Power in New Media Platforms: a Multidimensional Analysis of Wikileaks News Stories

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Abstract

Precisely as its name suggest, the present research study is about power in new media platforms. It specifically investigates the notion of power in Wikileaks discourse. Wikileaks in this research is used as a representative of applications developed from the progress of web 2.0, and highlights the ability of these emerging networks to cause radical changes not necessarily advantageous. On the other hand, Wikileaks is also used to indicate how power relations can be manipulated and reshaped by context parameters.

To address and unveil power relations in the discourse of Wikileaks and determine the sources of bias that may emerge from new form of media discourse. The present research is based on corpus analysis, precisely critical discourse analysis as the general framework. The realization is achieved through a multidimensional analysis. The latter is used to categories levels and dimensions of analysis. The term was used by Fairclough (1689) to refer to the association of different statistical operations. In the current corpus, the term multidimensional refers to macro, meso and micro dimensions of discourse analysis. Each dimension has its own components and designed to answer specific research questions and hypothesis.

The findings have brought great insights into the research problem, and contribute to raise awareness related to several contemporary practices within digital technologies most of the time overlooked. The recommendations suggested are directed to different social groups and suggest different pedagogical as well as sociocultural factors involved in maximizing the potentials of scientific research in building progress and change.

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General Introduction

The development of the internet and the revolution of communication technologies have strongly transformed media practices around the world. The particular use of the internet and the wide spread of new media channels like social networks, virtual reality, online media websites (Manovich, 2002) and other multimedia provide immediate, authentic information that satisfied people's hunger for knowledge. However, this development has serious effects not only on the content of information publicly available nowadays, but also on privacy rights ; In the sense that, in new media platforms, the amount and type of information provided violate all conventional norms of media practices. Nowadays, it is possible that what has been hidden from public interest and knowledge can at any time be available and exposed, that's why new media is being called "new"; it establishes a new culture of journalism, and gives birth to contemporary media practices which in turn shaped public interest.

This significant change and development of media systems in the new millennium have greatly influenced political organizational communication around the globe. In fact, these changes have somehow limited the capacities of established power institutions to communicate to larger public and consequently have put their identity and credibility in jeopardy; very sensitive case in point is the emergence of 'Wikileaks' as a new form of media operations; it is understood as radical open source data system of highly important and informative documents. The term radical is used here to communicate the serious unexpected operations realized by this institution; it also refers to the nature of the organization itself. It is difficult to find an exact definition of Wikileaks' practices. Sometimes, it is a media network; it is also a mailing list, a hybrid form of journalism, an organization of whistleblowers and hackers. It simply refers to all.

In 2010, Wikileaks has exposed hundreds of thousands of secret documents from highly recognized political powers like the United Nations, United States of America, and other state embassies. The immense release of more than 250.000 US embassy

diplomatic cables described as classified was considered at that time a real glory and transformed Wikileaks "the organization" to be the most powerful online media institution with a global force. Note that Chadwick (2011) found that main stream media coverage of Wikileaks practices and events has also participated in the process of power making. Wikileaks, through the publication of classified news has controlled public opinion and therefore exercised a hegemonic power that is able to make change and mobilize the world; this claim is based on the fact that Wikileaks has defended the public's right to be informed about what is happening behind closed doors, and to question the contradictions of foreign policies of different countries. Wikileaks has explicitly and implicitly identified itself with the general public. The latter has accepted this position and acknowledged the remarkable role of Wikileaks in the development of transparency internationally with total ignorance towards the measures, principles and values of this revolutionary institution. In the name of transparency and the right to access information, Wikileaks has established a new model of journalism, and modified the principles of interaction and communication in the digital world. The interest here, on a macro level, is not to blame what Wikileaks presents, but to suggest that Wikileaks is not a good will ambassador that seeks public interest and awareness. The philosophy goes beyond what the organization claims. On micro level, the act of whistleblowing and hacking can not only direct institutions and great powers. If it is a principle of new media applications, everyone is subject to be a victim. This paper aims to raise awareness concerning privacy risks and surveillance culture invading the digital world lately; and argues that the evolution and revolution of technology specifically, internet connected networks and applications have maximized the dangers on privacy rights, anonymous access, and digital security in general.

The present research particularly investigates the hidden dangers of new media networks, and specifically those who opt for open source system like that of Wikileaks. The primary focus of my research is directed to reveal the hidden powers of Wikileaks over public opinion and the hegemonic effect of Wikileaks' discourse on media society,

the term media society is used to categorize all those exposed to the different forms of new media and particularly Wikileaks.

To achieve this aim, the present research opt for a multi-dimensional analysis approach as a framework of methodology to deal with the analysis of news stories, also called cables, selected to represent the discourse of Wikileaks. The description, analysis, and interpretation of those cables in fact is important to uncover power relations as well as to define the source of political, social, and ideological effects of the leaked documents on media society. The variables of research, notably power and hegemony, are in complementary distribution; in the sense that, Wikileaks's hegemony over public opinion stem from the paradigms of power Wikileaks has already changed and redistributed. Practically, this research conforms to the basics of empirical research within social sciences. As a corpus based study, it is divided into two major parts. The theoretical framework provides insights and clarifies conceptual orientations, therefore, it foregrounds for the realization of claims and objectives in the second part which is devoted to data and methodology.

The conceptual orientation for literature review has produced three major chapters. The first chapter sheds lights on the concept of new media; it specifically presents the emergence, history and practical revolutions of new media applications with a special focus on principles that contribute to the emergence of a new media discourse as a new genre. It also provides important background information about new media platforms, mainly blogs, social networks, and wikis.

The second chapter is different in scope; it is wholly devoted to understanding Wikileaks from different perspectives, as new media application, open source system, and revolutionary media institution with international popularity; it provides readers with a chronological introduction about how wikileaks, as a new media organization, was emerged introducing its key figure, Julian Assange. Another important element within this chapter is concerned with how does wikileaks works? What are its important

revelations? And why the organization has opted for an open source data system and anonymity as key principles? Notwithstanding the huge power of wikileaks as a media organization; the later reaches international recognition with the assistance of traditional media outlets; for this reason, Andrew Chadwick (2011) has introduced the concept of "hybridity" and analyzed how new media and traditional media relate to each other; a considerable analysis and investigation of hybridity in Wikileaks' hybrid media system is badly needed.

The third chapter is about Critical Discourse Analysis, the latter is the framework of reference of the present study. Corpus based research involves discourse analysis. For this reasons, this chapter discusses the development, principles and approaches related to the critical study of language. It also provides detailed explanation of the terms 'power' and 'hegemony' as the selected variables of research.

The second part is devoted to data and methodology. The fourth chapter is centred on methodological procedures starting from major research objectives, research questions and hypothesis, and general description of the corpus and explanation of data measures selections; In addition to a detailed discussion about the reasons behind the use of a multi-dimensional approach and how the latter is realized to fit the research objectives.

The fifth chapter is about description, analysis and interpretation of data resulted from analysis. The three steps of analysis are realized within the multidimensional approach which is composed on Macro level analysis, meso level analysis and micro level analysis.

The sixth chapter discusses further interpretations and verifies pre-established hypotheses. It is followed by major recommendations with special interest on pedagogical and sociocultural recommendations. The sixth chapter calls for the end of this research through the general conclusion. The latter provides summary for the whole study and confirms the importance of research on new media and digital cultures as a major contributor to scientific progress and development.

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The History of New Media:

While reviewing the literature about the historical development of new media, it seems that there are multiple historical scenarios underlying the emergence of this concept. There is no doubt that some useful insights can be gained from tracing these historical changes in media industry. Therefore, it is practically relevant to come to terms with the historical echo relevant for the present research; on more elaborated terms; we suggest that the most notable observation to arise from previous literature on new media is the stress on associating the term with the set of applications of computer mediated communication technologies emerged in the late 20 century. Thus, the objective of the present section is twofold. First, is to establish succinct background knowledge about the root media takes to become new media. Second, is to introduce the various perspectives underlying the ideological connotations of 'new media' with a special focus on social and political frames.

No one argues that new measures have been introduced recently in media and communication technologies starting from late 1980s. This actual change is intractable and unbeatable. For example, people all over the world started to communicate via emails and instant messaging instead of letters; students, teachers, researchers and academics also started to use online research engines to realize multiple tasks and projects. Moreover, media is no longer a term of reference to information agencies, it has become a phenomenon of social, political, and cultural interaction worldwide. Therefore, new media is a revolution and evolution of communication technologies. Reynolds&Overton acknowledged that:

> *"This change in the availability of information and the ease of communication is real. In fact, it is so pervasive and has so quickly replaced the world that come before it that it is easy to forget how massive a change it is. The information and communication revolution is changing everything, from how one lives daily life to how one writes an airport novel"(Reynolds&Overton, 2008, p. 22)*

Reynolds&Overton (2008) suggested that what really drives this massive change of communication technologies and media utilities is the remarkable switch from the complexity to the clarity and accessibility of operations. Note that this switch has no frontiers, media is in continuous development and unexpected changes are to come. From this perspective, new media suggest 'better' media operations, better technologies and qualities, better networks of communication, better applications and functions, and so on. The exact breakthrough of this revolution according to Manovich (2001) was associated with the event of 'Louis Daguerre' on August 19th, 1839. The palace of the Parisian institute was overstuffed with curious-looking Parisians who attended the official description of the new reproduction process invented by Louis Daguerre himself. Just few days later, Opticians' shops were filled up with amateurs painting the 'Daguerre Type Apparatus'. Cameras were everywhere and everyone was under its command to record the event. It is particularly when '*the media frenzy had begun'* (Manovich, 2001, p. 21). The latter stressed that within few months' time, more than thirty descriptions of the technique appeared in different parts of the globe including, Barcelona, Edinburg, Naples, Philadelphia, ST. Petersburg, Stockholm, and others.

The early 1890s is considered a golden period of computer and media development. At this time more research scientists and institutions started to realize the importance of machine, and robotics in business market. It was time to provide the human brain with a device to help output the information the brain had already processed and stored. Simultaneously, governments and institutions had also acknowledged the need for more technical devices to join the business market and meet the demands of paralleled revolutions. In 1890, the US census bureau adopted 'electric tabulating machines' invented by Herman Hollerith. This remarkable device is also referred to as '*Hollerith Tabulating Machine'* was a step forward in computer technologies. The machine worked with the punched cards to store and process information, it was the first punched card tabulating and storing device to be invented at that time. The machine was then adopted and used by business institutions, insurance companies, railroad offices, accounting

departments and other private companies. Later in 1911, Hollerith' Tabulating Machine Company was established in cooperation with other companies to launch the "Computing Tabulating Recording Company" in 1914, directed and headed by Thomas J. Watson. A pioneer in the development of accounting and computing equipment, he brought the project to the level of international recognition and had transformed the name to be the "International Business Machines Corporation" or "IBM". (Manovich, 2001, p. 8)

In late 90s, specialized companies of computer manufacturing and production helped the progress by inventing technological devices for multiple usages. Consequently, almost all institutions, companies, and other official organizations in Europe, Canada, and America have based their work on electronic tabulating machines as part of their working systems. Eventually, media has entered a new horizon that is of "New Media"; simply because new progress and inventions are under investigation. The world Economic forum on "*Norms and Values in Digital Media*" acknowledged that this revolution stating that "*the way content and information are created, consumed and shared has changed dramatically*" (WEF, 2013, p. 4). However, it is considerably important to note that, development of technological devices is simultaneous to the development of functions and applications available through these technologies. At the growth stage, norms and values of information and communication including reliability, accessibility and validity are usually subject to critical review and analysis.

At the academic level, the growth of new media has accelerated and invaded academic research. According to Peters (2009) the term new media has first emerged in the latter half of the 20 century when the Oxford Dictionary attributes its first use to the communication scholar Marshall McLuhan. The latter used the term for the first time in Queen Quarterly article on Harold Innis (M, Luhan, 1953) in association with some technical characteristics of technological devices such as 'electronic information gathering', 'new media', 'global reach', and others.

In education, the term new media was first used to cover the wide range of emerging technologies '*which happen to be digital*' at that time (Peters, 2009, p. 16) like 'Wikipedia' and 'Google' in 2008. We might at this point ask whether it is currently possible to describe these technologies 'new'; that's why some scholars highlight that the term 'new' is quite relative, in the sense that, what was new in the 80s and 90s is now considered ordinary. L. Liverouw (2004) in her response to the 'new media and society' journal about what's changed about new media, she said that:

> *"If there is a single distinction between the what's new collection in 1999, and the present what's changed collection, it is that the earlier hesitation about the role and significance of new media has given way to much more confidence…the internet has become banal, and CMC is slouching towards the ordinary" (Lievrouw, 2004, p.10)*

It is convincing to accept Lievrouw's claim that new media is new as far as it does new things; in the context of internet and computer evolution, media is always new forward and ordinary backward. Thus, the parameters of decision of what exactly new media is about are relative and subject to change as far as current technologies and applications change. That is to say, the 'new' collection is always subject to modification and terminological debate.

Another point of discussion about the historical progress of media technologies happened when audiovisual digital devices prevailed in media and information industry. Newman (1991) suggested that we actually observe an immense development of a universe composed of interconnected network of audio, video, and electronic text communication. He also claimed that new media will change the concept of geographic distance; more space is provided for interactive online communication, and more networks are created to satisfy people's hunger for social interaction and communication.

From the social perspective, the development of information and communication technologies and applications was fundamental to the well-being of social groups internationally, that is to say, much of these changes drive the emergence of a network society within which the functions and applications of mass media are changing dramatically. A. Shapiro has further stressed that "*the emergence of new, digital technologies signals a potentially radical shift of who is in control of information, experience and resources*" (Croteau&Hoynes, 2003, p. 322)

It appears that the most important aspect of new digital technologies altered the "elimination reaction" (biology) of some crucial notions of communication and social interaction; particularly, the notion of geographic distance which has got less if any attention within new media users nowadays, also there is a huge increase in the communicative aspect of most channels with an impact on the speed of interaction on various levels. Adding to this, most users of new media technologies own their channels; become producers of information and editors of published content. These functions are the technical properties of the second generation of the World Wide Web, namely 'Web 2.0' which presents the practical application of the development of new media.

Apparently, the lines between the different perspectives to the history of the emergence of new media are rarely clear; however, the difference tends to emphasize that the difficulty of tracing the historical development of new media is primary based on the difficulty to examine what the term ' new media' is about. It was stated earlier that, the present study will limit the discussion of new media as the set of communication technologies, applications, and functions developed through time. It is also important to note that as this section has outlined some useful key points in the progress of those emerging technologies, the coming section is a continuous discussion about the concept of 'new media' with a special focus on terminological definitions.

<u>Definitions of New Media:</u>

The evolution of computer technologies and the continuous development of the internet and accompanying applications have commonly produced what is nowadays called 'New Media'. However, finding an exact definition of what is new media is a challenging task given the fact that the term is very vague and has many perspectives. Some specialists define 'new media' simply by comparing it to traditional media, others relate the term to what is 'digital' in media. A third category of researchers connect the term to the various kinds of online channels of communications namely blogs, social networks, and others. This section attempts to explore the different points of view in the debate about defining new media, and identifies what is particularly new about 'new media'.

Basically, the term new media is closely connected to the set of internet technologies that enable users to access information and communicate using the World Wide Web. Of course the processes of communication and interaction between different peers and social groups have changed respectably. In other words, the world wide web starting from basic to advanced tools have shaped people' lives, transformed institutional works, liberated public opinion, and changed communication parameters internationally; consequently, new tools and applications are invented, new patterns of interaction are created. As a result, new version of media is born. Robert Logan (2010) argued that the term simply refers to "*those digital media*" that are basically interactive and involve computing communication; the latter is realized through a wide range of networks. He said that:

> *"The term 'new media' will in general refer to those digital media, which are interactive, incorporate two-way communication and involve some form of computing as opposed to 'old media' such as the telephone, radio and TV"(Logan, 2010, p. 4)*

Logan's definition sheds light on the technical advantages of computer technologies as opposed to old forms of media like radio and TV. From this perspective, new media is necessarily mediated by computer devices. Note that, the terms information technologies and computer technologies are used interchangeably to indicate computer networks, programs, and devices not present on traditional versions of media, notably radio and television. The Fastoon Media Institute also supported this claim by referring to new media as the new generation of digital technologies. In a comprehensive study entitled "*New Media Brandit*", the concept is defined as:

> *"A term meant to encompass the emergence of digital, computerized, or networked information and communication technologies in the later part of the 20th century. Most technologies described as "new media" are digital. Often having characteristics of being manipulated, networkable, dense, compressible, interactive and impartial" (FMI, 2010, p. 1)*

The added feature of the FMI definition is the notion of 'digital technologies' which is primordial in cutting the edge between old media and new media. All sets of information, applications and services provided by new technologies are digital. The term itself, according to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, means the numerical representation of data and information on computers. It's the movement from hard to soft operations. For instance, computer multimedia, the internet, websites, and CD-ROMs are all forms of new media that hold a 'digital character'. According to this view, TV, radio, books, paper publications and so on are old forms of new media content. But, once their content is stored digitally; they become part of new media. It's a reform to old practices. Bolter&Crusin (1999) used the term new media simply as an act of remediation. They expressed that "*We call the representation of one medium in another remediation, and we will argue that remediation is a defining characteristic of the new digital media*" (Boltler&Grusin, 1999, p. 45). It is true that if we look at the various practices and applications of new digital media, one may feel a sense of '*déja vu';* For example*,* text messaging or group discussion was also available during the radio and

TV period, as people were used to exchange ideas and opinions during live programs available on these traditional channels of communication; similarly, this practice according to Bolter&Grusin' claim has also been mediated through digital media which offers a new way access, for them "*the electronic version is offered as an improvement, although the new is still justified in terms of the old and seeks to remain faithful to the older medium's character*" (Bolter&Grusin, 1999, p. 46*).* The central criticism to the idea of remediation is twofold. Firstly, there is a clear focus on technical tool with complete ignorance to the role of consumers which is highly activated in new media applications. For instance, on social networks individuals choose their topics of interest and log in to their preferred online channels and share what they think important for them. Unlike TV or radio programs the topic is imposed and even the discussion is directed by editorials and journalists. Secondly, when old media content is transmitted using some new media applications; it is modified to assume some applications imposed by the new medium, but keeps all its rights reserved; to clarify the image, let us take the electronic version of dictionaries and encyclopedias like the 'Encyclopedia Britanica' ,the publication CD-ROM, it is simply a read memory disk that remediates printed books by adding some great options to the publication, so when a person searches for a particular concept in the Encyclopedia or looks for particular information in a published book, the process followed in the electronic version is quite dissimilar from the printed one; the search option added facilitates all working operations; new media then is time and energy saving.

Despite criticism to the idea of remediation, one cannot confirm that new media replaces old media; it is better to see both versions in complimentary distribution; at this level, Bolter&Grusin (1999) summarized that:

> "*The very act of remediation, however, ensures that the older medium cannot be entirely effaced; the new medium remains dependent on the older one in an acknowledged or unacknowledged ways*" (Bolter& Grusin, 1999, p. 47).

So far, we understand that the refashion of media is a distinguishing characteristic of new media; however, it is still confusing to determine what really new media is about. The point to highlight in this respect is at the user level. Within traditional media, individuals are passive consumers unlike new media that makes users interactive participants within the communication cycle; in this respect, the American computer scientist and the virtual reality pioneer, Jargon Lanier (1996) revealed another key feature about new media which is 'creativity', he argued that:

> *"The new media are different from the old media, of course, but one of the primary ways is not just in content, but in the solidification of our method of thinking. What we see with interactive media like the web is not only the end result of the creative process, but the creative process itself, set down for all people to see and to share. This is extraordinarily exciting" (Lanier, 1996, chap, 17)*

While previous definitions have focused on defining new media in terms of old and new parameters. J. Lanier directed the focus to the special role of users in new media technologies; they are more creative and innovative; they manage their own content, create new applications, share, edit, and publish content information, simply put, they have become creative producers of information. Logan (2010) found that:

> *"This is certainly the case with those who use email, are participants in a listserv or chat room, create a website, blog, burn their own CDs, use Web collaboration tools, podcasts, offer products via eBay, or simply surf the Internet, creating their own connections between existing sets of information"(Logan, 2010, p. 6)*

In contemporary societies, the creative role of media users enables new media to best serve its communicative objective; it would appear that in the current information environment, it is difficult to specify the exact role of users given the fact that the plethora of networks available differentiate the type of users' contribution; for example,

bloggers can create their own blog, develop its content and select its accessibility to other users, a wiki website instead present information to users and provide them with the ability to modify the content freely. Within such 'wired society' everyone has become a journalist and tried to collect the most important information to make it accessible to a large audience worldwide. Moreover, *"journalists are losing their importance in communication as authoritative and autonomous producers of messages"* (Demers, 1996); this experience gives a new force to the potentials of new media in creating and developing the information industry, a fact which is particularly encouraged using the interactive feature of the internet; On this basis, the interactive aspect of new media is a defining characteristic as well. Williams. F, Rice. E. R & Rogers. M. E (1988) defined interactivity as "*The degree to which participants in a communication process have control over, and can exchange roles in, their mutual discourse is called interactivity*" (Williams. et al, 1988, p. 10). The system of computer mediated communication is based on interconnected sites of communication, those sites and networks promote interactivity at multiple levels: the users to user (blogs and personal sites), user to group (social networks), and user to information (wikis) interactivity.

Arising from the previous considerations about what defines new media; there is a general understanding of the concept as a continuous change to old media; accordingly, Peters (2009) asserted that "*To study new media is to ride squarely atop the ever un-folding crest between the past and the present*" (Peters, 2009, p. 14). In opposition to his claim, R. Silverstone (1999) reacted that:

> *"The new is new. The technologies that have emerged in recent years, principally but not exclusively digital technologies, are new. They do new things, they give us new powers. They create new consequences for us as human beings. They bend minds. They transform institutions. They liberate. They oppress (…) Novelty is, at this point, our problem"* (Peters, 2009, p. 17)

Reconciling the debate about history and novelty in defining new media, we argue that both notions are complementary; it is a fact that the new digital technologies bring about some important and new functions that have shaped the patterns of interaction and communication globally; new media today urge individuals and all users to develop their knowledge about the World Wide Web to sway with technological challenges and grasp the revolution of media industry as a whole. Peters (2009) outlined five major periods underlying the development of new media technologies before they came to the level of social recognition. These periods are presented as follows:

1. **Technical invention:** is the period where media develop new techniques, applications, and technologies new to the field.

2. **Cultural innovation:** when applicants adhere to the newly born media techniques and develop new 'social uses', it's the stage of cultural recognition.

3. **Legal regulation:** the institutional parties at this level look for dominance within new media and contest for advanced, controlled places.

4. **Economic distribution:** when the economic sphere recognizes new media application, it helps significantly the distribution process.

5. **Social mainstream:** the level when new media is no longer new. It is then considered ordinary.

Examination of these periods may convey a sense of lost and inability to determine the exact launch time of new media technologies. It is when the technological tools are invented, or when users adopt it, or maybe it is when economic debate is generated, or when societies around the globe use it. In fact, most researchers recognize this difficulty; L. Manovich is a prominent figure in new media studies, his books and articles (Manovich, 2001, 2014) have greatly influenced other scholars and researchers interested in the study of new media. He expressed that "*We are in the middle of a new media revolution. The shift of all cultures to computer mediated forms of production, distribution, and communication. This new revolution is more profound*" (Manovich, 2001, p. 19)

In today's tech-led culture, it is quite true and realistic that all communication technologies developed so far delve into all components of society; all forms of storage, manipulation, and distribution of communication technologies have moved to a new phase. The switch from text letters to instant messaging, traditional image production left the ground for digital screen shots, HD realization and so on. Thus the practice of new media has become very profound.

Closing our discussion of defining new media and arising from previous perspectives, we sum up this section with Manovich (2001) prepositions to the definition of new media outlined in his Introduction to "The New Media Reader", the prepositions include:

A- **New media versus cyber culture:** cyber culture generally describes the social practices brought about by the internet and network communications like social networks, and blogs.

B- **New media as computer technology used as distribution platform**: new media in this respect refers to the various cultural objects that make use of digital computer technology for distribution and exhibition.

C- **New media as digital data controlled by software**: the cultural objects that use digital computer technology for delivery do share some qualities and characteristics. In other words, new media is used as a digital data that can be harnessed and controlled by the software, this means that the content can be manipulated and reproduced using different software applications.

D- **New media as the Mix between Existing Cultural Conventions and the Conventions of Software:** New media is also used to refer to the mixture between the old traditions and the newer applications offered by numerical data.

E- **New Media as the Aesthetics that Accompanies the Early Stage of Every New Modern Media and Communication Technology:** The aesthetic strategies that appear and reappear as media develop, is also used to refer to new media.

F- New Media as Faster Execution of Algorithms previously executed manually or through Other Technologies: New media nowadays speed up what was in the past executed manually. For example, the interactive multimedia, and the video games are faster than older representations.

G- New Media as the Encoding of Modernist Avant-Garde; New Media as Meta-media: new media in this sense coincides with postmodernism, "*both reproduce old work rather than create new one*" Manovich (2004). Meta media refers actually to the new tools used to access and therefore manipulate information (e.g. hypermedia).

H- New Media as Parallel Articulation of Similar Ideas in Post-WWII Art and Modern Computing: the 'combinatorics', or post WWII Art changes one parameter to create new images, this fact leads to the creation and generation of similar images and "spatial structures", in other words, new media do not depend on technology, but rather can be carried out by humans.

Manovich prepositions in fact have summarized the inexhaustible debate surrounding the definition of new media. His prepositions suggest that new media means different things in different contexts for different reasons. Arranging from technical to cultural, political, and social perspectives; the present research study is concerned with new media as a modern communication technology that is mainly considered a distribution platform, also as a Meta-media network through which information can be easily accessible and consequently manipulated. The manipulation of information and content available in new media technologies is a result of the development of the second generation of the World Wide Web. That is to say, the second generation of the web namely web 2.0 has provided some fantastic yet random features of usage. The coming section examines new media technologies and the affordances of web 2.0 in early 21st century.

New Media and Web 2.0:

New media, as discussed earlier, is considered a reaction to the progress and revolution of the second generation of the web or web 2.0; the latter has potentially transformed the way people engage in everyday communication and significantly advanced their roles and developed a network society that is web oriented. Moreover, Web 2.0 gives birth to a set of networks characterized by their ability to create user generated content.

Basically the term 'web 2.0' is used to cover the variety of dynamic and interactive web platforms that offer more space for communication and interaction among internet users. The concept assumes its importance from the wide range of functions handed to users; within web 2.0 participants (users) can create, collaborate, share, communicate, modify, add, and hide online information and materials they have already created and shared within a particular network. The formulated sense of web 2.0 is dated back to 2004 when Tim O'Reilly, the web pioneer and internet leader first used the term in his conference on "*Media Web 2.0*", he stated that "*Far from having "crashed", the web was more important than ever, with exciting new applications and sites popping up with surprising regularity.*" (Tim O'Reilly, 2005).

From the outset, the content being shaped by newly developed applications offered by the 'second version' of the web presents the prominent distinguishing characteristic of web 2.0; at this point we need first to make a comparative study between former applications existed within the old version of web 1.0 as opposed to new ones offered by web 2.0 so as to summarize the discussion and list those new functions for further semantic elaboration.

The following table presents the components and applications of web 2.0 as opposed to the former Web1.0; it was developed by Tim O'Reilly to clarify the development of the web on multiple perspectives.

Applications of web 2.0 as opposed to web 1.0 http://oreilly.com/web2

WEB 1.0	WEB 2.0
Doubleclick	Google Ad sense
Ofoto	Flickr
Akamal	Bittorent
Mp3.com	Napster
Britannica online	Wikipedia
Personal websites	Blogging
Evite	Upcoming.org and EVDR
Domain name speculation	Search engine optimization
Page views	Cost perclick
Screen Scraping	Web services
Publishing	Participation
Content management systems	Wikis
Directories (taxonomy)	Tagging(Folksonomy)
Stickiness	Syndication

Assessment of the two versions of the web leads to conclude that the point of difference is basically terminology oriented; expressed differently, almost all applications and services within web 2.0 are deeply rooted in the former web 1.0 with some modifications at the level of users' roles which is highly appreciated in web 2.0; in this respect, the inventor of the web, Tim Berners-Lee in an interview for a podcast published on IBM's website, has pointed out that:

> *"Totally not, Web 1.0 was all about connecting people. It was an interactive space, and I think Web 2.0 is of course a piece of jargon, nobody even knows what it means. If Web 2.0 for you is blogs and wikis, then that is people to people. But that was what the Web was supposed to be all along. And in fact, you know, this 'Web 2.0', it means using the standards which have been produced by all these people working on Web 1.0." (T. Lee, Personnal Communication, December10th, 2009)*

We summarize that web 2.0 represents an important shift in the way digital information is created, shared, stored, distributed, and manipulated. The practical realization of this shift is clearly indicated when we refer to the applications of web 2.0

Applications of web 2.0:

O'Reilly's (2005) distinction has outlined several applications and platforms emerged within web 2.0; these include blogs, social networks, podcasting and content holding services, and wikis. It is important to note that the majority of these services have been used for several years, but what makes them important and special is the wide range of features added lately.

