have had a clear plan and alternative to part take in the building of democracy and strengthening the state.

Extract 23

The wars in Libya and Yemen demonstrated what can happen when the lid is taken off in a deeply divided society.

The fractionation state of both Libya and Yemen, even before the revolution, is no secret to anyone. Thus, the writer presupposes that these countries should have been dealt with differently by the Western powers or perhaps even the protestors. In fact, the idiomatic expression "the lid is taken off" reflects the writers' concerns of the consequences that would result from "opening this Pandora box"; mainly civil war and more disintegration. The avoidance of the calamities inflicted upon Libya and Yemen could have been helpful, the writer presupposes, had the particularities of these countries been considered.

The construction of an argument around presupposition allows the writers to not only express their ideologies in a subtle and indirect way but present them as taken for granted.

The reader is pushed to agree with the proposition since it sounds of common sense and shared by other possible readers. The strength and degree of the proposition are further underlined via the usage of modality.

2.2.8. Modality

The employment of modal auxiliaries within a particular discourse reveals to a large extent the writer’s world view and representational structures. The choice of a particular modal shrouds the writer’s proposition in very informative functions as certainty, possibility, advice etc. The analysis of these functions, indeed, helps define embedded ideologies and structures of power relations. Data analysis has concluded that modal auxiliaries make up an important constituent in the construction of the three newspapers discourses and permitted to lay hand on the most frequently employed ones. The focus of the below table is the frequency of the most frequently used modal auxiliaries in the articles of *The Washington Post* and *The Guardian* and verbs and expressions of modality in *Le Figaro* Articles:

Newspapers	Modality		Other
	Uncertainty/Possibility	Obligation/Necessity	
Le Figaro	37 %	29 %	34 %
The Washington Post	45 %	39 %	16 %
The Guardian	39 %	25 %	36 %

Table 21: Most frequently used modal auxiliaries

The dominance of the mood of uncertainty and possibility is apparently reflected in the frequencies above. This dominance echoes the doubt and vagueness of the destiny of the ever-unfolding events of the Arab Spring and what repercussions they may breed. As for the considerable presence of obligation and necessity, it mirrors the kind of relationship binding East and West where the former is “obliged” to do something, follow or act in accordance with the latter. Obligation and necessity occur in instances where both East and West are

morally called upon to react in a certain manner. Below are two tables which include the most frequently used expressions of uncertainty/possibility and Obligation/necessity. It should be noted that these functions are mostly expressed in the English language via the use of modal auxiliaries but in the French language they are expressed using verbs, impersonal constructions and adverbs as presented in the following tables:

Newspaper	Uncertainty/Possibility						Obligation/ Necessity			
	Verbs	F	Constructions impersonnelles /impersonal constructions	F	Adverbs	F	Other	Verbs	F	Other
Le Figaro	Pouvoir = may	22%	Il parait que/ it appears Il semble que/ it seems that	17 % 12 %	Peut être/ perhaps Probablement/ probably	18 % 12 %	19%	Devoir/must Avoir à / have to Falloir/have to /must	27 % 32 % 20 %	21 %

Table 22: Constructions and Adverbs in *Le Figaro*

Newspaper	Uncertainty/Possibility				Obligation/Necessity	
	Will	Can	Might	May	Must	Have to
The Washington Post	15 %	23 %	28 %	34 %	72 %	28 %
The Guardian	10 %	26 %	36 %	28 %	69 %	31 %

Table 23: Constructions and Adverbs in The Washington Post and the Guardian

Both tables reflect a variety in expressions and their frequencies' distribution; something which helps the writers avoid monotony and repetition and express their ideas in a more flexible manner.

Le Figaro

Extract 28

Translation

les mauvaises fées veillant sur le berceau de l’Egypte, en occident comme au Proche-Orient, doivent en rabattre.

The bad fairies watching over the cradle of Egypt, in the west as well as in the near-east, must retreat.

In accounting for the Egyptian situation, the expression of obligation in this extract is accompanied by two strong figures of speech namely oxymoron and metaphor. “The bad fairies” is an oxymoron used to refer to those who believe they are doing good for Egypt be they Western countries like U.S.A. or Eastern ones like Saudi Arabia, for instance. This figure of speech is associated with the use of metaphor as in “the cradle of Egypt” which describes the early stage of babyhood of the revolution. Discontent with such situation, the writer sees a strong necessity for the intervening forces to lift up their hands on Egypt. The use of the modal “must” expresses a firm obligation and condition for the Egyptian revolution to see light and prosper, something which seems not to happen following the unfolding events of the Arab Spring.

Extract 29

Translation

Algériens, Egyptiens et libyens sont en mesure de protéger cette expérience qu’ils observent, et dont ils suivront peut-être la voie, pour en finir avec les maux qui rongent le monde arabe, l’intégrisme religieux, la dictature militaire ou le chaos politique.

Algerians, Egyptians and Libyans are able to protect this experience they observe, and they may follow the way, to end the evils that eat away at the Arab world, religious fundamentalism, military dictatorship or political chaos.

The writer is quite optimistic about the experience of liberation taking place in some Arab countries. Yet, this optimism is melded with uncertainty when he uses the expression of uncertainty “may” to emphasize a state of possibility and doubtfulness. The doubtful atmosphere is fed by the enormity of the challenges Algerians, Egyptians and Libyans have to face such as religious fundamentalism and military dictatorship. Indeed, the writer seems more certain about the presence and fatality of the “evils that eat away at the Arab world” than confident in the mentioned countries’ ability to lead their revolutions to the shores of safety and, hence, put an end to their evils.

The Washington Post

Extract 29

Obama went on television the night of Feb. 1 and said the transition
“must begin now.”

The use of the demotic modal auxiliary “must” is a strong and assertive form of obligation which grants Obama superiority and compulsion. In reality, deploying this auxiliary gives the writer’s proposition a sense of coercion and places the addressee in an inferior and submissive position where they have to respect orders. The compulsive dimension of this extract is further enhanced by the use of the temporal adverb “now” which gives the sense of obligation more immediacy and leaves the addressee with no room for choice or maneuver. This proposition, in fact, is stark evidence on the Western master discourse which relegates the East to the position of a powerless and obedient subject.

Extract 30

We must also recognize that the Arab Spring may not bring freedom to much, or even most, of the Arab world. Even as the United States prepares to work with the region’s new democracies, it also must prepare for the chaos, stagnation and misrule that will mark the Arab Winter.

The uncertainty of the outcomes of the Arab Spring has obsessed most of the followers of these unprecedented events in the Middle East. The writer, here, employs the modal auxiliary “may” in the negative form to express a less degree of the possibility of freedom prevalence in the Arab world. This likelihood necessitates on the writer’s country to take precautionary measures to face this state of affairs. The use of the modal auxiliary “must” is very reflective of the writer’s caution call on an obligatory recognition of the fact that the Arab Spring may not bring freedom and a necessary preparation for the Arab Winter’s possible chaotic, stagnant and misruling outcomes is urgently needed.

The Guardian

Extract 24

He was speaking at press conference at the end of the G8 summit of rich Western nations where all countries agreed that Muammar Gaddafi had lost legitimacy and must step down.

In this extract, the writer refers to David Cameron’s, former British prime minister, participation in the 2011 G8 summit in Deauville, France. Such occasion was an opportunity for the most powerful Western countries to discuss the Arab Spring’s events and most urgently the Libyan case. A clear message of delegitimization and a firm order for stepping down were sent to the now deceased Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. An interesting instance is clearly expressed in the nonuse of an apostrophe such as president or leader with the name of Muammar Gaddafi. The obligation modal “must” reflects the order nature of the G8 countries’ decision and shows that the destiny of countries like Libya is decided in Western capitals.

Extract 25

If there are no mechanisms for participation and accountability which allow for peaceful protest, then the disgruntled may explore direct, violent actions.

The mood of possibility over the course of actions of the Arab Spring is also prevalent in this extract. The use of conditional type one here gives the writer much room to express a stance of uncertainty and relate the fulfillment of some actions with the realization of certain conditions. The writer warns that the revolutions may explode again since nothing has changed. People are not allowed to participate in politics and there is no accountability for those wrong doers. So, people lose hope and trust in the political system and may resort to violence. This hypothetical situation opens wide doors on all possibilities and makes uncertainty the most recognizable mark of the Arab Spring's travail.

Hence, modality has been used to express the writers' stance towards the proposition and what function it should express. Modality can expose much of the writer's inclinations and preferences of degrees while arguing. Similarly, the choice of modality is as significant as the selection of transitivity processes.

2.2.9. Transitivity

The analysis of the transitivity system has uncovered interesting facts about the articles' view and representation of the Arab Spring. The employment of certain process types more than others, assigning roles to participants and identification of specific circumstantial constituents reflect the writers' ideological constructs and the newspapers' line of argumentation. Data analysis of transitivity has brought about the dominant process types, their frequencies and interpretation. The below table represents these process types and their frequencies:

Newspaper	Process Type					
	Material	Mental	Relational	Behavioral	Existential	Verbal
Le Figaro	24 %	21 %	18 %	5 %	18 %	14 %
The Washington Post	21 %	17 %	22 %	9 %	7 %	24 %
The Guardian	17 %	19 %	14 %	10 %	14%	26 %

Table 24: Process types

There is some kind of convergence in the results and their distribution across the three newspapers' articles. The interpretation of the processes and their frequencies can be read as follows: the relative rise in material processes has to do with the abundance of actions and interplaying actors. The mental processes occupy a reasonable position through which the writers express their stances, assess events and probe into the protestors' and rulers' cognitive structure. Frequently used, relational processes are noticeably deployed to identify and define the relationship among the different actors. Behavioral and existential processes seem to be less resorted to by the writers and are overshadowed by other processes. As for verbal processes, their presence is detectable, and their use is usually associated with citing witnesses and authorities.

The analysis of these processes has helped arrive at significant findings. It seems that the writers of the three newspapers tend to associate these verb processes with certain actors/doers more than others; a choice which helps consolidate their line of argumentation and ideological stance. The next table shows the process types and their corresponding actors/doers:

Process Type	Corresponding Actors
Material	- Revolt / Demonstrate (demonstrators) - Torture (regimes / dictator) -Help (West-US) -Attack (demonstrators/police) -Give (regimes / west)
Mental	- Think / know / believe (presidents / cited authorities)
Relational	- To be (demonstrators / The West) -Have (Arab Countries vs their people / West vs East)
Behavioral	-Cry (demonstrators) -Kill (regimes)
Existential	-There is... (change / dictatorship)
Verbal	-Tell/ say (quoted authorities/Presidents/ rebels)

Table 25: Process types and their corresponding actors/doers

Le Figaro

Material

Extract 30

Actor	Process	Circumstance (destination)	Goal
Une multitude de refugies syriens	fuiant	En direction du nord	Les bombes du régime et de Moscou

English Translation

Actor	Process	Circumstance (destination)	Goal
A multitude of Syrian refugees	Flee	northbound	the bombs of the regime and Moscow

This extract reflects the actor's reaction towards the goal. Using the process "flee", the writer tries to draw a vivid picture of what the actor is facing and doing. The use of the intensifying quantifier "A multitude of" with the head actor "Syrian refugees" creates a

picture of crowds, which have been left with no other choice, running away from the goal's destructive acts. Also, the circumstance "northbound" is used to valorize the region and, hence, deeds of the Syrian free army. This material process is indeed a representative sample of similar processes which describe the actions taken or inflicted upon the actors which represent the rebels and how they affect the events on the ground.

Mental

Extract 31

Actor	Process	Circumstance
les gouvernements français et américain	Savent	Qu'il n'est jamais bon de commencer une guerre en année d'élection présidentielle

English Translation

Actor	Process	Circumstance
the French and American governments	Know	that it is never good to start a war in a presidential election year.

The process "know" reveals the actor's understanding and, then, reaction towards the Syrian situation. This reaction does not stem from a moral obligation towards saving innocent civilian lives rather from a domestic need for avoiding a war which may have damaging presidential consequences. Hence, this extract proves that some Western countries preach what they do not do; something which strips them of the aura of morality and justice they try to round themselves by at the level of international relationships.

Relational

Extract 32

Carrier	Process	Attribute
Le Yemen	Est	le maillon faible qui hante le monde Arab.

English Translation

Carrier	Process	Attribute
Yemen	is	the weak link that haunts the Arab world

The carrier “Yemen” is attributed a low status in the Arab world Stability chain. The relational process “is” enhances the relation between the carrier and the state of instability and the lexical item “haunts” extends this relationship of the carrier with the Arab world. This latter is haunted and looks like having nightmares about the fragile case of Yemen which is fractioned by tribalism, stung by corruption and some of which parts hijacked by Al Qaeda. Indeed, the Yemeni case is quite similar to the Libyan one but its geographic adjacency and tribal affinity, the Houthis, with Iran make it far from a soon stability.

Behavioral

Extract 33

Behaver	Process	Circumstance
Le régime, rebelles, Kurdes et djihadistes	S'affrontent	Sur un territoire de plus en plus morcelé.

English Translation

Behaver	Process	Circumstance (place-manner)
The regime, rebels, Kurds and jihadists	Clash	in a territory more and more fragmented.

The extract above is a close eye on the kind of dominant actors and their actions on the Syrian ground. The behavior encompasses confronting forces and is used with a process which best mirrors its behavior. The process “clash” not only defines the behavior’s action, but also evokes the repercussions of these actions on the country. This repercussion is manifested in the circumstance, which stands for place and manner, which is fragmented by the behavior.

Existential

Extract 34

Existent	Process	Circumstance
69,3% des Syriens	Vivent	En extreme pauvreté

English Translation

Existent	Process	Circumstance
69,3 % of Syrians	Live	In extreme poverty

The existing reality of a large portion of the Syrian people during the Arab Spring is discussed in the above extract. The writer employs the process “live” to introduce a fact and describe a process of enduring and experiencing of the circumstance “poverty”. More than two thirds of the Syrian population exist in tough circumstances which seem to aggravate ever since they stood up against the regime in the early days of the revolution.

Verbal

Extract 35

Sayer	Process	Verbiage
Son president	Dit	vouloir reformer L’islam et protéger ses coptes.

English Translation

Sayer	Process	Verbiage
Its president	said	he wanted to reform Islam and protect his Copts.

This extract is about one of Egypt’s president Sissi’s several declarations after winning the presidential elections. The sayer, “its president”, verbalizes some promises to his addressees, the Egyptian people, which remain less powerful than behavioral or material processes. In reality, putting this extract in the indirect speech lessens the intensity of the verbiage and allows the writer distance from what the sayer has to say. The verbiage in this extract presupposes that the Copts are threatened perhaps by an Islam that has to be reformed. This reform is undertaken by the president who is presented here as a guardian of “his Copts”.

The Washington Post

Material

Extract 31

Actor	Process	Circumstance
majority-Shiite population	Revolted	during the Arab Spring

In this extract, the writer addresses the stance of the Shiite population towards the revolution in Bahrain. The actor, “majority-Shiite population”, is semantically loaded and it denotes that minority-Sunni population has more power. This actor is paired with the process “revolted” to show the sort of action it takes; which is revolting and rising up. The process “revolted” connotes rising up against a situation of injustice and inequality imposed by the ruling class. The circumstance “during the Arab Spring” associates the revolts with the wave of revolutions across the Arab world and hence, places Bahraini regime within a similar

atmosphere of congestion other Arab regimes are enduring. This material process extract is a prototype of the actions taken by the actors, mostly demonstrators, in other revolting Arab countries, and how they affect the course of actions of the revolutions.

Mental

Extract 32

Sensor	Process	Actor	Process	Circumstance (manner)	Circumstance (behalf)
I	Think	the period between now and then	Will be	quite rocky	for the Egyptian people, for the region, and for us.

The above extract reveals the cognitive state of mind of Hillary Clinton about the Arab Spring’s events. The sensor here, Hillary Clinton, uses a cognition verb, think, to express her, as well as the U.S.A.’s standpoint toward the revolutions. The second process, “will be”, is a temporal reference to the repercussion of the previous actor which is followed by a circumstance of manner to describe the physical impact of the revolutions and a behalf circumstance to indicate the receiver of the impact. Mental processes help probe into the sensor’s perceptual and cognitive inner world and understand how they perceive and, therefore, react to things.

Relational

Extract 33

Carrier	Process	Attribute
Erdogan and Abdel Fatah al-Sissi, Egypt’s general-turned-president	have become	certifiably paranoid in their views of the United States

Relational processes identify the relation between two entities. Instead of an actor, relational processes take a carrier which refers to the bearer of the action. The carrier in this extract, presidents “Erdogan and al-Sissi”, is linked to the attribute with a process of change and development, “have become”. This change or even transformation of the carrier towards the attribute is characterized by a pejorative description of this relational state. The bidding relation between the two presidents and the U.S.A. is built upon power struggle and asymmetry where the latter forms a sort of threat to the formers.

Behavioral

Extract 34

Behaver	Process
The Mubarak regime	is coming back to power

Behavioral processes are situated between mental and material ones. They often describe an activity in which the mental and physical facets come to play together and are usually intransitive. The behaver in the above extract is “the Mubarak regime” and it is behaving towards a return to power which is reflected in the continuous form of the process “is coming”. Through this extract, the writer depicts one of the dominant forms of behavioral relations governing the Arab Spring’s actions where most of the regimes fought back and adopted a unanimous aggressive inclination towards hanging up to power.

Existential

Extract 35

Process	Existent
There is	no path of democracy

Existential processes are deployed to delineate the existence or happening of something. They use the verbs “to be” and “exist” followed by a noun phrase. The use of the existential process “there is” is meant to describe, in the writer’s opinion, a prevalent existent reality of the absence of a genuine path to democracy. This absence is the result of the domination of chaos and retaliation from the part of the toppled dictators.