Blogs:

The term 'blog' is the abbreviated form of 'Web-log', it was first used by John Barger in 1997 to describe a simple web page that presents an ongoing sections of personal thoughts, opinions, information known as 'posts', and arranged following a chronological order (Anderson, 2007). Each post within blogs allows users to interact using the comment section which reinforces and contributes to the interactive and communicative aspect of blogs. Joe Pulizzi, the executive director &founder of the Content Marketing Institute (CMI) in his ultimate guide to blogging said that "*A blog offers an easy way to present brief chunks of frequently refreshed web content backed with easy-to-use technologies for syndication*" (Pulizzi, n. d, p. 4)

Blogs have gained popularity among internet users because of their simple, creative usage and development; Nowadays, with the innovation and invasion of social media. Blogs are still considered crucial for activity, in the sense that, blogs offer some unique functions that other social media fail to bring. Heidi Cohan, the CMI contributor argued:

> "*Blogs no longer get the same buzz as their newer social media cousins,*
> *Facebook and Twitter. That said, blogs are at the heart of social media,*

> *especially if you're involved in content marketing…, because blogs supply the content that drives social media conversation". (Pulizzi, p. 26)*

As an internet publishing network, blogs have become of considerable importance for business workers, scholars, teachers, researchers, and all those who look for an effective communication tool to transmit their content. The network era helps blogs to compete with alternative mainstream media; the content created and shared among bloggers provides complementary distribution roles and reinforces the strong sense of community while eliminating the restrictions of information control and developing a culture of shared beliefs. The dictionary of media and communication studies states that "*Blogs provide an open source platform for engaged individuals to challenge professional journalism on their own terms*" (*Pulizzi*, p. 27)

While blogs sound great and useful for any individual or institution. Pulizzi argued that the application is not suitable for anyone. He developed what he referred to as the high level of "Hot-or-Not" guidelines. The following diagram explains more these guidelines:

<u>The Ultimate Guide to Blogging-p4-</u>

A HOT TOOL FOR…	NOT- SO-HOT-FOR…
Businesses eager to build communities around relevant issues/topics	Companies that cannot be open with information
Using the blog as a repository for your social media strategy	Organizations without the necessary time, talent, or expertise
Improving search engine rankings (search engines LOVE blogs)	Businesses who do not like to experiment

The structure of blogs:

A web log is composed of the following:

1. <u>Dash-board:</u> is the 'back-end area' of the blogs where all the necessary changes and modification of the content can happen. This area is accessible for administrators, editors, subscribers, or contributors.

2. <u>Theme:</u> when logging in for a blog, the first step that visitors encounter is choosing their suitable theme. It is the bloggers' personal touch.

3. <u>Theme layout</u>: the general layout of blogs is usually composed of three areas. **The header**, it is like the title. **The main content**, devoted to posts. **The sidebar** includes widgets.

4. <u>Header</u>: is situated in the top area of a blog. It contains the blog's title, graphics, and other navigational links.

5. <u>Posts</u>: or the publication area, it presents the user's posts and comments. It is generally arranged in the chronological order.

6. <u>Comments</u>: is beneath each post, where users can express their opinions, share their thoughts, and interact with other users.

7. <u>Pages</u>: it is the "about" option on the blogs keyboard, usually contain information shared with users, but not frequently changed.

8. <u>Sidebar</u>: includes some popular links, the blogger's statistics, and widgets for advertisements.

9. <u>RSS</u>: stands for Really Simple Syndication. It's an optional function of blogs that enable users to be updated with all information added to different websites.

Finally, blogs nowadays become part of the everyday interaction among internet users worldwide and an effective tool of communication that draws people's attention on each other's lives, thoughts and everyday practices. However, despite all the privileged functions offered by blogs, when social networks came to the fore, the attention was then directed to more socially oriented networks.

Social networks:

Social networks are another application of web 2.0. The term 'social network' or 'social media' is considered challenging to define; it means different things to different people with different aims. Newman (2009) said that "*Sometimes it refers to an activity (a journalist blogged); sometimes to a software tool (bloggers); sometimes to a platform (you can blog on to Facebook)*" (Newman, 2009, p. 7) Phrased differently, the term social media is an umbrella term for a number of online activities, applications, and practices that enable a group of people (users) to establish a small network society. The head of the global news in BBC Richard Sambrook argued that:

> *"Social media sites are the new town, or cities, or neighborhood bars, the places where the public gather and discuss things. Just as you wouldn't take a conversation from the neighborhood bar and broadcast it as the truth, you need to do your own checking and verification and all those things still need to happen in your use of social media too"* (Sambrook, Personnal communication, cited in, Newman, 2009, p. 10)

Sambrook in fact has established a clear image of what really social media means; the latter is a small village that holds a variety of everyday practices, news, thoughts circulated among individuals who live in this small village; note that, like any news that circulates, One's own checking and verification of all transmitted is a must. Social media has provided the needed space for communication, interaction, and collectivity. In this respect, Rettbergs (2011) expressed that "*Once enough of your friends joined a social network site; social pressure can make it very difficult not to participate*" (As Cited in Newman, 2009, p.30)

Wikipedia, on the other hand, defines social networks as a structure composed of individuals or institutions called "nodes"; they are tied together by one or many types of "interdependency". Wikipedia's definition brings about another important element relevant to social networks; the latter is not only used among individuals it is also useful for organizations and public institutions, among these organizations, we notice a great

interest from the part of the mainstream media institutions towards social networks, the latter is perceived as a source of information and a medium of communication with global reach. Newman (1991) outlined three motivational reasons why the mainstream media pays much attention to social networks:

1. **Telling better stories**: within a social network, there is a strong sense that users know better each other, organizations are "crowd sourcing" pictures, comments, cards, videos, documents, pictures that supplement the making of a news story and enrich its content.

2. **Making better relationships**: when users participate in the process of everyday communication; advertisers and other company services seize the opportunity to build up strong ties with clients.

3. **Getting new users in**: when users spend more time blogging to social networks like Facebook and Twitter; loyalists could search for newer or former contacts.

The history of social network sites is dated back to 1997. The Sixdegree.com was established to enable users to develop their profiles and list their friends. In 1998, added the option of search friends lists (Boyd&Ellison, 2008), the list of contact was not exposed to others though the SixDegree network attracted millions of users around the world, and it failed to resist technological revolution. In 2000, the network closed, the founder Andrew Wheinreich claimed that "*the SixDegree was simply ahead of its time*" (Boyd&Ellison, 2008, p. 4)

From 2000 on, the wave of the social network sites (SNSs) has introduced multiple functions of social networks like 'My space', 'Linked in', 'Facebook', 'Twitter'and others. The following diagram traces the time line development of social networks, starting from the SixDegree in 1997 up to the development of Facebook in 2006, involving the re-lunch dates with SNS features, the diagram is extracted from the D. Boyd, & N. B. Ellison article on:

"Social Networks Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship" p. 6
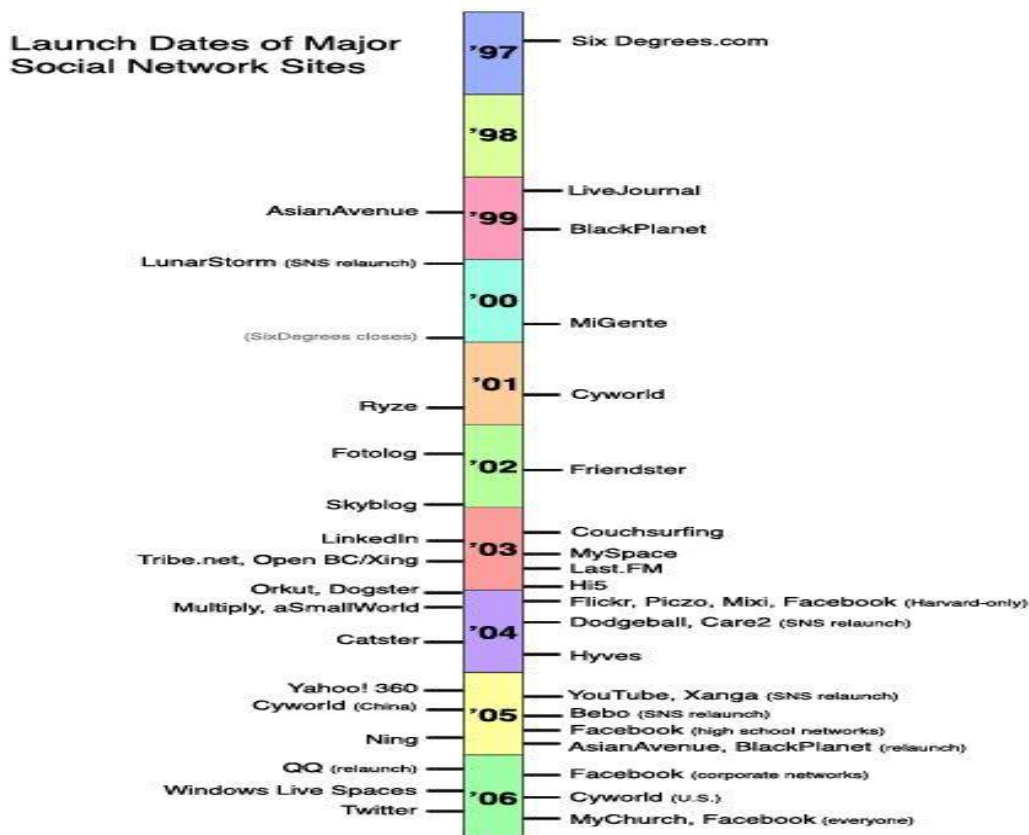
This brief history of the launch dates of the major social network sites demonstrates how social networks have invaded peoples' lives. Expanding the discussion on the same issue, we highlight three major networks mainly Friendster, My Space, and Facebook. The choice of these networks stems from their huge effect on community gathering and great capacity to resist the ongoing technological revolution.

Friendster:

The Friendster was first introduced in 2002. It is a social profitable 'online dating site' that gathers people with similar interest, hobbies, and profiles to help meet friends, relatives as well as lovers around the globe. (Cohen, 2003)

As a social network, the website fails to cope with the technological advancement of the World Wide Web, according to Boyd&Ellison (2008) the site faced some '*technical*

and social difficulties' as it was less equipped with modification options and full with practical restrictions; consequently, it calls its end in the late 2002; the early 2003 recognized the birth My Space.

My space:

In 2003, My Space was first launched in Santa Monica, California. It was a revolution to Friendster. According to Anderson (2007)" *the founders wanted to attract estranged Friendster users*" (Boyd&Ellison, 2008, p. 8)

My space was most welcomed among actors, singer, VIPs, and other professional figures like the Indian-rock bands, the group has moved from the Friendster to My space. This movement resulted in making all fan followers join 'My space' and give up the Friendster.

On the technical level, My Space was quiet different. It allowed users "*to personalize*" their own space, and developed the copy and paste culture that helps users outline unique backgrounds and layouts (Boyd&Ellison, 2008).

Unlike Friendster, in 2004 My Space attracted the attention of teens as well; this fact has transformed my space into a Greenland network with a youth fresh flavor, teens in turn attracted their friends, within a few time my space has become a multi age network. The success of my space was closely noticed by business institutions and company services that used my space for business operations and institutional applications. In 2005, The News Corporation in New York purchased My Space with an amount of $580 (Boyd&Ellison, 2008, p. 9)

Facebook:

Mark Zuckerberg, the American computer programmer and internet entrepreneur, has first introduced Facebook in 2004. He was a student in Harvard University; the experience was at that time limited to Harvard students only; later, Facebook reached high school students as well, then it was open to anyone who's 13 years or older. In

2010, Facebook had more than 500 million users. In 2012, the number reached the one billion users around the globe.

Facebook come up with newer technical properties and web applications that serve better people's interest; it allows users to create, edit, and manage their profiles, add friends, exchange materials like photos, documents, comments, notifications, and join other community groups sharing the same workplace, school, college, interests, hobbies or other characteristics.

Despite the popularity of social network sites (SNSs), Jargon Lanier, turned against social networks. In his continuous campaign of fight against social networks, he provided ten arguments for deleting social media accounts:

> *"Argument one: you are losing your free will. Argument two: quitting social media is the most finely targeted way to resist the insanity of our times. Argument three: social media is making you into an asshole. Argument four: social media is undermining truth. Argument five: social media is making what you say meaningless. Argument six: social media is destroying your capacity of empathy. Argument seven: social media is making you unhappy. Argument eight: social media does not want you to have economic dignity. Argument nine: social media is making politics impossible. Argument ten: social media hates your soul" (Lanier, 2018)*

Despite Lanier's criticism to social networks, there is a complete ignorance from the part of social networks users about the consistency of these arguments. What matters for new media society nowadays is the ability of the internet to provide space for international communication. We can only say that what has transformed the world into a small village cannot be overlooked easily.

The coming application of web 2.0 that receives much attention and dominance among internet users lately is 'podcasting'. The sound and image called for a significant place within the World Wide Web.

Podcasting and content holding services:

Podcasting is a term derived from "iPod" and "broadcast". It was first introduced by Ben Hammersly in the Guardian on February 2004; the article entitled "*Audible revolution*" presents various terminologies about the new medium. He argued that:

> *"When the benefits of hindsight, it all seems quite obvious. MP3 players like Apple's iPod in many pockets, audio production software cheap or free, and 'Weblogging' an established part of the internet; all the ingredients are there for a new boom in amateur radio" (Hammersley, 2004)*

Hammersley (2004) further argued that podcasting is generally understood as a collection of 'digital media files' available as audio or video. The revolution of the internet and communication technologies has diminished the role of TV and Radio; the latter are replaced with podcasting and services that hold audio and video content. Podcasting enables users to choose their own content, subscribe to a series of chosen files using 'Pod catcher', the subscribing software; they create their own network of files and have access to it whenever needed.

Berry. R claims that Podcasting has gained much popularity a year after Hamersley's article" *it was in a regular use as a label for a new media platform*" (Berry, 2006, p. 144)

The application proves advantageous not only for individuals, who like to possess fresh, online audio files with instant accessibility; it is also beneficial for business institutions as well; in this respect, Bertucci argued that:

> *"Podcasters often start shows with the intention of building online communities and often solicit comments and feedback on their programs. Through blogs, groups, and forums, listeners and producers can interact. Businesses and marketers have started podcasting as a less expensive way to advertise to groups with specific interests. Many large companies are*

> *starting to produce podcasts to communicate with their customers and their employees."(Bertucci, 2018)*

As a native support for podcast, The Apple Trade Mark Company released iTunes 4.9 in 2005. Wikipedia states that the Apple released a "Cease and Desist Order". This order is presented as *"The infringement or demand letter, it is a document sent to an individual or businesses to halt purportedly- unlawful activity (cease) and not to take it up again later(desist)".*(Wikipedia.com)

Apple addressed the method to many podcast application developers and service providers to urge them to use the term "iPod" or "Pod" in their product name; that's why; the term podcasting is generally twined with Apple; it suggests exclusivity to Apple and iPod media player (Berry, 2006, p.2)

As an application of web 2.0, Paul Anderson (2007) summarized the production of podcasts as follows:

> *"A podcast is made by creating an MP3 format audio file (using a voice recorder or similar device), uploading the file to a host server, and then making the world aware of its existence through the use of RSS. This process (known as enclosure) adds a URL link to the audio file, as well as directions to the audio file's location on the host server" (Anderson, 2007, p. 10)*

The organization, development and classification of podcasts contribute thoroughly to our understanding of podcasting as a unit in Web 2.0. Yet, not all users are obliged to understand this process. New media applications are sophisticated in construction, but very simple in use.

Finally, we can argue that Podcasts are of vital interest nowadays; the service is portable and free. Users are able to customize the content when they select shows, episodes, and topics to be stored in their interest areas.

Still discussing the applications of web 2.0, the fundamental application left is the one relevant to my research; this considerable application of the second generation of the web is of paramount importance, unlike the other previously sited applications, wikis are the most critical. In the following section, the researcher tries to describe, and analyze the content, construction and development of wikis prior to present motivational reasons behind choosing wikis to be the central object of research instead of other previously discussed applications.

Wikis:

The Educause Learning Initiative (ELI) is a collaborative community devoted to the development and advancement of learning through IT innovation,   it has published an article on its official website about" *the 7 things you should know about wikis" (July 15th , 2005)* . The Article states that wikis are first a collection of a *'CGS script'* (Common Gateway Interface) and a group of '*pliant text files'*; it enables users to create web pages, when users click on the editing option, the scripts sends the text file to the users' browser in a modifying form allowing him to make all changes on the content (library.educause.edu/resources)

The American computer programmer Ward Cummingham (1995) has first created the first wiki website in 1994, when he launched the 'WikiWikiWeb, he said that

> *"It is home to an Informal History of Programming Ideas as well as a large*
> *volume of material recording related discourses and collaboration between*
> *its readers (…) I chose wiki-wiki as an alliterative substitute for quick and*
> *thereby avoided naming this stuff quick-web".* (*Cummingham, 1995*)

Officially, in a report presented to the working party on the information economy in December 2006. Socha Wunsch- Vincent and Graham Vickery refer to wikis in their report as participative web and user created content. They suggest that the application:

"Represents an Internet increasingly influenced by intelligent web services based on new technologies, empowering the user to be an increasing contributor to developing, rating, collaborating, and distributing internet content and developing and customizing internet applications" (Cited in (Socha Wunsch- Vincent&Graham Vickery, 2007, p. 8)

Accordingly, wiki websites can be used in different domains for several reasons; in knowledge management, note taking, community websites, business applications, political operations, and others because of its ability to offer space for unlimited set of data named test files; however, it is of paramount importance to note that, the objectives behind the use of wikis changes the level of security and accessibility from the part of users. Phrased differently, while the editing option may permit changing, adding, or removing materials; in other sites, it could permit access without any control of the application in other wikis. Despite all these paradoxical claims, Wikis remain the websites that offer users both an author and editor privileges. These characteristics make wikis useful to fit in different contexts, the plethora of features and possibilities of how to use wikis transform trues wikis into hybrid wikis.

Lamb Brayn (2004) has outlined the following wiki features continuum to exemplify the possible modifications a wiki website can handle to serve different aims of users:

The wiki features continuum (L. Brayn, 2004)

Pure Wiki		Hybrid Wiki
Anonymous	⟷	Users and changes are tracked
Content is public domain	⟷	Content is copyrighted or private
Textual content only	⟷	Embedded images/videos/applications
Unstructured	⟷	Template-driven/Workflow-driven
Consensus of its community	⟷	Moderated by experts
Open access	⟷	Limited access
Anyone can read and edit any page	⟷	Permissions for users and pages
Collective workspaces	⟷	Private workspaces
Standalone application	⟷	Integration with other systems
Never finished	⟷	Deadline-driven
Content is "as is"	⟷	Content is edited or peer-reviewed

Much of the distinguishing characteristics of a pure wiki website and a hybrid wiki website happened at the user level. A pure wiki website can be used by individual with no special political or social interests. However, a hybrid wiki is a perfect tool for institutions and organizations who aim to use wikis but control the access on their website; it's a form of a private work place. A pure wikis is a general consensus of its community, on the counterpart; a hybrid wiki is directed and moderated by experts. Another critical feature of difference, is the content on pure wikis can be read, and edited by anyone, however, modification of content within hybrid wikis requires permission from the web editors. Of course, a hybrid wiki website is perfectly useful for new media organization with institutional and editorial aims.

Finally, we argue that 'wiki' websites are considered double edge communication phenomenon; it offers both advantages and risks; it is significant for communicative purposes, it affords uploading of unlimited set of data, it also makes users active participants as it offers the plethora of modification options not available in other networks. Notwithstanding all these advantages, there are a number of downsides of

wikis. First, the modification options of the content database system harnesses the credibility and reliability of the wiki content, it becomes of dangerous effects especially when used for business and political matters. Second, usually the hybrid wiki is created by a group of organizers; it is a serious challenge to make the content organized and to provide an access structure for users; within this challenge, it is difficult to communicate one's own perspective; it is a group oriented network; all the content conveyed represents shared ideologies and collective perspectives of the organization.

Particularly, as far as my research is concerned, my choice of wikis is intentional. Particularly hybrid wikis Because of the fact that the content of hybrid wikis cannot be accessed by anyone; it necessarily follows an editorial agenda which calls for further study and investigation. If we look at the wikis available nowadays, we observe that most wikis are used for political reasons. As a case in point, the famous "Wikileaks" website that has made a great controversy around the globe; because of its interest and importance to my research, understanding Wikileaks has been given a whole chapter in my review of relevant literature. The questions that came to the fore are: first, why do some organizations choose hybrid wikis instead of other networks? Second, what type of power is exerted on consumers within this type of news networks?. Finding answers to these questions is the fundamental focus of the current research paper on "Power in new media platforms".

To uncover the source of power in new media applications, it is of first priority to understand the potential principles of new media networks to help us understand the founding principles of online news media organization like wikileaks; it is a fact that the new digital technologies has shaped people's lives, transformed institutional works, diminished the power of the mainstream media in favor of more socially digital networks. These modifications are realized as a result of the principles technically offered by new media. These principles are to a great extent, the set of rules and guidelines of usage for new media users in general. The following section presents and explains these principles with a particular focus on Manovich (2001) framework.

Principles of New Media:

New media as digital applications are based on what Manovich (2001) called the principles of new media; these principles he argued summarize major key differences between old media and new media; they are arranged in a logical order to suggest the independence of one principle over the other.

1. Numerical Representation:

New media objects are arranged in terms of digital codes; 'They are numerical representations' that have two major consequences. First, new media has a mathematical function; all objects are mathematical in property. Second, when applying some algorithms, users can better the quality of the content; for example, they can remove the noise from the photograph, improve the contrast, or change some other proportions. New media 'becomes programmable'.

When new media objects are presented numerically they can be converted to and from various forms of old media; this process is referred to as digitization, it is a two-step process: sampling and quantization. In the first step, data is sampled; it turns into discrete data realized in clearly defined units: individuals, pages, pixels. In the following step, each sample is quantified, given a special numerical code.

To clarify this process, Manovich exemplified the operation by referring to motion picture films, he said that "*Each is a continuous photograph, but time is broken into a number of samples (frames). Video goes one step further by sampling the frame along the vertical dimension*" (Manovich, 2001, p. 28); the numerical representation of new media enables map the 'materiality' of a new media object by using numbers and formulas that constitute it. The verbal and visual properties are both recognized; they are given numerical codes.

The numerical representation of new media objects is important. However, it's not an obligation that all new media users should understand how objects are digitized in new media to use it. Simplicity remains a general guideline.

2. Modularity :

Modularity or the "*the fractal structure of new media*" Manovich (2001) is a phenomenon or a mathematical set that exhibits a repeating pattern displayed at every scale; similar to fractal composition, a new media object has the same structure. Media elements such as sounds, shapes, are presented as a group of samples; though assembled into large scale objects they keep their separate identities.

Manovich (2001) presents a collection of examples to clarify modularity. The concept of objects used in Microsoft Office Applications, when an object is inserted into a document like a media image used in word document, this object maintains its property. Manovich suggested that the World Wide Web is entirely modular; it is composed of a number of web pages; each is a separate media element.

3. Automation:

We noticed before that these principles of new media depend on each other. The numerical coding of media objects and the modular programming allows for the automation of many crucial operations, manipulation, and access.

Automation is programmed at 'low level' as well as the 'high level'. The low level automation "*the computer user modifies or creates from scratch a media object using templates or simple algorithms*" (Manovich, 2001, p. 32); this technique is almost used in all media operations including image editing, 3D graphics, word processing, graphics layout, and others; in this respect, Manovich expressed that:

> "*Image editing programs such as Photoshop can automatically correct scanned images, improving contrast range and removing noise. They also come with filters that can automatically modify an image, from creating simple variations of color to changing the whole image*" (Manovich, 2001, p. 32)

The automatic modification of media content makes it an easy task for users to make the necessary changes to their chosen objects without referring to more sophisticated

techniques. Nowadays, the general layout of the word document is automatically created. The high level automation, on the other hand, requires the computer to understand the composition of certain media objects to become able to allow necessary modification. This process is extracted from the 'Artificial Intelligence' (AI) philosophy of digital technologies; it has a long history to narrate. Briefly, in 1950s, the AI established the first ground in the world of computer programming. In 1970s, the application has gained popularity; computers begin to produce forms of fictions and poetry. In the late 1990s, the virtual internet chat rooms became familiar with 'bots'. Manovich (2001) argued that at this time, almost every commercial game included a component called an "*AI engine*"; it is the level when the computer engine takes control of the game characters. It's quite interesting for games; they are highly codified and rule based.

4. Variability:

Any new media object is subject to different presentations, it can be presented in different forms, with different functions. The variability of the new media object is regarded an important consequence of the numerical presentation (principle one) as well as the modular structure of the object (principle two). The variability principle is in turn based on what Manovich referred to as '*The principles of variability*'. These principles are as follows:

A- Media elements are stored in media database.
B- The level of data can be separated. The same data can produce several levels of interfaces.
C- The information about different users can be used by a computer program to customize directly the media composition as well as to create elements themselves.
D- The branching type of interactivity is regarded as another type of user customization. The term refers to the type of programs that made all possible objects that users can visit just from a branching tree structure.

E- Hypermedia is another media structure that is mainly based on the notion of branching interactivity stated before. Hypermedia connects some media object through hyperlinks. So that, the element and the structure are independent of each other.

F- Periodic update is another version of the commonly generated media objects. Most websites are manually or automatically updated.

G- The scalability is an important principle on which the variability of media objects is based. This principle suggests that any media object can be generated at various sizes or levels of details.

The variability principle is said to be the most important; it encompasses all previous principles and affects the coming standard of 'Transcoding'.

5. Transcoding:

The standard of transcoding is "*the most substantial consequence of the computerization of media*" (Manovich, 2001, p. 45) it embodies the transformation of different media objects into others formats. In other words, the transcoding principle enables the translation of a new media element from one format to another, for example (text to sound; word to pdf).

On a large scale, transcoding represents the interaction of media and culture as mediated by the logic of computers. Manovich said that "*Cultural categories or concepts are substituted, on the level of meaning and/or language, by new ones that derive from the computers ontology, epistemology, and pragmatics*" (Manovich, 2001, p. 47).

In fact, Manovich has succeeded in making several operations realized by users clear and has brought our knowledge of digital computing to the level of consciousness. It also indicates that despite some technical, mathematic and digital components of digital media technologies, the latter are being simplified to be used by unspecialized consumers. It has now become clear that while we are writing a word document and we insert a diagram picture or simply an image, this operation is called transcoding, which

is a property of new media technologies. Moreover, it has also become obvious that a computer disk can hold hundreds of thousands of files because these files and the language itself are transformed in form of digital numbers to allow the storage; these are the digital characteristics of computer technologies. It is true that the usage seems easy to understand, however, modification, manipulation and access of internal programs of new media applications calls for advanced users with more advanced knowledge and techniques on technical as well as on discourse levels.

Technically, the complexity of applications within new media technologies and applications is very challenging in terms of privacy risks, the hackers are a perfect instance for this. To explain more, the majority of new media users nowadays have been subject to the loss of their email accounts, or the Facebook password cannot work, or simply experience a sudden loss of files, documents or pictures on their own computers. At the first instant, a feeling of technical complexity emerges and everyone blames the inability of computer technologies, or digital media in general to remain faithful to consumers; it's because, we generally think that hackers target only companies and organization, but this is not always the true. It is very simple and on a quick way that documents on personal computers can be accessed and hacked anonymously. First, hackers possess advanced and sophisticated knowledge related to computer algorithmic operations, and security systems. Second, they are anonymous and untraceable. Third, users generally do not give much importance to security systems and how they can protect their accounts, networks, files before they started to use it.

On discourse level, language use within new media networks is not arbitrary; it is well developed and being influenced to serve technical, social, cultural and political aims. For example, the 'Hashtag' is an element of Twitter syntax, it has lead revolutions across countries, and it's a crucial element of hegemonic effect. Following this, the ultimate objective of the current research paper presents the dangers of those hacking systems at an advanced institutional level and suggests that there have been perfectly

proper cases in which conspiracies to publish secret matters has nowadays become a preserved right and that the technological revolution is accompanied with privacy risks evolution.

Approaching new media discourse as a new genre will be introduced and exemplified in the following final part of the present chapter; it starts with a general discussion on media discourse as a new genre in relation to some broader concepts of cultural and political transformations. Understanding language of new media will help uncover power relations in discourse conveyed through applications notably wiki websites.