Verbal

Extract 36

Sayer	Process	Verbiage	Circumstance
He	Demands	Change	in Bahrain.

Verbal processes represent the sayer’s proposition, which is called verbiage here, communicated to a certain addressee. The sayer in the above extract is President Obama who employs a semantically loaded process “demands”. This process places the sayer in a stronger communicative position vis a vis a general addressee who is supposed to fulfill the verbiage “change”. This verbal process, indeed, has a semantic dimension of commands and locks the sayer and addressee, Bahraini regime and people, in a relation of order-obedience the West has constructed with the East ever since colonialism and seems to revitalize during the Arab Spring.

The Guardian

Material

Extract 26

Actor	Process	Circumstance (what and where)	Circumstance (purpose)
the United States and the west	will pour	billions of dollars into the Middle East	in support of Egypt, Tunisia and other countries embracing democracy

“The United States and the West” are the essential actors in this extract and the main players which are taking actions towards some of the Middle Eastern countries. The material process “will pour” indicates the bestowal of one party on a needy other with abundance. The circumstances above reveal the process’s realization in terms of what, where and purpose. Therefore, the actor is held in an upper powerful status with its manipulation of Arab countries through financial means and reinforces the orient’s dependency on the occident.

Mental

Extract 27

Senser	Process	Actor	Process
Some Islamists	Believe	Elections	Are forbidden

The writer’s delving into the Islamists’ mentality is realized through the process “believe”. The senser’s belief in the legitimacy of the actor, “elections”, is religiously oriented. This actor is judged by a passivised process in which the agent is omitted to foreground the act of forbidding and perhaps hide the forbidders, in this case God. Obviously, through this extract the writer criticizes the Islamists’ mindset and stance towards the process of elections, which is an essential constituent for the democratic building, and questions their willingness to be real partners in the rebuilding of the post revolution political process.

Relational

Extract 28

Possessor	Process	Possession
the despots	Have	more gravitas

In his account of the relational process between the toppled despots and their people, the writer believes that these despots still hold some reverence from the part of their people or at least some of them. The possessive process “have” defines the possessor’s quality, “more gravitas”, which empowers its position vis a vis the governed people. These latter seem to still hold their despotic rulers in high esteem and not only openly endorse them, but even fight with them in an attempt to regain power.

Behavioral

Extract 29

Circumstance (temporal)	Behavior	Process	Circumstance (recipient)
For more than two months now	Syrian security forces	have been killing and torturing	their own people

The extract above describes one of the despicable and recurring behaviors of the Syrian regime. The writer puts the process in the present perfect continuous to emphasize the length, the extent and gravity of the behavior’s recurrent acts of killing and torture. The temporal and recipient circumstances are deployed to frame the process where the former highlights the duration of the process and the latter defines the receiver of the behavior’s deeds. This behavioral process has characterized the acts of most security and military forces towards the demonstrators across the revolting countries and has also been a common process committed by the falling despots.

Existential

Extract 30

Existential	Existent	Circumstance (place)	Circumstance (purpose)
There is	an opportunity	in that region	to focus on advancing our values and enhancing our security.

From an optimistic perspective, the writer believes in the existence of a chance for the West during the revolutions to advance its values and foster its security. The existent “opportunity”, here, reflects the existence of plausible room and high possibility for intervening. This existing reality remains a hope to influence the “place circumstance”, the region, with advancing values and enhancing security at the expense of chaos and disintegration. Indeed, the seizure of such opportunities is a dominant act through which Western powers endeavor to root their ideologies and secure their interests during the uprisings.

Verbal

Extract 31

Sayer	Process	Verbiage
One detainee	Said	security forces had executed 26 detainees

Quoting the declaration of one of the Syrian detainees, the writer uses the verbal process “said” to create a verbalizing depiction of the atrocities of the Syrian regime. Also, this process indicates the attainment of firsthand information from a sayer who has lived the experience of verbiage. Using verbal processes entitle the writers to bring the reader closer to given propositions and sometimes distance themselves from them in order not to fall in the trap of subjectivity.

The analysis of transitivity processes allows a scrutiny of the types of verbs, actors and circumstances the writer opts for and, hence, the ideology they disseminate. The functionality of transitivity analysis elements is manipulated by the writer’s purpose behind the proposition through which they assign roles, define positions and steer the aim of the argument. Similarly,

lexical choices and employment have revealed much about the writers' conceptual mapping and semantic representation.

2.2.10. Lexical Choices

Lexical analysis has been a pivotal constituent in the works of major critical discourse analysts (Fairclough (1989, 1992), Fowler (1991), Wodak (1997), Van Dijk (1998) and Van Luween (2004)). The examination of the lexical choices made by a language user can reveal much about their ideologies, representations and world view. The employment of certain lexical choices at the expense of others constructs specific lexical fields of a larger particular discourse which serves as a conceptual map that guides the reader to the writer's proposition and aim. This map is embroidered by a wide range of special lexical features such as collocations, oppositions and overlexicalization which help demarcate the writer's boundaries of a discourse and situate the reader within a desired scope of contention. Media discourse is a fertile soil for the investigation of lexically constructed ideologies given its descriptive nature and abundance of lexical choices. For instance, the journalist's use of the lexical item "terrorists" instead of "rebels" to describe the participants in the Arab Spring's events is very telling of their representational angle and ideological stance. The analysis of the present data has revealed a heavy recurrence of some lexical items more than others in the analyzed articles. The following table presents the frequencies of these lexical items out of the total words of each newspaper selected articles:

	Newspaper	Le Figaro	The Washington Post	The Guardian
Lexical Items	Chaos	3%	5%	6%
	Demonstration	2%	3%	4%
	Arab Spring	6%	7%	5%
	Arab Winter	2%	3%	3%
	Repressive	3%	2%	1%
	Dictatorship	4%	6%	7%
	Oppression	1%	2%	3%
	Liberty	3 %	4%	3%
	Uprising	4%	2%	3%
	Bloodshed	2%	2%	1%
	West	6 %	5%	7%
	Democracy	5%	4%	6%
	East	4%	6%	6%
	Revolution	5%	4%	4%
	Muslim	6%	5%	7%
	Extremism	4%	3%	2%
	Civil War	3%	2%	4%
	Islamic State (IS)	2%	3%	2%
	Protest	2%	1%	1%
	Corruption	4%	3%	5%
	Freedom	3%	4%	3%
	Justice	4%	3%	4%
	Terrorism	5%	5%	3%
Other	19%	15%	14%	

Table 26: Most recurrent lexical items and their frequencies across the selected articles.

It is crystal clear that most of the lexical items in the table above bear a negative connotation with significant frequencies. This fundamentally serves the negative lenses through which the writers see the Arab Spring. These lexical items essentially furniture major lexical fields such as politics (dictatorship), religion (Islamic State) and violence (chaos). It is also worth noting that the presence of positive lexical items cannot go unnoticeable. Indeed, most of these items account for the blazing flame that sparked the revolutions such as social justice, liberty and democracy. Obviously, the dominance of negative lexical items overshadows the positive ones and shows that the writers tend towards highlighting and accentuating the gloomy side of the Arab Spring and its repercussions.

Another interesting finding is the frequency of the names of the Arab Spring's countries and the associated words that occur with them. In other words, some Arab countries are mentioned frequently more than others and the writers often tend to use some vocabulary items associated with these countries whenever they talk about them as the following tables indicate:

	Newspaper	Le Figaro	The Washington Post	The Guardian
Frequently occurring countries	Egypt	15%	14%	16%
	Syria	14%	15%	14%
	Libya	15%	11%	12%
	Yemen	13%	11%	10%
	Tunisia	16%	13%	18%
	Morocco	5%	3%	4%
	Saudi Arabia	8%	10%	11%
	Bahrain	9%	12%	8%
	Lebanon	3%	4%	4%

Iraq	2%	7%	3%
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Table 27: Most recurrent Arab Spring countries and their frequencies

Countries which were first to witness the revolutions and more instability are clearly the most recurrent and written about in the articles, except Bahrain to a lesser extent. Noticeably, Saudi Arabia has been quite recurrent in the three newspapers articles with balanced frequencies. This is due to the Saudis alleged intervention in the course of the events and steering the revolutions. Interestingly, the abovementioned countries have also appeared in association with some frequently recurrent lexical items as stated in the following table:

Newspaper	Le Figaro	The Washington Post	The Guardian	
Countries and their mostly recurrent associated lexical items	Egypt	Dictatorship	Tahrir square	Muslim brotherhood
		Brotherhood	Autocracy	Liberty-dignity-social justice
		Tahrir Square	Muslim brotherhood	Tahrir Square
	Syria	Assad	Assad	Assad
		Iranian intervention	Russia	Islamic State
		Islamic State	Islamic state	Terrorist
		Civil war	Jihadist	Russia
		Violence	Civil war	Iran
			Destruction	Civil war
	Libya	Kaddafi	Kaddafi	Kaddafi
		Civil war	Islamic	Civil war
		Oil	fundamentalism	Terrorism
		Terrorism	Civil war	Tyranny
		Violence	NATO	Violence
	Yemen	Civil war	Saleh	Saleh
Saleh		Civil war	Civil war	
Corruption		Poverty	Iran	
Houthis		Shiite	Shiite	

	Violence	Violence	Poverty
	Bouazizi	Liberty	Democracy
	Freedom	Bouazizi	Bouazizi
Tunisia	Islamism	Democracy	Democracy
	Democracy	Islamists	Violence
	Violence	Jasmine	Nahda party
	Shiite	Shiite	Violence
Bahrain	Violence	Sunni	Shiite
	Oppression	Violence	Sunni
	Oppression	Backward	Iran
Saudi Arabia	Fundamentalism	Extremist	Intervention
	Lack of freedom	Torture	Oil
			Injustice

Table 28: Arab Spring countries and most associated words with them

These associative words have largely helped demarcate the lexical fields through which every country is tackled. It is interesting to note that there is a close convergence between the three newspapers in terms of the words they associate with every country and that there is even some kind of overlap or similarity of these associative words from one country to another. This proves that the three newspapers have tackled these countries quite similarly and have highlighted common themes and issues.

Delving into the lexicon of the analyzed articles, a noticeable reliance on overlexicalization is noted in the writers' representation of the Arab Spring. Overlexicalization, maintain Fowler and Kress (1979, p 211), is "the provision of a large number of synonymous or near-synonymous terms for communication of some specialized area of experience". Similarly, Fairclough (1989) points out that overlexicalization is about the profusion of certain vocabulary items and their synonyms within a given discourse and its analysis uncovers the writer's preoccupation, psychological state and ideologies towards the

overlexicalized concept. The following table reflects the most recurrent overlexicalized lexical items and their synonyms:

Overlexicalized lexical Items

Newspapers	Révolution/ Revolution	Extrémisme/ Extremism	Dictature/ Dictatorship	Violence/Violence	Manifestants/ Demonstrators	Moyen-Orient/ Middle East
	Printemps Arabe/ Arab Spring	Djihadisme/ Jihadism	Autocratie/ Autocracy	le chaos/Chaos	Les rebelles/ Rebels	Orient/Orient
Le Figaro	27%	44%	38%	44%	10%	42%
The Washington Post	22%	31%	30%	38%	37%	32%
The Guardian	30%	32%	36%	40%	24%	20%
	Soulèvement/ Uprising	Fondamentalisme /Fundamentalism	Tyrannie/Tyranny	Anarchie/Anarchy	Révolutionnaire /Revolutionaries	Le monde Arabe/ The Arab world
Le Figaro	22%	24%	40%	15%	34%	44%
The Washington Post	29%	20%	38%	11%	24%	50%
The Guardian	22%	30%	36%	9%	40%	67%
	Bouleversement/ Upheaval	Islamisme/ Islamism	Despotisme/ Despotism	Oppression/Oppression	Dissidents /dissidents	L'Est /The East
Le Figaro	15%	32%	22%	20%	27%	14%
The Washington Post	25%	49%	32%	31%	20%	18%
The Guardian	17%	38%	28%	25%	26%	13%
	L'hiver Arabe/The Arab winter			Répression/Repression	Les insurgés /Insurgents	
Le Figaro	36%			21%	29%	
The Washington Post	24%			20%	19	
The Guardian	31%			26%	10%	

Table 29: Overlexicalized Lexical Items

The most recurrent overlexicalized items reflect the state of instability across the trembling countries. The overlexicalization of items as violence, extremism and dictatorship, for instance, from one side, mirrors the reality on the ground and, from the other, the writers' over concern and obsession with articulating these themes/issues more than other more positive ones as freedom, equality and democracy.

Quite similar to overlexicalization, collocation analysis allows a deep understanding of the lexical choices and the coherence of the writer's thematization of particular semantic fields. Collocations are lexical items which seem to occur together more often or as Firth maintains that (1957, p 11) they are "the company a word keeps". The table below represents some of the recurrent samples of collocations which are common to the three analyzed newspapers' articles:

Common Recurrent Collocations	Newspapers		
	Le Figaro	The Washington Post	The Guardian
Soulèvements violents /Violent uprisings	4%	5%	3%
Fondamentalisme Islamique/ Islamic Fundamentalism	6%	4%	7%
Dictateurs Retranchés /Entrenched Dictators	5%	3%	2%
Printemps Arabe /Arab Spring	7%	8%	7%
Hiver Arabe /Arab Winter	3%	4%	5%
Réveil Arabe/Arab Awakening	2%	1%	1%
Groupes Islamistes/Islamist Groups	6%	4%	5%
Justice Sociale = Social Justice	7%	8%	9%

Guerre Civile/Civil War	5%	6%	5%
Régimes Despotiques/Despotic Rregimes	4%	5%	3%
Islam Modéré /Moderate Islam	5%	3%	6%
Changements Démocratiques/ Democratic Changes	5%	4%	3%
Culture Occidentale/Western Culture	2%	3%	1%
Espoirs Perdus/Wasted Hopes	1%	3%	2%
Combattants de l'opposition/ Opposition Fighters	1%	3%	4%
Régimes Répressifs/ Oppressive Regimes	4%	2%	5%
Islam Radical/Radical Islam	3%	5%	4%
Attaques Terrorists/Terrorist Attacks	3%	4%	6%
Politique à l'échelle de l'islam/ Political Islam	3%	4%	5%
Corruption Répandue/ Widespread Corruption	2%	4%	3%
Résultats Chaotiques/ Chaotic Outcomes.	3%	1%	1%
Other	19 %	15%	13%

Table 30: Common Recurrent Collocations

It is observable that most of the above collocations are politically loaded and reveal the negative mood dominating the Arab Spring. Their variety also reflects the multidimensional perspective the writers use to zoom in the events ranging from politics to religion and from security to corruption.

Another interesting aspect of the lexical representation of the Arab Spring is lexical opposition. The use of these oppositions is meant to define and contrast certain concepts and help the reader have a better understanding through antagonism. These oppositions sometimes come together like “violent” and “peaceful” or the mentioning of one evokes the other like “democracy” evokes “dictatorship”. This lexical opposition is an essential prerequisite in Van Dijk’s (1998) ideological square which stands for the clustering of opposing lexical items around discourse events, concepts or participants. Indeed, this dichotomous representation is deployed to create in and out groups and categories and assign each certain characterization for ideology purposes. Practically, these oppositions are used as emphatic items which summarize the writer’s stance towards the events and the participants and how the writer capitalizes on some words and not their opposites is fundamental to understanding their representation. The most frequently recurrent lexical oppositions, and which are common to all the three newspapers, are presented below:

Most Frequently Recurrent Lexical Oppositions	Le Figaro	The Washington Post	The Guardian
Democracy vs Dictatorship	10%	13%	9%
West vs East	11%	14%	16%
Stability vs Chaos	8%	10%	7%
Hope vs Despair	6%	8%	10%
Unity vs Disintegration	9%	6%	7%
Peace vs War	13%	7%	9%

Life vs Death	10%	12%	13%
Justice vs Injustice	9%	7%	13%
Democratic regimes vs Autocratic regimes	7%	9%	7%
Moderation vs Extremism	9%	11%	5%
Other	8%	3%	5%

Table 31: Most Frequently Recurrent Lexical Oppositions

The dominant lexical oppositions set the boundaries for the Arab Spring events' struggles and transformations within a set of dualities. These dualities mostly reflect the struggle of demonstrators, regimes and ideologies for dominance and their overlaps constitute the path and the repercussions of events.

The analysis of the previously discussed lexical strategies and choices has aided in exposing the writers' representational and ideological schemata of the Arab Spring. It has, as well, unearthed the mostly recurrent stereotypes and biases concealed in the chosen vocabulary items.

2.2.11. Summary

This section has laid the ground for the main discursive constructs used in the three newspapers selected articles and analyzed the ideological and representational conceptions they harbor. It has also provided an interpretive reading of the inherent stereotypes and biases interwoven in these discursive constructs. Relevantly, more in depth reading and interpretation of the dominant and recurrent themes/topics in the analyzed articles will be the core focus of the next section.

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

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 constructs 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.

3.2. From Autocracy to Democracy: The Rite of Passage

The long-awaited rise against tyranny in the Arab Spring countries has finally restored faith in the ability of nations, culturally and historically rich, to dismantle the stereotypical claim of their tendency to normalize with dictatorship. This idea strongly echoes in the articles under study especially at the beginning stages of the revolution during which the revolutionaries have been admirably applauded for their perseverance to make such

previously thought unshakable dictators fall as autumn's crunchy leaves. Obviously, all the circumstances were ripe for starting the passage from autocracy to democracy and Bouazizi's self-immolation was its spark. Plainly put by Jackson Diehl, Deputy editorial page editor and columnist focusing on international affairs in *The Washington Post*, "for the previous decade, a movement had swelled in favor of ending what a famous 2002 report by Arab intellectuals called the region's "freedom deficit" ". In the same vein, such movement, stresses the editorial board of *The Guardian*, has:

energized ordinary Arabs, who recovered, it seemed, a popular self-confidence diminished by six decades of autocracy. The Arab street was honoured for its people's courage and determination, inspiring movements across the world. Protesters did not just voice their complaints, it was said, they changed the world.