New Media Discourse: A new Genre

The advancement of computer mediated communication technologies has announced a new era of network based communication. New interactions are developed through blogs, social networks or social media, and wikis of course. Correspondingly, language, knowledge representation, news construction, and discourse in general have been influenced to well fit in the new medium. According to Anne O' Keefee, the linguist researcher and new media specialist:

> "*Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which discourse is oriented to non-present reader, listener or viewer. Though the discourse is oriented towards these recipients, they very often cannot make instantaneous responses to the producer(s) of the discourse, though increasingly this is changing with the advent of new media technology, as we shall explore. Crucially, the written or spoken discourse itself is oriented to the readership or listening/viewing audience, respectively. In other words, media discourse is a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction. It is not ad hoc*" (O'Keefee, 2011, p. 441)

In fact, literature on new media discourse tends to have definitional ambiguity in theories of new media and text. O'keefee's definition seems to be limited in scope, as it focused on non-interactive media content clearly referring to online news media. She highlighted that new media discourse is constructed and manufactured and not 'ad hoc' as it seems in social media. The latter are classified communicative genres with social scopes; because of their ability to maintain social relationships individually or collectively regardless of time and space constraints. Genre in new media is different in terms of technical properties (the software) and functional varieties (objectives) (Finnemann, 2005). At the software level, genre refers to social networks, blogs, wikis, online chat, and podcasting, to name a few. Each of these networks is different in terms of functional genre special for their communicative purposes and other different uses.

In this respect, genre is overlapped with medium, and suggests that new genre is necessarily new medium. According to Finnemann (2005) this overlap stems from the fact that within digital media 'genre' is part of the software itself. Supporting the urgent need to clarify the ground in what characterize new media discourse as new genre, we outline three basic theories, particularly Finneman (2005), Yates &Orlikowski (1992), and Luders et al. (2010)

According to Finnemann (2005) genres within new media technologies are highly affected by the 'architecture' of the software itself. In the sense that, a news event when broadcasted on TV is quite different when mediated using online networks. Discourse conveyed through one of the existing new media platforms certainly assumes the features, characteristics, and norms of the medium it has been transmitted through. That is to say, the discourse of social media is quite different from the discourse of blogs, wikis, and others. It is assumed to be influenced by the set of technical 'affordances' social media platforms present. Goggins&Mascaro, in their comparative study of social media discourse and culture, said that:

> *"The technological affordances of each social media platform influence the way that discourse is conducted. For example, Twitter allows for asymmetric connections and provides other technological affordances such as @ mention, hashtags, and retweets. On the other hand, Facebook has more support for @ mention" (Goggins&Mascaro, 2011, p. 4)*

Within social media networks namely Facebook and twitter. Two types of discourse are initiated. Private discourse, the one between friends, peers in close, unpublished communication. And Public discourse, the one that is exposed and shared between users. The twitter genre is special for its 'hashtag' feature, on the other hand, @ mention is special when sharing Facebook content. Lomborg acknowledge the existence of multiple genres within digital media. He said that:

"The interposition of software between media platform and genre in digital media arguably adds a new dimension to the adjustment and development of genres. Changes and adjustments at the software level, as is prevalent especially in new services, contribute to (re)shaping the communicative functions and social purposes of a given genre" (Lomborg, 2011, p. 60)

The range of needs and motives to communicate socially, or simply convey a news event using a special network contributes greatly to the emergence of a given genre. Facebook as a social network website was created basically for peer or group communication, the type of discourse adopted adhere to this function.

Switching to blogs and wikis, the nature of discourse is interesting for study; the language of blogs and wikis is used for social, political and economic purposes. Myers, the famous linguist, said that *"Blogs and wikis are genres of texts defined not so much by their form or content, as by the kinds of uses to which they are put, and the ways these uses construct social identities and communities"(Myers, 2010 p. 15)*. Myers account of new media genres such as wikis or blogs is perceived as types of texts. These texts create communities with shared objectives, create hierarchies with different distances, consequently new identities are generated and new communities are influenced. The study of these genres of text provides material for language study and raises issues related to power and ideology in new media discourse. These genres are emerged as a distinctive way of '*reporting', 'commenting', 'arguing',* and *'making sense'.* (Myers, 2010, p. 5)

Luders et al. (2010) stressed that the debate about genre within digital media technologies is simple if we consider the emergence of new genres simply as extension of existing ones. In fact, Finnemann (2005) and Luders et al. (2010) focused on the communicative potentials of digital media in reshaping existing genres; they have stressed on the notion that new media genres are variable and develop as far as digital media develops.

Orlikowski&Yates (1998) identified **genre** in terms of a **system** composed of a social situation (e. g meetings), medium (face to face or online) and textual parameters (structural and linguistic features). They said that:

> *"A genre established within a particular community serves as an institutionalized template for social interaction-an organizing structure- that influences the ongoing communicative action of members through their use of it within and across their community. Genres as organizing structures shape, but do not determine, how community members engage in everyday social interaction. In many instances individuals draw on existing genre norms out of habit to facilitate a particular communicative act" (Orlikowski&Yates, 1998, p. 15)*

Following the same line of discussion, members within a network community construct their genre to help them accomplish the communicative purpose the genre is intended to serve; this operation is realized whether implicitly or explicitly. For this reason, new media contains multiple genres and develops institutionally to form genre systems (Orlikowski &Yates, 1998).

At the institutional level, genre systems within new media platforms provides answers about its socially recognized purposes, it also provides analysis to the content of the constituent genre that appears. Moreover, a genre system is established with its participants; it specifies who initiated the genre, and to whom, with understanding of textual, and spatiotemporal modes. Similarly Myers pointed out that *"we need to know the language of blogs and wikis work because it is being used in important areas of political, social, and economic life for the purpose of persuasion"* (Myers, 2010, p. 4). To establish a link between genre analysis and the aim of the present study, we argue that Wikileaks as a new media network is a genre system developed by members of Wikileaks community to convey a particular purpose. At the participant level, Julian Assange appears with his editorial board, and the general public as the addressee with a particular focus on new media society given the fact that the publishing process

happened using the network database system of wiki website. The genres under discussion in this case are the released cable documents, more specifically, the new stories developed by the editorial board of Wikileaks. According to genre analysis the choice of textual and linguistic features serve particular aims as well.

Prior to undertake a genre based analysis of discourse conveyed in the Wikileaks website, the following section precisely brings readers to understand 'Wikileaks', its emergence, founder , most critical revelations, and other related issues related to the launch story of a network that is recognized worldwide, and therefore analyze its strong effect on social and political regimes.

Conclusion:

It is interesting to find out the orientations of terminology suggested by the term new media. It is a concept used to indicate different technical, cultural and also political achievements realized from the development of technology. In the specific case of media news, Information and news circulated online are nowadays considered new genre. The term itself suggests a new value system established to face mainstream practices.

Chapter Two: Understanding Wikileaks

2.1. Introduction

2.2. What is wikileaks?

   2.2.1. Wiki

   2.2.2. Leak

2.3. The emergence of 'Wikileaks'

2.4. Julian Assange: a bibliographic case

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2.6. Wikileaks and traditional media:

   2.6.1 Wikileaks and the Guardian

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2.7. Most Wikileaks revelations

2.8. Conclusion

Introduction:

Introduction and analysis of Wikileaks as an organization is closely related to its founder Julian Assange. Politically, the polarizing leader has faced criminal charges for publishing highly classified documents related to state embassies worldwide. Academically, Wikileaks has changed the process of journalism and introduced new principles of publication and information gathering processes. This chapter presents a bibliographic case of the Wikileaks founder Julian Assange, in addition to a detailed description and analysis of the process of work within Wikileaks considering the verification of news and the development of stories. It also sheds light on the interdependence of Wikileaks as a new media agent on mainstream media specifically referring to 'Hybrid Media System' as the philosophy underlying the discourse of Wikileaks.

What is Wikileaks?

Literally, the word "Wikileaks" is a compound noun that consists of two major concepts; the first is "wiki" and the second is "leaks.

Wiki:

Ward Cunningham, the inventor of the first wiki software, described it as *"the simplest online database that could possibly work" (Cummingham, 1995).* As stated earlier, the objectives of wikis are many and different depending on the aim of founders; it can be used for knowledge management, note taking, community websites, and intranets. The control within wikis depends mainly on the levels of access permitted by founders, for example, the editing option can allow users to Change, edit, or remove mate while other wikis can only allow access without any other options; note that, these rules are imposed to organize and control social access. These affordances have already been discussed in the first chapter when we referred to true wikis and hybrid wikis. Ward Cunningham highlights that wikis enable users to:

- Edit and or create new pages within the wiki website.
- Associate meaningful topics with several web pages using page link creation.
- Involve the visitors to act active roles by making them part of an ongoing process of creation and collaboration.

In fact, these characteristics that W. Cunningham outlined reveal a hidden unsuspected danger of Wikis; the content that can be modified anonymously puts the credibility and reliability of wiki content in jeopardy.

Leak:

The Oxford online dictionary defines "leak" as "unauthorized or a deliberate disclosure of confidential information". The online Macmillan dictionary further elaborates the verb to leak as "to tell private or secret information to reporters or to the public".

Precisely as its name suggests "Wikileaks" denote an illegal revelation of information by a network of users that makes use of the properties of the wiki website to make this secret news known to the public, taking into consideration that the source of information being leaked is hidden. As an organization, Wikileaks is a must study phenomenon. Wikileaks, on its official website, defines itself as:

> *"Not- for- profit media organization, our goal is to bring important news and information to the public. We provide an innovative, secure and anonymous way for sources to leak information to our journalists (our electronic drop box). One of our most important activities is to publish original source material alongside our news stories so readers and historians alike can see evidence of the truth". (Wikileaks.com)*

The definition of Wikileaks shed lights on the anonymous principle of this non for profit organization. Tricky words involve journalists as whistleblowers. It is important to recognize Wikileaks determination to expose original documents to the public as evidence of truth, which is an evidence of power recognition as well. We cannot

approach Wikileaks as a mere shadow of whistleblowers, but rather put into study its mission, objectives, process of work, and also its sources of information.

Important to complete our understanding of what Wikileaks is really about. The emergence of Wikileaks is uncompleted without reference to to a short biography of its founder Julian Assange.

Julian Assange: a Bibliographic Case

The founder of 'wikileaks', Julian Assange, was born in the province of Queensland in 1971, his mother 'Christine' was an artist, painter. She fell in love with a man whom she met at an "anti-Vietnam war demonstration" in 1970, the man latter fathered Julina. Yet he didn't affect Assange life.

Julian Assange' biological father was almost absent from all archives; his name was unknown until Julian decided to start his remarkable session of leaking secret documents. Leigh&Harding claimed that *"He registered the wikileaks.org domain name under what is, according to court records, his biological father's identity- John Shipton*" (Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 34-35)

Assange's early life style has greatly contributed to the construction of his versioned philosophy; his step father staged and directed plays; whereas his mother was responsible for make-up, costumes, and set design. According to Assange, he took his step father's work as an interesting preparation for Wikileaks. He said:

> *"Something that my family did do when they were involved in the theatre and movie business which is go to locations, set it up, bring all your people, get it all together, get ready for the production launch and –hang- you go"(Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 35)*

His relationship with his stepfather was quite good and friendly; it was until Assange's eight years old when this relationship comes to end when his stepfather and his mother Christine divorced. The mother moved to Melbourne, Australia. As a present, Christine presented the first computer to Assange. He grew interested in Science, Math and Computer programming. He used to move around libraries looking for knowledge. Soon after, he discovered hacking. According to Leigh& Harding (2011) the attraction between computers appealed to him, he finds himself in the world of computers. Then, Assange has become prominent in Melbourne and a leader of a small male group of self-taught teenagers. At this point, he committed himself to the freedom of information

and free access soft wares. The ground on which Wikileaks was soon to be based, Galbally told that Assange is *"Clearly a person who wants the internet to provide material to people that isn't paid for, and he freely gives his services to that"* (Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 45)

Assange started his campaign of convincing those who access secret documents to convey the materials to the Rubberhose website; the application ensures the protection of identity of leakers. In 1999, the idea of leakers' website was soon coming to reality. He then registered the domain name of "Wikileaks.org".

Julian Assange' first contact with the public and media broadcasting was when Canada's CBC news reported the following:

> *"Deep Throat may be moving to a new address-online. A new website that will use Wikipedia's open editing format is hoping to become a place where whistleblowers can post documents without fear of being traced. Wikileaks, according to the group's website, will be 'an uncensorable version of Wikipedia for untraceable mass document leaking and analysis. Our primary interests are oppressive regimes in Asia, the former soviet bloc, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, but we also expect to be of assistance to those in the west who wish to reveal unethical behavior in their own governments and corporations' the group said"(Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 47-48)*

This broadcast summarized the overall philosophy of Wikileaks and the targeted population, Wikileaks started to establish solid grounds for public interests; naming all sensitive and important issues worldwide, the public today is witnessing what Wikileaks is able to bring, reveal, and therefore leak.

The strong commitment to the freedom of information has directed Assange' focus to advanced tools to access documents, information, and make it available publicly using internet soft wares. To develop his philosophy and help spread it worldwide, Assange is

said to co-authored several free software programs as part of the Open Source Movement; it is a movement that principally supports the open source license for all digital soft wares. The open source license encourages all internet users to create, publish, edit and access information; it is another version that supports the call of freedom of information in digital networks. Assange has also invented the "Rubber hose deniable encryption system" with the assistance of his collaborators, the system was based on the idea that: "*Human rights activists who faced torture could surrender a password to one layer of information. Their torturers would not realize another layer was beneath*" (Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 46)

Clearly, several events have assisted the emergence of Wikileaks, the most impressive one is the open source movement advocated by several human rights activists, internet hackers, and all those looking for save heaven space for information access. The open source movement does not only operate at the political or social level. It has also influenced academic life; it has secured a plethora of networks loaded with materials, research articles, published books, dictionaries and other useful links for students, researchers, professors without necessarily paying for this access. The importance of the open source movement in shaping the principles of information access within digital networks has imposed itself for more analysis in the present research study. The following section elaborates more on the practical features of this movement as an assisted license for the registration of Wikileaks in digital media networks.

The Open Source Movement:

Precisely as its name suggests, the open source movement is a basic notion of software development based on the idea that information should be free, the content and the source of the information have to be available for public use. It is opposed to the 'closed source' application that reinforces users and most of the time institutions to hold their own priority over the content published and shared online.

Steve. H, Lee (1999), in her rigorous study about "The open source software licensing" advocates the use of closed source software in business applications, she said that:

> *"The vast majority of commercially available software is what we can call 'closed source' software. In other words, under the proprietary software model, most software developers withhold their source code from users."(Lee, 1999, p. 4)*

However, the growing development of technology and the remarkable switch to the freedom of information has made from closed source software an old fashioned application. For this reason, open source software was developed as a reaction to the closed version. The dictionary of communication and media studies identifies the term 'open source' as a concept that "*Works on the principle of free access to information, including computer software and the practice of user participation*". *(Danesi, 2009, p. 240)*

A major principle of the open source application software is the participation of users in the creation, development and modification of the content provided. The major software that is precisely considered based on open source principle is the Wikipedia. The latter enables users to create their own definitions, modify existing content, and adjust several entries. The copyright regulations, the rights of information privacy are all rejected terms within this newly developed movement.

Within an open source network, users, technology specialist, and others collaborate to make information freely accessed and impossibly controlled by other governmental institutions. The dictionary of communication and media studies also highlights that:

> *"Public interest is favored over privacy rights and new technologies are regarded as tools of intervention. Open source is almost invariably the product and process of collaboration in which committed people, usually highly skilled in the use of new technologies, seek to inform, influence, and activate public opinion"* *(Danesi, 2009, p. 240)*

The open source movement is in fact a new way of making technological applications easier and a magic formula that enables users all over the world to access information freely. The new millennium seems to offer some remarkable technological applications that encourage knowledge development, freedom of information, and active participation of network users.

Several institutions and nonprofit organizations were developed to support the Open source movement. "The Open Source Initiative" (OPI), was Founded in 1998 and headquartered in California. The OSI is a nonprofit organization that supports the open source movement and helps promote awareness and raise people's interest about the importance of the movement for human development.

On its official website, the Open Source Initiative defined the term 'open source' in terms of the distribution criteria the software must comply with to belong to the open source application/movement. These criteria include:

A- **Free Redistribution:** the license of the software should not restrict any form of selling or giving away a component that contains some programs from different sources. Therefore, it should call for no fees to realize such operations.

B- **Source Code:** the source code is a must include note in any programs within open source software**.** Therefore, the redistribution of the resource code can be

made easy; it makes the necessary modifications of the program easy and possible.

C- Derived Works: the open source license has to enable modifications and necessary 'derived works'. People are then able to modify and redistribute the content.

D- Integrity of The Author's Source Code: the license should enable explicit modification of the distribution of software from the original source code subject to modification. Accordingly, different changes can be made from the base source.

E- No Discrimination: discrimination is regarded forbidden against any person or group. What is allowed for a person should be allowed to others. The license should, by no means, favor one part over the other. It reinforces and diversifies the process, as well as, it eliminates further restrictions.

F- No Discrimination against Fields of Endeavor: there should be no restrictions on the use of the open source in any field of endeavor. For instance, the program should be used in business, education, research, and others; this principle/criteria is mainly directed to commercials who left open source network out of their interest. The license encourages commercial users to be part of the open source community

G- Distribution of License: the license must include all rights of all those whom the program is redistributed, without being obliged to make other license agreements with other parties; this criteria prevent the license from being manipulated or closing up by indirect means.

H- License Must Not Be specific to a Product: the rights guaranteed by the original source software should not be confined to a particular program that is part of the particular software distribution. Phrased differently, all parties should have equal rights, those granted in conjunction with the original software distribution should have no specific offers; this criteria is considered crucial to avoid license traps.

I- License Must Not Restrict other Software: other types of software are welcomed within open source software, despite being contrary to the open source movement. All distributers within an open source network have the right to make their own choices about their chosen software.

J- License Must Be Technology-Neutral: it is the closing criteria of the open source license software. It suggests that there would be no 'provisions' anticipated about individual technology or 'style of interface'.

The open source movement was the leader of the notion of freedom of information prevailed nowadays. Despite many restrictions on its application, the open source has the potential to further influence the development of software and support of the application by many disciplines, mainly education, business, and politics.

Linking to that, the open source movement has always been the hidden technological philosophy underlying Wikileaks' work and development. Wikileaks, the website, is based on open source licensing that encourages the freedom of information and enables users to connect to the software without being exposed publicly. To cope with its main objectives, Wikileaks has made some modifications to the license to suit their work process and operation restrictions. Therefore, the code source within the software is not exposed to the public. It is hidden, despite all attempts to uncover the source code that conveys information and documents to Wikileaks, the software hides the original resource. More explanation of how Wikileaks has announced the departure of a revolutionary institution devoted to the freedom of information and based on open source licensing is provided next in the launch story of Wikileaks.

The launch story of Wikileaks:

Assange developed "wikileaks.org" in 1999, but the website was not actively used until 2007, when Assange has officially announced Wikileaks and prepared the public to eagerly wait for sensitive and highly classified documents and information about several international organizations.

The launch of Wikileaks was also developed and assisted by several organizations worldwide. These organizations helped Assange to establish strong ties with its workers. Additionaly Assange' major friendship with Daniel Domscheit-Berg, the German computer programmer, has greatly influenced the development of Wikileaks; both were met at the European hackers'gathering. Domscheit-Berg said that *"I heard about Wikileaks in late 2007 from a couple of friends, I started reading about it a bit more. I started to understand the value of such a project to society"* (Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 50) Domscheit-Berg soon after his meeting with Julian has left his job with US computer giant EDS, Electronic Data System Company, and devoted himself to Wikileaks.

One of the prominent hacker groups in the world is the Chaos Computer Club, it was founded in 1981. The group was responsible for Wikileaks' donations and support. In collaboration with Domscheit-Berg, the Chaos Computer Club and Julian Assange wanted to develop 'physical havens' for Wikileaks' servers around the world. They establish their lists of the possible countries where Wikileaks' established servers and work processes can be based:

> *"A lot of countries in today's world do not have really strong laws for the media anymore. But a few countries, like for instance Belgium, the US with the first amendment, and especially for example Sweden, have very strong laws protecting the media and the work of investigative or general journalists. So…if there are any Swedes here, you have to make sure your computer (remains) one of the strongholds of freedom of information"*
> *(Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 50)*

Sweden has become the peaceful island for leakers, the country protects the hacker's right for freedom of information; consequently the act of hacking and leaking confidential state document is not considered a crime. It is preserved under the recognized right of freedom of information.

Continuing the collaboration with other international organizations with similar interests, Wikileaks was provided with external operations and services mainly the Pirate bay; they established the web hosting company referred to as PRC.

The PRQ offers secrecy to its customers; no one is able to determine the information sources, or any other parts within the process:

> *"We offer anonymity services, VPN (Virtual Private Network) tunnels. A client connects to our server and downloads information. If anyone at the information's source tries to trace them, they can only get to us- and we don't disclose who was using that IP (internet protocol) number."* *(Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 51)*

A close insight into all these notes highlighted by Leigh&Harding (2011) lead us to understand that Wikileaks is not only Julian Assange, he is the founder, but other individuals or whistelblowers and institutions have greatly contributed to the development of Wikileaks to be an international organization with a global interest. Without the help of the PRQ, and Domscheit-Berg, Wikileaks could not reach all its realizations nowadays. It could not be the only website to leak classified documents. Therefore, it violates all norms and ethics of journalism and media; it has established a culture of '**anonymity**', and '**whistleblowing**' that is considered a principle in Wikileaks recognized discourse nowadays.

Technically, as Wikileaks claims to be non-censorable and untraceable company, several soft wares, networks, and connecting systems help provide and ensure these principle for all users. Among these technical affordances offered, we name the Open SSL (an open source secure site connection system), another application is that of the

Free Net (a peer to peer method of storing files among hundreds or thousands of computers without revealing where they originated or who owns them), last but not least the PGP (the open source cryptographic system abbreviated from the jocular name "Pretty Good Privacy").

All these applications are used to increase the Wikileaks' anonymity for sources and providers of data. Wikileaks incorporate these technical devices to develop its own protection device name as the 'Tor'. Note that the Tor is also used by the US intelligence agencies. Wikileaks made it a means of spying and leaking US confidential documents. The organization stressed that *"We keep no records as to where you uploaded from, your time zone, and browser or even as to when your submission was made"* (Leigh&Harding, 2001, p. 53)

Using all security applications available, Wikileaks encourages hackers, leakers, whistleblowers and those who access secret files, but fear to make it available to the public, to incorporate in its underlying project and the so called philosophy of freedom of information. My particular interest of Wikileaks stem from a deep concern about the remarkable work of this institution that is not regarded simple. My attention is directed to investigate the hidden philosophy of Wikileaks, and what the latter hides behind all those claims and the so called freedom of information "propaganda". The following section tries to answer how Wikileaks work? How the latter receives, analyzes and verifies the news stories? What documents are brought to the leak stage and on what basics?

How does Wikileaks work?

The controversial nature, content and method of the Wikileaks' process of work make it a hard task to investigate and analyze. The site receives thousands of documents from different sources around the globe. It ensures anonymity of data source and high level digital security that fail any tentative of following resource links. The questions that came to the fore are many and different in scope and interest. First, how does Wikileaks receives data? Second, how does Wikileaks verify the authenticity of data? Third, who is responsible to make the choice of what to publish, and what not? Fourth, what are the legal protections does Wikileaks hold?

In an attempt to find answers to all previously discussed question, we need to look closely at the underlying mission of Wikileaks. To do so, Wikileaks, the organization claims to be the "*first intelligence agency of the people*" it exposes highly classified documents to the public for the purpose of spreading freedom of information. To achieve this goal, there is a sophisticated process underlying this work. Any person who wants to submit files and documents of particular interest should visit the Wikileaks' official website and click on the submit option, and then documents can be sent either via the internet, or through emails. A group of volunteered editors that works for Wikileaks decide on what information is authoritative, important and authentic to be published accordingly.

It sounds an easy process, yet what happens behind the scene is huge and complicated. A clear case in point that shed lights on what happens between digital networks is exemplified in what Leigh&Harding (2011) outlined at the time when Domscheit-Berg, in Berlin, received a message from Appelbaum, a volunteer Wikileaks hacker, in Seattle. The operation is realized as follows:

> "*He sends the file via Tor. The software creates a further encrypted channel routed through the Tor servers, using a few "nodes" among the worldwide network. The encryption is layered: as the message passes*

> *through the network, each node peels of a layer of encryption, which tells it which node to send the payload to next. Successive passes trip more encryption off until the message reaches the edge of the network" (Leigh& Harding, 2011, p. 54)*

This process of document transition justifies the success of Wikileaks in hiding its sources and ensuring a high level of security to its hackers and whistleblowers around the world. Governmental agencies fail to follow source codes because of the sophisticated nodes system that hinders the sources and outline a mere circulation of the information among unknown users. It is then a digital traffic that whoever follows can neither decode the content being sent, nor identify the sender or receiver. This software protection is only realized by the Tor, Wikileaks' underlying software application. Assange stressed when talking to Rolling Stone that "*Tor's importance to Wikileaks cannot be overstated*" (Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 54)

Second after the reception of data, Wikileaks verifies the documents' authenticity, and made the choice of what to be published and what not. According to a published article by John D. shutter on the CNN website, the latter claims that a group of volunteered workers and editors with Wikileaks does the job of verification and made the choice of authoritative documents to be published.

In fact, there is so little said about the verification of the authenticity of data uploaded to Wikileaks. Doomscheit-Berg said that, the former spokesman of Wikileaks, when '*someone*' uploaded a vast store of materials composed of figures, calculations, workflow documents and others, "*It took Julian and me a couple of days to get an overview of the material*" (Doomcheit-Berg, 2011,p. 26)

We understand so far that it was Julian and his co-worker that verify the documents and conduct the necessary background research before officially leaking those documents. Another insight to that is brought about by Wikileaks on its official website. On the verification of its documents and news stories, Wikileaks states that: "*When information*

comes in, our journalists analyze the material, verify it and write a news piece about it describing its significance to society" (Wikileaks.com)

Wikileaks, being charged with anonymity, does not clearly state who is responsible for the verification of submitted documents and how this process is undertaken. In her answer of the question that everybody asks concerning how Wikileaks verifies its news stories, it is announced on the official website that Wikileaks:

> *"Send a submitted document through a very detailed examination a procedure. Is it real? What elements prove it is real? Who would have the motive to fake such a document and why? ..., . We may also seek external verification of the document" (Wikileaks.com)*

As Wikileaks claims, there is a sophisticated, yet important process that documents went through before being publically exposed and released. The process in fact reinforces the credibility and reliability of data provided on the website note that other media institutions and governmental organizations still claim that the process is not official and does not prove transparency.

In sum, we conclude that Wikileaks' releases are never accepted and confirmed by its counterparts, mainly governments around the world and international institutions. Yet, they prove their importance to the support of the freedom of information and improvement of transparency culture around the globe. Wikileaks through its mission has gained an international popularity and a global force over other media organizations. However, despite Wikileaks' new version of journalism matters, still the organization reaches the international public via the help and assistance of other traditional media outlets. The latter helps in the spread of information and reinforces the launch of a new phenomenon of investigative journalism and a newly developed philosophy that has shaped traditional ethics of media today.

Wikileaks' relation to traditional media outlets has been a field of interest and research of many scholars around the globe; especially those interested in reacting to the new

media communication technologies that have affected the process of interaction and communication globally.

The interaction of new media presented by Wikileaks and traditional media has been referred to as "A Hybrid Media System" the concept was developed by Andrew Chadwick, the English researcher and scholar. Other researchers investigate whether Wikileaks and traditional media are friends or foes. The following section explores more on Chadwick 'ontology of hybridity as a principle underlying the discourse of Wikileak.

The Ontology of Hybridity:

The term 'hybridity' highlights the complexity of news making in the digital world. It is used in the present study as referred to by Andrew Chadwick on his account of the Hybrid Media System (2011). According to Chadwick, the ontology of hybridity is a philosophical term used in his basic sense to indicate the set of assumptions and assertions on which a given reality is based.

Hybridity captures the association between old and new practices, regimes, or processes. It is an advanced framework of analyzing current trends in media discourse which establishes the ground of solid understanding of the powerful relationship and interdependence of different parties involved in news making, and production of institutionalized discourse especially in politics.