The Arabs' uprisings, indeed, have even been seen following a Western path of revolution as *le Figaro's* Adrien Jaulmes argues:

Au début de l'année 2011 éclatait dans le monde arabe une série de manifestations et de soulèvements populaires, vite baptisés le printemps arabe, en référence au « printemps des peuples» dans l'Europe de 1848. Ces mouvements portaient des espoirs d'ouverture politique face à des systèmes bloqués, autocraties ou dictatures.

English translation

At the beginning of 2011, a series of demonstrations and popular uprisings in the Arab world, quickly baptized the Arab Spring, in reference to the "Spring of the Peoples" in Europe in 1848. These movements carried hopes of political openness in opposition to blocked systems, autocracies or dictatorships.

Remarkably, the quick uproot of long-standing dictators as Ben Ali of Tunisia, Mubarak of Egypt and Kaddafi of Libya (24, 30 and 41 years of rule respectively) has bestowed strength, grandeur and respect upon the revolution and the revolutionaries. The latter's rite of passage from tyranny to democracy has been suffused with priceless sacrifices as death, imprisonment and torture and the Arabs' "knot" with autocracy started to unknot. The untangling of dictators' tight web has become more possible than ever before with the help of means of mass communication and social media which made a world scale influence attainable with a simple click. In his introduction of *The Arabs Are Alive*, Sardar (2011, p 9) maintains that:

there is something specific about this moment in history that has enabled the uprisings to gain momentum and spread so quickly and so far. Elsewhere we have characterized the contemporary period as 'postnormal time', an historic moment of accelerating change, a realignment of power, and an upheaval in which events move and multiply in a geometric fashion. This is a specific characteristic of a deeply interconnected world of the Internet, Facebook, Twitter, 24-hour news channels, quick and easy globe-trotting, instant information and networks.

This way, the "virus of democracy" could find its way to every Arab person's phone, heart and mind and turn the fever of democracy to an inexhaustible source of energy.

3.2.1. Democracy Virus

Bouazizi's self-immolation spread like fire in the Harmattan across the Arab World declaring the end of a self-imposed "hibernation" of Arab people and the start of democracy hunt. There is a clear consensus in the analyzed articles that the calls for democratic changes have been heard even in countries where there was no regimes change such as Morocco,

Algeria, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Mauritania, to mention but a few. It is also remarked that the “virus” of change affected the layman as well as political and religious figures, individuals alongside institutions such as political parties, NGOs and movements. Scenes from in front of the Tunisian ministry of interior, the Egyptian Tahrir square, Yemeni Al Houria square and the Libyan Benghazi streets have all been unifying sites for:

millions of people disenfranchised by autocrats and dictators. They wanted a say in running their countries, an end to corruption and greater opportunities in economies stalled by cronyism, fraud and bureaucracy. And their anger, once unleashed, was enough to topple some strongmen and seriously threaten several more.”(Emma Graham-Harrison ,*The Guardian*).

Similarly, Merouan Mekouar of *The Washington Post* contends that “After the January 2011 Tunisian revolution, virtually every Arab capital city witnessed popular protest inspired by the Tunisian case. Throughout North Africa and the Middle East, pro-democracy activists coalesced in central city squares and called for political change and economic reform”. The flame would not have travelled far, had not the strong tool of the internet been used to help cross borders and defy regime funded media. *Le Figaro* Cécilia Gabizon wonders:

Sommes-nous entrés dans l'ère des révolutions Twitter ? Le printemps arabe, ses milliers de messages Facebook dribblant la censure des autorités, ses appels au rassemblement diffusés sur les réseaux ont montré le nouveau rôle de l'Internet.

English translation

Have we entered the era of Twitter revolutions? The Arab Spring, its thousands of Facebook posts dribbling censorship of the authorities, its

calls to the rally broadcast on the networks showed the new role of the Internet.

This unprecedented momentum in the Arab world has become an exemplary model of resistance for Westerns like the American Occupy Wall Street and similar European movements. The huge human waves transmitted through hundreds of international news agencies all over the world, maintain the writers, have reintroduced and re-presented the Arab Muslim “ex-colonial passive, submissive and dictatorship-deserving subject” into the “ex-colonial” mindset and redefined the East-West encounters. In fact, one of the cornerstones of the revolutions and a key factor is the presence of women. In all stages of the uprisings they seem to have defied a solid patriarchal tradition and introduced themselves as a decisive number in the revolution equation.

3.2.2. Arab Muslim Women: a key Factor of Revolution

Occupying a considerable space in the analyzed articles, the presence and role of the Arab woman during the revolutions have captured the attention of a great deal of writers who seized the opportunity to revisit the issue of gender in such turning point in the history of the Arab world. Most of the writers have shed much ink on the transcendental role Arab women have played in all the stages of the revolutions and how they have challenged the “traditional gender stereotypes” which relegate them to second class citizens, unequal to men and devoid of freewill. *The Washington post* Jackson Diehl insists that “women were the instigators of the revolutions that swept Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and, ultimately, Syria after 2011”. Similarly, and more vividly, in one of *The Guardian* articles entitled *Women have emerged as key players in the Arab spring*, the writer stresses that:

some of the most striking images of this season of revolt have been of women: black-robed and angry, a sea of female faces in the capitals of north Africa, the Arabian peninsula, the Syrian hinterland, marching for

regime change, an end to repression, the release of loved ones. Or else delivering speeches to the crowds, treating the injured, feeding the sit-ins of Cairo and Manama and the makeshift army of eastern Libya.

The same view is adopted by Delphine Minoui of *Le Figaro* who contends that:

À Sidi Bouzid, le berceau tunisien du printemps arabe, elles bravèrent, à hauteur d'hommes, les coups de matraques des miliciens de Ben Ali. En Égypte, place Tahrir, elles défièrent, dès la première heure, les traditions patriarcales pour scander aux côtés de leurs maris des avalanches de slogans anti-Moubarak. À Benghazi, en Libye, c'est par elles que l'insurrection contre Kadhafi a débuté lorsqu'elles osèrent protester contre l'arrestation de l'avocat de leurs maris disparus. À Deraa, en Syrie, leurs cris servirent de détonateur à la contestation, après que leurs enfants furent torturés pour avoir dessiné des graffitis antigouvernementaux. Épouses, soeurs, mères de famille...

English translation

In Sidi Bouzid, the Tunisian cradle of the Arab Spring, they braved, to the height of men, the blows of batons of the militia of Ben Ali. In Egypt, Tahrir Square, they defied, from the first hour, the patriarchal traditions to chant alongside their husbands avalanches of anti-Mubarak slogans. In Benghazi, Libya, it was through them that the insurgency against Gaddafi began when they dared to protest the arrest of the lawyer of their missing husbands. In Deraa, Syria, their cries served as detonators of the protest, after their children were tortured for drawing anti-government graffiti. Wives, sisters, mothers...

Figures as the Saudi Arabian Manal al-Sharif, the Tunisian Lina Ben Mhenni, the Bahraini Maryam-Al-Khawaja and Yemeni Tawakkol Karman have had a lion's share of the articles addressing Arab women's role during the revolutions and are described to have left an indelible effect not only on the Arab world, but the West as well for their ability to renegotiate Arab gender boundaries, redefine activism and defy the patriarchal discourse with a more revitalized and empowered feminine discourse. Such discourse has as well challenged the Western colonial representation of Arab Muslim women as veiled and oppressed and has gone beyond to decolonizing the Arab mind and resituating the Arab women on the scale of equality.

Yet, the emblematic and iconic participation of women in the revolutionary travail in the region has not allowed them to reap the fruits of their efforts in the post-revolutionary era. The writers note the marginalization of Arab women rebels in leading their countries either in transitory governments or officially public elected ones, and they mention the cases of Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen. Perhaps, the impetus that Arab women have created has been rewarding at the cultural, and social levels, but not as wished for, as it seems, at the political participation and decision making. Delphine Minoui of *Le Figaro* considers this political impasse and reaffirms that:

Mais si le printemps fut leur saison de prédilection, l'hiver s'annonce aujourd'hui rigoureux. « En fait, la révolution au féminin ne fait que commencer », affirme la romancière libanaise Joumana Haddad, observatrice avisée des révoltes qui embrasent les pays de sa région depuis un an. Son constat est sans appel : « Après avoir manifesté et lutté pour la liberté, les femmes sont les grandes absentes du nouveau chantier politique en gestation. On ne les voit plus, on les entend à peine. Souvent, les hommes leur assènent qu'il y a d'autres priorités : lutter contre la

corruption, bâtir de nouvelles institutions... Et pendant ce temps, les groupes religieux gagnent du terrain. C'est frustrant. Pour moi, il n'y a pas de démocratie sans respect du droit des femmes ! »

English translation

But if spring was their season of choice, the winter looks harsh today. "In fact, the feminine revolution is just beginning," says the Lebanese novelist Joumana Haddad, a savvy observer of the revolts that have been raging in the region for a year. Her statement is unequivocal: "After demonstrating and fighting for freedom, women are largely absent from the new political project in preparation. We do not see them anymore; we hardly hear them. Men often tell them that there are other priorities: fighting against corruption, building new institutions ... And during this time, religious groups are gaining ground. It's frustrating. For me, there is no democracy without respect for women's rights! "

This endless struggle the Arab women are doomed to endure is part of a larger struggle the whole Arab world is locked into. It goes beyond the role and status of women.

The Washington Post Steve A.Cook plainly puts it:

The Arab world is caught up in a broader struggle. It is being whipsawed between competing and not entirely satisfying notions of what it should mean to be Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, Libyan, Yemeni or Lebanese — to name just a few places where conflicts over nationalism, identity and citizenship are most pronounced. Until Arabs figure out who they are and what kind of countries they want to live in, there is little Washington can do to help.

For most of the writers, the gains of the Arab women during the Arab Spring are far from being fully evaluated in a short-term span and the events are still unfolding. But it is legitimate for them to wonder if the Arab Spring will pay back one of its sparks, women. Xan Rice et al of *The Guardian* echo this stance when they wonder that “Women may have sustained the Arab spring, but it remains to be seen if the Arab spring will sustain women”. Interestingly, Arab women, alongside their male co-revolutionaries, were epic founders of every stage of the revolutions and most importantly in devising and weaving an unprecedented jargon and slogans of revolt.

3.2.3. The Arab Spring and the Iconic Jargon of Revolt

“The language of revolt” has been one of the echoing themes of several analyzed articles. The analysis of the Arab Spring revolution jargon is another interesting aspect the writers have incorporated in their representation of the Arab Muslims of the MENA. Indeed, a significant number of writers have expressed their interest and “amazement” of the nature and strength of words used in the slogans. They also considered how some slogans have been exported with the revolution from country to country regardless of the differences in the local dialects. The following table presents the most recurrent slogans which have been tackled by the writers and are common to all three newspapers:

Slogans
-“People want the downfall of the regime”
-“Leave!”
-“Peaceful!”
-“Dignity, liberty, social justice”

Table 32: Most common recurrent slogans

These slogans are only a representative sample of the most recurrent and common phrases that have been chanted across the revolting countries. And discursively, what can be noticed from the revolutionaries' slogans is summarized as follows:

➔ At the structural level:

- Short sentences or phrases.
- Word sentence.
- Chunks

➔ At the functional level:

- Commands
- Censures
- Demands
- Ironies

➔ At the semantic level:

- Collapse
- Expulsion
- Liberty
- Dignity
- Peacefulness
- Cleansing

➔ At the symbolic level:

- The overthrow of a burden.

- The recovery of legitimacy and de-legitimization of the ruling system.
- Breaking silence.
- Bravery and defiance.

Another interesting remark is made about the target of these slogans. It is underlined that the revolutionaries do not target the bayonet of the regime (the ruler) only, but the uprooting of the whole system. This is accomplished through peaceful means, as the slogan “peaceful” testifies, which would pave the path for the realization of righteous demands as dignity and social justice. Hence, these political/revolutionary slogans seem to follow a process or pyramid structure whose stages are bound and, then, lead from one to another.

Yet, the emblematic slogans and drive of revolutions have taken a drastic shift towards empowering Islamists and bringing them on stage as a leading force which seems to direct the Arab Spring towards what most of writers have labeled as an “Arab Winter”.

3.3. From the Arab Spring to the Islamist Winter

The unleash of the Islamist “ogre” as one of the Arab Spring worst nightmares, if not the worst, has spilled much ink in the articles. The discussion and analysis of the causes and repercussions of such a major update have been obsessively examined since the last thing the West would have tolerated is the rise of Islamism to government. In truth, it seems that the West has come to a juncture where it has become obliged to reconsider its “support” to anti-Islamist despotic regimes in the region and ride the wave of the revolution which brought Islamist ideology and movements to prominence. Israeli (2013, p xii) contends that:

it seems that the West has relinquished its hopes of seeing democracy and freedom prevail and has made peace with the idea that Islamic governments must be accepted as the least of all evils. The result has been that the tyrants who had barred the way of the rise of Islamic

governments were removed, and Islamic regimes are being set up as the only viable alternative.

In one of his articles, Thierry Oberle of *Le Figaro* discusses this idea and states that:

D'Alexandrie à Tanger, une vague islamiste submerge l'Afrique du Nord. Après la victoire d'Ennahda en Tunisie et le succès du Parti de la justice et du développement (PJD) au Maroc, les formations se réclamant de l'islam triomphent en Égypte. Le phénomène était attendu. L'ouverture des vannes démocratiques a libéré un mouvement qui était, jusqu'au printemps arabe, cadenassé. Mais son ampleur dérange. Les islamistes sont majoritaires en Égypte, un pays qui a toujours joué un rôle d'incubateur dans le monde arabe. Deux électeurs sur trois ont voté pour leurs candidats.

English translation

From Alexandria to Tangier, an Islamist wave overwhelms North Africa. After the victory of Ennahda in Tunisia and the success of the Justice and Development Party (PJD) in Morocco, the formations claiming Islam triumph in Egypt. The phenomenon was expected. The opening of democratic valves released a movement that was, until the Arab Spring, padlocked. But its magnitude is disturbing. Islamists are the majority in Egypt, a country that has always played an incubator role in the Arab world. Two out of three voters voted for their candidates.

In the same direction writes Peter Beaumont of *The Guardian* and Quinn Mehan of *The Washington Post* respectively:

Welcome to the age of "political Islam", which may prove to be one of the most lasting legacies of the Arab spring. It is not only in Egypt that

an unprecedented Islamist political moment is playing out. In the recent Tunisian elections the moderate Islamist Ennahda party was the biggest winner, while Morocco has elected its first Islamist prime minister, Abdelilah Benkirane. In Yemen and Libya, too, it seems likely that political Islam will define the shape of the new landscape.

The Arab uprisings of 2010-2011 provided a major shock that led to the rapid evolution of Islamism in the Arab world. While it was clear at the outset that the shock to Islamist movements would be large, how Islamist movements would internalize that shock and the direction in which they would evolve were highly contingent on the evolution of the Arab political systems. Since the initial uprisings, Islamist movements have evolved dramatically due to several key trends that have defined and redefined their experience in the new Arab political (dis)order. These trends must be understood in the context of the opportunities Islamist movements faced in initial uprising period.

This Islamist ascendancy represented a tough challenge for Western capitals and imposed on them a quick reconsideration and redefinition of their relations with their ex-colonies. As clear as it seems, these Islamist movements have benefited from certain helping factors to climb the ladder of prominence and present themselves as an essential number in the political and social equation.

3.3.1. Islamist Parties/Movements: from Darkness to Light

The winds of the Arab Spring cleared the way for the flourishing of political Islam. The downfall of dictators set free long-smothered Islamists and even led them to power in countries like Tunisia and Egypt. This rise is in fact unsurprisingly expected and Charles Krauthammer of *the Washington Post* mentions some of the reasons behind this rise and states

that “Many Westerners naively believed the future belonged to the hip, secular, tweeting kids of Tahrir Square. Alas, this sliver of Westernization was no match for the highly organized, widely supported, politically serious Islamists who effortlessly swept them aside in national elections”. In *The Guardian*, and in the same direction goes Peter Beaumont’s contention who stresses that “indeed, if elections in Egypt and Tunisia had been held at any other time in the past two decades, the same result would almost certainly have ensued, reflecting both the levels of organisation of Ennahda and the Brotherhood and the countries' cultural, economic and social dynamics.”. The French editorial writer Oberle maintains that:

Structuré et présent sur le terrain, ce courant s'est ancré dans une société profondément conservatrice pratiquant un islam coutumier aux antipodes du djihadisme. Il devra composer dans sa course vers le pouvoir avec des facteurs régionaux, tribaux et personnels qui ont pris le pas sur les idéologies

English translation

Structured and present on the ground, this current is rooted in a deeply conservative society practicing a customary Islam at the antipodes of jihadism. It will have to contend in its race towards power with regional, tribal and personal factors that have taken precedence over ideologies

Along with their organization, popular support and social penetration, Islamists have deserved admiration for their long patience under despots’ iron fist and strong belief in their agendas. This Islamist creep towards governments and parliaments during the Arab Spring is a normal repercussion, as Charles Krauthammer believes, since the Arab world is now living in what he describes as the third stage. It is interesting to cite a great part of his article to understand the three stages contention he advocates:

Post-revolutionary Libya appears to have elected a relatively moderate pro-Western government. Good news, but tentative because Libya is less a country than an oil well with a long beach and myriad tribes. Popular allegiance to a central national authority is weak. Yet even if the government of Mahmoud Jibril is able to rein in the militias and establish a functioning democracy, it will be the Arab Spring exception. Consider: Tunisia and Morocco, the most Westernized of all Arab countries, elected Islamist governments. Moderate, to be sure, but Islamist still. Egypt, the largest and most influential, has experienced an Islamist sweep. The Muslim Brotherhood didn't just win the presidency. It won nearly half the seats in parliament, while more openly radical Islamists won 25 percent. Combined, they command more than 70 percent of parliament — enough to control the writing of a constitution (which is why the generals hastily dissolved parliament).