The term hybrid is diffused across many and different social, political, and cultural disciplines. In political science, Larry Diamond (2002) referred to some countries which display the mixture of democracy and authoritarianism as '*hybrid regimes*' living in '*pseudodemocratic*' environment. In management, the term hybrid indicates the association of different variables like the hierarchical and the networked modes of collaboration ((Fimreite&Lægreid, 2009) or online and offline mobilization repertories (Chadwick, 2007). In media and cultural studies, the term hybrid was used to indicate different notions, according to Chadwick:

> *"Media and cultural shifts have of course played important roles in the constitution of these new hybrid domains, creating new relations of complex interdependence in the local-translocal and national-transnational spheres. It should therefore come as no surprise that the field of cultural studies has been inscribed with conceptual disputes about hybridity. Central concerns have included the production, transmission, and contested reception of media texts"* (Chadwich, 2011, p. 7)

Precisely as Chadwick has outlined, hybridity in media operates at the production, transmission and reception of media texts, meanwhile, it has drawn attention to central issues related to power, ideology and interdependence of discourse. Linked in part to this overview of hybridity in new media discourse, one of the major concerns of the present research study is the construction of a new media genre based on the interdependence of two different types of media representations, the traditional media outlets, and new media networks and its effect on shaping information environment and processes of production. Gradually refocusing on Wikileaks discourse and based on previously discussed points about the collaboration of Wikileaks with traditional media (the Guardian and the New York Times) it is argued that hybridity is a basic principle in the production of Wikileaks discourse, it suggests that this collaboration involves implicit power relations in media systems nowadays. Chadwick stressed that:

> *"The ontology of hybridity constitutes an important and suggestive critique of that thinking. It nudges us away from "either/or" and toward "not only, but also." I believe this ontology provides a fruitful approach to understanding the interactions between old and new media, broadly understood, in contemporary politics and society. It can help to shed new light on the relative power of actors in media systems. Attempts to control, police, and redraw boundaries and the power struggles that crisscross domains are now defining features of political communication" (Chadwick, 2011, p. 10)*

Approaching the discourse of Wikileaks as a hybrid system would help uncover the power relations between different actors involved in the story, it would also help understand the frontiers of Wikileaks as a media organization and its ability to influence political communication worldwide. In addressing these issues, Chadwick (2011) has made a clear distinction between two modes of hybridization: **'diluted hybridity'** which suggests a reduced version of an existing practice, and **'particulate hybridity'** where prominent characteristics are selected for further combination and integration

(Chadwick, 2011, p, 18). The scope of this research makes use of the particulate form of hybridity as:

> *" The outcome of power struggles and competition for prominence during periods of unusual Transition, contingency, and negotiability. Over time, these hybrid practices start to fix and freeze; they become sedimentary, and what was once considered unusual and transitional comes to be seen as part of a new settlement, but that new settlement is never entirely fixed"*
> *(Chadwick, 2017, p. 18)*

Practically, understanding the nature of relationship between different social and political actors leads to understand the nature of power manifested in the production of discourse notably that of Wikileaks. It is assumed that the interaction of Wikileaks and traditional media outlets specifically The New York Times in USA, The Guardian in Britain, and Le Monde in France was according to the agenda of Wikileaks for implicit and explicit reasons. The interaction, cooperation and interdependence of the two outlets are outlined next.

Wikileaks and Traditional Media Outlets:

Having established the technical basics for their work, providing all applications that ensure anonymity of resources and encourage hackers to attack international institutions, organizations and political agencies worldwide, it's the right time for Wikileaks to start mission.

When a document is verified and approved to be authentic and real, Wikileaks starts the release process. In doing so, the organization first leak the document on its official website, then it informs other traditional media institutions about the leak. Assange has first established a relationship with his counterparts 'the Guardian'. Then the New York Times and Del Spiegl later come into the deal.

Wikileaks and the Guardian:

The story of the Wikileaks-Guardian partnership starts when the editor Resbridger begun to receive occasional emails from Assange as early as 2007 informing and telling some good news stories. The first rate internet hacker, Julian Assange has a strong admiration to the online presence of the Guardian as the largest web readership. The guardian web site which was launched in 1999 has achieved the 2005, 2006, and 2007 Webby award for the best newspaper on the internet given by the International Academy of Digital Arts and Science (IADAS) this is according to a case study article written by Kirsten Lundgerb, Director of the Knight Case Studies Initiative, Graduate school of Journalism, Columbia university (K. Lundberg, 2011).

Assange was determined to achieve the highest readership to his leaks, for this reason, he made his best efforts to reconcile Wikileaks as a new media operator, and mainstream media presenters principally the Guardian. The first contact was established when Nick Davies, the Guardian's best investigative reporter, got the approval of editor Rusbridger to travel to Brussels to attend a press conference organized by Assange after the arrest of Bradely manning. Assange accepted Davies' invitation for a meeting to discuss what Assange had and make the agreement. Lundberg stated that:

> *" Assange claimed to have more than a million official US documents, divided into four significant batches: battle reports from Iraq; battle reports from Afghanistan; US diplomatic cables from around the world; and international communications on operations at the US detention Centre in Guantanamo Bay." (Lundberg, 2011, p. 6)*

For Davies, the news gladdened his journalistic spirit and considerably advances the agreement he has made to get the exclusive coverage of the leaks by the Guardian. Davies got Assange' acceptance instantly, he said that:

> *"I was pushing at an open door in putting this argument to him…, because he was aware that the Wiki model was a failure. He was already moving towards trying to use mainstream media to get more impact" (Lundberg, 2011, p. 6)*

Of course this was not true for Assange, according to his view Wikileaks presents a new model of journalism that encourages the culture of information sharing and violate the competitive aspect of media when dealing with sensitive issues and topics, he explained that:

> *"Wikileaks has provided a new model of journalism. Because we are not motivated by making a profit, we work cooperatively with other publishing and media organizations around the globe, instead of following the traditional model of competing with other media. We don't hoard our information; we make the original documents available with our news stories" (wikileaks.com)*

In the case of Wikileaks, *"a new model of cooperation aimed at publishing the world's biggest leak" (Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 98)* has been created. The protocol of collaboration with the Guardian in fact involves several points that made the deal final and brought about other partners, mainly the New York Times.

Wikileaks and the Deal With the Guardian & New York Times:

Julian Assange's war on secrecy and fight for transparency encouraged Wikileaks to establish its unique partnership with some of the world's most important media organizations to help spread the news to the largest public. However, this partnership was not established freely, the organizations come to terms after serious deliberations to determine what, when, and who is the first to publish. The agreement is made as follows.

First, the UK is well known for its protection of media and secrecy laws; the free speech protection that US media enjoyed is not recognized in the United Kingdom. For this reason, the Guardian will be subject to the US injunction if the newspaper publishes the diplomatic cables. What was then needed is a "*multi-jurisdictional alliance between traditional media outlets and Wikileaks*" (*Leigh&Harding, 2011, p. 97);* at this point, the New York Times becomes strategic partner for the Guardian; it provides the latter with an indirect access to the files. Media institutions like 'Der Spiegel' in Germany and 'Le Monde' in France were also considered for a second position.

Second, the Guardian proposed to have access to the whole range of materials. Assange claimed that Wikileaks was preparing to publish all the documents but retrieve because of the arrest of "Bradely Manning", the US army private and alleged Wikileaks source.

Third, Julian Assange insisted on having the New York Times publish the data five minutes ahead of the Guardian in London and other partners. According the Swedish hacker, this would reduce the risk of Manning being charged for the violation of the Espionage Act.

Fourth, Assange insisted on the Guardian to raise the level of security and opt for more complicated and untraceable measures so that both institutions could communicate freely. Wikileaks founder suggested that in order for the Guardian to get the materials, he and his coworkers would develop a special website that contains the encrypted form

of materials; the journalists have to get the files before the immediate disappearance of the website.

Finally, Julian Assange has made the final most important condition that the deal goes ahead only under Assange's control of the timing of publication, a condition that the would-be partners had to accept.

In new media research, implementation of a single approach that concentrates on the study of new media networks with complete elimination of the role of traditional media agencies is quite difficult. Thus both actors allow for the construction of a hybrid system which is basically established on the interaction and interdependence of the two trends. However, it is certain that the alliance of new and traditional media is based on a protocol of collaboration that governs and directs the development and publication of new stories from both perspectives. It also suggests that this hybrid media system has acknowledged the preferences of Wikileaks news agenda at the level of decision making. Considering this agreement, we can argue that the partners come to terms with an originality that governs the life cycle of the publication act. Assange provides the Guardian with the plethora of files that contains the Afghan War Logs, Iraq War Logs, US diplomatic cables and personal files of prisoners in Guantanamo (Lundberg, 2011). The Guardian as being the principle partner would distribute the files to the New York Times, Der Spiegel, and Le Monde which in turn would publish the documents with their news stories; Wikileaks would simultaneously publish the data (news stories) on its official website. Not denying the fact that the time of publication is to be determined by Assange.

Most wikileaks revelations:

The year 2010 has witnessed the biggest leak in history. Most of wikileaks revelations are centered on US foreign policy on some of the world's most sensitive areas mainly Afghanistan and Iraq; for this reason, the revelations were assumed the name of the Afghan War Logs, the Iraq War Logs, and the US Diplomatic Cables that hold within files from different state embassies worldwide.

August of the same year, the partners went practically into cooperation; Wikileaks posted the full text, while the New York Times and the Guardian develop a story about it.

In July 2010, wikileaks has liberated the **Afghan War Diary**, it's a collection of more than 76.000 file concerning the war in Afghanistan; the documents acknowledged the death of 'innocent civilians' at the hand of international forces. (Paiviki Karhula, 2011, p. 1) The major leak of 2010 was on October, when Wikileaks released the **Iraq War Logs**, a collection of explosive records and files about the torture of civilians by US Military forces, the files stated that: *"there were more than 190.000 violent deaths between 2004 and 2009, including 66.081 civilians" (Karhula, 2011, p. 1)*

November 28th, 2010 witnessed the biggest leak in history, Wikileaks in collaboration with The New York Times, The Guardian, Le Monde, and Der Spiel, have published more than 250.000 secret documents so called the "**US Diplomatic Cables**". The white house at that time declared that Wikileaks has threatened the national security of the United States.

On a more advanced level, Wikileaks wanted to achieve the level of international recognition; the institution has realized that the release of file text should be accompanied with authentic, live scenes supporting the content of released document; the creation of the collateral murder video has perfectly put Wikileaks in front, According to Chadwich (2017):

"The creation of the collateral murder film in early 2010 well illustrates how Wikileaks has used digital tools to behave like a professional media production company. But the film also reveals Wikileaks' role as an activist cause group, eager to present its own version of events to try to set the news agenda" (Chadwick, 2017, p. 112)

The reactions to the release of the cables and the collateral murder video were several and different. On December 6th "*Attorney General Eric Holder announced that WikiLeaks was under criminal investigation and that there could be prosecutions of individuals for leaking "classified documents"* (Karhula, 2011, p. 6). As far as Assange is concerned, he was arrested in Britain and being charged of sexual assaults in Sweden, he was then released "*against bail for home arrest*" (Karhula, 2011, p. 5) Taking into consideration that no charges of illegal leaks have been registered so far against him.

Immediately after the leak of the US cables, the website was blocked by several government organizations and service providers in a number of countries, namely China, UAE, Australia, and the USA.

Financially, Wikileaks accounts on Visa, Mastercard, Paypal, and the Bank of America were blocked after the release of the cables, that's why the former started to receive public donations to help Wikileaks stands firm and face these restrictions.

Finally, Wikileaks major works and stories are under global purview, the name has imposed itself within contemporary media societies; moreover, it is nowadays used as a term of reference for much news content. There is a Wikileaks say culture established within political and social communication internationally. To further approach the general aims of the present research, after devoting two previous chapters to introducing the concept of new media, and understanding of emergence of the controversial new media outlet Wikileaks. The following chapter presents the framework on which the present corpus based research is established. Critical

Discourse Analysis (CDA) is in fact well chosen for corpus analysis and investigation of social and political notions within discourse.

There are a number of considerations worth sharing in relation to the adoption of CDA in dealing with the corpus selected. First, the relevance of discourse analytical approach fits well the objectives outlined for the present research. Second, CDA offers framework to deal with large corpus. Third, investigation of power relations is realized through language use in discourse. The following chapter provides a brief revision of major principles and aims of CDA, in addition to some remarkable approaches underlying discourse study. The chapter also presents terminological considerations of important notions related to power, namely ideology and hegemony. Explanation of the typology of text is considerably important for presenting the specific genre under analysis.

Conclusion:

Regardless of different perspectives that emerge from the publication of secret documents belonging to international powers. No one denies that Wikileaks has initiated unfrequented practices in media and journalism. It is even hard to judge these practices positive or negative.

Chapter three: Critical Discourse Analysis

3.1. Introduction:

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Introduction:

The study of critical discourse analysis is multidisciplinary in nature. It involves contribution from Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, and Media studies, to name a few. For this reason, discourse analysis is a very critical concept to define, depending on different aims and objectives, scopes and frames.

In this chapter, we will try first to provide an overview of what discourse analysis is about including definitions and historical developments. Second, we provide a brief description and analysis of the major theoretical and methodological approaches to analyzing discourse. Third, discussing the aims of critical discourse analysis is crucial to establish the general framework of this research.

What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Generally speaking, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is regarded as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. Some scholars and researchers use the term Discourse analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) interchangeably. The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods defines CDA as follows:

> *"Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a theoretical approach to studying the role of language in society that originated within linguistics but has found wide spread application across the social sciences" (Given, 2008, p. 145)*

In fact, this definition is somehow limited in scope; it presents CDA merely as a theoretical approach. It is true that there was a general confusion in early developments of CDA on whether it is a theory or methodology. However, researchers interested in the field like Van Dijk and Fairclough have contributed greatly to the development of the methodological applications of CDA. In response, Fairclough argued that:

> *" 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, 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"(Faircolough, 1995, p. 132-133)*

Fairclough' approach to discourse analysis is both systematic, and problem oriented, he highlighted the major components relevant to the study of discourse. The concept of power and hegemony, and how these social practices are manifested and produced in discourse are the major concerns of Fairclough' discourse analysis. Using the same perspective, Wodak and Meyer (2001) quoted that:

> *"CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimated, and so on by language use(or in discourse)"(Wodak&Meyer, 2001, p. 2)*

On the other hand, Van Dijk, the leading figure in discourse studies provides the following definition for CDA:

> *"Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context "(Van Dijk, 2004, p. 352)*

With regard to these definitions, we can argue that CDA provide a deep insight on several political and social issues manifested in the use of language. Its emphasis on

issues like power, dominance, inequality, racism, hegemony and others makes it an interesting field of investigation. Researchers within CDA brought to attention the different ways in which a discourse can highly impact an audience when it is properly utilized. For this reason, the study of Critical discourse analysis is not done at random, it is very systematic and analytical, although these definitions sound to be different; they all focus on the influential and critical role of CDA in society. To elaborate more on this concept, we need to look closely at the underlined principles, aims, and criteria of CDA.

The Historical Development of CDA:

According to the existing literature about Critical discourse analysis, the concept does not have a specific launch period. Van Dijk argued that Critical discourse analysis was emerged with 'critical linguistics' of the 1970s and 1980s in the UK and Australia. Ruth Wodak, on the other hand suggested that the term Critical linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are used interchangeably and that CL is a mere theoretical foundation that was established to introduce CDA (Wodak, 2006).

The 1960s and 1970s had noticed a collection of works mainly dealing with the study of text and talk across several disciplines like linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. As a result, development of CDA as an independent field was affected quite markedly with innovations and findings of those disciplines.

In sociolinguistics, the late 60s had introduced several variations in the study of language. Thus, research within sociolinguistics emphasized the importance of language variation in the socio cultural context and *"deals with the salient aspect of the overall social context" (Koubali, 2007, p. 11).* This orientation has its effect on the study of discourse, works of Labov (1972a, 1972b) contributed greatly to the reliability of the socio cultural context in the study of discourse.

Linguistics had also its input of early development of discourse studies in early 70s. According to Van Dijk *"This approach considered verbal utterances not only as sentences but also as specific forms of social action"* (Van Dijk, 1985, p. 5)

Within this framework, Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) developed their speech act theory that goes beyond the production of language as 'verbal utterances' and puts into analysis the different functions and actions of words. Austin made the distinction clear between locutionary acts, the act of saying something, and illocutionary acts which refers to "*the social conventional force of production'* (Austin, 1962). Grice (1989) followed the same line of investigation making a difference between what the speaker

said, and what are his communicative objectives. Simultaneously, the property of a context based analysis seems to be crucial in the study of language at that time.

On the other hand, psychology and psycholinguistics brought to attention the cognitive processing of text understanding. Phrased differently, researchers and psycholinguists tried to provide explicit explanation to the way recipient of discourse process and understand language in their minds. The work of Chomsky (1965), Black&Bower (1979), Kintsch (1974) and others have initiated the direction of the psycholinguistic dimension of discourse studies.

It seems that research across several disciplines have strongly advanced language studies, in the sense that, the heterogeneity of theories and notions calls for a new discipline that encompasses all previous findings and innovations to come up with a holistic approach to the study of language (discourse). CDA can be realized from different perspectives and approaches.

Approaches to the study of discourse:

There are many and different approaches to the study of language, these approaches reveal the theorists' points of view and field of interest. The linguistics of Chomsky, the sociolinguistics of Hymes, the pragmatics of Austin and Searle and the cognitive psychology of Kintche and his associates are all regarded as approaches to language study. In principle, these various trends collectively share the same objective regarding the mutual concern on discourse study and analysis. Yet, there is a serious overlap for researchers on whether one must follow all previous approaches to analyze actual language production, or it is only feasible to favor one approach over the other. CDA in this respect has solved this dilemma and based any discourse analysis on a number of principles that take into account linguistic, social, and psychological dimensions of discourse. Fairclough (1989) summarized this account under the umbrella term of two major approaches relevant to discourse study, the functionalist approach versus the formalist approach.

The formalist approach:

This approach gives much priority to the structural properties of texts, Chomsky and his associates are great contributors to this notion. He believes that *"If we hope to understand human language and the psychological capacities on which it rests. We must first ask what is it, not how or for what purposes it is used"* (Chomsky, 1968, p. 62)

 In this respect, most works of Chomsky are revolved around finding explanations to the structural properties of texts, how it is organized and what are the specific units of language that call for specific structures. First, his linguistic theory is based on the distinction of competence versus performance, and the notion of the ideal "speaker-hearer". He argued that *"To have a command of a language is to be able, in principle, to understand what is said and to produce a signal with an intended semantic interpretation"* (Chomsky, 2006, p. 102)

Several scholars afterwards were affected by Chomsky's theory and harnessed themselves to the study of isolated sentences with complete elimination to the role of context variations in language use.

The functionalist approach:

Precisely as its name suggests, the functionalist approach was developed as a reaction to the principles of the formalist one. There was a switch in concern from scholars and researchers to the importance of context based analysis in the study of language. Consequently, the social and cultural context of speech production was the object of analysis from different areas and scopes.

- **The sociolinguistic scope**: reveals systematic correlation between linguistic form variation like phonology, syntax, and social variables of setting, gender, topic, etc.
- **The communicative scope:** This tendency looks basically at the study of language as a social function and mean of communication. Halliday's (1985) systemic functional linguistics was primordial for most works that follow, mainly that of Dell Hymes (1972).
- **The pragmatic scope:** language utterances are regarded as forms of social action. The work of Austin and Searle on 'speech acts' theory is central to most studies on language analysis.

Basically, these fields of study explored jointly the different functions of language use. Yet, it is still confusing as they fail to establish a holistic approach that makes the task of language study and analysis more explicit for researchers and all those interested in discourse analysis.

Discourse and text:

The majority of scholars and researchers do not actually give much attention to whether text is discourse and discourse is text. The use of both terms seems not to cause much trouble and confusion. According to Halliday and hasan (1976) text is "*a unit of language in use*" .On the other hand, Edmonson (1981) defined the structural property that text as "*a structured sequence of linguistic expressions forming a unitary whole*" (koubali, 2007, p. 12).

Wodak (2006) argued that the term discourse is used differently in different academic cultures. For instance, in German and Central Europe, the distinction is made "*relating to the tradition in text linguistics as well as in rhetorics*" (Wodak, 2006, p. 8). However, several scholars and researchers prefer the use of the term discourse as outlined by Foucault. The latter uses the term discourse to describe the different ways in which language is used by people and institutions, to shape meaning and modify social reality. At this level, the notion of text is linked with the written or spoken realization of material. Discourse on the other hand, is beyond the structure. The penguin dictionary of sociology defines discourse as:

> *"A domain of language use (…), within discourse, there are many things that cannot be said or thought. This means that discourse may have an effect similar to that of ideology"* (Abercrombie, Stephen & Turner, 1994, p. 120)

The term discourse drives readers to see what is behind the written word that is the ideology; it uncovers the units of language and the structural patterns of written texts to analyze the conveyed message.

Generally speaking, we cannot differentiate while dealing with discourse analysis between text and discourse. Discourse is presented as text, and the latter is organized in terms of a variety of lexico-grammatical structures. For this reason, the present research

adopted Van Dijk's approach to text as an 'alternative term to discourse' (Van Dijk, 1977)

<u>Discourse and context</u>:

Another important key notion in the study of discourse analysis is the notion of context. It is worth discussion and analysis. Discourse analysis studies the way discourse produce social inequality and power abuse from the part of the elite; this power is highly affected and manifested by the context of production. For instance, the discourse of political officials in parliaments and highly organizational context is very different from discourse in a more social setting. The teacher-student, doctor-patient, lawyer-client discourse in a formal setting is highly powerful and resistance free. However, these examples may refer to the physical dimension of discourse, which other scholars and researchers neglect in discourse analysis and suggest that context involves all factors, such as, the time, place ,people involved, location…thus, assuming the importance of context to be crucial in the study of critical discourse analysis, different scholars identify different type of contexts. According to Widdowson (2000):

> *"Context is a schematic construct… the achievement of pragmatic meaning is a matter of matching up the linguistic elements of the code with the schematic elements of the context"* *(Widdowson, 2000, p 8)*

Widdowson' definition basically relates the construction and reception of the meaning of discourse with the successful correlation between language use and all the components involved in the context of production.

Guy Cook (1994), on the other hand, defines context in a broad and narrow senses. He argued that the term context in its narrow sense refers to "*the knowledge of all factors outside the text*". In its broad sense, it is "*the knowledge of these factors and (knowledge of) others parts of the text under consideration, sometimes referred to as 'co-text'* (Cook, 1994, p. 74) G. Cook brings to light that when defining the context of discourse, it is not enough to focus on the outside text factors, some text features also have affected the context dimension.

Philips and hardly (2002), in their account of the main styles of discourse analytical approach differentiate between a 'proximal context', and 'distal context' *"A proximal context is the local context, e.g, a discipline or science. The distal context is a broader social context, e.g, ecological, regional, or cultural settings"* (cited in Jansen, 2008, p. 108)

Central to most differences among researchers to whether context has physical dimension or other dimensions are included. There is a general consensus that context consideration in discourse studies is crucial in the construction of meaning and interpretation of discourse objectives. At this level, we summarize the discussion of context definition by referring to Van Dijk's explanation of context components in terms of the 'context models' approach.

Van Dijk' Context models:

Van Dijk argued that despite the huge amount of literature on contextual studies "*there is not a single monograph that provides an explicit theory of context" (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 124).* He defined context as *"The structure of all properties of the social situation that are systematically relevant for the production, comprehension, or functions of discourse and its structure"* (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 130)

Linguistics and sociolinguistics identify two major notions of context identification. First is the verbal context of text (discourse) that refers to the structural environment which includes the study of structures, text features, coherence, etc. Second is the social context that basically highlights the situation in which a communicative act happens. As far as Van Dijk is concerned, the situational dimension of discourse is highly appreciated in most systemic functional linguistic though it is 'inadequate' because of the practical difficulties a discourse analyst may encounter. Practically, it is very challenging to whether a researcher can manage introducing and referring to all properties of the situation and not only those 'relevant' for discourse. Another challenge is developed when it is not clear to whether context is determined by the analyst or directed to by participants, moreover, what is the role of participants in the construction of the situational context? Phrased differently, Van Dijk emphasized that not all

properties of the situations affect discourse, nor discourse construct specific situations. In this respect, context identification is quiet complicated process that needs further elaboration. We need more explicit theory of context that adds value to discourse interpretation.

Van Dijk developed his theory of context models to help solve this dilemma and explain in more elaborated terms the sophisticated relationship between discourse and social situation. His theory of context models is in turn based on mental models. He said that *"The interface is cognitive: it is the way participants understand and represent the social situation that influences discourse structure"* (Van Dijk, 2004, p. 4)

It seems acceptable that the context model theory is mainly developed to make the notion of context clear and simple; for this reason, the properties of the context models are relevant, subjective, and dynamic.

- **Relevant**: whatever is constructed as part of the context is relevant and important.
- **Subjective**: participants involved in discourse production are highly influenced by their own experiences. Consequently, some 'situation properties' are important for some participants but less for others.
- **Dynamic**: mental models and cognitive experiences in general are continuously changing and developing. Context models in turn control discourse production in a flexible manner.

The major components of context for Van Dijk (1997) are outlined in his schematic representation of the categories organized under the context model:

Van Dijk Context Models (1997)

I. DOMAIN

II. SITUATION
A. Setting
  A.1. Time
  A.2. Location
  A.2.1. Props
  A.3. Circumstances
B. Events
B.1. Participants
  B.1.1. Roles
  B.1.1.1. Social roles
  B.1.1.2. Interactional roles
  B.1.1.3. Communicative roles
B.2. Action/ Discourse
  B.2.1. Action types, Genres
B.3. Cognition
  B.3.1. Aims, goals, or purposes
  B.3.2. Knowledge
  B.3.3. Opinions
  B.3.4. Emotions

These organized categories of the context models indicate that any discourse situation should be dealt with as part of a particular domain (ex: education, media, politics, etc). The setting mainly includes spatiotemporal identification, while the event embodies participants with different goals and objectives. These participants are engaged in a number of different actions (discourse). Another important aspect to be highlighted is that of cognition, it refers to the mental operation of participant, that is to say, aims, previous knowledge, opinions and reactions are all important in discourse processing. To sum up, context models enable participant to:

- Take into consideration the various properties of the setting.

- Be aware of the current beliefs about themselves and others.

- Understand different actions.

- Identify their relevant roles.

It is of paramount importance to highlight that depending on the relevance criteria discussed earlier, each sub category is subject to inclusion or exclusion depending on the type of discourse being analyzed; at this level, and getting back to the notion of context discussed in the previous section, It seems that Van Dijk's approach to context brings to light that there is a deep link between text interpretation and context identification in a sense that *" both are continuously and jointly constructed and strategically updated as representations in episodic memory" (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 133*)

Van Dijk's holistic account of context model suggests that in characterizing power relations, research within critical discourse analysis should take into consideration all contributing factors of discourse production, and reception. Furthermore, the contextual dimension of discourse differs in terms of the type of discourse selected for analysis. That is to say, different genres of discourse use different context models. The following section explains the consideration of discourse as specific genre, and its potentials of analysis.

<u>Discourse as genre:</u>

Recent years have witnessed considerable developments in the field of discourse analysis as extinction to functional accounts of language study. Many of these studies have used the concept of discourse analysis for specific purposes; or for analyzing specific genres of discourse. From this perspectives, researchers and specialists in the field used genre based approach to discourse to refer to types of discourse produced in specific contexts. Of course, the term 'genre' is more complex, variable and generally hard to define. This paper examines the theory of genre as developed by Bhatia (1993), and outlines her framework, and the basic steps of analyzing unfamiliar genres. Taking into consideration that the type of corpus used (Wikileaks news stories) is in turns considered unfamiliar genres in the present study.

According to Bhatia, many factors contribute to the identification and explanation of genres, these factors like:

> *"Content, form, intended audience, medium or channel, that influence the nature and construction of a genre, it is primarily characterized by the communicative purpose(s) that it is intended to fulfill. This shared set of communicative purpose(s) shapes the genre and gives it an internal structure" (Bhatia, 1993, p. 13)*

Accordingly, discourse with different communicative purposes tends to produce different genres; it is developed to serve the communicative aims of a special social group. The latter are in most cases credited with the knowledge of these aims as part of their work. Linguistics and genre analysis agreed on the level of surface description of language and acknowledged that discourse as genre makes use of certain linguistic features over other features precisely to accomplish the communicative purposes outlined beforehand. Sociology in relation to genre analysis provides another orientation, it highlights that texts cannot be separated from contextual use which

encompasses participants and their different roles and relationships within the situation. Kress (1985) seems to favor a sociological approach to genre analysis. He argued that:

> *"The social occasions of which texts are a part, have fundamentally important effect on texts. The characteristic features and structures of those situations, the purposes of the participants, and the goals of the participants all have their own effects on the form of texts which are constructed in those situations. The situations are always conventional"*
> *(Kress, 1985, p. 19)*

In fact, these considerations do not differ a lot from previous discussions about discourse and contexts. It was presented in this section to stress that discourse as text representing specific genre also makes use of different context parameters to produce more fruitful analysis. Participants and their roles, the medium of communication are all included in Van Dijk's identification of the context models. We stated earlier that the contextual analysis of the present corpus will be based on the models developed by Van Dijk.

The attention of the present researcher was directed to Bahtia (1993) framework of analyzing unfamiliar genres. The steps that she has outlined in her study of "*analyzing genre: language use in professional setting* ", are considerably important in order to undertake a comprehensive investigation of genre under focus. These steps are:

1. Review of current literature: studies related to discourse analysis, theories and approaches to genre analysis, in addition to materials related to the speech community in question.
2. Establish the situational/contextual analysis: definition of discourse writer/speaker, participants and their roles, and so on.
3. Select the corpus: random selection of texts has always produced reliable outcomes at the level of interpretation.

4. Analyze the institutional context: includes finding answers to the value system on which a particular genre is based.

5. Linguistic analysis: the use of grammatical, lexical, and other features related to structural properties of language.

6. Structural organization of texts: is concerned with the layout and the form of texts.

New addition to the analysis of genre for the present corpus study is the identification of the structural organization of texts, as unfamiliar genres, which seems to reveal specific intentions and purposes. Like Swales (1990), Bhatia has also used the term **move structures** to identify different blocks or elements in a given text. These blocks differ in meaning and function. For example, a letter is based on several move structures:

A. Establishing credentials: means the identification of the credentials of addressee, recipient of letter, date, etc.

B. Introduction: the salutation, and the general opening sentence.

C. The concern: refers to the rationale behind the letter, it is the paragraph that contains most key information

D. The concluding salutation: the polite ending of the letter generally introduced using certain key terms

E. Signature: this move structure highly depends on the type of the letter. Usually formal letter requires signature with the full name of the writer with his/her official signature. Whereas, informal letters avoid complex routines.

These move structures are somehow flexible from one genre to another. If an informal letter is based on previous move structures, formal letters like sales letters, job letters may include other structures and exclude or further exploit a given one. It is typically, this movement across structures which is realized according to serve certain aims, is the core interests of discourse analysis with special emphasis on genres. Unfamiliar genres,

however, tend to violate the norms of a given structure for the purpose of persuasion, power, or exploitation of cognitive strategies to enable hegemonic effect of discourse to be implemented on receivers of this particular type of discourse.

In relation to the discourse of Wikileaks, it was pointed out earlier that Wikileaks alongside with the publication of classified documents leaked to the website; the institution has developed its own version of news stories based on the cables received. The editorial board of Wikileaks and the working stuff (journalists) while writing the news stories violate the norms of news coverage, structural parameters of news story writing, and therefore exploit more move structures and exclude other essential elements for the purpose of meetings the aims set before. Another objective of this research study investigates that Wikileaks aims behind the publication of these documents go beyond what is circulated among different news media, social networks, and official statements on the website. Through, critical discourse analysis, the researcher targets notions of power within news stories and different strategies used to influence people's minds and establish international recognition of institutions with radical principles and making those radical principles mainstream and ordinary. It is a way of providing evidence to the claim that the world is living in an environment where the dangers of those digital technologies are maximized.

Principles&Aims of CDA:

Works on discourse analysis have to be based on certain principles that pave the way for researchers and practitioners; those principles help set a solid foundation for researchers to accomplish their objectives of language study. However, there is a terminological overlap among scholars, namely Van dijk (1993) who outlined some basic principles for DA and Fairclough&Wodak(1997) who prefer to call them the 'tenets' of Critical discourse study.

According to Van Dijk (1993), an adequate analysis of discourse needs to:

- Address social problems and political affairs.
- Use a multidisciplinary approach.
- Go beyond language description and tries to provide explanations to the targeted social phenomenon, especially in terms of the properties of 'social interaction and social structure'.
- Focus on the reproduction of power and dominance in society.

On the other hand, the tenets of Fairclough&Wodak (1997) are summarized as follows:

- CDA sheds light on social phenomenon.
- Power relations are 'discursive'
- Discourse is a representation of society and culture.
- Ideologies are deeply rooted in discourse.
- The historical dimensions of discourse are omnipresent.
- CDA establishes the link between text and society.
- Discourse analysis has become interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a model of social action.

In fact, those principles and/or tenets make the concept of CDA more explicit to understand. Thus, further analysis of these principles sum up the discussion of what CDA is about.

Crucial to the study of discourse is the emphasis on 'critical' social problems like racism, power abuse, inequality, dominance, and the like. Those concepts set the theoretical framework of discourse and relate the latter to cognition and society (Van Dijk, 1993). Second, taking into consideration the multidisciplinary nature of discourse analysis, knowledge of pragmatics, linguistics, conversation analysis, and other disciplines are prerequisite, of course depending on the nature of the topic. Third, discourse analysis is not limited to the description stage; it tries to explain sources of actions (ex: dominance) in discourse, and interpret those actions in terms of their impact on society. At least but not last, Discourse analysis, in its actual version, gives more interest on the contextual dimension of language production. However, what is meant by 'context' is quite dissimilar from one school to another. Research within critical studies of language should know all these criteria in order to provide a reliable account of the study of language.

Since CDA is specifically designed to analyze 'critical' social phenomena, it sounds plausible to introduce the conceptual framework underlying the critical study of language. Though there is common consensus among specialists in the field about the lack of a unitary theoretical framework of discourse, given the fact that discourse analysis is quite diverse in nature, for example, the analysis of conversation is different from the analysis of news report or of political debates and so on. Notwithstanding this diversity in scope, Van Dijk (1993) identifies some common related concepts in discourse studies. He said that:

> *"Most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts. Thus, the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will feature such notions as"power","dominance","hegemony","ideology","class","gender","race","discrimination","interests","reproduction","institutions","social structure", and "social order"(Van Dijk, 1993, p. 254)*

Van Dijk has ended the debate about the different notions targeted by discourse analysis and the question of genre originality and varieties. According to him, Critical account of language study is linked to a typical vocabulary list composed of some socially controversial notions. In the present study, discourse analysis is used to uncover power in new media platforms in relation to ideology and hegemony transmitted through a discourse genre which claims to be transparent and informative only. Through CDA the researcher of the present study aims to uncover power relations through analyzing selected documents from the chosen corpus of published news stories corpus available online through Wikileaks cable data base system. The choice of these two social notions was done against the primary claim of Wikileaks as having no prior agenda and that most of its realizations and revelations were devoted to the freedom of information and the right of the public to know what is happening behind closed doors. Identification of the conceptual framework of the present research is presented in the following section.

Conceptual framework:

Since most critical and descriptive aims of critical discourse analysis draw focus upon the social power and power abuse produced in discourse, the notions of power and hegemony made up the reference concepts of the present research. On the basis of an analysis of both terms, this research paper suggests an application of critical discourse analysis framework to reveal the production of power and the hegemonic effect of new media discourse (wikileaks) on the public; phrased differently, both power and hegemony are the variables of my research.

Power:

Generally, the term 'power' has a wide variety of uses distinguished from one discipline to another. According to the Oxford online business dictionary, the business industry defines power as *"an ability to cause or prevent an action, and make things happen"* that is to say, power refers to one's own ability to make change. In law, the term refers to what law provides to decision makers to determine or alter the things.

The Penguin Dictionary of sociology defines power as stated by M.Weber, the latter claims that power is the probability of a person to attain his own goals and objectives despite resistance. Weber's definition involves a number of factors that influence the practice of power within a particular social relationship. In this respect, the exercise of power, considering those factors, is relative; It involves individuals determined to achieve their goals, consequently may affect other less powerful individuals, in this sense, Weber said that *"Power is negative, and involving restrictions and deprivations for those subjected to domination*" (Abercrombie, et al, 1994, p. 329)

In social sciences, power has got several notions and properties. Social power, according to Van Dijk, is a property of the relationship between social groups and classes usually involves the control of powerful groups over less powerful ones, he said that *"such power generally presupposes privileged access to socially valued resources, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge, or status."*(Van Dijk, 1995, p.10); faithful to this

perspective is the Pensuin Dictionnary of Sociology which presents power as *"the capacity of one class to realize its interests in opposition to other classes" (Abercrombie, et al, 1994, p. 330)*

To narrow the discussion, the property of power used in this research is media power; as its name suggests, media power refers to the 'dominant' features media discourse manifests over public opinion. According to Van Dijk, the concept of media power is '*generally symbolic and persuasive'*; Media has the ability to control the minds of readers and viewers. However, this does not necessarily mean that it has dominated their actions unless it comes to the point to convince readers or viewers; in fact, This might be achieved via the credibility of media content and its ability to provide authentic data and reliable information to the public. Though resistance to such persuasive acts is always present by those who are always ready to resist, Van Dijk said that *"whatever the symbolic power of the news media, at least some media users will generally be able to 'resist' such persuasion"(Van Dijk, 1995, p. 11)*

Wikileaks as a media operating network tries to reach the ultimate level of persuasion. It presents authentic documents that justify by no means of doubt the various illegal practices of several nations and international organizations. Media viewer in this case (I think) couldn't resist. My research tries to explore that Wikileaks has achieved the ultimate level of persuasion, consequently, it has become able to manipulate people's minds, thoughts, and move actions as well; from this perspective, power inevitably involves dominance; furthermore, dominance can be exercised explicitly or implicitly, the dominance of men over women, white over black, rich over poor, companies over workers, and so on. Thus, if the dominated groups willingly accept such mind influence and dominance, we will rather use the term 'hegemony'.

Hegemony:

Hegemony was first introduced by Gramcis (1992) when he differentiated between two major notions as mechanisms of social power. The first is '*coercion*', which refers to the violence exerted by state officials against those who refuse to participate in "*capitalist relations of production*". Contrastively, the notion of '*consent*' implies a hegemonic power that tries to persuade individuals and different social institutions to respond to the social values of particular "*exploitative system*" Gramsi described hegemony *as "A view of the world inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed, and which tends to produce moral and political passivity"* (Gramsci, 1992, p. 333)

Gramsci in fact highlights that hegemony is not a newborn phenomenon, but rather a historically inherited notion that serves different institutions throughout history. While, the coercive power is the production of the state, the hegemonic power has always been manifested by what he called "civil society", namely, family, school, and mass media. Gramsci (1992) said that:

> *"The press is the most dynamic part of the ideological structure, but not the only one. Everything that directly or indirectly influences or could influence public opinion belongs to it: libraries, schools, associations and clubs of various kinds, even architecture, the layout of streets and their names" (Gramsi, 1992, p. 202)*

On the other hand, Williams (1997) reveals another crucial aspect of hegemony, he argued that the latter is not a mere collection of thoughts and believes, it is an experienced process that individuals inherit. He said that:

> *"A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities with specific and changing pressures and limits"* (cited in Stoddart, p. 202)

These definitions of hegemony suggest a focus upon the implicit and unconscious guidance of different social groups to construct and establish alliances, within this process, the control of people' minds are a form of power that produces and reproduces dominance and hegemony (Van Dijk, 1993). As far as discourse is concerned, hegemony is best articulated in discourse of several social institutions like family, school, and less practiced at the level of political forces. Fairclough (1992) suggested that in such cases hegemony provides both a 'model and a matrix'. He explained that:

> " It provides a model: in education, for example the dominant groups also appear to exercise power through constituting alliances, integrating rather than merely dominating subordinate groups, winning their consent, achieving a precarious equilibrium which may be undermined by other groups, and doing so in part through discourse and through the constitution of local orders of discourse. It provides a matrix: the achievement of hegemony at a societal level requires a degree of integration of local and semi-autonomous institutions and power relations, so that the latter are partially shaped by hegemonic relations, and local struggles can be interpreted as hegemonic struggles." (Fairclough, 1992, p. 94)

In contemporary society, hegemony seems to be the most common exercised form of social power. The inter connection between public acceptance to most new media content and the discursive practices embedded in different forms of power abuse suggest that the concept of hegemony enable us to analyze discourse as a social practice (matrix), and focus on hegemonic struggle as an order of discourse (model).

The type of discourse dealing with in the present study appears to identify Wikileaks as a hegemonic combatant for power. It is a major disruption to various political and media agendas. Politically, the discourse of Wikileaks, the cables and the news stories, has put powerful states in a loss of control because of the huge ability of Wikileaks to access classified data; the whistleblowing website has used technological possibilities

and affordances of the internet to the maximum to establish a digital platform of materials for public access. At the media level, Wikileaks has influenced the balance of power among different media gents, censuring special information, deciding which media outlets are included in the publication process, and setting the time agenda for publication and finally registering the name of Wikileaks as term of reference for highly classified information despite reliability on whistleblowers and internet hackers. This significant shift of power is remarkable and worth attention.

It is stated earlier that the present corpus based research makes use of critical discourse analysis to uncover power relations in Wikileaks discourse. the term wikileaks discourse is used throughout this study to refer to the leaked cables, more precisely, the news stories developed by Wikileaks 'journalists' and published through the official website of the institution.

Previous theoretical discussions about the importance of the approach to account for power relations and related concepts, and the principles of CDA in constructing solid background for researchers interested in discourse, not neglecting the different approaches adopted while dealing with language study are important. Hence, these preliminaries remain theoretical. The practical application of analyzing texts is more sophisticated; the analytical parameters used to uncover power in discourse are challenging and require more in-depth analysis of how discourse is practically put under scope. Each discourse is special for the extensive and discursive use of certain language features (grammatical or lexical) more than others according to the aim of discourse itself. On more precise terms, it is time to explain how previous discussions, questions, and arguments will be covered by Critical discourse analysis as a method of analyzing texts.

Critical Discourse Analysis in Action:

The practicalities of critical discourse analysis differ from one discipline to another. The choice of methodological framework depends on the research objectives. The absence of an established procedure in doing critical discourse analysis is acknowledged among researchers and specialists in the field. The point of reference within existing literature about the approaches related to discourse analysis is the systemic functional linguistics, the one associated with Halliday (1978, 1994). This approach is more intermediate, it makes use of both linguistic and contextual analysis to provide productive results at various levels of analysis.

Major considerations and remarks on works within CDA studies address the practical issues encountered when using discourse analysis as a research tool. Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA incorporates three interrelated processes of analysis linked to other three dimensions of discourse. These dimensions are:

1. Identification of the object of analysis: the nature of the object of analysis, (visual or verbal)
2. The process of production: how the object is produced by human subjects? (Reading, Writing, Speaking)
3. The socio-historical process that governs the process of production.

In correspondence to these dimensions of discourse, Fairclough (1989) categorized three stages of Critical Discourse Analysis:

A- **Description:** involves the formal properties of the text being analyzed.
B- **Interpretation**: focus on the relationship between text and interaction.
C- **Explanation**: links the interaction and the text with the social context.

On the other hand, T. Van Dijk (1995) argued that research in Critical discourse analysis is identified with the following key characteristics: CDA

- Is Problem oriented, it makes use of any theoretical or methodological approach that is able to find answers to different social problems emerging from discourse, for example, racism, social inequality, power abuse.

- Is not limited to a specific school or field; yet it is a critical approach of studying text and talk.

- Is typically inter or multidisciplinary field of study that focuses on the relationship between discourse and society.

- Is systematically an integral part of critical studies in the humanities and the social sciences, e.g., sociology, psychology, literature, political sciences.

- Sheds lights on all levels of discourse in comparison to those in grammar (semantics, syntax).

- Is not only verbal, but also communicative, it also focuses on the social dimension of communicative acts in picture, films, sound, gestures, etc.

- Concerning the relevance of CDA in society, the former highlights the relationship of power, dominance, and inequality, and how these acts are reproduced, or resisted by different social groups via text and talk.

- Among the different objectives of Critical Discourse Analysis is to reveal hidden ideologies and dominant acts. Thus, it studied the strategies of manipulation, legitimating, and the manufacture of consent that influence the minds of the public.

- Research in CDA tries to make some counter-power resistance and formulate strategic proposals of counter-ideologies in favor of challenge and resistance.

In fact, T. Van Dijk claimed that all work in CDA should imperatively fulfill all these characteristics. But, rather *"this is what CDA try to achieve" (*Van Dijk, 1995), he answered the question on formulating proposals for students waiting to do CDA in listing some of these proposals as follows:

Firstly, researcher should focus on one major social and political problem (e. g racism) and examine how such form of inequality is produced in discourse. As a scholarly

program of research, CDA as a theoretical framework should help develop fragments of the object of study, not excluding that the first major issue to solve is to study the nature of social power and power abuse, and the way dominance is produced in texts.

Second, discourse control is closely related to social power, for example, the holding reins of institutional sites of power *"have access to and control over a vast array of informal, public, and institutional forms of text and talk" (*Van Dijk, 1995, p.4); On the other hand, journalists control mass media discourse, scholars control academic discourse, and so on.

Third, how does mind control occur? CDA should examine how institutional discourse may be abused or manipulated to affect less powerful participants. In this respect, detailed textual and contextual analysis is necessary to figure out "the subtle strategies" of such forms of public dominance, taking into consideration that the powerful social actors do not only control the communicative act, but the minds of recipients as well.

Putting this into context, generally, my research tries to adopt Critical Discourse Analysis as framework of study, the social problem being highlighted is power and hegemony is the outcome of the process of mind control. Wikileaks, is the object of my research, and the discourse conveyed within this network is not ordinary, the organization conveyed information about higher institutional discourse, the communication of highly classified information about different international organization using authentic, real materials called ' cables'. My interest is to put into research the powerful effect of communicating this genre of information and its dominance on political communication and control over public opinion. On more specific terms, text analysis is directed to the new stories developed by Wikileaks this analysis is undertaken based on the selection of several grammatical and non-grammatical features. In turn, the issue of features selection for analysis is also challenging vis-à-vis the complexity of language structures and units in texts. The following section explains the problem of features selection and tries to narrow the

scope of analysis to those features best chosen for the accomplishment of the objectives behind the current discourse analysis.

The problem of features selection:

Literature on discourse analysis indicates the absence of a well-organized package for researcher that includes the must analyzed features in discourse. One of the major advantages of DA is autonomy from the part of the researcher to select the features reliable for his analysis. It is considered a drawback for some specialists looking for perfection. However, selecting data in discourse is a very meticulous process since dealing with all features in one study is '*unrealistic*' (Koubali, 2007, p. 97)

The focus is directed to those features that highlight notions of power and exercise implicitly or explicitly hegemonic effect of discourse under investigation. More specifically, the features selected for this study will be divided into two different categories. **The Linguistic category** includes modality and the subjectivity of discourse, indicated by the use of the person system; versus **the non-linguistic** category, which is composed of cognitive nouns as opposed to factive nouns.

Linguistic features:

Linguistic features in discourse analysis generally refer to the grammar of text. According to Fairclough, three dimensions of the grammar of clause are identified *'transitivity', 'theme', and 'modality'. These correspond respectively to the 'ideational', 'textual', and 'interpersonal' functions of language''* (Fairclough, 1987, p. 235) the present study focuses on modality as indicator of subjectivity in discourse. It is a perfect linguistic category that highlights social relations in discourse.

Modality:

Modality is a central notion in discourse analysis specially when dealing with media discourse. It is one of the most important mechanisms of power in texts. However, a full account of modality in discourse is a very delicate process. For this reason, we provide first a review of most relevant literature that investigates the issue of modality in discourse serving as a foundation for selecting the category of modality relevant for this dissertation.

The wide range of approaches to the study of language contributed greatly to the diversity of approaches dealing with modality. It has been defined from different perspectives, syntactic, semantic, functional, cognitive, etc. each view has its own contributions and limitations. Since the present study does not focus on the chronological developments of modality system, we summarize all perspectives under the headings of structural and functional accounts of modality to set the ground for the most relevant approach to the present study.

Structuralism:

Early studies of modality are that of Twaddell's (1960), his account of modality is basically syntactic. For him, modality is restricted to modal auxiliary verbs like can, must, should, may, might, etc. and their special ability to occur before negation:

I can **not** listen to you

or their ability to replace an entire phrase:

 John can swin, but I **can't**

His categorization of modals makes them a property of their own. Twadell's approach received much criticism for its inability to account for the issue of meaning and its neglect of other modal verbs not sharing the same properties like (**need to and have to**).

Latter Palmer (1965) developed his early approach of modality which is in principle very closed to the approach of Twadell. He further distinguished between basic Auxiliaries of (have, be, do) and secondary auxiliaries (modals) like must, can, should, may. He also disregarded the issue of meaning encouraging other functionalist researchers to come to the fore with a study much broader in scope.

Functionalism:

The criticism of the structural approach provided a full semantic account for the study of modality adopted and developed by Joos (1964). He classified modals in categories related to their functions. **Causal** models suggest a causal relationship between factors involved in the event. **Stable** models suggest an Omni present feature with no change feature. **Adequate** models are those working for completed actions, unlike the **Contingent** models whose actions are not completed. Joos's approach has also received much criticism for making modals restricted to these categories, whereas, modals can be used differently in other prepositions. Thus, models' primary feature is that they have various contexts of use and not unitary meaning as indicated.

Palmer rectified study of models (1974) also accounted for the issue of meaning when categorizing models in English. He differentiates between epistemic and deontic uses of **will**, **must**, or **may**. "Epistemic models makes a judgments about the probability of the truth of the preposition", for example:

John **may** be there now

John **must** be there now.

However, in these sentences:

John **may** come in now.

John **must** come in now.

The latter two examples highlight somehow an influence over the action of john by giving him the permission, or imposing on him to perform the action. There is a kind of overlap that may be caused because of the similarity of sentences, but this is solved by the context of the sentence. What is relevant in palmer's analysis is that epistemic modalities in the language are 'subjective'; they are inferred by the speaker. Likely, deontic models are used to express what is permitted, obligatory or forbidden. Not that

the case is usually subjective since the speaker is in control of what is being said. Von Wrights acknowledge that the subjectivity of deontic models is relative, since deontic models are usually '*performative*' (Palmer 1979, p. 7). As a conclusion, we suggest that the difference between epistemic and deontic models is essentially in the mood of the speaker. Through epistemic models, the speaker makes a judgment about a preposition, with deontic models speakers give '*permission*s' or lay '*obligations*' instead. Palmer noted that his distinction includes models of will, must or may; "*these models are subjective in discourse*" (Palmer, 1979, p. 10)

More indebted analysis is the one provided by Halliday (1970). His functionalism claims that both the structure and the use of the language are interrelated. His approach brought to light two concepts, **modality** and **modulation**. He supported his division based on grammatical and functional differences between the two categories. **Modality,** refers to the probability of a given preposition or command. Degrees of probability and certainty include: possibility (can,), probability (will), and necessity (must).

Ex: that must be John / that will be John

In both sentences, the preposition is an indication of the speaker's view.

While **modulation,** presents the degree of obligation or inclination of a given proposal.

Ex: You **should** go home

In proposals, "*the speaker is either offering to do something, requesting the listener to do something, or suggest they both do something.*" (Palmer 2001, p. 147) phrased differently, modality is a system relevant to the speaker's knowledge; he is in control of the value of a preposition. On the other hand, in modulation the speaker's roles are attributed in terms of what they say. Thus, both notions are associated with the notion of power. In more practical terms, high modalities that indicate certainty are used by powerful groups while low modalities are attributed to less powerful. Fowler (1979) expressed that the use of modality unveil power structures and ideologies between participants in

discourse. A more realization of this claim is clearly indicated in the following diagram adapted from Halliday (1985)
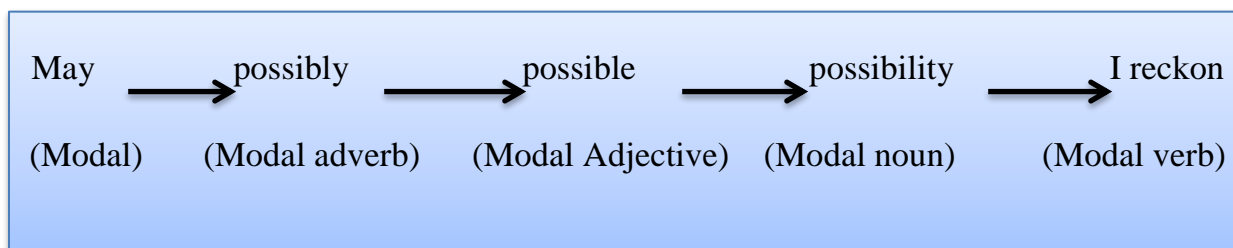
Table1: The semantic distinction of modal verbs according to their value

(Halliday, 1985, p. 339)

High	**Must, ought to, need, have to, be to**
Median	Will, would, shall, should
Low	May, might, can, could

By way of conclusion, modality is referred in the present research as a crucial aspect of interpersonal meaning as well as an indication of power relations among discourse participants. '*It reflects the degree to which the writer is committed to the preposition being made*' (Koubali, 2007, p. 99) Therefore, modal values clearly identify powerful and less powerful groups.

The manifestation of modality in clause has several forms. In linguistic study, modals differ in terms of features and categories they represent. Their classification is context sensitive. In other words, models are auxiliaries, verbs, adverbs and nouns. For instance, modality realization of possibility could be:

Adapted from Koubali, 2007, p. 99

May	→ possibly	→ possible	→ possibility	→ I reckon
(Modal)	(Modal adverb)	(Modal Adjective)	(Modal noun)	(Modal verb)

Meeting the objectives set for this study, the focus of linguistic analysis regarding the issue of modality will be directed to the use of modal auxiliaries as the basic realization of values in texts, and a major aspect of subjectivity. Modal auxiliaries reflect best power relations in discourse as well. This choice was highly affected by the complexity of new media discourse and the extremely large corpus we are dealing with in the present study. Beside, research hypothesis calls for other features to be analyzed in the study. Ideally, we shall consider and conceive of modality as embodied in basic modal auxiliaries.

As stated earlier, the linguistic analysis can involve several units. Besides modality, analysis of the person system is another indicator of subjectivity and powerful actors in discourse.

The person system:

The critical study of language is mainly based on the principle that language is manipulated to best serve the intention and objectives of the speaker. It is generally not neutral. According to Van Dijk, language is power and power

> *"Involves control, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) another group. Such control may pertain to action or cognition: that is, a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 254)*

Consequently, producers of discourse choose the appropriate linguistic items that perfectly convey their ideology and maintain their power. Van Dijk believed that *"pronouns are perhaps the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 203)* For this reason, the focus on the use of pronouns, mainly personal pronouns, in the present study helps uncover power relations in the discourse of Wikileaks and therefore investigate the sociopolitical ideologies underlying the specific agenda of Wikileaks as an institution.

Several studies focused on the use of personal pronouns in discourse including (Bello 2013; Hasan2013; Wales1996; Penny cook 1994). Differently, the current study examines the use of personal pronouns in online news discourse, specifically new media discourse communicated through a wiki platform. The term new media is a fashionable concept that underlines a new category of news coverage mediated through different platforms. Online news, networked news, new media news are all terminology that relates broadcasting of news through online networks. These networks differ in terms of forms, function, and use. The discourse of Wikileaks as a new media content portrays political, social yet significant issues; the communication of these issues is governed by ideological values hidden in the language and the chosen lexis, *"there are no personal or individual ideologies, only personal or individual use of ideologies"* (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 129) Van Dijk in this respect made the connection between language and ideology, on the other hand, Fairclough further develops this connection to include power as the ultimate objective of discourse, he said that *"Ideologies are representations which contribute to the constitution, reproduction, and transformation of social relations of power and dominance*" (Fairclough, 2006, p. 23)

Moving forward, it is believed that ideology is conveyed through discourse to manage social relations and maintain power and dominance of one group (more powerful) over the other (less powerful). This management operates within group members or out group members of the society. In discourse, the representation and identification of in group and out group membership is theorized by the use of pronouns. Basically, the Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (Bussman, 1996) defines pronouns as part of speech that basically refers to '*pro*' the noun. Pronouns differ from proper noun as the latter usually refers to the same object in the real world, the proper noun' Paris' usually refers to the same place known in the real world independent of any context. However, pronouns like 'he' can only be determined by context. Pronouns are subject to agreement by their antecedents. It is unusual to start a sentence with a pronoun that has not been already introduced.

At the syntactic level, pronouns are grouped into several syntactic-semantic categories like personal, reflexive, possessive, and demonstrative. A special focus in this research study is directed to **personal pronouns.** The latter is a subcategory that refers either to the speaker (I, we), it's the first person pronouns; the addressee (you) it's the second person pronouns both singular and plural; or other objects /person (he, she, it), it's the third person pronouns. The demonstrative table below is a clarification of the person system in English as far as the personal pronouns are concerned

Personal pronouns	Singular	Plural
The first person: the person speaking or writing	I	We
The second person: the person spoken/written to (addressee)	You	You
The third person: the person (spoken/written) about	He (mas) She(fem) It	They

As demonstrated in the table, the subjective case of the person system in discourse is elaborated by the use of the first person refereeing to the speaker. Using pronouns in discourse is much more complex than it may appear at the first sight. The following section elaborates more on the significance of the first person pronoun, both singular and plural, in discourse.

1- The significance of 'I' in discourse:

The pronoun 'I' is a term of self-reference and an active speech act utterance. Benveniste (1971) pointed out that 'I' stands alone as a marker of the actual speaker of

discourse. He said that "*'I' is the reality of discourse and 'I' signifies the person who is uttering the present instance of discourse*" (Beneviste, 1971, p. 218)

Obviously, the use of the pronoun 'I' and its attributed forms (me, my, mine, myself) indexes the speaker with his subjectivity and states his position in discourse as distant and separate from other participants. Similarly, the use of 'I' also signifies a top down hierarchy and anchored the speaker to a high position in discourse. It is mainly the case of politician in most media interviews where they express their identity as individual politicians showing positive light. It is a strategy of demonstrating knowledge and authority.