As for Syria, if and when Bashar al-Assad falls, the Brotherhood will almost certainly inherit power. Jordan could well be next. And the Brotherhood's Palestinian wing (Hamas) already controls Gaza.

What does this mean? That the Arab Spring is a misnomer. This is an Islamist ascendancy, likely to dominate Arab politics for a generation.

It constitutes the third stage of modern Arab political history. Stage I was the semicolonial-monarchic rule, dominated by Britain and France, of the first half of the 20th century. Stage II was the Arab nationalist era — secular, socialist, anti-colonial and anti-clerical — ushered in by the 1952 Free Officers Revolt in Egypt.

Its vehicle was military dictatorship, and Gamal Nasser led the way. He raised the flag of pan-Arabism, going so far as changing Egypt's name to the United Arab Republic and merging his country with Syria in 1958. That absurd experiment — it lasted exactly three years — was to have been the beginning of a grand Arab unification, which, of course, never came. Nasser also fiercely persecuted Islamists — as did his nationalist successors, down to Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and the Baathists, Iraqi (Saddam Hussein) and Syrian (the Assads) — as the reactionary antithesis to Arab modernism.

But the self-styled modernism of the Arab-nationalist dictators proved to be a dismal failure. It produced dysfunctional, semi-socialist, bureaucratic, corrupt regimes that left the citizenry (except where papered over by oil bounties) mired in poverty, indignity and repression.

Most importantly, across the analyzed articles a tone of serenity is prevailing concerning what the writers labeled “moderate Islamism/Islamists” and welcoming notes have been sent to the Islamist experiences as in Morocco and Tunisia. However, the radicalization and inclination of some movements such as Salafists and Jihadists, and especially the birth of the so called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, have fueled stereotypical and colonial representations against Islam and its principles and have soaked the whole region into a hot blood bath.

3.3.2. The Arab Spring and the Jihadist Swamp

The writers see that the time speed spread of radicalization and “Jihadism” is one of the distinctive features characterizing the Arab Spring. Youth's inclination towards violence and extremism, as perhaps the last weapon to face tyrants and their deep state mechanisms,

has opened the door to the flourishing of terrorist groups and ideologies and has turned some of the Middle East countries into a total inferno. In fact, this issue is extensively discussed by the writers who have attempted to approach the causes and effects of such phenomenon. Apart from the killing of Oussama Ben Ladin by an American commando, which has ignited more violence in the region, most journalists agree on the role of despotic regimes in squeezing their people into the corner of radicalization. Liz Sly of *The Washington Post* explains that:

The regimes still battling to hold popular revolts at bay have warned that change could open the way to Islamist extremism. But some analysts warn that radicalization could just as easily occur if the authorities succeed in crushing the peaceful and spontaneous demonstrations demanding democracy. If these Arab revolutions do become a footnote, and if people do become frustrated and see no light at the end of the tunnel, I don't know where it could lead in terms of people thinking of al-Qaeda" or otherwise taking up arms to fight.

In the same pattern, another *Washington Post* Opinion writer, Fareed Zakaria maintains that:

Repressive, secular regimes — backed by the West — become illegitimate. Over time they become more repressive to survive and the opposition becomes more extreme and violent. The space for compromise, pluralism and democracy vanishes. The insurgents and jihadists have mostly local grievances but, because Washington supports the dictator, their goals become increasingly anti-American.

Hence, a lot of youths have radicalized because they have found themselves between the hammer of their oppressive regimes and the anvil of Western blind eye to save them,

especially at the early stages of the revolutions. Ali Khedery of *The Guardian*, for example, writes that “Syria's initially peaceful protesters quickly became disenchanted, disillusioned and disenfranchised – and then radicalized and violently militant”. This, indeed, has been the case of most of the Arab youth they have found themselves with very few options: radicalization or a process of disillusionment leading them ultimately to realize how hard and “illusory” democracy could be. Such situation accelerated their joining of a newborn terrorist group, ISIS.

This organization has been home to many “Jihadists” from different countries, nationalities and walks of life. It has shaken the belief that only the poor, illiterate and primarily Muslims who are susceptible to embraced radicalization. In this respect, the French writer Delphine Minoui writes a worth citing article entitled *Du Printemps Arabe a L'ete Djihadist (from the Arab Spring to the Jihadist Summer.)* about the new generation of Jihadists and gives the example of a young man named Islam Yaken and wonders:

Que s'est-il passé ? Comment bascule-t-on du bodybuilding au djihad ? À 22 ans, Islam Yaken n'a rien du jeune homme marginalisé, sans éducation, « ramassé » dans la rue par un leader islamiste de quartier. Son nom ne figurait pas non plus sur les fiches des services de sécurité. Cet Égyptien de la petite bourgeoisie de Héliopolis est polyglotte et instruit. À l'adolescence, il fréquente le prestigieux lycée francophone La Liberté - où Khaled le rencontre, à 13 ans. Puis il étudie le droit à l'université Aïn Chams. Son profil, à première vue sans faille, rappelle celui de Seifeddine Rezgui, l'auteur présumé de l'attentat de Sousse, en Tunisie, un étudiant en ingénierie civile, amateur de breakdance. Ou encore de Nidhal Selmi, illustre footballeur tunisien, mort l'an dernier en Syrie, en

combattant sous la bannière de l'EI. Ils incarnent une nouvelle génération de djihadistes 2.0, née du désenchantement de l'après-printemps arabe et nourrie au lait de la propagande extrémiste...

English Translation

What happened? How do we switch from bodybuilding to jihad? At 22, Islam Yaken has nothing marginalized, uneducated young man "picked up" from the street by a neighborhood Islamist leader. His name did not appear on the cards of the security services. This Egyptian of the petty bourgeoisie of Heliopolis is polyglot and educated. As a teenager, he attended the prestigious francophone high school La Liberté - where Khaled met him at 13 years old. Then he studied law at Ain Chams University. His profile, at first glance unfailing, recalls that of Seifeddine Rezgui, the alleged perpetrator of the attack in Sousse, Tunisia, a student in civil engineering, amateur breakdance. Or Nidhal Selmi, a famous Tunisian footballer, who died last year in Syria, fighting under the banner of IS. They embody a new generation of 2.0 jihadists, born of the disenchantment of the post-Arab spring and milk fed extremist propaganda This new generation of Jihadists and the whole agenda and project of radical movements such as IS have added salt to injury and fueled Islamophobia and hate crimes against Arab and Muslims, especially in Western Countries, and made the slogans of coexistence, tolerance and equality crippled.

3.3.3. The Arab Spring and the Ignition of Islamophobia

The appreciative and positive Western reception of the Arab Spring, especially at its early stages, has quickly changed into vigilant caution and watchful treatment with the rise of Jihadist and “terrorist” movements and attacks. This shift has breastfed Islamophobic and hate crime attitudes and deeds towards Arabs and Muslims living in the West. It is quite apparent in the analyzed articles that the writers have tackled the considerable rise of Islamophobia not only in their home countries, but also in other Western ones. One of the interesting and detailed articles on this issue appears in the French paper *Le Figaro*. Written in 2012, the article entitled “L'image de l'islam se dégrade fortement en France” (The image of Islam is deteriorating sharply in France) is based on a survey conducted by the prestigious Institut Français d'Opinion Publique (the French Institute for Public Opinion) which reflects the status of Islam and Muslims in the French society. Here is the full article by Jean-Marie Guénois:

SONDAGE - Une étude de l'Ifop pour *Le Figaro* montre que la montée du communautarisme chez certains musulmans de France accentue le rejet de cette communauté par l'opinion publique.

La communauté musulmane de France s'apprête à fêter, vendredi, sa plus grande fête de l'année, Aïd-el-Kébir, également dénommée Aïd-el-Adha, fête du sacrifice. Elle intervient au lendemain du rassemblement de millions de pèlerins, jeudi, sur le mont Arafat près de La Mecque. Cette fête commémore l'acte de sacrifice, interrompu par l'ange, du fils d'Ibrahim (Abraham dans la tradition juive). Elle voit donc les familles musulmanes immoler, après le sermon de l'aïd, un mouton ou un bélier, parfois un bovin ou une chèvre, couché sur le flanc gauche et la tête tournée vers La Mecque.

Une fête qui tombe dans une France qui conteste de plus en plus cette religion, comme le démontre un sondage exclusif de l'Ifop pour *Le*

Figaro, mais aussi des faits spectaculaires comme l'occupation symbolique, samedi dernier, de la mosquée de Poitiers. «Notre sondage, explique Jérôme Fourquet, directeur du département opinion de l'Ifop, démontre une évolution qui va dans le sens d'un durcissement supplémentaire des Français vis-à-vis de cette religion et d'une perception négative renforcée de l'islam. Même si une proportion non négligeable de Français, 40 %, continue à se dire indifférente à la question de la présence de l'islam en France.»

Ce qui explique, à ses yeux, un tel durcissement - 43 % des sondés considèrent l'islam comme une «menace» - est lié à une «visibilité» fortement accrue de l'islam sur la scène publique et médiatique. «Ces dernières années, il n'est pas une semaine sans que l'islam, pour des questions sociétales, voile, nourriture halal, ou pour une actualité dramatique, attentats, ou géopolitique, n'ait été au cœur de l'actualité.» D'où cette autre impression: 60 % pensent que cette religion a désormais «trop d'importance». Ils étaient 55 % il y a seulement deux ans. Ceux qui se disaient indifférents à cette question passent de 41 à 35 %.

«De ce point de vue, ajoute Jérôme Fourquet, la polémique sur le fast-food halal à Roubaix - certes largement instrumentalisée politiquement - ou certaines publicités halal, ont eu plus d'effets que n'importe quel discours politique. Elles confirment dans l'opinion l'irréversibilité de l'enracinement de l'islam en France, qui n'est plus perçu comme un problème passager. Voilà une clé d'interprétation de ce sondage: cette caisse de résonance permanente conduit à une prise de conscience très forte qui n'a peut-être jamais été atteinte à ce point.»

Une analyse qui apparaît du reste très nettement quand les questions sont posées sur le voile islamique ou sur la construction des mosquées. En 1989, 33 % des sondés se disaient favorables à la construction des mosquées. Ils ne sont plus que 18 %. Pour le voile dans la rue, et sur la même période, les personnes opposées passent de 31 % à 63 %. Et les indifférents ont quasiment fondu de moitié pour n'être que 28 %. Quant au voile à l'école, le feu rouge écarlate s'allume puisque l'on passe sur la même période de 75 % opposés à 89 % ! Les indifférents chutant de 17 % à 6 %...

«Les avis négatifs convergent»

Sur ces sujets précis, très repérables dans la vie de tous les jours, «les avis négatifs convergent, constate Jérôme Fourquet, et l'on ne voit pas comment ils pourraient désormais s'inverser». On vérifie ainsi cette «radicalisation de l'opinion publique et cette baisse de l'indifférence vis-à-vis de l'islam», note ce spécialiste des sondages. Quand on demande aux Français quelles sont «les causes» de ce rejet: le «refus de s'intégrer à la société française» passe de 61 à 68 % en deux ans. «Les trop fortes différences culturelles» de 40 à 52 % et «le fait que les personnes d'origine musulmane soient regroupées dans certains quartiers et certaines écoles» de 37 % à 47 %. Quant à la question des «traits d'image associés globalement à l'islam», le «rejet des valeurs occidentales» arrive très largement en tête.

Tout se passe comme si les marqueurs du communautarisme étaient devenus insupportables aux Français, qui ne voient, au passage, aucun

effet des «actions ou des budgets des pouvoirs publics» pour l'intégration.

Enfin, pour ce qui est de la politique, une évolution a particulièrement été repérée par Jérôme Fourquet. Il constate qu'une «digue» vient de céder. Elle séparait le refus - constant depuis 1989 - de partis politiques se référant à l'islam et une certaine bienveillance pour des élus locaux, voire des maires musulmans. Cette hostilité de principe à ces élus - très forte en 1989, avec 63 % - s'était atténuée jusqu'à 33 % en 2010. Mais cette hostilité aux élus locaux musulmans vient subitement de remonter à 45 %.

English Translation

SURVEY - A study by Ifop for Le Figaro shows that the rise of communitarianism among some Muslims in France accentuates the rejection of this community by public opinion.

The Muslim community in France is preparing to celebrate, Friday, its biggest feast of the year, Eid-el-Kebir, also called Aïd-el-Adha, feast of sacrifice. It comes after the gathering of millions of pilgrims on Thursday, on Mount Arafat near Mecca. This feast commemorates the act of sacrifice, interrupted by the angel, of the son of Ibrahim (Abraham in the Jewish tradition). She sees the Muslim families sacrificing, after the sermon of Eid, a sheep or a ram, sometimes a cow or a goat, lying on the left flank and the head turned towards Mecca.

A festival that falls in a France that increasingly contests this religion, as demonstrated by an exclusive survey of Ifop for Le Figaro, but also spectacular events such as the symbolic occupation last Saturday of the mosque of Poitiers. "Our survey," explains Jerome Fourquet, director of

Ifop's opinion department, "shows an evolution that goes in the direction of a further hardening of the French vis-à-vis this religion and a strengthened negative perception of the Islam. Even if a significant proportion of French people, 40%, continue to be indifferent to the question of the presence of Islam in France. "

What explains to him, such hardening - 43% of respondents consider Islam as a "threat" - is linked to a greatly increased "visibility" of Islam on the public and media scene. "In recent years, it is not a week without Islam, for societal issues, sailing, halal food, or for dramatic news, attacks, or geopolitics, has been at the heart of the news. Hence this impression: 60% think that this religion is now "too important". They were 55% just two years ago. Those who said they were indifferent to this question went from 41 to 35%.

"From this point of view, adds Jerome Fourquet, the controversy on halal fast food in Roubaix - admittedly widely used politically - or some halal advertising, have had more effect than any political speech. They confirm in the opinion the irreversibility of the rooting of Islam in France, which is no longer perceived as a temporary problem. Here's a key to interpreting this poll: this permanent soundboard leads to a very strong awareness that may never have been reached at this point. "

An analysis that appears clearly when questions are asked about the Islamic veil or the construction of mosques. In 1989, 33% of respondents said they were in favor of building mosques. They are only 18%. For the veil in the street, and over the same period, the opposing people go from 31% to 63%. And the indifferent have almost melted in half to be only

28%. As for the veil at school, the red scarlet light comes on since we spend the same period of 75% opposed to 89%! The indifferent falling from 17% to 6% ...

"Negative opinions converge"

On these specific subjects, very recognizable in everyday life, "the negative opinions converge, says Jérôme Fourquet, and we do not see how they could now be reversed." We thus verify this "radicalization of public opinion and this decline of indifference to Islam," notes this survey specialist. When we ask the French, what are the "causes" of this rejection: the "refusal to integrate into French society" goes from 61 to 68% in two years. "Too strong cultural differences" from 40 to 52% and "the fact that people of Muslim origin are grouped together in certain neighborhoods and some schools" from 37% to 47%. As for the question of "image traits associated globally with Islam", the "rejection of Western values" comes very largely in the lead.

Everything happens as if the markers of communitarianism had become unbearable to the French, who do not see, in passing, any effect of "actions or budgets of the public authorities" for integration.

Finally, in terms of politics, an evolution was particularly identified by Jérôme Fourquet. He finds that a "dike" has just given way. It separated the refusal - constant since 1989 - political parties referring to Islam and a certain benevolence for local elected officials, even Muslim mayors. This hostility in principle to these elected - very strong in 1989, with 63% - had eased to 33% in 2010. But this hostility to local elected Muslims has suddenly increased to 45%.

Anti-Islamic feelings and agendas have even pushed some groups and movements in the U.S.A to lobby and finance campaigns against Muslims. According to *The Washington Post's* Elizabeth Flock "Almost \$43 million from seven charitable groups went toward financing anti-Muslim campaigns, the report said, including proposed state laws to ban judges from considering Islamic laws in U.S. courts, opposition to the Islamic center near Ground Zero, and a general encouragement of anti-Muslim rhetoric in politics and elsewhere". These acts, contends the writer, fan the fires ISIS is spreading across the world. She maintains that ISIS "says there is a global war between the West and Islam, a heroic struggle, with truth and justice on one side and lies, depravity and corruption on the other. It shows images of innocents victimized and battles gloriously waged". For her, ISIS's ideology and brutal acts and Western Islamophobes serve trap Muslims in an in-between crucible of either discrimination and marginalization or radicalization and fanaticism.

As a matter of fact, ISIS's indorsed attacks on several Western cities have contributed to the rise in anti-Islam assaults. The Guardian's Owen Jones argues that "We do know that 115 anti-Muslim attacks were reported in the seven days after the Paris atrocity – a threefold increase". The writer believes that the "mad" attacks against Arabs and Muslims are the fuel ISIS and other terrorist groups need to augment their recruits. He sees that:

When Isis executes its attacks, it has a script. It knows that Muslims will be blamed en masse in the aftermath. One of its key aims, after all, is to separate Western societies and their Muslim communities: if Muslims are left feeling rejected, besieged and hated, Isis believes, then the recruitment potential will only multiply.