2- **The significance of 'we' in discourse:**

The pronoun 'we' hold very diverse forms of usage in discourse, its basic meaning is collective. Moreover, the plural reference of the pronoun raises the issue of in group and out group membership of the speaker in relation to other participants. Wales (1996) mentioned that "*The pronoun 'we' is amazingly varied in its uses, among them (a) the inclusive we, embracing the speaker and addressee, (b) the exclusive we referring to the speaker and some others*" (Wales, 1996, p. 38)

Phrased differently, when the addressee is known to be included, the use of 'we' is then inclusive. When it is not the case of 'we' is supposed to be exclusive. According to Penny cook (1994) in media interactions, inclusive pronoun choices can help create and sustain the '*illusion of an interpersonal relationship*' between strangers; they help create an environment of shared beliefs between the speaker and the addressee. This notion of togetherness imposes on the latter to be involved in discourse taking the speaker's stand point. It is a manifestation of power through collectiveness. On the other hand, exclusive pronoun choices emphasize the institutional identity of the speaker as a representative of an institution. Considering that most institutional uses of the pronoun 'we' is undoubtedly linked to power and dominance. Mora further explained that "*Exclusive we represent a way of distancing, both from the hearer and from what the speaker is saying. It is usually associated with power*" (Inigo Mora, 2004, p. 34)

The inclusive-exclusive distinction has also been referred to by Helmbretch, he stated that:

> *"The usage of the first person plural pronoun consists of at least three important operations. Firstly, the speaker refers to a set of human individuals which were introduced in some way or another in the previous discourse. Secondly, he determines this set of people as a group, and thirdly, he explicitly states that he is a member of this group"* *(Helmbretch, 1996a, p. 31)*

Helmbretch's description of the grammar and function of the pronoun 'we' put the speaker in the center of the interaction. The first two operations are based on reference in discourse. The use of 'we' is possible when the listener and speaker have already been introduced as a group. It is called the anaphoric feature of pronouns. The third operation refers to the actual speaker that the addressee already knows; it is called a 'deictic' feature.

Consequently, the pronoun 'we' in discourse is considerably important in discourse analysis. As a referent to the speaker, the first person plural pronoun indicates that the speaker:

A. Provides membership to the addressee

B. Communicate his purpose to the addressee as having a shared concern

C. Attracts and directs the attention of the addressee

For all these reasons, various usage and features of the pronoun 'we' demonstrate the importance of this subcategory in establishing social identities in discourse. It is therefore a discourse strategy of maintaining power. The latter according to Van Dijk "*presuppose privileged access to socially valued resources such as force, wealth, income, knowledge or status*" (Van Dijk, 1996, p. 94). Referring back to the research objectives set for this research, we claim that Wikileaks as a new media organization has

established a network of published document classified secret to be conveyed to the public. The power of Wikileaks stem from the value of knowledge and access; The ability of media organization to reach international states cables is a great asset to the founders and reinforces their claims (discourse); it imposes on others (public) to accept and value all that is conveyed through this platform; whether Wikileaks speaks as part of the general public (inclusive we), or as an institution with global interest (exclusive we). Both notions are relevant for this study.

With reference to the objectives set for this research, the present corpus based research investigates the use of personal pronouns in the Wikileaks news stories to convey hidden ideology and maintain the social power of Wikileaks. The latter is believed to stem from the ability of the organization to have access to classified information and its responsibility of making this information publically available. For this reason, the news stories conveyed are expected to highlight some linguistic features that best serve the institutional aims of Wikileaks. Note that the analysis is carried out on a multi-dimensional basis presenting the features in different contexts of use.

<u>Non-Linguistic features</u>:

The non-grammatical category is the umbrella term that covers the analysis of some lexical and semantic features of the targeted corpus. In response to the research hypothesis set for this study. It was claimed that the discourse of Wikileaks aims to influence people's minds and exert hegemonic acceptance towards the principles of this unconventional media institution. Biber's (1988) appendix of grammatical, syntactic, and semantic features presents a plethora of categories which are considered as a reference of many research studies within discourse analysis. The selection of the appropriate category is basically related to research aims and the nature of discourse. As far as the present study is concerned, the cognitive as opposed to factive features could best serve the verification of the stated claim. On the other hand, key words analysis presents the lexical orientation of discourse and emphasis previous results.

Cognitive nouns:

Precisely as their name suggest, 'cognitive nouns' are considered psychologically provocative in the mind of readers. The excessive usage of this type of words challenge the cognitive ability of readers to follow the line of reasoning established in discourse. for examples, words like *'Concern'; 'decision'; 'fact'; 'idea'; 'knowledge'; 'possibility'; 'reality'; 'reason'; 'recognition'; and 'understanding'* (Biber, 1988) when they co-occur, they construct and inherit meaning domain within text. Bider (2010) stated that:

> *"Regardless of the specific methodological considerations, the corpus-driven approach as realized in the pattern grammar studies has shown that there are systematic regularities in the associations between grammatical frames, sets of words, and particular meanings, on a much more comprehensive scale than it could have been possible to anticipate before the availability of large corpora and corpus-analysis tools."(Biber, 2010, p. 19)*

The association of the set of grammatical and non-grammatical features in discourse constructs meaning on its own. However, in analyzing features, the co-occurrence of some units is justified in terms of their counterparts. For Biber *"Register analyses require a comparative approach: we need a baseline for comparison to know whether the use of a linguistic feature in a register is rare or common" (Biber, 1993, p. 243-244).* In order for the cognitive nouns statistics to be valid and meaningful, we provide a comparative register within the same semantic category. Note that, the term register, as pointed out by Biber (1993) is used to refer to the varieties of linguistic features used in specific situational context. Factive nouns are supposed to take the counterpart of cognitive nouns. The former has more communicative and 'neutral' function in terms of usage in discourse.

<u>Factive nouns</u>:

Factive nouns are supposed to take the counterpart of cognitive nouns. The former has more communicative and 'informational' function in terms of usage in discourse. Given this constant need of comparison, factive nouns Langacker (1991) in his descriptive application to the foundations of cognitive grammar explained that "*factive nominalizations are found in sentences that presuppose the factuality of the reified event"* (Langacker, 1991, p. 32). That is to say, the co-ocurence of this type of nouns suggests, to some extent, the objectivity of discourse and the concern to convey factual information. From the part of discourse receivers, factive nouns do not focus on the individual perception of any given information (cognitive nouns). Factive nouns involve more abstract analysis on the fact that the event has occurred indeed. Examples of factive nouns as presented in Biber ' appendix (1988), include but are not limited to *'Assertion', 'observation', 'statement', 'consideration', 'investigation', 'examination', 'measurement', 'announcement', 'description', and 'acknowledgment'.*

The third targeted category highlights key words use in the discourse of Wikileaks.

<u>Key words:</u>

In corpus studies, the key words listing analysis uncovers ideology in discourse. The ideology bound items for wikileaks stories are developed to serve editorial aims of the institution. The co-occurrence of certain lexical items is not random. In corpus studies, researchers develop and outline several linguistic markers of ideology. Hunsto (2002) stressed that" *ideological stances can be identified in texts with several methods: analysis of key words, lexical patterning, semantic prosody, and repetition*" (cited in Laviosa, 2017, p. 27). To determine the relevance of some linguistic items, perceived as key words, for a corpus analysis research. Laviosa argued that:

> *"We count how often a particular lexical item occurs in text. Then we work*
> *out how often we would expect the item to occur in a text of that length…,*

> *the ratio between the observed frequency and the expected frequency then*
>
> *tells us whether a word is significant or not" (Laviosa, 2017, p. 27)*

At the starting point, key words analysis is first based on specific words list. The key words list illustrates the words included and those excluded. It precise the range of words appearing repeatedly as key words across document analyzed as possible markers of ideology. In other words, Keynes value is signaled in words that occur more frequently. The frequency of special items may carry more significance. It is interesting to note that the researcher should determine the type of items, or the appropriate lexical category to be represented in the key words list; mainly, to avoid the trouble of multi word classes (Laviosa, 2017)

Our actual analysis of key words in the present study is based on the identification of two key words lists. First, the list includes concepts (thematic nouns) that are likely to illustrate ideology focus in the cables. Second, the key words listing of most cited countries in the specified documents. Note that, the key words markers are inevitably linked to their social context. The latter is needed for the interpretation of markers.

Conclusion:

Broadly speaking, the foregrounding and main points highlighted in the review of literature have composed the general framework on which the present corpus based research is based. In fact, assessing power in new media platforms is a challenging task; Given the fact that discourse conveyed in these new platforms of communication violate conventional norms and addresses issue on international scopes.

The researcher tried to collect from various theoretical backgrounds important considerations relevant for the objectives and aims of his research. The first chapter tried to provide explanation to what is nowadays circulated as new media, its applications, principles, and its objectives. The second chapter brought insights into the phenomena of Wikileaks, this institutional and revolutionary institution has achieved global force and realized important achievements in media and political

communication. The third chapter in fact established the bridge of interaction between theoretical framework and the practical methodology; critical discourse analysis is the methodological framework reference of the present study. It highlights important notion on principles of discourse analysis, practical guidelines and important notions related to analytical parameters, like discourse and text, discourse and context. In addition to some terminological explanations of the two basic variables of the present study namely power and hegemony.

Though each chapter foregrounds different issues, this theoretical part as a whole has established the foundations of practical operations regarding the discourse of Wikileaks in action.

Part II: Data and Methodology

Chapter Four: Research Framework

4.1. Introduction

4.2. Research objectives

4.3. Research hypotheses

4.4. Research Questions

4.5. The corpus

4.6. The selection of data: sampling

  4.6.1. Statistics

  4.6.2. The distribution table

  4.6.3. The graphic representation

4.7. Methodology

4.8. Statistical operations

  4.8.1. Dynamic cross tables

  4.8.2. Dynamic graphs

4.9. The multidimensional approach

4.10. Conclusion

Introduction:

This second part of research sheds light first on major research hypothesis, research questions as well as the nature of data selected for analysis. Second, as the name appears in the title, a multi-dimensional analysis is the methodological operations and dimensions related to description and analysis of selected discourse texts. Third, it further explains statistical operations and tools used and elaborates that the complexity of the underlying corpus has somehow harnessed statistical orientation and features selection.

Research objectives:

The aims behind choosing new media research and specifically "Wikileaks" are threefold. First, to describe, analyze, and interpret the data leaked on the "Wikileaks" cable gate as an open source network, and discuss the dangers of the whistleblowing established culture within new media platforms. Second is to investigate the added value of hybridity in news construction. Third is to assess how the process of power and hegemony is realized through this type of discourse.

To reach these aims, the researcher has generated three levels of analysis, so called dimensions. First, why Wikileaks is an open source data system, and what type of documents are leaked and published? (macro analysis); how new media content is produced? What specific structures do the cables have (meso analysis) Third, what is the effect of "wikileaks" whistleblowing established culture on the public? (micro analysis).

The hypotheses developed are considered to be the guiding signs towards the accomplishment of the research aims. While three dimensions of analysis were developed, three hypotheses were designed alongside.

Research hypotheses:

The current research practically aims to confirm or disconfirm the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis -1-

Wikileaks, as a new media platform, has changed the paradigms of power relations and affected the ethics and conventions of information gathering and broadcasting in media industry. The open source testimony and whistleblowing has become main stream.

Hypothesis -2-

The cables are presented in a modified version of the real documents (news stories) to serve institutional and editorial aims. The will to control public opinion, establish a Wikileaks say culture and mobilize social actions remain hidden aims. Therefore, Wikileaks has created an environment in which the dangers of those emerging technologies are maximized.

Hypothesis -3-

Belonging to the media industry, we assume that the Wikileaks discourse is subjective. Wikileaks stand point is involved in every document.

Research questions:

There are many and different research questions that emerged from the basic review of the current study. However, to reach consistency, the following questions will, hopefully, serve best the analysis. Note that each set of questions is treated within its attributed dimension.

The Macro analysis dimension:

- What are the social, political, and ideological aims behind the release of the cables?
- Why Wikileaks is based on open source testimony?
- Is the hybridity of discourse considered a principle of Wikileaks?

The meso analysis dimension:

- Do the cables belong to a specific genre?
- Are the conventions of media discourse typology respected or violated?
- What actors and factors are involved in text production?

The micro analysis dimension:

- What specific move structures do the cables have?
- What patterns of subjectivity are manifested in news stories?
- What specific features are favored? And why?

Basically, each scientific study is based on a set of hypothesis and questions developed to find answers to particular research problems. Corpus based research is developed to support empirical investigations of language use. It enables the researcher to ask fundamentally variant types of questions. This pattern of variation involves combination of complex parameters mainly structural and contextual.

The corpus description:

The US leaked cables according to Julian Assange represents *"the largest set of confidential documents ever to be released to the public" (wikileaks.org).* The cables are dated from 1966 to Febrary 2010. They contain confidential documents between 274 embassies and the state department of the US in Washington District. According to Wikileaks, 15.652 are classified secret; the organization also claims that the cables reveal espionage, corruption, and human rights abuse in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other sensitive areas; Wikileaks also notes that the release of these documents reveals a huge contradiction between the US public policy, and *'what's happening behind closed doors'* (wikileaks.org)

The following table presents statistical data description of the corpus of Wikileaks on the official website:

https://wikileaks.org/cablegate.html

Number	*Type*
15.652	Secret
101.748	Confidential
133.887	Unclassified

For the present study, a random selection of 100 documents arranged between the three previously noted types will be made to uncover the content and the structure being used, and to come to find answers to all research questions stated before.

The selection of data: sampling

In order to undertake a comprehensive investigation of the communicative purpose behind the release of data information conveyed by Wikileaks, and in order to find answers to all research questions and verify the research hypotheses. The present corpus based research puts into analysis **a hundred** of documents released by Wikileaks from 2010 to date. The limited category of the cables being analyzed belongs to the classified document of the US diplomacy precisely in the MENA region. The Data are randomly selected from the cable gate data base engine. Mena region countries selected for the study are Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the secrecy of state as being the source of documents' production. The number of coding references is presented as follows.

The cable origin	*Number*
Embassy of Cairo (Egypt)	15 (15.7%)
Baghdad Embassy (Iraq)	10 (10.5%)
Rabat Embassy (Morocco)	26 (27.3%)
Riyadh Embassy (Saudi Arabia)	23 (24.2%)
Secracy of states (USA)	21 (22.1%)

In fact, the selection of the representative countries for the current study was very precise and meticulous. There are several guiding objectives for the choice of these countries to represent the Mena region.

Egypt, the Embassy of Cairo, was selected for the particular leading role of the country in decision making at the level of the Gulf States; Cairo has a long history as being affected by the US embassy foreign policy. It is very contributing for this research to uncover the nature of political discourse being conveyed.

Iraq, on the other hand is of considerable importance as well; 'the Iraq war logs' has brought Wikileaks as a new media platform to the level of international recognition. Precisely, the wide known video of US military shooting civilians has a long impact in denouncing the US hidden aims in that region; this fact also has a strong contribution and adds value to my research objectives and claims.

Saudi Arabia is the leading actor and the moderator of power relations between the US as the world's leading country and the Gulf States, with a special focus on the mutual alliance against Iran.

Morocco is purely chosen to relate my research to the Moroccan context and make the findings useful for consideration for those who are interested in studying new media, and particularly students in the English departments who need references for future research.

The major actor of sources for my research is **The Secretary of States**, it's the origin of all leaked cables published in the Wikileaks platform and the only country that is present in almost every leaked cable; note that, Wikileaks' major objective is to denounce the abuse of power of politicians and governments; for this reason, the integration of US cables within the study is badly needed.

A major issue to consider in corpus based research studies is the 'representativeness' of data selected for the study. According to Biber (1993), there are many considerations to

be respected in designing a corpus. The type of texts included, the number of texts, the selection of particular texts, the length of text, are all issues to be respected in corpus design. In other words, the number of texts selected or the sample size cannot judge the representativeness of a corpus. Biber (1993) emphasized that:

> *"Sample size is not the most important consideration in selecting a representative sample; rather, a through definition of the target population and decisions concerning the method of sampling are prior considerations"* *(Biber, 1993, p. 25)*

Phrased differently, we cannot judge a sample to be representative from the number of coded texts. A clear definition of the composition of data as the targeted population, what texts are included and/or excluded, should be followed by the methodology of sampling. The latter for Biber (1993) should contain the linguistic distribution. In other words, the researcher should specify whether his analysis is based on the number of words per text sample, the number of samples per texts, or the number of texts per texts.

First, the compositions of data selected for this study followed the 'stratified sampling method' and not the 'probabilistic sampling'. The difference between the two kinds is that probabilistic sampling relays on random selection, the drawback of this strategy may produce exclusion of some important texts type. However, the stratified sampling identifies the sub-groups before the random selection of texts. In this way, this approach guarantees that all text genres are represented in the sample. As far as the current study is concerned, text samples were carried out following the stratified sampling strategy; we have grouped all cable types before we made our random selection of targeted texts. Therefore, all cables classifications are presented in the sample. Second, the linguistic distribution that underlines the analysis of texts calculates the number of samples per 'text'. This choice was practically affected by the nature of data. The news stories published online in the wiki platform possess some numerical figures that the analyst couldn't manage to remove (unmodified). In computational operations, these numerical

data are counted as words. For this particular reason, the analysis of features was carried out per texts and not per words.

Statistics:

The random selection of data for my research has produced an analysis of precisely 100 cables. With the elimination of five documents that are numerically damaged 95 selections are left.

Assuming that, stratified sampling is more representative than other types of sampling. The researcher decided that a sampling size of one hundred texts that includes all types and genre of data is supposed to be representative. Moreover, as there are no operational formulas that judge good sampling size (Biber, 1993). For this reason, the corpus builder in the current research thinks that the number of 100 sampling size would have valuable contributions to the conclusions drawn. This sampling size is presented below in two forms. The distribution table and the graphic representation

The distribution table:

The number of data outlined for this research belongs to the previously described corpus, for this reason, it is of considerable importance for research statistical tools to note that the organization and classification of cables as nodes(cable type) is outlined by the software used to realize the statistical operation.

Cable type	number	Percentage
Nodes\\confidential\confidential.Noforn	3	3.1%
Nodes\\unclassified	4	4.2%
Nodes\\Secret\Secret.Noforn	9	9.4%
Nodes\\unclassified\unclassified. for official use only	15	15.7%
Nodes\\Secret	29	30.5%
Nodes\\confidential	35	36.8%

As observed, there is a node reference to each of the types mentioned above; these nodes are classified and categorized by the software used for this study. It is the '**Maxoda 10'** for windows that has been used to realize statistical operations, this qualitative research software is used to store data and help categorize and identify the different types composing the corpus, these types are referred to in the software as the research nodes. The node is an umbrella term that can cover the data type, number, alphabetical classification of data, and so on. In my research the term 'node' indicates the type of documents under investigation.

Graphic representation:

The graphic representation of the selected texts of analysis appears as follows:
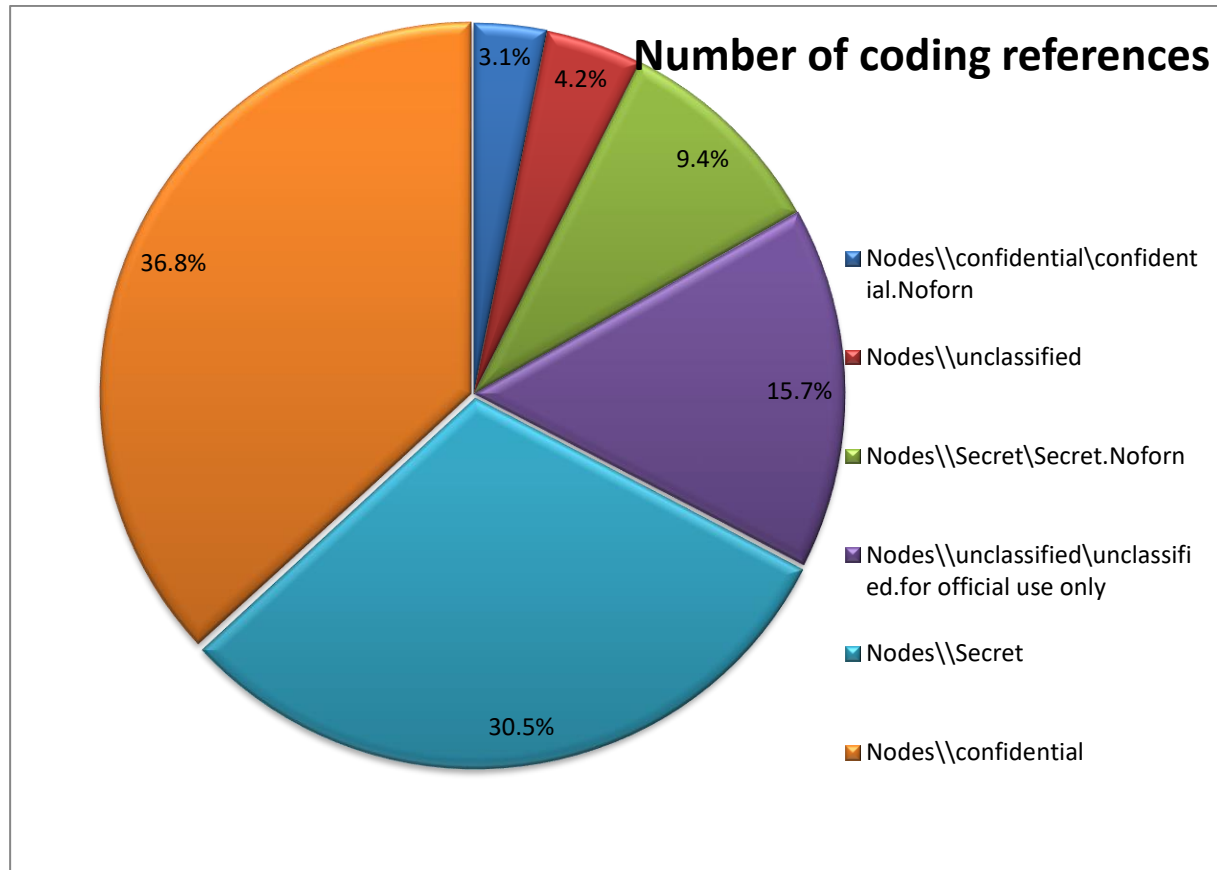
Actually, the graphic representation brings life to numbers. The coding references for my research has produced a selection of 36.8% of documents classified confidential, 30.5% of cables are secret, and 4.2% documents are unclassified; These are the major classifications of data selected in wikileaks ' platform. Other categories are considered the subforms of the previous selections. For instance, the node with only 3.1% selections is categorized for confidential noforn type, and 9.2% documents are secret noforn, whereas 15.7% selections are described as unclassified type for official use only.

These statistics in fact are quite significant. Though the majority of cables are confidential and secret, however, other types are not of the same interest on the level of

secrecy. In the sense that, Wikileaks claims to have the biggest leaks in history of top secret cables as it states on its official website, a primary look at these research statistics reveals a media propaganda from the part of Wikileaks, the media organization, direct the public opinion to concentrate on those cables classified as secret, and confidential with the aim of making other files passing by. In the coming parts of analysis, we will try to show that even those cables classified as secret and confidential do not necessarily contain serious information not exposed to the public.

There is an important observation to note here. The download of documents from the Wikileaks database engine **has blocked** after access to a number of 95 cables. We tried hardly to reach the hundred, but the engine has got the Identification number of the laptop and network area. Consequently the downloading process was not initiated afterwards; a fact which indicates that the content of cables is only available at a limited access.

From the part of statistical operations, the complexity of data under analysis, the choice of some statistical tools has imposed itself for analysis. Basically, the spresent study was in need of tools that are basically qualitative. Maxoda 10 for windows was a perfect fit, though the manual verification of results is mandatory from the part of the researcher, most qualitative soft wares lack the intelligence ability of counting items for unselected contexts given the fact that it is not possible to enter all occurring contexts of items.

Another issue that Maxoda 10 for windows fails to consider is the representation of statistics in figures. As a second plan, the dymanic cross tables from excel helped the completion of the task and enable a perfect representation of many and different qualitative variables.

Statistical operations:

With reference to the major research questions and hypotheses developed. The statistical operations adopted in the current study have assisted in the design of a comprehensible package of data out of a complex corpus.

The range of data collected alongside with the primary dimensions of analysis make an urgent call for very meticulous computational tools that will take care of the identification of variables within texts. Because comprehensible analysis is quite difficult to achieve only manually, the analytical tool chosen to assist the selection and identification of different features is the Maxoda 10 for windows.

The Maxoda 10 is qualitative data analysis software. It allows the researcher to import, organize, analyze, and visualize all forms of data electronically, including interviews, videos, transcripts, documents, texts and even webpages. This range of functions makes the Maxoda a perfect tool for our research.

Statistical analysis:

Initially, the corpus builder has imported all the selected documents for analysis in the Maxoda software. Opening a new project, all documents should be active for the study. Then, the documents were coded per type (cable classification); this procedure is quite relevant for every analytical stage. It provides the reference of every variable counted.

Secondly, the first step analysis was to run the 'lexical search query', this function enable the researcher to count all his selected items systematically across the activated documents. The results are then retrieved and exported to an excel file for further operations and representations.

Thirdly, the words counted can be retrieved in context. For any corpus based study, it is a perfect tool that enhances the validity of data. Moreover, contextualized items could also be imported to the excel file for more investigations.

Dynamic cross tables:

The dynamic cross tables or also called pivot tables are known for their flexibility as compared to other tools. When the counted items are classified in the search result of an excel page. The analyst could then make the order of insertion of a pivot table. It dynamically generates the summary calculations of variables (items). The filter column can be multiplied and present the data in percentage or other formulas depending on the objectives of the researcher.

There are several irresistible reasons behind the choice of pivot tables for our analysis.

- Qualitative data becomes more flexible and encourage the researcher to start the analysis. It makes his task enjoyable.
- Data can be exported to any document form.
- The column headings are visible and able to be modified (deleted)
- The corresponding total of counted items is automatically counted. Moreover, it can be displayed with different forms. Numbers, percentage, average frequency, etc.
- Graphic representations can be performed from pivot tables at the same time. The analyst doesn't have to repeat statistical operations in order to design the graphs. It is time and energy saving.

Dynamic graphs:

Another feature of considerable use is the dynamic graphs. The latter are generated from the pivot tables. They visualize data as appeared in the dynamic tables. An important feature to not when data are not correctly generated into the software; neither dynamic graphs, nor dynamic tables can be performed. The filter of error for dynamic tables is quite significant. For this reason, the choice of these tools was quite meticulous.

There are many and different representations of dynamic graphs. The current research makes use of graphic bars as being the perfect tool for qualitative representation of data. In fact, graphic bars are important for the examination, comparison, and interpretation of meaning and patterns of relationship. They also help the analyst to highlights high frequencies. Note that, they can easily be interpreted by non-specialists.

Since the bar charts present the categories of the analysis. They possess two major axes. The Y axis displays the frequencies and the X axis displays the categories. The frequencies can be used either by number value, or by percentage value. In our case, all graphs are displayed by number value; the qualitative analysis is queen to numbers more than percentage. When the features statistics are presented in bar charts with their occurrence figure, they are more representative and interpretative.

Critical Discourse Analysis is the method adopted for the current research. The choice of CDA has called itself into this research for a number of reasons. These reasons are presented while exploring the methodology adopted for my work alongside with the selected approach (multi-dimensional)

The multidimensional approach:

The framework established for this study is based on a multi-level analysis following Fairclough's (1989) three dimensions of discourse analysis that are the macro, meso and micro levels.

Starting at the macro level of analysis, the context of discourse production is considerably important in analyzing texts. It brings to light different social and institutional factors that affect the production of discourse. Van Dijk in this respect is very careful to emphasis the importance of context in discourse analysis since "*all discourse takes place in a situation, and each instance of discourse includes its specific participants and their purposes, background, and influences of greater or lesser directness*" (Van Dijk, 2008a, p. 4). There are multiple accounts for the study of context in discourse; however, the present research follows Van Dijk's theory of context models as a reference of study. It is stated in the literature that the theory of context models in discourse is composed of two major categories the domain, and the situation alongside with the subcategories belonging to the description of the situation mainly the time, place and circumstances of the event; Then participants, their objectives, opinions and knowledge. To sum up, the macro level analysis aims to find answers to the following questions: To which domain discourse belongs? Is the timing specific? Which social, cultural and political circumstances surround the production of discourse? What are the communicative purposes of discourse?

The meso level of analysis is more concerned with analyzing the factors engaged in the production, distribution and reception of discourse. Such factors include the processes underlying text production, participants and their attributed roles, the strategies of text distribution and the interlocutors' involvement in the process of public reception. This mid-level analysis answers questions like: who is involved in practices around the text? Which modifications are imported to the text and for what reasons? What specific genre does the text instantiate? What qualities are associated with participants?

The micro analysis is however more detailed and specific; it deals with the practical realization of text analysis in terms of the features (linguistic and/nonlinguistic) favored in discourse. At this stage, it should be understood that the literature of critical linguistics and practical research within CDA did not provide a unified list of which features to include/exclude. Any list of chosen features should incorporate the categories particularly relevant for the text under investigation. Note that the choice of those features is also affected by research objectives. With these provisos, the features selected for this research are divided into two major categories: **the linguistic category** contains the analysis of modals (verbs/ auxiliaries) which are particularly relevant to uncover power relations in discourse, and the analysis of the person system (first versus second person) to assess interlocutors' involvement in discourse as a power driven strategy and opinion manipulation. **The nonlinguistic category** deals with the choice of the lexis within text. This category provides relevant information on the type of discourse produced and relevant terminology. It is composed of most frequent lexical items, (key words), and cognitive versus factive nouns. This analysis helps us understand how power is constructed in discourse? What structural properties are specific to the genre of the text? What relations are established within text and which values are communicated to the public?

In sum, the term multidimensional is used here to refer to the different dimensions followed in analyzing the cables (macro, meso, and micro). It helped the researcher to organize the analysis, and thus presentation of results and statistics will be more adequate. The following chapter is the core of the current research. It collects previous claims, highlights and explanation within three dimensional parameters of analysis.

Chapter five: The multidimensional analysis

5.1. Introduction

5.2. The macro analysis dimension:

    5.2.1. The social and institutional context of discourse.

      5.2.2. The knowledge-opinion interface.

5.3. The meso analysis dimension:

    5.3.1. Text typology and genre

    5.3.2. The tenor of discourse (participants)

5.4. The micro analysis dimension:

    5.4.1. Grammatical features

    5.4.1.1. Modality

    5.4.1.2. The person system

    5.4.2 Non-grammatical features:

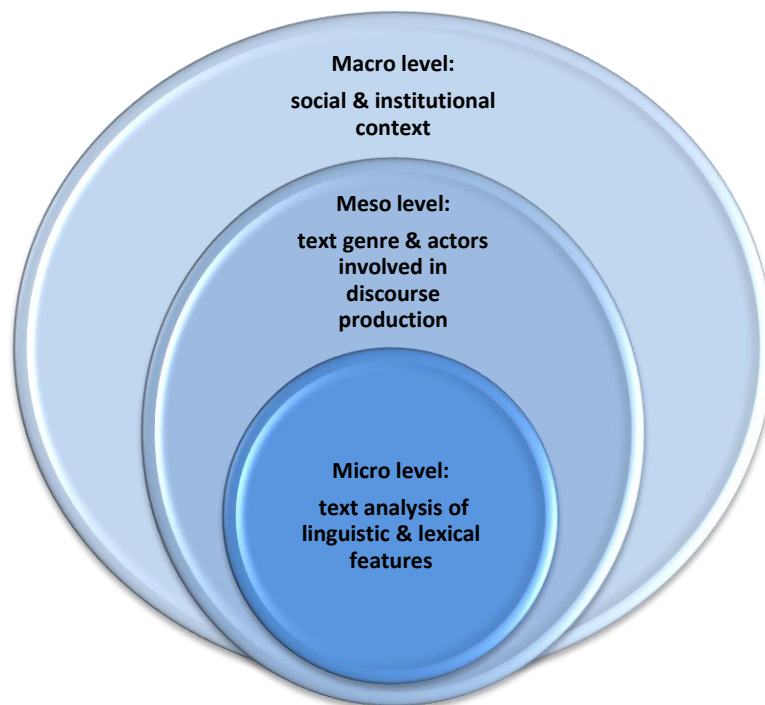   5.4.2.1. Factive nouns Vs cognitive nouns

    5.4.2.2. Key words analysis

5.5 Conclusion

Introduction:

In fact, the term multidimensional in our research refers to stages or levels of analysis more than it refers to multivariate statistical techniques. The term multi-dimensional analysis was first used and developed by (Biber, 1988) to refer to a methodological approach that applies sophisticated statistical tools, especially factor analysis and cluster analysis, for investigating and comparing register variation in a language. The factor analysis and cluster analysis are important in comparative studies. For this reason, the term multi-dimensional, in our context, was borrowed to indicate the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. It is not concerned with statistical orientation.

Figure 1: levels and dimension of analysis

Macro level:
social & institutional context

Meso level:
text genre & actors involved in discourse production

Micro level:
text analysis of linguistic & lexical features

The macro analysis:

As stated earlier, a macro analysis brings about components of context surrounding the documents under investigation (discourse). In our research, we are dealing with a discourse that belongs to the domain of media and specifically new media (digital platforms). The news stories are produced and published by a newly born media organization called 'Wikileaks', it is an online media platform developed and launced in 2006 by Julain Assange. In media Wikileaks and Julian Assange are used interchangeably; he is the organization's founder, editor, publisher and director. The documents or cables also new stories came to the fore in 2010 the year that marked the biggest leak in history by leaking more than 250 000 US secret files. Note that most Wikileaks revelations are about the United States, the world leader. At this stage Wikileaks has gained the level of international recognition, esteem and support. However, those who criticize Wikileaks usually question the focus on the US and the neglect of other leading countries like china and Russia.

The history of Wikileaks reveals little about the organization before 2010 except the registered name of Wikileaks which took place on 2006. Some quick facts about the social situation of Assange reveal a skilled computer programmer at the age of fourteen, and a professional hacker at the age of eighteen. In 1994 he was arrested and charged of hacking the Melbourane Master Terminal of Nested. From 2007 to 2010 Assange works to bring Wikileaks to life (www.wikileaks.org)

Unlike mainstream media organizations, the institutional body of Wikileaks is not announced; it's due to the fact that Wikileaks encourages anonymous testimony and claims to hide its body of journalist for security reasons. On its official website, the organization claims to have more than one hundred stuff across America, Africa, Eurasia, and the Asian pacific.

At this stage of description and context identification of discourse, the organizations' goals are explicit and shared with the public. Assange said that Wikileaks defended

'**transparency**' and fought illegal norms, he also emphsized that Wikileaks's main focus is to "*bring important news to the public and reveal what happens behind closed doors*" (www.wikileaks.org). He officially ensures security for hackers and whistleblowers to the extreme. In this respect, accoring to Van Dijk, when discourse participants make their goals explicit and ask for cooperation and 'benevolence' of readers, they in fact establish strategies to control recipient' knowledge of the subject (Van Dijk, 2008.p, 194). The question of context is also knowledge mediated; *"no appropriate discourse is possible without shared knowledge of the participants…, knowledge 'controls' the production and comprehension of discourse" (Van Dijk, 2008.p, 128).* The discourse-knowledge interface developed by Van Dijk reveals that research within discourse analysis should figure out two kinds of knowledge in discourse processing. Personal or group knowledge includes what people already know about a specific event (mental operation), it can be personal (private experiences) group (shared among a special group), national (shared by members of a state), international (worldwide concern). The second type is the social or cultural representations of knowledge. This is a type of knowledge built as a process of learning. For instance, it is assumed that racism should not be exercised towards people of different religious and cultural backgrounds. Through discourse social and cultural knowledge are updated, activated, filtered and reinforced.

As suggested, knowledge of the subject is established on the basic of what the journalists (of Wikileaks) think the readers know or should know about the subject, and which knowledge are left implicit so that they can even control what readers may infer from the article. In more elaborated terms, all news stories conveyed by Wikileaks starts with the section of credentials, journalist share with readers some key information about the subject, origin, time, classification, and the reference of the document, they create an established background for readers to receive discourse in the way they want for example, when a cable is classified secret, it is a mental operation that readers expect some serious, dangerous and quite interesting news, whereas, a cable with

unclassified description would get little if any attention. That is the actual formulation of the document communicated to the public is a function of the political implicit goals of the organization, hence, it is a persuasive input strategy for readers which undoubtedly control their opinions.

The social and cultural knowledge the institution activates on people's minds calls for readers to activate their knowledge at personal, national or international level. Depending on the type of discourse they are dealing with. For example, the Leading role of the United States in various geographical areas, the war in Iraq, Terrorist attacks, Iran issue, the NATO alliance, The UN job, and the violations people know and don't talk about. This type of knowledge specifically and mentally drives readers to judge whether governments are institutions with legal advocacies or not. However, this evaluation of readers is also controlled by wikileaks when the organization focuses on a specific group or organization (US as a target), the famous Opaque video of US military force shooting civilians during War in Iraq is a perfect example. Adding to that, most revelations of wikileaks are about US and the war in Iraq. The latter was initiated by a multi-national force of the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Spain, and Poland (wikipedia.com). The focus on the US is therefore targeted. It is not said but implied.

So far, in processing the Wikileaks discourse within the context situation, we start to design our own image of the type of text under investigation. This first phase analysis reveals that:

- ✓ Knowledge is presupposed and asserted as part of constructing opinion.
- ✓ There is a control of the text evaluation which in turn helps Wikileaks in making the public on its favored side (hegemony)
- ✓ Wikileaks pronounced aims are explicit, others remain implicit.

The meso analysis:

The second analytical parameter investigates factors involved in discourse construction production and reception. First, we will try to figure out which genre does the text instantiate and what modifications are imported to the text and for what reasons? As we are dealing with a news story, presenting the conventional news schemata is considerably important in making this comparison clear. The latter was developed by Van Dijk to elaborate the global organization of news.

Figure 2: Superstructure schema of news discourse (Van Dijk, 1986, p. 169)
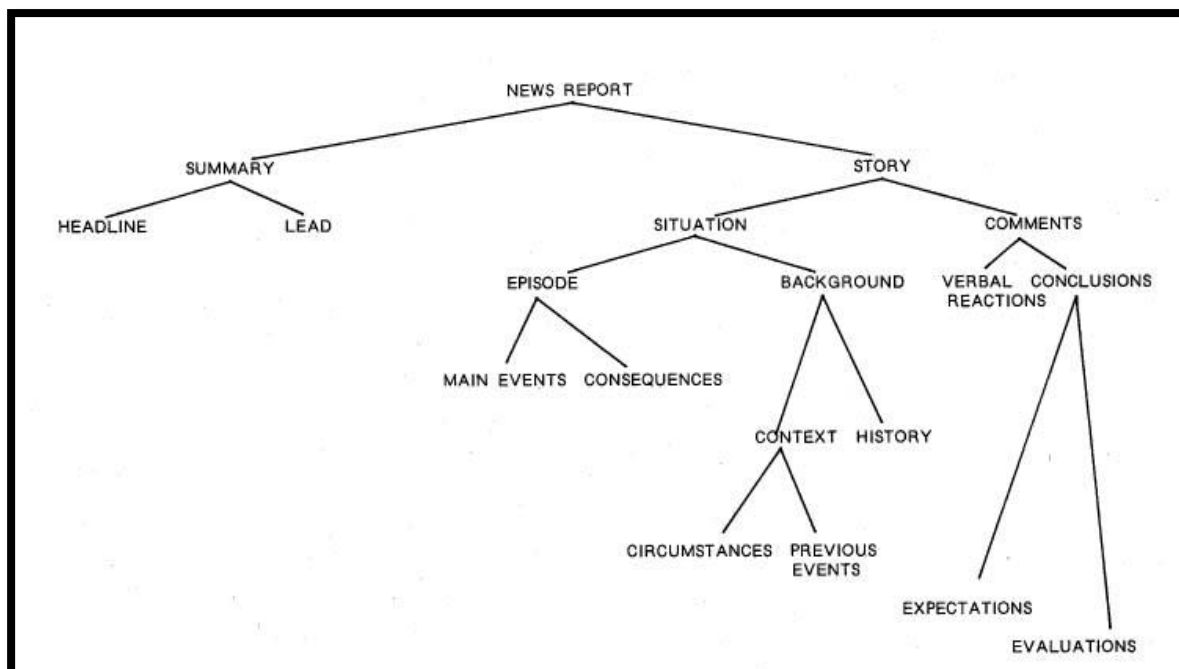
Accordingly, any news report is supposed to organize information following a specific order. Usually a news story starts with a summary which contains the headline and lead, where most important information is first presented; then the story which contains the background of the situation, comments and evaluation. To illustrate and further understand the framework presented above, we will provide an example of a news story from the New York Times Online Magazine compared to its counterpart a news story extracted from wikileaks online platform:

Online news story sample:

The New York Times | **Top News**

Top News

Another High-Profile Failure for a Justice Dept. Watchdog

Published: June 1, 2012
By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — A judge's declaration of a mistrial on Thursday in the John Edwards campaign finance case was a new setback for the Justice Department's public integrity section, a once-vaunted watchdog that has been trying to rebuild itself after its botched prosecution of Senator Ted Stevens four years ago.

The victory for Mr. Edwards — a jury acquitted him of one charge and failed to reach a verdict on five others — is the second time this year that one of the section's high-profile prosecutions has collapsed. In March, a jury in Alabama acquitted a slate of defendants charged in connection with what was said to be a bribery and corruption scheme involving an effort to legalize some forms of gambling there.

The two failed cases were the most nationally visible efforts in recent years by the public integrity section, which was criticized in 2010 after closing out, without bringing charges, a series of long-running investigations into current or former members of Congress including Senator John Ensign of Nevada and Representatives Tom DeLay of Texas, Jerry Lewis of California, Allan B. Mollohan of West Virginia and Don Young of Alaska.

This example of an online news story respects Van Dijk's schema to a great extent. The components are:

- **The headline**: story topic followed by the attribution of time and the source of the information.
- **The Summary**: initiates briefly key points of the story. It generally answers the questions of what, when, who, and where.
- **Background**: is the contextual parameter of the story which makes reference to past events.
- **Comments**: journalists in this section analyze and evaluate the event with reference to the institutional perspectives of the news organization.

In sum, we highlight that essential elements of the story are present and coincide with conventional norms of news construction. It is therefore important to note that the more the story is long the more elements are subcategorized.

In what follows, we practically reach the concern of this research. That is to highlight the difference of the wikileaks news stories with its related genres of the same category. As stated earlier in the process of data selected, we have access to 95 cables leaked by wikileaks. We choose to make the analysis on the news stories developed alongside with the publication of the files; through these news stories we want to achieve the stated goals of this research paper. That is to uncover power relation and control of public opinion exercised by wikileaks. For this section we opted for a story with a minimum length of one paper news stories; most news stories are between 3 to 5 pages. This would cause no limitations to the surface analysis because those long stories are merely long representations of the same sections included in the following example.

Wikileaks online story sample:

Reference id	10CAIRO175 aka Wikileaks id #247959 ?
Subject	EGYPTIAN MFA ON YEMEN
Origin	Embassy Cairo (Egypt)
Cable time	Tue, 9 Feb 2010 13:46 UTC
Classification	CONFIDENTIAL
Source	http://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10CAIRO175.html
References	10CAIRO131
History	*Time unknown*: Original unredacted version, leaked to Wikileaks
	Thu, 17 Feb 2011 01:31: First publication, unredacted, however non-text content differs
	Thu, 1 Sep 2011 23:24: Re-published, unredacted, however non-text content differs
	Thu, 8 Sep 2011 13:29: Original unredacted version published, with HTML goodies

Extras   ? Comments

VZCZCXYZ0000 RR RUEHWEB DE RUEHEG #0175 0401346 ZNY CCCCC ZZH R 091346Z FEB 10 FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0194 INFO GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL COLLECTIVE RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN 0003 RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0005

Hide header C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 000175 SIPDIS E.O. 12958: DECL: 2020/02/09 TAGS: PREL *[External Political Relations]*, YM *[Yemen]*, EG *[Egypt]* SUBJECT: Egyptian MFA on Yemen REF: 10 CAIRO 131 CLASSIFIED BY: Donald A. Blome, Minister Counselor, Embassy Cairo, ECPO; REASON: 1.4(B), (D) ¶1. (C) Key points: - The Egyptian MFA remains concerned about the situation in Yemen, especially Sanaa's approach to resolving the situation in the south. A key MFA advisor expressed his belief Feb 8 that Iran is providing large amounts of weapons to the Houthi rebels. - The Egyptians have stressed that Yemen is of significant strategic interest to the Egyptians, as evidenced by FM Aboul Gheit and EGIS Chief Soliman's January visit to Sanaa and Egypt's participation at the Feb 13 London meeting. The Egyptians will participate in the Feb 27 meeting to be hosted by the Saudis in Riyadh. ¶2. (C) MFA Cabiet Advisor for Arab Affairs Mahmoud Afifi told poloff Feb 8 that the Egyptians were generally satisfied with the discussion at the Jan 13 London meeting on Yemen. Afifi reiterated Egyptian concern that the British had approached the Yemen situation with a heavy focus on GCC countries, at the expense of other Arab states such as Egypt and Jordan. He also noted that Arab League SYG Moussa had not been invited to the London meeting, something that had mystified the Egyptians. Afifi said the Egyptians are taking the situation in Yemen very seriously, as evidenced by FM Aboul Gheit and EGIS Chief Soliman's early January visit to Sanaa for the purpose of supporting the Yemeni government. He said the Egyptians would attend the Feb 27 meeting in Riyadh, which he understood would include the GCC member states, Jordan, Egypt and key western donors (including the U.S.) Afifi said the Saudis had not determined the level of participation, but he expected it would be a sub-ministerial, and if that were the case MFA Chief of Cabinet Wafa Bassim would most likely lead the Egyptian delegation. ¶3. (C) Afifi said the Egyptians are concerned that the Houthis continue to hold significant leverage over Sanaa. He said the Yemenis had told Aboul Gheit and Soliman in early January of their plan to engage in dialogue with the Houthis "gradually," and to use local tribes as intermediaries, but Afifi said he expected Sanaa to complete its military operations first. He believed the Houthis would accept some of Sanaa's six conditions for a ceasefire, but did not expect they would agree to full surrender of their weapons. "It is not a secret that Iran is supplying the Houthis with large amounts of arms," Afifi asserted. ¶4. (C) Afifi was more concerned about the situation in the south, which he said remains "Egypt's main worry." He said the Egyptians have urged Sanaa to meet the "legitimate demands" of the southerners, especially on economic issues. Sanaa is incorrectly focusing on "containing" the south. Social discrimination remains a problem. He said the Egyptians have told Sanaa that the situation will take a long time to resolve, but that promises must be made by the government to resolve longstanding political and economic issues with the south. ¶5. (C) Afifi said the Egyptians are relatively confident Sanaa will successfully confront the Al Qaeda problem in Yemen, but the GOE expects a tough fight. He believed the recent "pre-emptive strikes" by the Saudis and Yemenis had been effective. SCOBEY

In describing genres, Bhatia (1993) used the term 'move structures' to describe the surface structure of texts. Similarly a news story of the genre under analysis is based on five move structures (elements):

- **Establishing credentials**: is a list of information about the document that includes a reference ID, it is a numerical identification number that classifies the document into a series of other documents with the same subject or orientation. The second detail is about the subject, it tells readers what the document is about. The cable origin is another detail included; it is mainly the country, city, or the organization to which the cable belongs. The cable time, is the time of production of the cable. The most important part to highlight is the cable classification that determines the level of secrecy, followed by the source references and history. The latter indicates the time when the document was leaked to wikileaks and when the latter makes it publically accessible.

- **Comment area**: presents some numerical data and codes of publication, alongside with the identification of some acronyms to be found in the text; for example, Saudi Arabia (SA), Iran (IR). Etc.

- **The lead summary**: precisely as its name suggests, the lead summary presents the major events of the documents. It generally answers the five WH questions; what happened, when, who is involved, how and where.

- **Episodes of events**; includes a series of numbered paragraphs with different length. Each of these paragraphs has its own general statement and supporting details.

- **Comment**: all documents are followed with a comment section. It evaluates the actions in terms of what should, shouldn't be done according to the organization' point of view (Wikileaks). Most important to note in this section is the signature name of the person responsible for the comment. Names like Smith, Clinton, Bill, Scobey, Gips, and others appear to belong to wikileaks secret working stuff.

As Koubali (2007) claimed *"The schematic categories are normally constrained by a set of journalistic norms or conventions and are believed to regulate the hierarchic ordering of information in news" (Koubali, 2007, p. 70)*

When those conventions and norms are violated, it is due to some goals that the institution aims to achieve. The establishing credential of the news stories is a major addition to highlight in this genre. It plays the role of the headline with more systematic properties. The document identification reference (IR), for readers, is a mere representation of numbers. However, those who want to analyze and follow the cable origin, the IR is a code of assertion that the document is within the system of Wikileaks. Consequently, we understand that Wikileaks targets general public with multiple identities. The classification of the document is another factor of important implication, through this description; Wikileaks directs readers' attention to most sensitive stories according to its own preferences. At the end of the comment section, each of the stories is followed by the signature of the journalist responsible for the writing of the news story; those are nicknames of the institutions' working stuff. In main stream media the journalists are known to the public, Wikileaks 'anonymous testimony remains a key principle.

Second in this meso analysis, we provide a descriptive analysis of the major participants in discourse and their attributed roles. Basically the news stories are conveyed between the category of the Wikileaks as producers of discourse and the public as recipient of discourse. The type of relationship between Wikileaks and recipients of discourse readers is mediated through the publication of the cables or news stories (discourse).

Figure 3: discourse participants

Wikileaks(
discourse
producers)

discourse (the
news stories)

public
(receipients of
discourse)
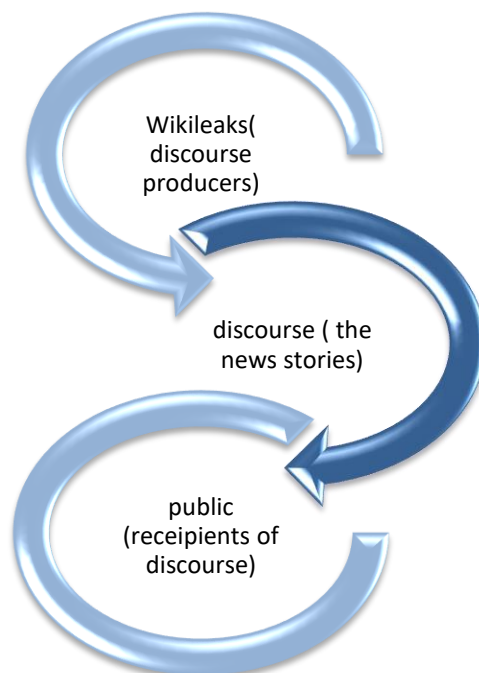
Both Halliday and Hassan (1985) refer to discourse participants as the 'Tenor' of discourse which involves:

> *"Who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the type of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?" (Halliday&Hasan, 1985, p.12)*

Participants' roles in discourse are then theorized in terms of three types:

1. **Agentive role**: also referred to as the institutional roles (doctor /patient, teacher/student)

2. **Social role**: is power driven, in the sense that the relationship is hierarchical, the one who knows (expert) controls who does not know (novice). It is a relation of passives and actives in discourse processing.

3. **Social distance**: usually guides discourse in outlining the nature of the relationship of participants between the formal and informal interactions.

As we limit the discussion to the social identities of discourse participant in the present research, we understand by assumption that the nature of the relationship between discourse producers and consumers is purely social. In the sense that, there is a top down process which puts discourse producers (Wikileaks) in the powerful control of the situation, as they are the expert behind the making of the news, while the general public passively receive the news as constructed and developed by the institution. This fact adds value to our understanding of the nature of social interaction built through new media discourse, the notion of power is therefore constructing its root in the discourse of Wikileaks starting from the upper structure of the text. Producers of discourse present and develop news according to their underlying perspectives aims.

A full account of who is involved in the production of Wikileaks discourse should therefore take into consideration the valuable contributions of mainstream media in making the release of the cables and the news stories more attractive. It is obvious that Wikileaks makes use of mainstream media to access the largest public specially when focusing on international organizations such as the NY Times, The Gardian and the like. Some remarks about the hybrid nature of the Wikileaks discourse revealed that those institutions have served the implicit aims of Wikileaks. Most breaking news talked about the 'biggest leak in history', 'what Wikileaks dare to reveal 'the man that threat the national security of the most powerful country in the world' certainly readers are heavily influenced by those descriptive leads, consequently, from a cognitive perspective, most readers get inspired and hence convinced about the news and information provided at the first glance. It is implicitly communicated. Van dijk asserted that *"a typical feature of manipulation is to communicate beliefs implicitly, that is,*

without actually asserting them, and with less chance that they will be challenged" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 358)

Manipulating people's minds is a major form of power. It is the perfect way to produce hegemony. In making this possible, Assange has made the traditional media a bridge of communication that voices his claims. Through those news stories and cables released, recipients tend to accept (from what they see) those believes and information as trustworthy, and credible (the reliable media, experts, professionals) because they do not possess the required knowledge to challenge the information they are exposed to (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 357). To illustrate this, each of the news stories released, journalists describe that the cable is classified according to reasons for instance, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 recipients of discourse certainly do not know those reasons, also the technological affordances of wiki websites has got little attention from the public, not denying the fact that readers focus more on the news stories and those secret files while they ignore to judge Wikileaks with a critical perspective.

Finally, the meso analysis revealed that:

- ✓ Wikileaks violates the form of news stories to accomplish institutional aims and create its own media discourse.
- ✓ Wikileaks has made anonymous testimony in media acceptable.
- ✓ The social role of discourse participant is power driven.
- ✓ Hybridity adds value to Wikileaks discourse.
- ✓ Wikileaks targets the general public (hegemony).

The micro analysis:

As stated earlier, the micro analysis serves best the principles of discourse analysis; we practically delve into the properties of discourse conveyed within the Wikileaks platform to come closer to meet the objectives stated for this research. In this section we outline two major categories of analysis. The linguistic features analysis that categories the choice of modal auxiliaries, alongside with the study of the person system (1st and 2nd person). However, the lexical category embodies the selection of key words used in discourse and most cited items (concept).

Linguistic features analysis:

Modality system:

Modality system, as it was indicated in the review of literature, has many realizations. The focus of research analysis regarding modals is directed to major modal auxiliaries arranging from low modalities to medium and high modalities. The following figure presents the list of modals as extracted by the software Maxoda 10. However, it is worth consideration that the analysis was centered on the following types of modals:

- ✓ High modalities: must, mustn't, have to, (not) have to
- ✓ Medium modalities: will, would, would not, should not
- ✓ Low modalities: can, could, may, may not, might

The following figure highlights the frequency distribution of modal auxiliaries across the cables. It is worth to mention that contextual approach to modal analysis is also interesting to investigate.

Figure 4: The frequency distribution of modal auxiliaries in Wikileaks news stories

Modals	Data	
	Number preview	Frequency value
can	66	5,80%
could	139	12,21%
could not	4	0,35%
may	129	11,34%
MIGHT	32	2,81%
must	30	2,64%
should	84	7,38%
should not	5	0,44%
will	286	25,13%
would	342	30,05%
would not	21	1,85%
General value	1138	100,00%

Modals in this figure are arranged as they appear in original documents. Thus missing forms indicate their absence in original texts as well; as the case of **mustn't, may not** and others**.** The frequency distribution of modals in Wikileaks news stories highlights a total of 1110 modal verbs across 95 news stories being analyzed. The value is quite significant and discourse can be considered as modal loaded. the distribution obviously highlights the past modal **'would'** with a frequency of 30.05% in addition to its present counterpart **'will'** with 286 frequency which equals the 25,13%. If we consider both models as serving the same function of probability and/or certainty, we argue that a total of 55.18% of modals used in wikileaks news stories are those indicating the highest level of certainty/probability. A second frequency to be highlighted is that of the modal '**could'** with a number of 139 representing 12.29% compared to the modal '**can**' with a value of 66 representing the percentage of 5.80%. Low value modalities expressing possibility namely '**may& might'** presents 14.45%, the value can be considered unimportant but it is quite significant at the functional level. It indicates a great involvement from the part of the writer on statements not allowing possibilities to

be noticed. The modal '**must**' equals 2.64%, as a model of obligation, the frequency is not worth attention but as we are dealing with a type of discourse that should be objective. The presence of this modal indicates a power flavor as well. The following diagram gives a clear image of modality in the discourse of Wikileaks.