Similarly, Jones' colleague, Vikram Dodd refers to the Islamic Human Rights Commission's survey to unveil the state of Islamophobia in Britain. The writer states that:

The majority of British Muslims say they have witnessed discrimination against followers of the Islamic faith and that a climate of hate is being driven by politicians and media, a study has found. Six out of 10 Muslims in Britain surveyed by the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) said they had seen Islamophobia directed at someone else, up from four in 10 when the survey was first conducted in 2010. Then, half of Muslims said they had not witnessed Islamophobia – a figure that has now crashed to 18%.

Furthermore, feelings of being increasingly demonised and discriminated against are rising, according to the report, which says Muslims suffer physical and verbal abuse, as well as discrimination in the workplace.

The study is based on interviews with 1,780 people and repeats questions asked in 2010.

In the latest study, nearly every headline finding is worse. The results paint a picture of alienation among a community seen by Whitehall, police and security officials as crucial to helping provide intelligence to thwart terrorism.

This fierce state of Islamophobia is not only a frightening repercussion of the Arab revolutions, but also, as discussed by the three newspapers articles, revolutionaries had to live the nightmare of the resurrection of despotic regimes and the rootedness of their controlling mechanisms.

3.4. The Arab Spring and the Resurrection/Rootedness of Dictatorships

With the exception of the Tunisian case, most of the revolting countries witnessed some sort of old regimes' resistance. Cases of Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria are discussed

in the analyzed articles through which the writers try to shed light on the “antidotes” and reasons that either prolonged or resurrected the authoritarian regimes. Obviously, the still unfolding aftermaths of the Arab revolutions are clear evidence that the process of regime change and cleansing is not a matter done overnight. Such resistance is firmly set in solid grounds which made the revolutionaries’ work quite demanding to overthrow these regimes or prevent them from rebirth. Evidently, among the recurrent reasons behind old regimes’ clinging to power there are the West interference, the concept of deep state and Tribalism.

3.4.1. “Western Kiss of Life”

The un-readiness of some Western capitals to let go of their support of “classic” dictators in the region is driven by their eagerness to maintain and preserve their benefits and privileges in their ex-colonial territories. It seems that ex-colonial powers left from the door only to return through the window and their presence is embodied in the rulers they have either directly or indirectly sown in the region. According to Seumas Milne of *The Guardian*:

The Arab uprisings that erupted in Tunisia a year ago have focused on corruption, poverty and lack of freedom, rather than Western domination or Israeli occupation. But the fact that they kicked off against Western-backed dictatorships meant they posed an immediate threat to the strategic order.

Since the day Hosni Mubarak fell in Egypt, there has been a relentless counter-drive by the Western powers and their Gulf allies to buy off, crush or hijack the Arab revolutions. And they've got a deep well of experience to draw on: every centre of the Arab uprisings, from Egypt to Yemen, has lived through decades of imperial domination. All the main Nato states that bombed Libya, for example – the US, Britain, France and

Italy – have had troops occupying the country well within living memory.

In the same vein, former U.S diplomat Henry A. Kissinger writes in *The Washington Post* that “For more than half a century, U.S. policy in the Middle East has been guided by several core security objectives: preventing any power in the region from emerging as a hegemon; ensuring the free flow of energy resources, still vital to the operation of the world economy”. The writer goes a step further in his discussion and maintains that even when the U.S.A was obliged to support the revolutions, they fell in the trap they had been trying to escape; namely the arrival of an unwanted force to power. He cites the example of Egypt and writes in another article:

The United States applauded the demonstrations in Egypt’s Tahrir Square. Blaming itself for too protracted an association with an undemocratic leader, it urged Hosni Mubarak to step down. But once he did so, the original exultant demonstrators have not turned out to be the heirs. Instead, Islamists with no record of democracy and a history of hostility to the West have been elected to a presidency they had pledged not to seek. They are opposed by the military, which had buttressed the previous regime. The secular democratic element has been marginalized.

The Western support of despotic leaders is also reflected in the Libyan case. Kadhafi has been applauded for when he declared Libya’s disposal of weapons of mass destruction and, hence, the affinity between Libya and the occidental world has tightened ever since. Yet, the waves of Arab revolutions and the bloodsheds Kadhafi forces inflicted upon Libyan people embarrassed the supporters of such regime and pushed them to turn their backs. Pierre Prier of *Le Figaro* clarifies this idea and in his argument presupposes Western support of despots. He contends:

En Bédouin dur en affaires, il marchandé son soutien, se plaignant sans cesse de ne pas avoir reçu suffisamment de compensations pour son retour sur la scène internationale. Il obtient de Berlusconi la construction aux frais de l'Italie d'une autoroute le long des 1200 km de côtes libyennes. Exige de la France et des États-Unis la vente de missiles pour soi-disant protéger l'Europe de l'immigration clandestine. Au cours des derniers mois, il n'a jamais compris que les Occidentaux se soient retournés contre lui. Ne laissaient-ils pas ses collègues dictateurs maltraiter leurs peuples ? Mouammar Kadhafi avait raté le printemps arabe. Il a alors cessé de marchander.

English translation

As a hard-working Bedouin, he bargains for his support, constantly complaining that he has not received enough compensation for his return to the international scene. He obtained from Berlusconi construction at the expense of Italy of a highway along the 1200 km of Libyan coast. Demand from France and the United States the sale of missiles to supposedly protect Europe from illegal immigration. In recent months, he has never understood that Westerners have turned against him. Did not they let fellow dictators mistreat their people? Muammar Gaddafi had missed the Arab Spring. He then stopped bargaining.

The Occidental backup of despotic regimes is seen insufficient for these regimes to implant their roots and sustain their powers; rather, the writers believe that these tyrants had to construct a solid controlling, penetrating and parallel ruling mechanism labeled “the deep state” to ensure their manipulation of the state’s joints.

3.4.2. Deep State

Relevant to the discussion is the concept of Deep State. There is an evident consensus in the analyzed articles on the significance of deep state in either delaying regimes' fall or bringing them back to life after being forced to leave power. According to Cambridge Dictionary Deep State refers to “organizations such as military, police, or political groups that are said to work secretly in order to protect particular interests and rule a country without being elected”. Despots, through intertwined networks of Deep State apparatus, have gone to the edge in their clinging to power, even if that means to burn down their countries, like in Syria. Filii (2015, p 1) contends that:

after the popular Arab uprisings of 2011, the concept of Deep State became more and more familiar to politicians and analysts. They often attributed to a shadowy Deep State the hurdles facing the various democratic Arab transitions. Many conspiracy theories were built on the assumption that an all-powerful Deep State was striking back and avenging itself on the post-dictatorial regimes.

Ian Black of *The Guardian* writes a reading of Filii's interesting book *From Deep State to Islamic State: the Arab Counter-Revolution and its Jihadi Legacy* and states that:

Following the departure of Hosni Mubarak, counter-revolution triumphed in Egypt with the repression of the Muslim Brotherhood. The overthrow of Mohammed Morsi, compared with the success of Rachid Ghannouchi in Tunisia, provided an instructive lesson, Filii argues: Islamists who succeed at the ballot box, in complex and volatile circumstances, must not take their electoral victories as a “blank cheque.” To ignore that is to invite the backlash that brought Abdel-Fatah al-Sisi to power and forged a reality even worse than under Mubarak.

Deep State's strong tentacles are believed to penetrate the military and police forces which have played decisive roles in defining the course of action of the revolutions. They even have destroyed Egypt's internationally applauded for emerging democracy by a military coup d'état. Ishaan Tharoor of *The Washington Post* argues that:

There's widespread belief that the Egyptian deep state partially engineered the crisis and chaos that led to Morsi's ouster, allowing for a collapse of law and order that saw religious violence spike, soccer hooligans murder each other and thugs incite mayhem on city streets. Bureaucrats helped create artificial power cuts and fuel shortages.

"The day after Morsi was removed from power," wrote Bessma Momani of Brookings, "Egypt's fuel shortages were no more, its electricity supply went uninterrupted and traffic police suddenly went back to work."

These behind the scenes acts are meant to guarantee the interest and privileges of Deep State apparatus on the expense of the whole country's democratic process. To achieve this goal, Deep State puppets the different segments of society, political parties, civil society and dominant ideologies. Tharoor further maintains that the actualization of Deep State can be found in Middle Eastern countries. He gives the example of Turkey and how Deep State works and states that "in the case of Turkey, it has been the preservation of the secular-nationalist ideals of the modern republic's founders. This has led to the systematic repression of Kurds, leftists and Islamists, and the periodic launching of coups whenever the aspirations of any of these groups gained too much traction". Another famous manifestation of Deep State is clearly apparent in the interference of the army in power after the fall of ex-president Mubarak. The interim phase was short enough to prove the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces' (SCAF) protection of old regime's corrupt figures and thwart the democratic process. In *Le Figaro*, Jean-Marc Gonin writes:

En quelques jours, le tour de passe-passe politique, l'escamotage national, le mensonge consistant à mettre tous les péchés du régime sur le compte du raïs Hosni Moubarak, pour le contraindre à la démission, a volé en éclats. Aux commandes de l'Égypte depuis le 11 février, le Conseil suprême des forces armées (CSFA), présidé par le maréchal Tantaoui et composé de vingt galonnés, gouverne à coups de communiqués et n'apparaît aux Égyptiens que sur les plans fixes de la télévision filmant la table en U où il tient ses réunions. Les voilà aussi haïs que le chef de l'État déchu et traduit en justice. Les jeunes révolutionnaires de la place Tahrir s'étaient laissé berné par la main protectrice de l'armée, qui s'était interposée face aux violences policières des sbires de Moubarak.

English translation

In a few days, the political trickery, the national retraction, the lie of putting all the sins of the regime on the account of raïs Hosni Mubarak, to force him to resign, shattered. In command of Egypt since February 11, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), presided over by Marshal Tantaoui and composed of twenty striders, governs with press releases and appears to the Egyptians only on the fixed plans of the television filming the U-shaped table where he holds his meetings. They are as hated as the head of state who has fallen and been brought to justice. The young revolutionaries in Tahrir Square had been fooled by the protective hand of the army, who had intervened in the face of police violence by Mubarak's henchmen.

3.4.3. Tribalism

To a lesser extent, though significantly relevant, tribalism played an effective role in temporally sustaining some despots and their regimes in revolting countries like Yemen, Libya and Syria. Indeed, some rulers have turned to their original tribes to seek support and legitimacy and have tried to convince them that if they fall the tribe falls with them. Jackson Diehl deputy editorial page editor of *The Washington Post* stresses that “dictators such as Assad, Moammar Gaddafi and Yemen’s Ali Abdullah Saleh, backed by mountains of weapons and armies bound to them by tribe or sect, prefer to fight to the death rather than quietly yield”. Simon Blin of *le Figaro*, as well, discusses the role despots have played during their time of reign in subduing and manipulating tribes to consolidate their power and gives the example of Yemen:

ex-président Saleh, qui garde une forte influence et des réseaux qu'il a soigneusement tissés dans l'armée et parmi des tribus Durant ses 33 ans de présidence.

English translation

ex-president Saleh, who keeps a strong influence and networks that he carefully woven in the army and among tribes during his 33 years of presidency.

The tribal factor is employed viciously by the Libyan ex-president Gaddafi, asserts Alaa al-Ameri. *The Guardian* opinion writer believes that the Libyan tribal division is the regime’s handmade. She argues:

Most recent instances of disputes based on tribal loyalty have been fomented and engineered by Gaddafi's national policy of divide and conquer. As long as people squabbled among themselves, they were far less likely to unite against him. Well, now they have, and in a desperate

attempt to survive, Gaddafi, his son and his close circle are repeatedly attempting to raise the ghost of a rejected system of patronage which they used to maintain power for decades.

This tribalism issue is further seen, by most of the writers, to serve as a stumbling block in the way of a smooth transition in the “post-dictatorial” era. Building a homogenous and largely representative power has been crippled by tribal struggles; a fact which pushed countries like Yemen and Libya into civil wars. Benjamin Barber writes in *The Guardian*:

Gaddafi is gone, but the hard journey to democracy has scarcely begun. It will require in Libya that 140 tribes be reconciled, that the 300-year-old quarrel of east and west, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, be put aside. It will mean getting to the bottom of who among the rebels killed their own chief of army staff Abdul Fatah Younis in Benghazi at the end of July; getting the splintering militias to turn over their arms to a national police force; and assuring that victory over the tyrant does not become a blood feud against his clansmen.

Likewise, Thierry Portes maintains in *le Figaro* that:

Dès la chute de Mouammar Kadhafi, les Toubous se sont affrontés à la tribu arabe des Zwei à Koufra, une ville non loin de l'Égypte et du Tchad. Ce conflit s'est soldé par plusieurs centaines de morts.

English translation

After the fall of Muammar Gaddafi, the Toubous clashed with the Arab tribe of Zwei Kufra, a town not far from Egypt and Chad. This conflict resulted in several hundred deaths.

Evidently, the picture is not very different in the Yemeni case where, among other reasons, tribal conflicts have made stability quite a far-fetched aim. *The Washington Post*

David Ignatius is happy about the departure of Saleh, but he is not very optimistic and states that it is “all good ideas, but the result was the same unraveling as in other weak states. Hopes for dialogue crashed against the realities of weak governance, cronyism and decades-old sectarian and tribal feuds”. In truth, this issue of tribalism is only one side of a coin whose other side is sectarianism; the ugly monster the Arab Spring has been seen to feed.

3.5. The Arab Spring and the Sectarian Threat

The issue of sectarian conflicts is considered by most of the writers as one of the abnormally still-surviving and even growing ulcers in the Arab Muslim world during such an exceptional, normally, uniting and democracy building moment. The rise of sectarianism is basically attributed to the birth of ISIS and the strengthening of some Shiite groups like Houthis in Yemen and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Besides, Arab media and especially social media fueled the division between Sunni and Shiite and Muslims and Christians. Clear as it seems, the writers agree that some Arab revolting countries have missed the chance to build a strong national unity and go beyond the notorious long conflicts of sectarianism. Ian Black of *The Guardian* stresses that “sectarianism has certainly raised its ugly head in recent years – but a lot of people have worked hard to make that happen. And social media has made it easier than ever to spread toxic and intolerant messages”. Sectarianism is believed to be a reshaping factor of the political tissue in some countries in the region. Fareed Zakaria writes in *The Washington Post* that “Growing sectarianism — Shiite vs. Sunni, Arab vs. Kurd — had reshaped the politics of countries such as Iraq and Syria. When the repressive ruler was toppled — Hussein, Saleh, Gaddafi — the entire political order unraveled and the nation (a recent creation in the Arab world) itself fell apart”. In the Syrian case, the Alawite sect is fully supporting President Assad fearing the rise to power of a Sunni president whose reign may privilege Sunni people or even take revenge of the Alawite minority. Laura Raim points out in *Le Figaro* that:

Depuis l'accession au pouvoir de l'alaouite Hafez el-Assad en 1970, la minorité alaouite a en effet été systématiquement favorisée. Les adeptes de cette branche hétérodoxe du chiisme craignent donc que la vaste majorité sunnite ne se venge de 40 ans de discrimination. Quant aux chrétiens syriens, ils observent avec effroi ce qui s'est passé en Irak après la chute de Saddam Hussein: «la majorité des chrétiens ont été persécutés ou ont dû fuir, rappelle Karim Bitar. D'ailleurs la Syrie a accueilli plus d'un million de réfugiés. Face à ce risque de chaos, que les médias officiels syriens ne cessent d'agiter, de nombreux chrétiens et alaouites estiment qu'Assad est un moindre mal.»

English translation

Since the rise to power of the Alawite Hafez al-Assad in 1970, the Alawite minority has indeed been systematically favored. Proponents of this heterodox branch of Shiism fear that the vast majority of Sunnis will take revenge for 40 years of discrimination. As for Syrian Christians, they observe with horror what happened in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein: "The majority of Christians have been persecuted or have had to flee," said Karim Bitar. Syria has hosted more than one million refugees. Faced with this risk of chaos, that the official Syrian media keep agitating, many Christians and Alawites consider Assad to be a lesser evil. "

3.5.1. Shiite vs Sunni

The most recurrent and dominant forms of sectarianism in the Middle East during the revolutions is the long infamous struggle between Sunni and Shiite Muslims. Ostensibly, the

winds of the Arab Spring seem to fan and engender more conflicts between these two major sects of the Muslim world. Harriet Sherwood argues in *The Guardian* that:

The Arab spring uprisings that began five years ago have further heightened Sunni-Shia tensions, and led Sunni regimes such as Saudi Arabia's to crack down on what they see as Iran's attempts to promote its radical Shia agenda. In countries with Sunni governments, Shia Muslims tend to be among the poorest sections of society and often see themselves as the target of discrimination.

Further, the Sunni-Shiite string has been played on by some Arab rulers who have turned it into a shield against the revolutions. The Bahraini case is very pertinent here since King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa hammered his iron fist on Shiite revolts as a pretext to prevent the birth of a pro-Iranian regime in his country. Pierre Prier contends in *Le Figaro* that Bahrain:

Joue un rôle important dans l'endiguement de l'Iran, situé juste en face. Le roi présente la révolte populaire comme une insurrection confessionnelle dangereuse pour l'équilibre de la région. Près de 80 % de ses 1.340.000 habitants sont chiites comme en Iran. S'il était renversé, assure le monarque, c'est un État allié de l'Iran qui s'installerait au cœur du golfe Arabo-Persique.

English translation

Plays an important role in the containment of Iran, located directly opposite. The king presents the popular revolt as a confessional insurrection dangerous for the balance of the region. Nearly 80% of its 1,340,000 inhabitants are Shiite as in Iran. If he was overthrown, assures

the monarch, it is an allied state of Iran that would settle in the heart of the Arabian Gulf.

This scarecrow of Shiite threat has already been employed by ex-Iraqi President Saddam Hussein against Iran and at the same time he ruled with an iron fist a majority of Shiite Iraq by a minority Sunni regime. Shiite Iraqis along with other Shiite groups like Hezbollah have, indeed, introduced themselves as ferocious defenders of the Shiite sect against what they see Sunni threat represented by ISIS. This has led to more fragmentation and instability in the region and has made the echo of the Arab Spring slogans fade away. Henri J. Barkey writes in *The Washington Post* that:

Sunni communities in Iraq and Syria appear to have more in common with each other than with their fellow nationals. Similarly, Iraq's Shiite militias would rather fight with Iran's support than obey the Iraqi government's edicts. In Lebanon, Shiite Hezbollah, the prototype of an armed extra-legal transnational force, threatened Sunni Saudi Arabia over its intervention against Shiite Houthi rebels in Yemen.

3.5.2. Muslims vs Christians

The still unfolding aftermaths of the Arab revolutions have brought on stage another serious sectarian conflict; that between Muslims and Christians. The fear of Arab Christian minorities being the victims of some violent or discriminatory acts during the revolutions is resonant across the selected articles. The writers see that the Arab Muslims' ability to embrace their Christian fellow citizens in such a historical moment has been challenged due to some acts of violence and discriminatory discourses against this Christian minority. The explosions of some Egyptian Coptic churches, inflammatory speeches against Christians by some Muslim clerics and the kidnapping and killing of Arab Christians by ISIS fighters are

examples the writers present as evidence of the weakening of Christians' already fragile situation in the Arab world. Richard Leiby of *The Washington Post*, for instance, points out that:

Egyptians confront the worst outbreak of religious violence since Hosni Mubarak was swept out of power Feb. 11. The deaths of 13 people in clashes in Cairo between Muslims and Christians late Tuesday have prompted calls for religious tolerance and raised the prospect of a deepening sectarian divide after a post-revolution honeymoon period.

Statistically contended, the French paper *Le Figaro*, based on a report of the Open House Protestant Association published in *Reuters*, states that:

Huit des dix pays où la situation des chrétiens est la plus problématique sont des pays à majorité musulmane. Le conflit syrien a fait passer le pays de la 36e à la 11e place, tandis que la Libye monte de la 26e à la 17e. "Le Printemps arabe s'est transformé en hiver arabe pour les chrétiens", note le rapport.

English translation

Eight of the ten countries where the situation of Christians is the most problematic are countries with a Muslim majority. The Syrian conflict moved the country from 36th to 11th place, while Libya rose from 26th to 17th. "The Arab Spring has turned into an Arab winter for Christians," the report notes.

This "Arab winter for Christians" is feared to look even darker with the arrival of Islamist or even Jihadist groups to power. Most of the writers stress that these groups' aim is the implementation of Sharia law which, they believe, is marginalizing and unfair to Christians. Mustafa Akyol reflects these concerns and writes in *The Guardian* that:

The Middle East heavily bears this risk, and one of the reasons is the authoritarian decrees in classical Islamic law (sharia) that incumbent Islamists might wish to impose. For example, the sharia bans apostasy and penalizes it with capital punishment. A Muslim who decides to become a Christian, in other words, can be given a death sentence – as it tragically happened in recent years in Afghanistan or Iran. Sharia verdicts against blasphemers (real or perceived), non-practicing Muslims, and women can also be very oppressive.

Thus, fears of losing the status Christians gained under secular regimes makes them very pessimistic about the newcomers to power. Added to that, this minority is worried to be crushed in the struggle for power between Sunni and Shiite and even be more marginalized in a system which does not guarantee comfortable representativeness to minority groups. In fact, Christians seem not to be the only segment of Arab societies which has feared to be the biggest loser of the revolution, because the writers believe that the whole countries have benefited less than what is dreamed of due to the absence of a real alternative which would reap the fruits of the revolutions.

3.6. The Fall of Regimes/Dictators and the Absence of a Real Alternative to Power Vacuum

To the writers, people in the Middle East were more focused on bringing down dictators and their regimes than on who would be in the ruling seat and how they would reign. In the analyzed articles the issues of power vacuum, struggle for power and the absence of a real party that enjoys a large consensus of the people to lead the country transitionally or permanently strongly echo across the lines of the articles. With the exception of some Islamist parties, which do not always enjoy the majority's appreciation, the fall of the dictator created

more polarization and tension between the different components of society over the kind of the new leadership. This situation has led to chaotic repercussions like in Yemen, Libya and Egypt and has had regressive outcomes at most levels. Germane to this status quo are some causes, most article writers argue should be blamed for, such as the impairment of political parties, spread of corruption and poor quality of educational systems, which made the making of well qualified and “clean” elite a deficient process.

3.6.1. Power Vacuum and the State of Chaos

Most of the writers agree that the overthrow of dictators is not the end in itself to the revolting countries’ problems; something which the protestors believe to be a step towards the cleaning of the political scene and building of more democratic systems. Yet, protestors seem to have been indulgent more in uprooting the tyrants than in readying themselves for the next phase. The role of civil resistance is crucially important. Nevertheless, it is insufficient to achieve real change and bring the revolution to a safe harbor. According to *The Guardian* writer Adam Roberts:

The tradition of seeing civil resistance as by nature superior to the mundane business of government is deeply problematic. Wherever it is used against a regime, there needs to be a credible plan for governing the country: in the absence of such a plan, civil resistance is part of the problem, not part of the solution. Many of the spontaneous and in some cases leaderless Arab spring movements of 2011 were unsuited to taking on the tedious roles of political parties and constitutional lawyers.

He further stresses that Arab revolutionaries seem “obsessed” with ridding themselves of the strong fist of the ruler and undermine the aftermaths since, he contends:

Getting rid of a dictatorial and corrupt ruler is not enough. Building democratic institutions, and restoring confidence in a flawed state, are much harder tasks. It was a failure to understand this that led the US and Britain into their disastrous Iraq adventure in 2003. However, it is not only the neocons and their friends who need to learn this lesson. So do advocates and practitioners of nonviolent civil resistance, who have often concentrated on the task of getting rid of dictators with less thought and planning about what comes after.

Thus, power vacuum and the unavailability of a reliable governing alternative are contended to bring more disastrous outcomes than the stay of dictators in power. In this respect, the editorial board of *The Washington Post* argues that “The Arab Spring collapsed a rotten autocratic order in the Middle East, but with the exception of Tunisia, democratic forces were not ready to fill the vacuum; the result was civil war or restored dictatorships”. Another dangerous upshot of power vacuum is discussed by Steven A. Cook, an opinion writer in *The Washington Post*, who sees that “the Islamic State has stepped into this vacuum to carve out from Iraq and Syria a chunk of territory the size of Maryland”. The Islamic State has taken advantage of this power vacuum and the absence of a real alternative to recruit more pessimistic Arab youth. Delphine Minoui of *Le Figaro* cites the cases of an Arab young man, in the words of his friend, and shows the state of loss some Arab youths had to undergo. He writes:

« D’après moi, il s’est réfugié dans la religion par défaut, dans un moment de grande fragilité. Sur le plan personnel, il avait perdu un ami proche. Sur le plan politique, il ne voyait plus d’autre alternative après la révolution avortée. Malheureusement, des personnes malveillantes lui ont

fait un lavage de cerveau. C'est ça, le danger que présente l'État islamique !», dit-il.

English translation

"In my opinion, he took refuge in the religion by default, in a moment of great fragility. On a personal level, he had lost a close friend. On a political level, he saw no other alternative after the failed revolution. Unfortunately, malicious people have brainwashed him. That's the danger of the Islamic State!" He says.

More than that, power vacuum in some countries like Libya can have destabilizing and harmful effects on neighboring democracy building countries like Tunisia. *Le Figaro* writer Clémentine Maligorne states that:

Les autorités tunisiennes expriment régulièrement leur inquiétude à propos de la Libye, pays voisin où le chaos politique et le vide sécuritaire, depuis la chute du dictateur Mouammar Kadhafi en 2011, ont permis l'essor de l'EI. Plus de 5500 Tunisiens seraient partis combattre à l'étranger, dont 1000 à 1500 en Libye, d'après l'ONU. Une partie de ces combattants, en prison avant 2011, ont aussi profité de l'amnistie générale lors de la révolution.

English translation

The Tunisian authorities regularly express their concern about Libya, neighboring country where political chaos and security vacuum, since the fall of the dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, have allowed the rise of the IS. More than 5,500 Tunisians would have gone to fight abroad, including 1,000 to 1,500 in Libya, according to the UN. Some of these

fighters, in prison before 2011, have also benefited from the general amnesty during the revolution.

Accordingly, the task of revolting requires more diligent work that would make democracy building an achievable target which guarantees fruitful consequences for the people. People who gradually need to be weaned from the poisonous milk of dictator regimes and prepared to establish a more embracing and democratic order. Here Adam Roberts of *The Guardian* sustains that “democracy is another matter altogether, and requires long and patient labour in building civil society, forging a sense of citizenship, broadening education and inculcating habits of tolerance and respect for law that are generally not present in peoples who have lived so long under dictatorship”. When the people fail to realize these requirements and get trapped in dividing conflicts, power vacuum is likely to be filled by opportunist actors like the military or outside forces.

3.6.2. Between The Military’s Hammer and the Outside Intervention Anvil

Power vacuum, absence of a unifying force and unfinished revolution have been considered, by the writers, as some of the major factors that opened the door for the military and outside powers to step in and fill the gap. The cases of Egypt and Syria seem the best representatives of military coup and seizure of power in the former and Russian intervention in the latter. In fact, the military in Egypt led a counter revolution under the banner of freeing the country from the control of the Muslim brotherhood and the Russian intervention is “licensed” by the Syrian president under the pretext of fighting terrorism. In both cases, the Arabs are seen unable neither to break the shackles of military intervention in the civil life nor not to conspire against fellow citizens using outside powers. Another case of outside power intervention, but this time from neighboring Arab Muslim country, is represented in the Saudi military intervention in Bahrain to smother majority Shiite revolution; an act of exporting authoritarianism and inhibiting the local Saudi front. Interestingly, the case where

outside power intervention is “cautiously appreciated” by the writers is the NATO’s crack down on Kaddafi forces in Libya. Yet, the writers believe Libyans have missed a historical opportunity to rebuild their country after the killing of Kaddafi and instead have reflected the real meaning of state disintegration by blood battles for power. What the writers actually subtly blame some Arab people for is their “buying” and “acceptance” of what they have revolted against especially military interference in civil life and the influence of outside powers.

Indeed, the employment of conspiracy theory has apparently helped the military advocated agenda in Egypt and the intervention of a “friend country” in Syrian. *The Washington Post* Jackson Diehl argues that “Sissi, who carried out a coup against an elected Islamist government, blames Washington for that regime’s rise to power and suspects that the U.S. aim remains to destroy the Egyptian state through something he calls “fourth generation war”. The Egyptian president presents himself as a savior of the country from “the dark forces” represented by Islamists. *Le Figaro* writer Wladimir Garcin points out that:

Il prône aujourd'hui une laïcisation de la société égyptienne et veut éradiquer l'idéologie et la confrérie des Frères musulmans. L'avenir nous dira si cette stratégie est gagnante, sachant qu'elle avait été mise en œuvre, sans grand succès dans le passé, par les anciens présidents militaires égyptiens de Nasser à Moubarak en passant par Sadate.

He advocates today a secularization of Egyptian society and wants to eradicate the ideology and brotherhood of the Muslim Brotherhood. The future will tell if this strategy is winning, knowing that it was implemented, without much success in the past, by the former Egyptian military presidents from Nasser to Mubarak through Sadat.

Though the supportive media arsenal and his attempts to positively present himself, Sissi's reign seems to bring Egypt back to square zero; something which *The Guardian* editorial board speculated when they wrote that if he seizes power "Egypt's circular route back to despotism will then be complete".

Sissi's bringing back of Egypt to the ground of tyranny seems softer than Assad's insistence on Syria not leaving it. The opening of Syria's doors to Russian troops, Hezbollah and Iran militia and the clinging of Alaouites and a large section of Syrian army to the regime have turned the country into an inferno and a battle field which smells of cold war times. *Le Figaro* editorial board maintains that the Russian president:

Vladimir Poutine, soutien fidèle d'Assad, a repris la main sur le dossier syrien et bouscule depuis plusieurs semaines le camp occidental, en panne de stratégies.

English translation

Vladimir Poutine, loyal supporter of Al Assad, has regained control of the Syrian file and has been shaking the Western camp for several weeks.

Iran followed the same Russian path and played the West card intervention in the Syrian affairs to keep its feet solidly entrenched in Syria. Ian Black of *The Guardian* stressed that "Iran, apparently alarmed at the prospect of losing its only Arab ally, agreed that the west was encouraging the Syrian opposition to seek regime change". Obviously, the state of polarization and power struggle between the different camps have fueled the Syrian civil war and made the revolts' hopes of a democratic country fading cries in a deep valley. The state of chaos quaking most of the Arab Spring countries has been sparked by these countries' people failure to fill the vacuum created by toppling despots, burry military intervention in political life once for all and wane their dependency on outside forces. It is also true, as Adam Roberts

maintains, that “Outside powers have not played a glorious role in any of this” (ibid), a role which normally should go in accordance with their slogans of liberty, democracy and progression.

3.7. Summary

The aim of this section has been to shed light on the main and most recurrent themes/issues in the analyzed articles. It has, hopefully, acquainted the reader with the thematic schemes which reflect the writers’ perception of the Arab Spring’s history making events. Overwhelmingly negative, these issues foreground more pejorative pitfalls of the Arab revolutions than their promising and positive aspects. In this subsection, the inclination towards bias representation is, indeed, nothing but a reinforcement of the discursively constructed bias articulated in the first part of this chapter.

4. Conclusion

Effectively, the endeavor of this chapter has been to put into empirical terms the founding techniques and theory of Fairclough’s critical discourse analytical tool in unraveling the representational constructs of Arab Muslims of the Arab Spring revolutions embedded in the three selected newspaper articles of *Le Figaro*, *The Washington Post* and *The Guardian*. Practically, the combination of discursive and thematic analysis is expected to empirically aid the reader better delve into the subtle and embedded constructs of power relations, representation and inequalities interwoven in discourse structures. The essence of these findings is set to be further discussed and elaborated in the following chapter as a step towards completing the picture this thesis is aimed to capture as well as provide more responsive takes on the previously posed research questions.

CHAPTER IV : 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 importance and relevance of these results is 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.

3.1. What are the main discursive strategies and linguistic constructs that the newspapers opinion and editorial articles deployed to ideologically represent the Arab Muslims during the Arab Spring?

The analyzed data have revealed that the writers resort to a sort of diversity in the deployment and distribution of the opted for discursive strategies. The results indicate that the representational constructs are framed relying on combining rhetorical, argumentative, dextric, pragmatic, modal, transitive and lexical items. This variety of discursive strategies and their distribution over the articles, give the writers more flexibility in entangling their ideological stances. The following chart sums up the dominant discursive constructs used across the analyzed data:

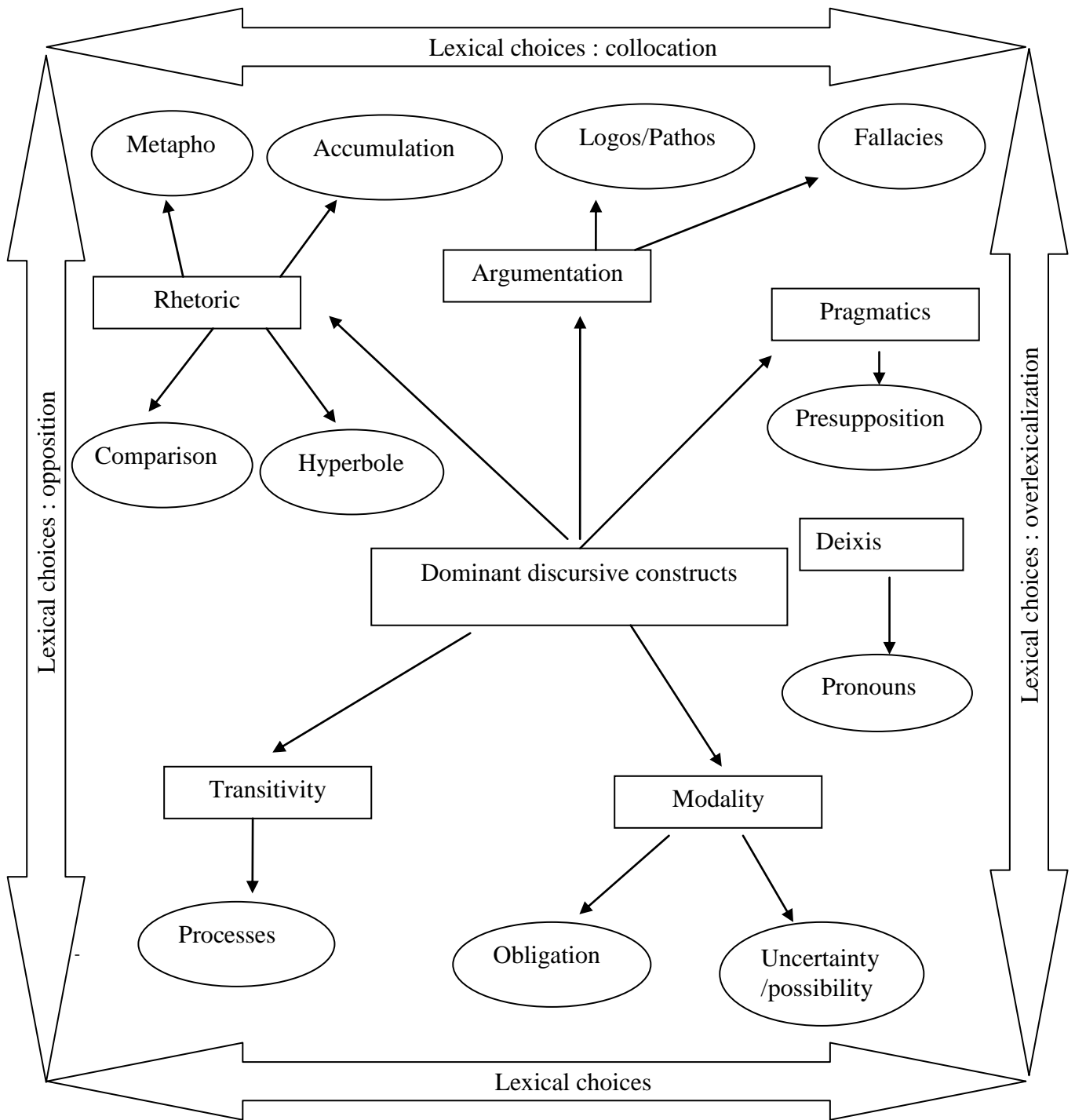


Figure 6: Most Dominant Discursive constructs

The correlation the lexical choices are making between the above discursive structures forms a kind of frame within which the represented Arab Muslim is locked up. All the discursive structures, indeed, fall within the three major areas that Fairclough (1989, pp.110-111) proposed to address as a prerequisite for conducting an effective and revealing critical analysis of discourse (vocabulary, grammar and textual structures) . More to that, these discursive structures have served as a working skeleton the writers clothed in “thematic flesh” driven by their own ideological representations.

3.2. What are the dominant ideological and thematic areas that stereotypically frame the Arab Muslims within the Arab Spring?

Building on the first research question, the second addresses and examines the dominant thematic areas as a complementary step towards fully analyzing and grasping the representational discursive power of the selected articles. As discussed in the second section of the data analysis chapter, five correlated themes govern the writers’ eye on the Arab Spring. These thematic representations are, more or less, interactive and nurture one another jamming the revolutions and their people in the “classic” colonial representation of the Orient. The following chart reintroduces the most recurrent ideological issues:

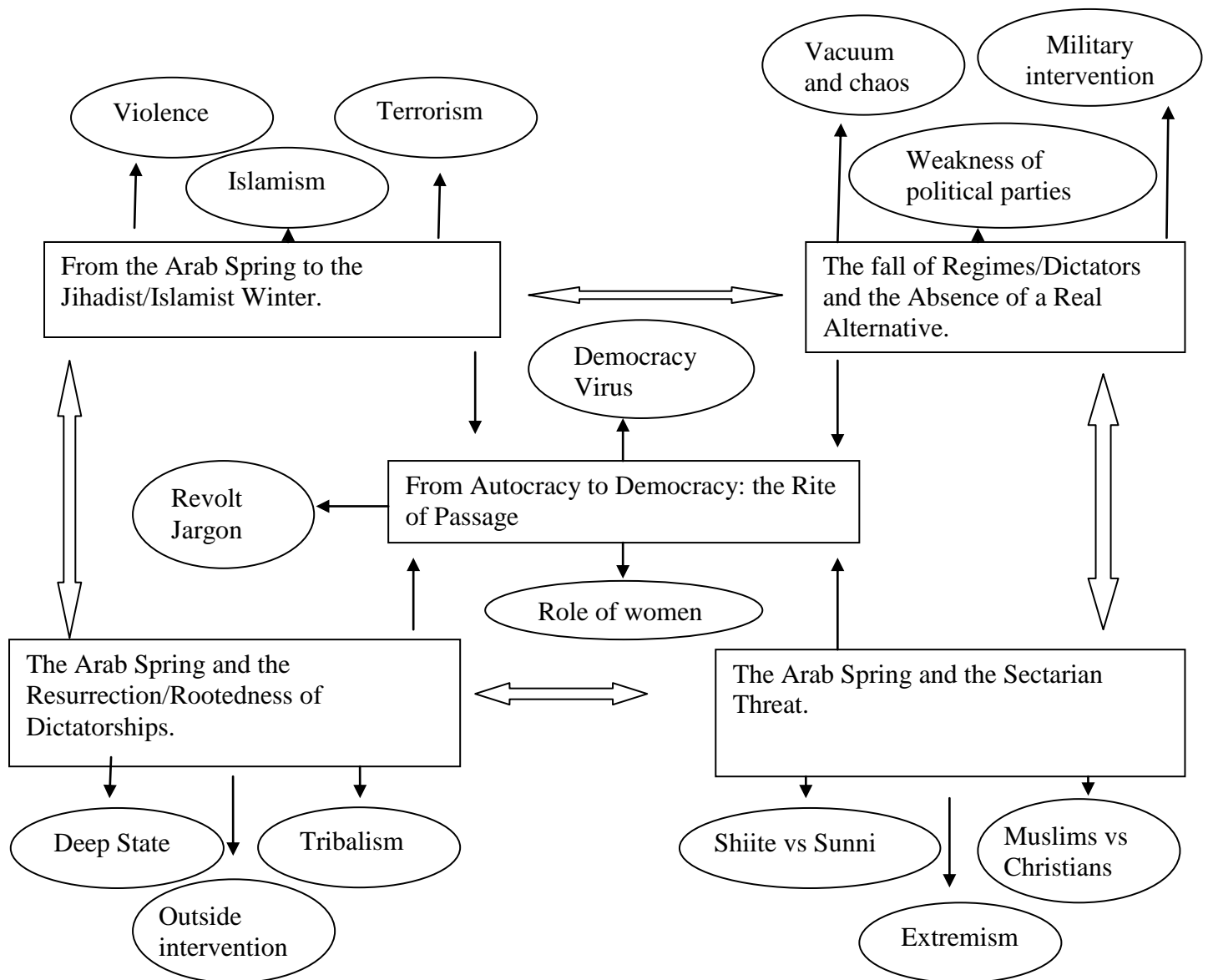


Figure 7: Most dominant ideological issues

The above chart reflects the bound and interaction between the themes and at the same time the centrality of the issue of the access to democracy. Ostensibly, the writers outline the threats facing this, though heavily criticized, embryonic and travail-passing experience of democracy seeking and building. The data analysis suggests that the writers trap the Arab Muslims in a closed circle whose quicksand seems to push them even deeper into the pre Arab Spring era. This can also be recognized from the writers' semantic mapping covering the revolutions which reflects a great deal of negativity, pessimism and untrustworthiness. More

than that, the revolutionaries are believed to have missed a historical momentum created by the Arab Spring revolutions to make great strides in the race for democracy and, in a way or another, have engraved the stereotypical representation about themselves.

3.3. To what extent have the Arab Muslims escaped the stereotypical colonial representation during the Arab Spring?

In essence, this research question finds its answer in the two previous research questions which have discursively paved the path for the reader to juxtapose the “classic” colonial representation with what is woven between the lines about the Arab Muslims during the revolutions. Obviously, the results reveal that the Arab Muslims have not been able to escape the stereotypical colonial representation even during such turning point and rebirth moment as the Arab revolutions. Indeed, the reproduction of ideologically loaded and stereotypically molded representations about the Arab Muslims in the selected newspapers’ articles discourse is way too clear to hide. The deployed discursive strategies as well as the dominant thematic areas have served the writers, though differently, in constructing this image which is pregnant with prevailing negative thoughts as despotism, violence, chaos, vagueness and fragmentation, to mention but a few. Interestingly, the analysis finds out that sometimes the writers find themselves in a conflicting state of ambivalence in which a clear stance towards the events is uneasily defined. The next chart explains this situation:

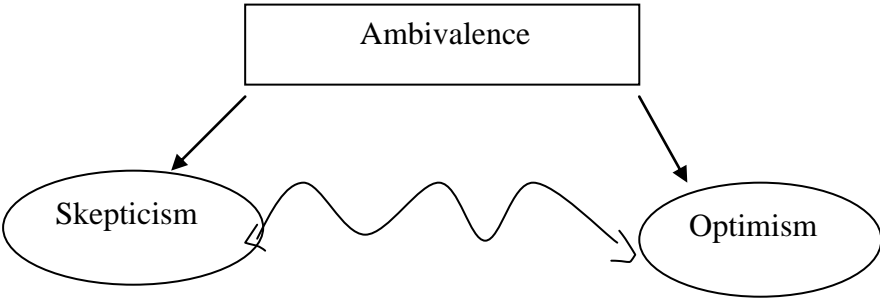


Figure 8: Ambivalence State

This graph depicts some of the writers' ambivalent states and how they are caught up between sometimes admiring and disdaining the revolutions. The mixture of skepticism and optimism governs the attitudes of some selected pens which, in some instances, believe that the Arab Muslims' ability to establish West-like democracies is nothing but a dream and, in others, have faith and trust in the revolutionaries to lay the foundation for a real democratic transition.

3.4. How do the writers position themselves vis a vis the represented subject? Are they biased or objective?

Measuring bias of the writers is crucial to defining their representation and reliability of their stances. This is facilitated by means of categorizing the analyzed articles in terms of their bias and objectivity depending on their discusivity and tone. Basically, positive articles are pregnant with laudatory language and attitudes about the Arab Muslims and the revolutions and foreground their bright sides and achievements. Negative articles, on the other hand, focus more on the flaws and negative stories and news sometimes intentionally background positive details. As for neutral articles, the writers try to strike a balance while discussing and analyzing their perspectives and tend to use impartial language. The results are presented in the table below:

Newspaper	Type		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
The Washington Post	10	17	7
The Guardian	12	18	2
Le Figaro	8	21	8

Table 33: Number of positive, negative and neutral articles

There is an obvious dominance of biased articles as reflected in the above table which evidently echoes the findings in chapter III. This fact mirrors the variety of bias language and discursive constructs the writers used to shroud their ideologies and representations within. In effect, data analysis has revealed more bias forms, mainly lexical, deployed by the writers in stereotypically framing the Arab Spring. The following chart outlines these tools:

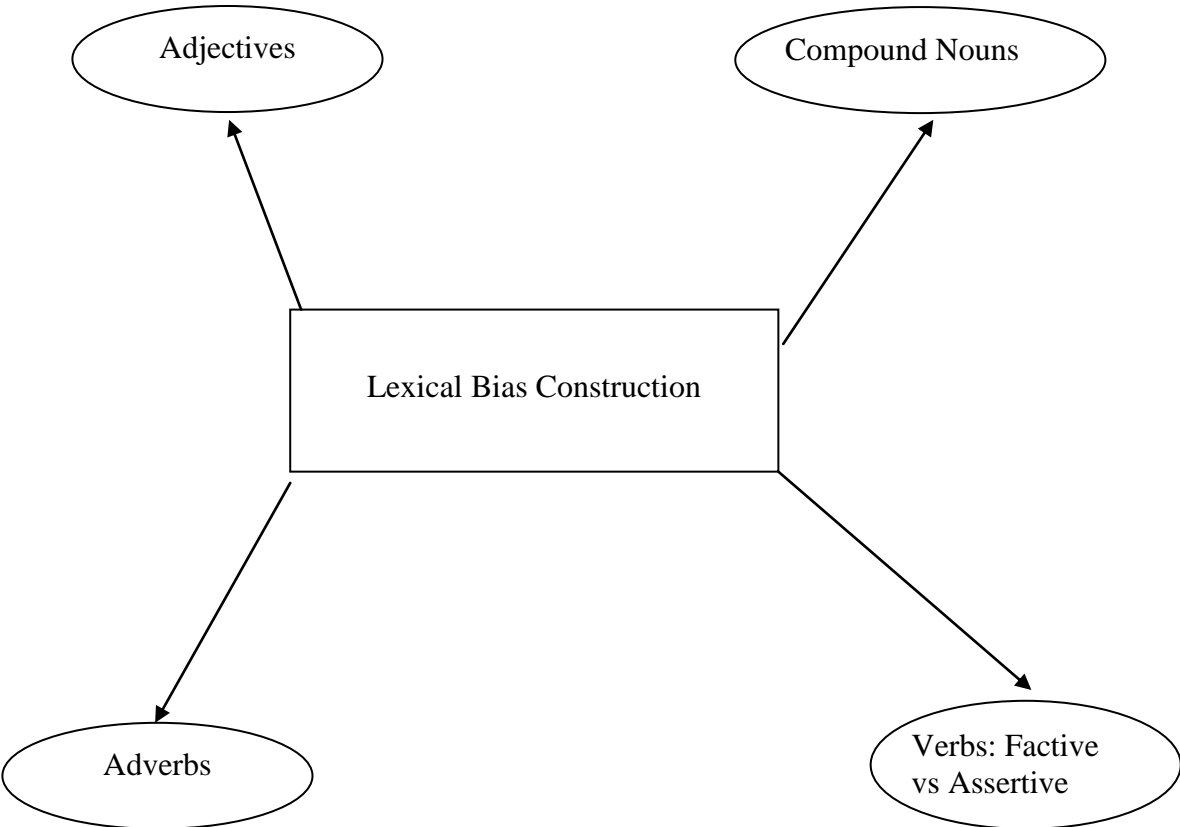


Figure 9: Lexical Bias Construction

The semantic mapping of the biased construction of the Arab Muslims during the revolutions rests on the four abovementioned items. The use of certain qualifying adjectives to describe the revolutions or their people is very revealing of the writers’ biases. For instance, opting for adjectives like *extremist*, *Islamist*, *chaotic*, *exclusive* and *anti-Western* and using nouns like *Arab winter*, *Islamist revolution*, *state disintegration*, *Islamism swamp* and

revolution failure expose the writers' prejudiced stances. Similarly, adverbs such as *violently*, *in a chaotic manner*, *ruthlessly*, *everywhere* and *extremely* demonstrate, in some cases, the writers' biased propositions while addressing manner, place and extent/intensity. The use of verbs is, further, not less revealing in bias construction. It is noted that the writers' distribution of factivity and assertion is quite unbalanced since when they quote Western leaders or figures they tend to use more assertive predicates such as *say*, *state*, *point out* and *assert* while they employ factive verbs such as *know*, *realize*, *reveal* and *regret* to introduce the rebels' propositions. Interestingly, along with these tools, instances of bias are further detected when some writers focalize their analysis on some news and, sometimes, leave out more interesting ones. Besides, while expressing their opinions, some writers fall in the trap of value judgments about the revolutions and rebels. In the same vein, some euphemistic expressions are not an exception in the building of biased statements. The use of some words as *moderate Islam*, *NATO help*, *freed zones* and *rebels' pacification* embroil the writer more in bias.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, a short discussion of the research findings is presented along with answers to the research queries. These answers echo and prove the set of hypotheses and research objectives. The conclusion of this chapter is, indeed, the window on the general conclusion of this research study which wraps up and brings this thesis to its final shores.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

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 latter 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 revolutions gave this research a stinger breath to (re)address East and West encounters within a world context marked by the rise of nationalism, extremist ideologies, 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, hopefully, quite pertinent in debunking the claim that language is nothing but a mere means for conveying meaning and highlighting language 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 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 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. Indeed, 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 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 aim at providing 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. 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. 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 unavailability 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 lies in the choice of the three representative countries, and two languages which would stand for the whole Western press coverage. For the sake of the

generalizing 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. The nature of the topic itself and the still unfolding events of the Arab Spring can influence the period of the 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 languages 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.

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APPENDIX

Le Figaro

Nu	Author	Title	Date of publication	Link
1	Delphine Minoui	Cinq ans après, le bilan chaotique des printemps arabes	13 January 2016	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2016/01/13/01003-20160113ARTFIG00323-cinq-ans-apres-le-bilan-chaotique-des-printemps-arabes.php
2	Pierre Rousselin	«Printemps Arabe» et désintégration des États	1 February 2013	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2013/02/01/01003-20130201ARTFIG00391-printemps-arabe-et-desintegration-des-etats.php
3	Laura Raim	Quel pouvoir a la Ligue arabe?	15 November 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2011/11/15/01003-20111115ARTFIG00613-quel-pouvoir-a-la-ligue-arabe.php
4	Delphine Minoui	Cinq ans après, le bilan chaotique des printemps arabes	13 January 2016	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2016/01/13/01003-20160113ARTFIG00323-cinq-ans-apres-le-bilan-chaotique-des-printemps-arabes.php
5	New York Times	Le Printemps arabe? C'est bien une révolution!	26 November 2012	https://www.lefigaro.fr/mon-figaro/2012/11/26/10001-20121126ARTFIG00508-le-printemps-arabe-c-est-bien-une-revolution.php
6	Delphine Minoui	Du printemps arabe à l'été djihadiste	25 August 2015	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2015/08/25/01003-20150825ARTFIG00267-du-printemps-arabe-a-l-ete-djihadiste.php
7	Jean-Marie Guénois et Service Infographie	L'image de l'islam se dégrade fortement en France	24 October 2012	https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2012/10/24/01016-20121024ARTFIG00700-l-image-de-l-islam-se-degrade-fortement-en-france.php
8	Pierre Rousselin	Printemps arabe» et désintégration des États	1 February 2013	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2013/02/01/01003-20130201ARTFIG00391-printemps-arabe-et-desintegration-des-etats.php
9	Eugénie Bastié et Service Infographie	Cinq ans après les révolutions, la corruption s'est aggravée dans les pays arabes	4 May 2016	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2016/05/04/01003-20160504ARTFIG00058-cinq-ans-apres-les-revolutions-la-corruption-s-est-aggravee-dans-les-pays-arabes.php
10	AFP	Monde Arabe: Obama change d'approche	19 mai 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2011/05/19/97001-20110519FILWWW00630-monde-arabe-obama-change-d-

				approche.php
11	Laure Mandeville	Obama proclame son soutien au printemps arabe	19 May 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2011/05/19/01003-20110519ARTFIG00649-obama-proclame-son-soutien-au-printemps-arabe.php
12	Pierre Prier	Bahreïn : la révolte oubliée des printemps arabes	15 February 2013	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2013/02/15/01003-20130215ARTFIG00357-bahrein-la-revolte-oubliee-des-printemps-arabes.php
13	Pierre Vermeren	Syrie, Égypte, Libye, Tunisie : cinq ans après, le printemps ou le chaos ?	14 January 2016	https://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/societe/2016/01/14/31003-20160114ARTFIG00347-syrie-egypte-libye-tunisie-cinq-ans-apres-le-printemps-ou-le-chaos.php
14	Eugénie Bastié	La guerre a tué plus de 400.000 Syriens	12 février 2016	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2016/02/12/01003-20160212ARTFIG00182-la-guerre-a-tue-plus-de-400000-syriens.php
15	Laura Raim	Pourquoi les Occidentaux n'interviennent pas en Syrie	23 February 2012	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/02/23/01003-20120223ARTFIG00503-pourquoi-les-occidentaux-n-interviennent-pas-en-syrie.php
16	Pierre Prier	Pourquoi le Yémen fait-il si peur à l'Occident ?	7 août 2013	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2013/08/07/01003-20130807ARTFIG00344-pourquoi-le-yemen-fait-il-si-peur-a-l-occident.php
17	Figaro.fr avec AFP	Plus de 250.000 morts en Syrie	6 August 2015	https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2015/08/06/97001-20150806FILWWW00329-plus-de-250000-morts-en-syrie.php
18	Cécilia Gabizon	Quand le Net s'enflamme pour une cause	5 December 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2011/12/05/01016-20111205ARTFIG00686-quand-le-net-s-enflamme-pour-une-cause.php
19	Delphine Minoui	Printemps arabe : où sont passées les femmes ?	6 February 2012	https://www.lefigaro.fr/mon-figaro/2012/02/06/10001-20120206ARTFIG00540-printemps-arabe-o-sont-passees-les-femmes.php
20	Delphine Minoui	Printemps arabe : et les femmes ?	8 March 2012	https://blog.lefigaro.fr/iran/2012/03/printemps-arabe-et-les-femmes.html
21	Thierry Oberlé	La marche des islamistes vers le pouvoir	7 December 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2011/12/07/01003-20111207ARTFIG00771-la-marche-des-islamistes-vers-le-pouvoir.php
22	Pierre Prier	Kadhafi, tyran craint	20 October 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international

		jusqu'à son dernier souffle		1/2011/10/20/01003-20111020ARTFIG00729-kadhafi-tyran-craint-jusqu-a-son-dernier-souffle.php
23	Jean-Marc Gonin	Égypte, la deuxième révolution	25 November 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2011/11/26/01003-20111126ARTFIG00004-egypte-la-deuxieme-revolution.php
24	Simon Blin	Qui sont les houthis, nouveaux maîtres du Yémen ?	20 January 2015	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2015/01/20/01003-20150120ARTFIG00515-qui-sont-les-houthistes-nouveaux-maitres-du-yemen.php
25	Thierry Portes	Le Sud libyen, un désert propice à tous les trafics	17 January 2013	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2013/01/17/01003-20130117ARTFIG00664-le-sud-libyen-un-desert-propice-a-tous-les-trafics.php
26	Laura Raim	Qui sont les manifestants pro-Assad ?	19 December 2011	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2011/12/19/01003-20111219ARTFIG00490-qui-sont-les-manifestants-pro-assad.php
27	Avec Reuters	Religion: les chrétiens les plus persécutés	8 January 2013	https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2013/01/08/97001-20130108FILWWW00512-religion-les-chretiens-les-plus-persecutes.php
28	Clémentine Maligorne	La Tunisie en quête d'une stratégie antiterroriste	18 March 2016	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2016/03/18/01003-20160318ARTFIG00009-la-tunisie-en-quete-d-une-strategie-antiterroriste.php
29	Wladimir Garcin-Berson	Viols en Egypte : quelle place pour les femmes après le Printemps arabe ?	18 July 2014	https://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/monde/2014/07/18/31002-20140718ARTFIG00212-viol-et-harcelement-sexuel-en-egypte-quelle-place-pour-les-femmes-apres-le-printemps-arabe.php
30	Le Figaro et AFP agence	Hollande annonce des frappes en Syrie à la veille de l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU	27 September 2015	https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2015/09/27/01003-20150927ARTFIG00019-la-france-a-mene-ses-premieres-frappes-aeriennes-en-syrie.php

The Washington Post

Nu	Author	Title	Date of publication	Link
1	Daneil Byman	After the hope of Arab Spring, the chill of an Arab Winter	1 December 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/after-the-hope-of-the-arab-spring-the-chill-of-an-arab-winter/2011/11/28/gIQABGqHIO_story.html
2	Charles Krauthammer	Charles Krauthammer : the Islamist Ascendancy	12 July 2012	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/charles-krauthammer-the-islamist-ascendancy/2012/07/12/gJQArj9PgW_story.html
3	Daniel L.Byman	After the Hope of the Arab Spring, the Chill of an Arab Winter	4 December 2011	https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/after-the-hope-of-the-arab-spring-the-chill-of-an-arab-winter/
4	Jackson Diehl	A troubling turn from US relations in the Muslim world	24 July 2016	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/a-troubling-turn-for-us-relations-in-the-muslim-world/2016/07/24/a159cfee-4f4b-11e6-a7d8-13d06b37f256_story.html
5	Henry A. Kissenger	A new doctrine of intervention	30 March 2012	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-new-doctrine-of-intervention/2012/03/30/gIQAcZL6lS_story.html
6	David Ignatius	Helary Clinton was right about Egypt	28 January 2016	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/hillary-clinton-was-right-on-egypt/2016/01/28/fe7fe922-c609-11e5-8965-0607e0e265ce_story.html
7	Jackson Diehl	Is Obama to blame for the Arab Spring's Failure?	24 June 2012	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jackson-diehl-is-obama-to-blame-for-the-arab-springs-failures/2012/06/24/gJQAzF5O0V_story.html
8	Liz Sly	Reversals Challenge hope of Arab Spring	12 May 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/reversals-challenge-hope-of-arab-spring/2011/05/12/AFkgcV1G_story.html
9	Fareed Zakaria	Where George W. Bush was Right	26 March 2015	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/where-george-w-bush-was-right/2015/03/26/07a4251a-

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10	Editorial Board	Saudi Arabia Must do something about its barbaric human rights practices	5 August 2016	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/saudi-arabia-must-do-something-about-its-barbaric-human-rights-practices/2017/08/05/4cdeb14e-794f-11e7-9eac-d56bd5568db8_story.html?arc404=true
11	Marc Fisher	Arab Spring yields different outcomes in Bahrain , Egypt and Libya	20 December 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/arab-spring-yields-different-outcomes-in-bahrain-egypt-and-libya/2011/12/15/gIQAY6h57O_story.html
12	David Ignatius	In Hard Choices: Hilary Clinton opens up about world leaders and what she got right	9 June 2014	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/in-hard-choices-hillary-clinton-opens-up-about-world-leaders-and-what-she-got-right/2014/06/09/b4ecc0d2-efeb-11e3-bf76-447a5df6411f_story.html
13	Michael Birnbaum	For Bahrain protest movement, democratic hopes give away to	19 March 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/for-bahrain-protest-movement-democratic-hopes-give-way-to-sectarian-concerns/2011/03/19/ABRtqpw_story.html
14	Steve A.Cook	Washington can't solve the identity crisis in middle east nations	15 August 2014	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/washington-cant-solve-the-identity-crisis-in-middle-east-nations/2014/08/15/c72fc7e4-2254-11e4-8593-da634b334390_story.html
15	Quinn Mechan	The evolution of Islamism since the Arab uprisings	15 October 2014	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/10/24/the-evolution-of-islamism-since-the-arab-uprisings/
16	Henry Kissinger	Meshing realism and idealism in Syria, middle east	12 August 2012	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/henry-kissinger-meshing-realism-and-idealism-in-syria-middle-east/2012/08/02/gJQAFkyHTX_story.html
17	Ishaan Tharoor	What an actual deep state looks like	6 March 2016	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/03/07/what-an-actual-deep-state-looks-like/

18	Henri J. Barkey	The middle east chaotic future	21 April 2015	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-middle-easts-chaotic-future/2015/04/20/f5c83ab6-d7d3-11e4-8103-fa84725dbf9d_story.html
19	Editorial board	Democracy in threat	13 March 2016	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/democracy-in-retreat/2016/03/13/dd2e5eba-e798-11e5-a6f3-21ccdbc5f74e_story.html
20	Jackson Diehl	Fulfilling the Arab Spring	26 April 2015	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/investing-in-the-legacy-of-the-arab-spring/2015/04/26/c44b1638-e9c7-11e4-9767-6276fc9b0ada_story.html?utm_term=.588bb3852a40
21	David Ignatius	Israel's Arab Spring problem	6 July 2012	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/david-ignatius-israels-arab-spring-problem/2012/07/05/gJQAV5JrRW_story.html?utm_term=.7e7368ac4e14
22	Jackson Diehl	Will Gaddafi reverse the tide of the Arab Spring?	13 March 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/will-gaddafi-reverse-the-tide-of-the-arab-spring/2011/03/10/AB6GK6T_story.html?utm_term=.0e3ff03ae542
23	Joseph S. Nye Jr	The foreign policy risk behind the Arab revolutions	30 August 2013	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-foreign-policy-risk-behind-the-arab-revolutions/2013/08/30/a033837c-1005-11e3-8cdd-bcdc09410972_story.html?utm_term=.9dca29f4e6a8
24	Anne Applebaum	Anne Applebaum: Preparing for freedom before it comes	7 February 2013	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/anne-applebaum-preparing-for-freedom-before-it-comes/2013/02/07/80729050-70af-11e2-ac36-3d8d9dcaa2e2_story.html?utm_term=.f5475f7223dd
25	Editorial board	Obama's foreign policy reveals the effects of disengagement	July 27, 2014	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/fred-hiatt-obamas-foreign-policy-reveals-the-effects-of-disengagement/2014/07/27/4c0f9452-1284-11e4-8936-26932bcfd6ed_story.html?utm_term=.c2a9644fe6de

26	Editorial board	In Tunisia and elsewhere, Islamist parties face a test	30 November 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/in-tunisia-and-elsewhere-islamist-parties-face-a-test/2011/11/30/gIQA7u8LEO_story.html?utm_term=.631a41bc8758
27	Jackson Diehl	After the dictators fall . . .	5 June 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/after-the-dictators-fall-/2011/06/02/AG57AmJH_story.html?utm_term=.2017b197f0ba
28	Marc Lynch	BEYOND WAR Reimagining American Influence in a New Middle East By David Rohde	17 May 2013	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/beyond-war-reimagining-american-influence-in-a-new-middle-east-by-david-rohde/2013/05/17/d8b2a86e-8bf2-11e2-9f54-f3fdd70acad2_story.html?utm_term=.404a6b631406
29	David Ignatius	Tom Donilon's Arab Spring challenge	26 April 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/tom-donilons-arab-spring-challenge/2011/04/26/AFWVE2sE_story.html?utm_term=.d7f82b670105
30	Editorial board	Free speech goes on trial in Morocco	November 20, 2015	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/free-speech-goes-on-trial-in-morocco/2015/11/20/9eaea2d2-8f9e-11e5-baf4-bdf37355da0c_story.html?utm_term=.c5043333ea5b
31	Editorial board	Egypt's jailing of democracy activists shows how far it has backtracked	June 21, 2014	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/egypts-jailing-of-democracy-activists-shows-how-far-it-has-backtracked/2014/06/21/fbb3cb42-f580-11e3-a606-946fd632f9f1_story.html
32	Editorial board	Just a small step: Women's right to vote in Saudi Arabia	September 26, 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/just-a-small-step-womens-right-to-vote-in-saudi-arabia/2011/09/26/gIQA9I5

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33	Editorial board	The Obama administration rewards repression in Bahrain	October 26, 2016	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/the-obama-administration-rewards-repression-in-bahrain/2016/10/26/b21c4e58-9ae9-11e6-9980-50913d68eacb_story.html
34	Editorial board	Is Iraq the model for the Mideast after all?	October 9, 2011	https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/is-iraq-the-model-for-the-mideast-after-all/2011/10/06/gIQAPaZeYL_story.html?utm_term=.f6e590cc5a88

The Guardian

Nu	Author	Title	Date of publication	Link
1	Editorial	The Guardian view on the Arab spring: it could happen again	2 January 2016	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/02/the-guardian-view-on-the-arab-spring-it-could-happen-again
2	Editorial	Saudi Arabia and the Arab spring: absolute monarchy holds the line	30 September 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/sep/30/editorial-saudi-arabia-arab-spring
3	Martin Chulov	Saudi woman's lashing sentence 'undermines voting breakthrough'	29 September 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/sep/28/saudi-woman-lashing-sentence-car
4	Adam Roberts	The Arab spring: why did things go so badly wrong?	15 January 2016	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/15/arab-spring-badly-wrong-five-years-on-people-power
5	Peter Beaumont and Patrick Kingsley	Violent tide of Salafism threatens the Arab spring	10 February 2013	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/09/violent-salafists-threaten-arab-spring-democracies
6	Khaled Diab	How African is the Arab revolution?	28 March 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/28/african-arab-revolution-kenya-namibia
7	Brian Whitaker	The Arab spring is brighter than ever	14 March 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/14/arab-spring-protest-crackdown-freedom
8	Rupert Shortt	In the Middle East, the Arab spring has given	2 January 2013	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2013/jan/02/

		way to a Christian winter		middle-east-arab-spring-christian-winter
9	Ed Rooksby	Summer's here and it's time to call the 'Arab spring' a revolution	14 June 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/jun/14/arab-spring-revolution
10	Ian Black	Benghazi's moment of joy as Libya's tyranny ends	23 October 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/23/benghazi-joy-end-libya-tyranny
11	Mustafa Akyol	Muslims are not betraying Islam in embracing liberal democracy	12 December 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2011/dec/12/muslims-islam-liberal-democracy
12	Rick Wintour	Cameron and Sarkozy plan Libya visit as G8 says Gaddafi must go	27 May 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/27/g8-to-call-for-gaddafi-to-go
13	Ewen MacAskill	Barack Obama to back Middle East democracy with billions in aid	19 May 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/19/barack-obama-middle-east-aid
14	Ed Pilkington	Donald Trump: ban all Muslims entering US	8 December 2015	https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/07/donald-trump-ban-all-muslims-entering-us-san-bernardino-shooting
15	Benjamin Barber	Libya's revolution has triumphed, but will democracy?	21 October 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/21/libya-revolution-democracy-muammar-gaddafi
16	Ian Black and Nidaa Hassan	Syrian security forces accused of crimes against humanity	1 June 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jun/01/syrian-security-forces-crimes-humanity
17	Ewen MacAskill	Syria's president, Bashar al-Assad, becomes US target for sanctions	18 May 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/18/bashar-assad-target-us-sanctions-syria
18	Emma Graham-Harrison	Beyond Syria: the Arab Spring's aftermath	30 December 2016	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/30/arab-spring-aftermath-syria-tunisia-egypt-yemen-libya
19	Xan Rice in Benghazi, Katherine Marsh in Damascus, Tom Finn in Sana'a, Harriet Sherwood in Tripoli, Angelique Chrisafis and Robert	Women have emerged as key players in the Arab spring	22 April 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/22/women-arab-spring

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20	Owen Jones	Islamophobia plays right into the hands of Isis	25 November 2015	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/25/islamophobia-isis-muslim-islamic-state-paris
21	Seumas Milne	The 'Arab spring' and the west: seven lessons from history	19 December 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/dec/19/arab-spring-seven-lessons-from-history
22	Ian Black	From Deep State to Islamic State by Jean-Pierre Filiu	26 June 2015	https://www.theguardian.com/world/on-the-middle-east/2015/jun/26/from-deep-state-to-islamic-state-by-jean-pierre-filiu-review
23	Alaa al-Ameri	The myth of tribal Libya	30 March 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/30/libya-tribal-myth-national-dignity
24	Ian Black	Sunni v Shia: why the conflict is more political than religious	5 April 2015	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/05/sunni-shia-why-conflict-more-political-than-religious-sectarian-middle-east
25	Harriet Sherwood	Sunni-Shia sectarianism at root of much of Middle East violence	4 January 2016	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/04/sunni-shia-sectarianism-middle-east-islam
26	Mustafa Akyol and HA Hellyer	For Turkey this can be a renewal rather than a spring	4 June 2013	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/04/turkey-renewal-spring-erdogan-democratic
27	Editorial board	The Arab spring: made in Tunisia, broken in Egypt	16 January 2014	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/16/leader-2-arab-spring-tunisia-egypt
28	Ian Black,	Call for Bashar al-Assad to step down a sign of growing isolation	14 November 2011	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/14/bashar-al-assad-growing-isolation