Figure 4: The graphic representation of modals distribution in Wikileas news stories
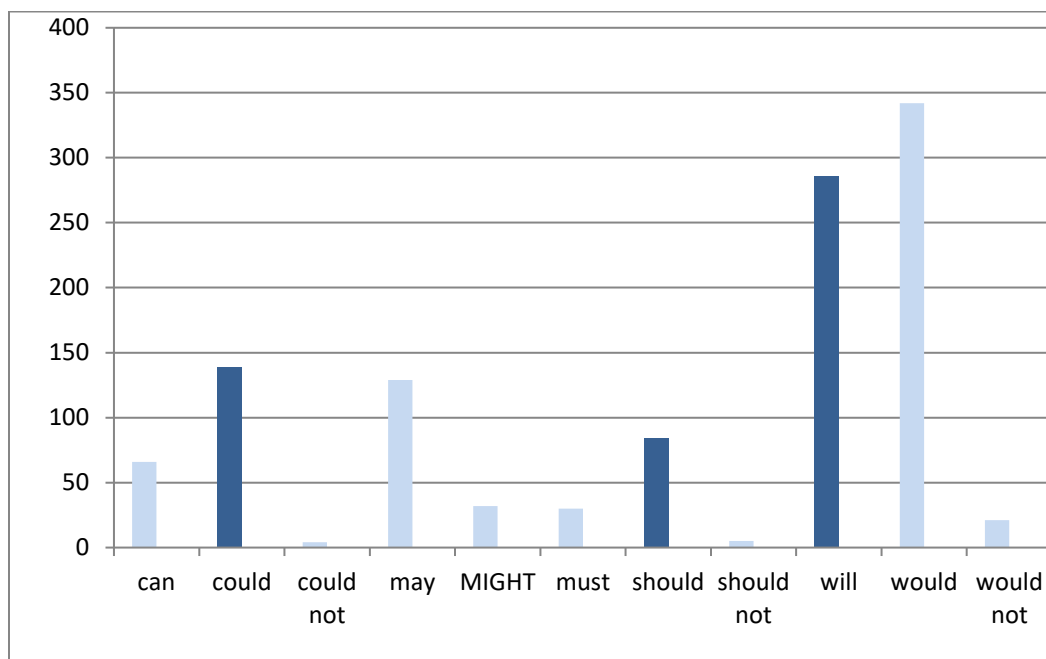
These statistics give prominence to epistemic modals. We have observed that the discourse of Wikileaks makes use of:

✓ The high level of probability with would & will.
✓ The high level of possibility with could & can.
✓ The high level of certainty with should &must.

Obviously, proposals made in discourse indicate that the speaker knows much about the subject and hence express a great deal of certainty towards the preposition being made. Moreover, for Fowler (1979) realization of modality in political discourse unveil power

relations and ideologies among discourse participants. In this respect, considering statistics between hands, it is a fact that Wikileaks embodies and exert a great power over recipients of discourse. It is the power of knowledge and control of public opinion; it is the one which construct information in the mind of others. Subjectivity in discourse is often associated with power.

The following examples are extracted from the texts selected for analysis. The presentation of modals in use is assumed to add value to interpretation.

Bahgat advised that a series of discreet diplomatic approaches, as opposed to public statements, would be most effective in securing GOE agreement to combat torture:

The modal would in this sentence support the high probability of the proposition made by Baghdad that discreet approaches are more effective to the country. The meaning of the sentence is highly predictive and closed to certainty.

Bahgat said human rights lawyers and his brother-in-law have told him that to conduct murder investigations, police will round up 40 to 50 suspects from a neighborhood and hang them by their arms from the ceiling for weeks until someone confesses:

Will also presents high probability. In this sentence, the modal will propose a future plan of the police to collect a number of suspects. It also suggests that Wikileaks knows about the decision.

Bahgat speculated that such a policy change could have a broad positive impact on the rule of law, the police's role in society and even political participation:

The modal verb in this example introduces possible impact of the change in policy making, it is used to indicate potentiality. However, it is interesting that the high possibility was used as referred to by Baghdad denoting a reporting statement introduced by the reporting phrase 'speculated that'.

Social discrimination remains a problem. He said the Egyptians have told Sanaa that the situation will take a long time to resolve, but that promises must be made by the government to resolve longstanding political and economic issues with the south:

The modal must highlights the obligatory decision from the part of governments to take promises to solve political and economic issues. The preposition again here was introduced as reporting preposition initiated by the reporting phrase 'said that'

Sanaa will successfully confront the Al Qaeda problem in Yemen, but the GOE expects a tough fight:

The use and function of the modal will in this sentence is remarkable. It expresses the high positive probability of Sanna to face al-Qaida. The preposition is made as a shared opinion between the writer and the reader, the latter is convinced about the positivity of the claim made by the writer. It is the collocated adverb successfully which generate that positive meaning.

Broadly speaking, modality is realized following the orientation of discourse. As a result, modality in the discourse of Wikileaks is oriented to express an implicit subjectivity of discourse and a power driven connection between participants. The statistics alongside with the examples presented and explained; modal auxiliaries function at the highest level. It is not accidental that the highest frequencies pertain to those modals integrated within the highest level of probability, possibility and certainty; these modals are loaded with epistemic meaning. Another key factor to not here is the representation of certainty modals in the discourse of Wikileaks which according to the producers conveys no hidden ideologies and communicates valuable information. Then, one might ask himself, if this is true, what is the aim of certainty modals in the news stories? , regarding previously discussed statistics and contextual findings, the discourse of Wikileaks is modality loaded, ideology oriented and power based. Another feature

that further confirms this claim is the person system. Analysis of pronouns within news stories would bring to light the subjectivity of discourse between hands.

The person system:

The notion of subjectivity is not only expressed through modality. A study of the person system was also undertaken to reveal the extent to which the discourse between hands is subjective. The following figure presents the frequency distribution of the person system in wikileaks discourse. The pronouns are counted with all attributed forms of personal, reflexive, and objective.

Figure 6: The frequency distribution of the person system in Wikileaks news stories

	Data		
Pronouns	**Preview number**	**Frequency**	**number**
he	642		33,74%
her	47		2,47%
him	36		1,89%
himself	17		0,89%
I	132		6,94%
it	375		19,71%
itself	19		1,00%
ourselves	2		0,11%
she	53		2,79%
themselves	14		0,74%
they	220		11,56%
us	99		5,20%
We	198		10,40%
you	48		2,52%
yourself	1		0,05%
General results	**1903**		**100,00%**

The use of the first and /or the second person pronouns is another indicator of subjectivity in discourse. It reflects the extent to which the writer is associated with the prepositions in text. As the figure highlights, the highest frequency value is linked to the use of the second person 'he' with a frequency of 642 citation, it equals 33, 74% of the overall usage. The pronoun 'they' comes second with a frequency of 220,

presenting 11, 56 %. However, the first person 'we' is attributed to the third position with a frequency of 198, that is 10, 40% of the overall pronouns. If we join the first person reflexive pronoun 'us' with the value of 5, 20% the frequency value of the use of the first person plural pronoun is then switched to 15.06 % indicating the highest form of interpersonal involvement vis-a-vis the nature and composition of data selected. The following graphic representation clarifies more on this claim.

Figure 7: the graphic representation of the first person plural pronouns in Wikileaks news stories
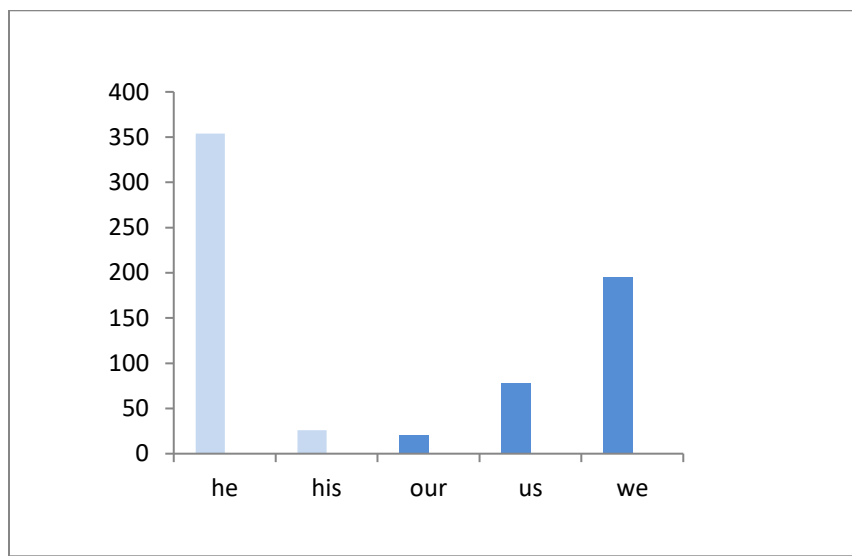

This figure confirms to a great extent subjectivity of discourse between hands. It is a fact that the second pronouns 'he' got the major frequency of usage. However, we are dealing with a type of discourse that is supposed to be informative and objective. Assange claims to convey truth to the public with no manipulation or ideologies underlined. To our surprise, we have found through linguistic analysis that first person plural pronouns are used extensively in discourse allowing ideologies and opinion manipulation to be practiced through discourse. It is important to note that the type of data we are dealing with stem from an open source network of providers. Thus, when

discourse producers identify themselves with claims or truth made, they implicitly give recognition to the anonymity of resources.

As we are focusing on pattern of subjectivity in the discourse of Wikileaks, we suggest to analyze further the use of the pronoun 'we'. The following table sheds light on the pronoun we with attributed forms (objective, reflexive) as used in the news stories being analyzed.

Figure 8: The basic forms of usage of the pronoun 'we'
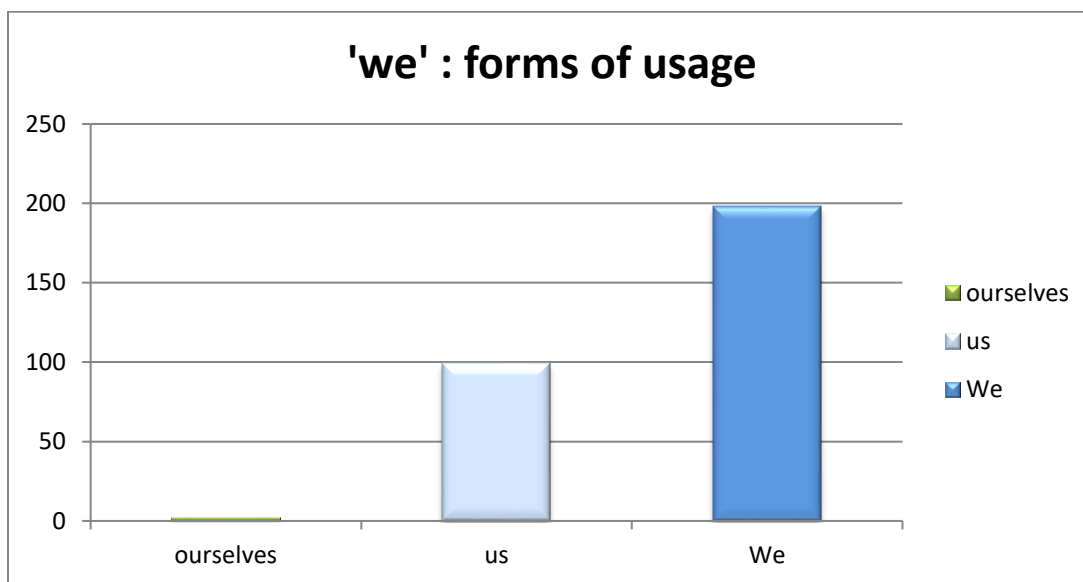
Clearly the most used form of the first person plural pronoun in the news stories is the personal form 'we'. In discourse studies, the use of 'we' has been much investigated at the syntactic and pragmatic levels. We state earlier in the review of literature that uses of the pronoun 'we' can be either inclusive (includes the addressee) or exclusive (excludes the addressee). Each of these uses has its ideological objective. In order to provide a full account of the type of the pronoun 'we' used in Wikileaks discourse. Let's consider the following examples:

Secret	Behind the scenes, we understand serious discussions are taking place about which road will best serve the Kingdom's long term interests.
secret	We believe that the message is getting through, that there is a broad consensus among countries that tangible action needs to be taken now to address climate change.
secret	We also think that Saudi leaders are beginning to understand that they are in increasing danger of being left behind.
secret	-- First, we are concerned about Syria's provision of increasingly sophisticated weapons to Hizballah.
secret	We are aware, however, of current Syrian efforts to supply Hizballah with ballistic missiles.
secret	We share this concern.
secret	We are unable to confirm the Western Sahara/Algeria link, which the MFA has specifically denied to Embassy Rabat but we remain skeptical that this was the principal reason for a break down in relations.
confidential	We believe that, this ideological divide will not be resolved soon, unless one side makes significant concessions during post-election government formation.
unclassified.for official use only	So far as we know, it is the only such project in the country.

The examples provided are presentations of the contextual use of the pronoun 'we'. As indicated in the first sentence, the clause:

- **We understand that serious discussions are …**

Indicate that the speaker and his followers (readers) understand what is happening behind closed doors. They both share the same position in the preposition. Similarly, the clauses:

- **We think that….**
- **We are aware of…**
- **We share……**

Also presuppose the inclusion of the reader in discourse. However, the clauses:

- **We are unable to confirm**

Suggests that the speaker is talking as a representative of his organization, and he declares the organization inability to provide further information on the specified subject. Moreover, in the last example:

- **So far as we know**

The speaker limits his information to the knowledge and accessibility of his organization. The sentence means that according to the knowledge of the Wikileaks team/organization, there are no other projects of similar interest in the region. Therefore, Wikileaks here is a used as a reference organization.

Non Linguistic features:

Cognitive nouns:

In the second part of the micro analysis dimension, the focus is switched to a more sophisticated category. The non-grammatical feature category is the umbrella term that covers the semantic category of cognitive nouns, factive nouns, and key words listing. It was discussed earlier in the literature review that the choice of these features was highly affected by the research hypothesis underlying the current study. As stated earlier in the methodology, wikileaks, through the publication of news stories aims to manipulate people's mind. At the discourse level, we need to look closely to some features that help figure out the truth of our claim.

Figure 9: The distribution of the cognitive nouns in Wikileaks news stories

Cognitive nouns	Number value	frequency value
concern	37	22,98%
decision	53	32,92%
fact	19	11,80%
idea	5	3,11%
knowledge	5	3,11%
possibility	3	1,86%
reality	5	3,11%
Reason	26	16,15%
recognition	5	3,11%
understanding	3	1,86%
Total général	161	100,00%

Basically, the identification of cognitive nouns was undertaken by the qualitative analysis software 'Maxoda 10' for windows. A major key research issue was to identify which items to count under this category. We have opted for Biber's (1988) appendix of grammatical, syntactic, and semantic features. Among several nouns we selected 10 items randomly and run the search within Maxoda. For cognitive nouns we searched for the following:

'Concern'; 'decision'; 'fact'; 'idea'; 'knowledge'; 'possibility'; 'reality'; 'reason'; 'recognition'; and 'understanding'.

The frequent occurrence of these items would inevitably indicate manipulation in discourse. Given the high frequency of cognitive nouns displayed in the documents under analysis. It is reasonable to assume that they are blocks of mind control and opinion manipulation in the discourse of Wikileaks. The concept '**decision**' reached 32%, followed by the word '**concern**' with a frequency of 22.98%, and '**reason**' comes third presenting 16.15% of usage.

Precisely as their name suggest, 'cognitive nouns' are considered psychologically provocative in the mind of readers. The excessive usage of this type of words challenge the cognitive ability of readers to follow the line of reasoning established in discourse. Considering the following examples:

Continued concern over Syrian support to Hizballah…

The word concern is used here to make readers judge the subject as a problem to be considered and they have to think of it as a shared responsibility.

This will be a government-wide decision…

In this example, the noun comes after a compound modifier. It implicitly designs a particular image on the mind of readers that the decision is particularly government-wide and not another.

The reality is that serious reforms are changing…

The sentence start with the determiner noun 'the reality'; implicitly readers are given the intention that there are no other realities, but the one produced by Wikileaks.

The fact that he met with the president…

Again this example starts with the determiner 'the fact'; it suggests that reporters communicate factual information. Consequently, a relationship of trust and confidence is built.

<u>Factive nouns</u>:

In order to achieve accuracy in the study of features within a corpus based research, Biber (1993) claimed that:

> *"Register analyses require a comparative approach: we need a*
> *baseline for comparison to know whether the use of a linguistic feature*
> *in a register is rare or common" (Biber, 1993, p. 243-244)*

Factive nouns are supposed to take the counterpart of cognitive nouns. The former has more communicative and 'neutral' function in terms of usage in discourse. Given this constant need of comparison, we have also selected 10 items from Biber's (1988) semantic categories of factive nouns to represent the factive nouns category. These items are as follows:

'**Assertion', 'observation', 'statement', 'consideration', 'investigation', 'examination', 'measurement', 'announcement', 'description', and 'acknowledgment'**

We run the lexical search within the platform of Maxoda (10). To our surprise, the search result has produced only 6 items of usage, indicating the absence of others in the selected documents. For confirmation, the search was launched several times and achieved the same results. The items that represent the factive nouns category are presented in the following table.

Figure 10: the distribution of factive nouns in Wikileaks news stories

Factive nouns	Number value	Frequency value
announcement	10	14,93%
assertion	4	5,97%
consideration	3	4,48%
investigation	12	17,91%
observation	1	1,49%
Statement	37	55,22%
General value	67	100,00%

As identified in the table, the analysis of factive nouns produced only 6 items of those highlighted. The term statement is used over 55%, followed by the term investigation with a frequency of 17.91% then the term announcement has 14.39%. Examples of contextual usage are presented below:

The King will want you to elaborate on the President's statement that the time for sanctions has come.

In this sentence, the term statement reflects an informative function of the phrase; it is what the president has stated.

On January 19, prior to Minister al-Naimi's announcement of Saudi Aramco ownership

The word announcement also in this phrase brings the phrase back to the object/subject of preposition. The phrase sounds informative (who announce & when announced).

According to media reports the group is being held "under investigation" for an initial period of 15-days…
Abdel Meneim Al Fotouh, were detained for several months in 2009 while "under investigation".

In the last two examples, under investigation was signaled by two inverted commas suggesting a reporting function.

Comparing the present results of factual nouns to previous statistics of cognitive nouns, we observe a great difference in terms of the frequencies of usage. A total number value of 161 cognitive nouns is considered a triple value of factive nouns. It is a fact that the entire range of the first category was assisted by the presence of ten items, while the second category concerned only six items. The results would emerge to meet the author's expectations about the cognitive strategies displayed in the discourse of Wikilaks to manipulate readership.

Within this category, we have to acknowledge the need for another type of lexical choise. Precisely, in corpus studies, the key words listing analysis also uncovers ideology in discourse. The ideology bound items for Wikileaks stories are developed in the coming section.

Key words analysis:

This research has particularly followed a line of analysis composed of lexical and linguistic or grammatical features. All reflect manifestations of ideology in Wikileaks news stories. The key words analysis is directed to investigate most important concept that co-occur more frequently. It is worth consideration that there is no reference list for key words analysis in discourse. The analysis of key words in texts depends first on the type of discourse, the objectives of discourse and the objectives of the analyst.

Taking into consideration that the discourse of Wikileaks is embedded within the sphere of political communication, some particular political items are assumed to prevail accordingly. On the other hand, the objectives of the present study focus on items with power flavor. However, it is neither reliable nor valid to search for unknown items. The researcher has developed his list of most cited words assumed to co-occur with high frequency, the operation was realized through the Maxoda software. The latter has selected the most 10 cited words in data.

The actual analysis of key words in the present study is based on the identification of two key words lists. First, the list includes concepts (thematic nouns) that are likely to illustrate ideology focus in the cables. Second, the key words listing of most cited countries in the specified documents. Note that, the key words markers are inevitably linked to their social context. The latter is needed for the interpretation. On more elaborated terms, the present study highlights numerically the following data:

<u>Figure 11: the representation of thematic words in Wikileaks news stories</u>

key words	Data	
	Number value	**Frequency value**
Force	34	7,34%
freedom	28	6,05%
power	46	9,94%
right	13	2,81%
terrorism	37	7,99%
war	20	4,32%
Wikileaks	285	61,56%
Total général	463	100,00%

In fact, the thematic keywords are concerned with the notion of power. The latter is the most important variable in the present research. Therefore, the key words list analysis aimed to investigate most cited words related to power. For this we have set a minimum count of 10 words across documents. The figure 10 was basically selected, taking into consideration the numerical characteristics of documents.

Namely, the key words associated to the theme 'power' are: force, freedom, power, right, terrorism, war, and Wikileaks of course as the major power agent in the production of discourse.

Statistically, Wikileaks has got the biggest frequency value of the key words search. With the frequency of 61, 56% the term is repeatedly used in the document. However, this frequency of use can easily be explained and understood. First, it is dues to the nature of the news stories published. The establishing credentials structure present in each cable acknowledges the source of the leaking agent. That is Wikileaks. Second, each cable is signed after the comment section by the name of the reporter or journalist. The signature usually follows the name Wikileaks. It is a reminder of the institutional belonging of information.

The concept of power comes second representing nearly 10%. It is significant to our assumption that this term has been highlighted with a valuable occurrence frequency. It supports to a large extend the hypotheses and agreed to the most claims developed.

The other terms like freedom, force, and terrorism were not different in terms of frequency distribution. They range from 6% to 7% of usage.

Figure 12: The representation of key countries in Wikileaks news stories

key words (country)	number value	Frequency value
Cairo	129	23,12%
Egypt	124	22,22%
Iraq	90	16,13%
Morocco	111	19,89%
RABAT	60	10,75%
SAUDI ARABIA	1	0,18%
United States	18	3,23%
WASHINGTON	25	4,48%
General value	**558**	**100,00%**

We have run the key words search country, because we have state earlier in the literature that Wikileaks has always targeted the United States through the release of the cables. The countries presented in the table are the countries selected to represent the corpus in the current analysis.

To our greatest surprise, the United States as a key word in this analysis would get little if any attention numerically; across 95 documents analyzed the term was only counted 18 times. Unlike the word Cairo which has assumed the highest value frequency with 129 of counts, Followed by Egypt 124, and Morocco + Rabat 111. It is obvious that Egypt is the leading actor of the Middle East as opposed to Morocco the leader country of North Africa.

The key words analysis of most cited countries has somehow indicated that the countries chosen to represent the MENA region files have the dominant frequencies across the cables. Egypt is a leading country in the Middle East and one of the major regional powers. This country is almost involved in practical issues and policies across the region; it has powerful effect on other states. Within the Middle East, Egypt mediates relationship between other Suni Arab States, and Israel. The country also put into practice all guidelines and directions imposed by the United States. When dealing with Wikileaks cables, the choice of the latter to focus on major states is not arbitrary. Wikileaks stems its power and achieved the recognition of several international media, political, and social parties. The focus on international issues brings Wikileaks to reach a global impact.

Within North Africa, no one denies the strategic importance of Morocco in North African security and development matters as well as international links. The relationship of Morocco with the United States is among the oldest in the US diplomatic history. Dated back to 1786, Peter Pham, the director of the Atlantic Council's Africa Center claimed that:

> "The 1786 Treaty of Peace and Friendship—negotiated by Thomas Barclay and signed by Thomas Jefferson and John Adams—established diplomatic relations between the two countries. Modified in 1836 with the addition of various security and commercial protocols, the accord is still in force, making it the United States' longest unbroken treaty relationship. But as venerable as this history is, the strategic importance of Morocco to pursuing the Atlantic community's interests in the security and development of northwestern Africa has only recently become fully apparent to US policymakers and analysts"(Pham, 2013, p.1)

It is not surprising that when dealing with North African cables, Wikileaks attention to Moroccan secret cables was signaled. Since the cables are dated back to 2010 and 2011, this period has witnessed the born of the Arab Spring Movement. It is a movement of

popular protests has overthrown major political regimes mainly in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Syria.

The leadership role of Morocco on emerging policies, geopolitical and economic security is pertinent to the well-being of neighboring countries. Wikileaks inevitably wouldn't overlook to open new horizon in North Africa through the release of cables pertinent to major forces. Note that, this focus on major countries does not suggest that there are no cables belonging to Tunisia, Libya, Algeria and other North African countries. It rather explains that, though there are many and different regimes that suffer from various political, economic, and social crisis, Wikileaks' primary attention is directed to those with major powers.

Conclusion:

So far, this chapter has outlined several findings relate to the analysis of discourse conveyed by Wikileaks through the publication of news stories alongside with official documentation. The discourse analysis of these news stories via the three dimensions has provided useful results and important insights for the research objectives and questions. The present chapter has provided succinct description, explanation and analysis of statistical data both as frequencies and in their context as well. The following chapter is a continuity of the task. It is mainly devoted to further interpretations and verification of hypothesis; in addition to summarizing the answers of research questions.

Chapter six: Interpretations and verification of hypotheses

6.1. Introduction

6.2. Interpretations and hypothesis verification

6.2.1. Hypothesis-1-

6.2.2. Hypothesis-2-

6.2.3. Hypothesis-3-

6.3. Discussion of research findings

6.4. Basic Recommendations

6.5. Sociocultural recommendations

6.6. Pedagogical recommendations

6.7. Further research suggestions

6.8. Conclusion

Introduction:

The interpretation of results and the verification of hypotheses are basic steps in empirical research. The current study was developed to confirm or disconfirm three major hypotheses. In what follows, we outline major research findings accordingly, the hypotheses will be accepted or rejected.

Hypothesis -1-

The first hypothesis expressed that Wikileaks has changed the paradigms of power relations and affected the ethics of information gathering and broadcasting in media industry. The open source movement and whistleblowing have become ordinary.

Basically, as it was mentioned in the macro analysis of social and institutional context of the discourse of Wikileaks, the latter receive data from anonymous hackers and whistleblowers. Furthermore, establishing a network of these whistleblowers, Wikileaks continuous call for international hackers to leak convey documents and the latter secures anonymity is in fact a process of work, a system established and Wikileaks counterparts around the world remain rigid towards such system.

The power of Wikileaks was also acknowledged by several internal and external bodies. Domscheit- berg, one of the Wikileaks leaders said that Wikileaks is "*the most aggressive press organization in the world"* (Domscheit- berg, 2011, p. 36). On the other hand, Alan Rusbridge, the editor of the Guardian in Britain described the release of the US diplomatic cables as "*the biggest leaks in the history of the world"* (Rusbridge, 2011). Obviously Wikileaks has realized what other institutions were unable to do. The acknowledgement of efforts and remarkable realization from the competitive media industry is another dimension of power.

On more advanced level, Wikileaks has raised issues of great significance for political communication, and mobilization nowadays. The impact on political news is immense; it has made most secret information available publically. The notion of power is

inherited in every practice and principle within Wikileaks; different episodes of news making suggest different forms of power relations.

Since the process of information has been affected by the general policy of Wikileaks; power relations have also changed. Traditionally, media institutions regardless of their genre, newspapers, broadcasts, online, digital, or hybrid control information and the release or publication time is based on editorial agenda that takes into considerations different social, economic, political and security reasons before a piece of information is released to the public, especially if this piece of news is about the foreign policy of any country. Wikileaks has changed thesis parameters and developed its own value system. Wikileaks has become:

- ✓ In control of highly sensitive news
- ✓ Reference for other mainstream media, it possess the documents and made the release according to its own agenda.
- ✓ Responsible for choosing mainstream partners around the globe.
- ✓ An editorial board for other media outlets, the publication time and date was first decided by Julian Assange, the Wikileaks founder.
- ✓ Major concern for institutional sites of power.
- ✓ Established a top down interaction between Wikileaks and powerful elites. The institution release documents and secret information, the elite comment, and respond.

Considering these factors, Wikileaks indeed has made a great shift in power relations justified by the top down communication system developed with political elites and mainstream media as well.

The second issue cited in the first hypothesis states that Wikileaks open source testimony and whistleblowing has become acceptable and ordinary. In fact, throughout the review of literature and the extensive readings on the huge development of Wikileaks as a new media platform, there was an absence of discussions or refusal

towards the whistleblowing reference of Wikileaks information system. This absence can be justified in terms of two reasons; first, the sensitivity of data and the great access achievement of cables have invaded most talks and official declarations. The type of data was more important than questioning the sources of these data. Second, the open source testimony is based on complicated process of making a source of information unexposed even by advanced systems. For this reason, whistleblowing suggests that all attempts to approach whistleblowers will be a waste of time. Unless the institution networked system permitted that which was impossible in the case of Wikileaks. In relation to traditional journalism, Wikileaks principle to convey secret documents to the public is in fact a new model of practice, for some even better. Chadwick said that" *Wikileaks threatens the traditional investigative reporting because it offers a more effective model"* (Chadwick, 2014, p. 109)

The acceptability of data publication from the part of other media outlets which are supposed to conform to the publication rights was neglected, and then perceived ordinary after several leaks are released.

At this stage, the previous discussions have assisted the idea that Wikileaks has indeed changed the paradigms of power relations; this revolutionary institution has also created new methods of investigative journalism. Though, the principles of whistleblowing and hacking are considered inappropriate for most traditional news organizations. Wikileaks has changed these perceptions and defended the use of different methods conventional and unconventional. Thus, hacking and whistleblowing have become ordinary in today's tech-led culture. Hypothesis one is then **confirmed.**

Hypothesis –2-

The second hypothesis extends the discussion on different violations brought to light buy Wikileaks. The cables released are presented in a modified version of real documents (news stories) to serve institutional and editorial aims. The will to control public opinion, establish a Wikileaks say culture and mobilize social actions remain hidden aims. Therefore, Wikileaks has created an environment in which the dangers of those emerging technologies are maximized.

Wikileaks defines itself as a media organization responsible for bringing important news and information to the public. The publication of original documents is perceived as an evidence of the truth and further justification of the ability of Wikileaks to access highly classified data from different parts of the world. Wikileaks declarations were continuous to the several attempts that tried to question the reliability of sources.

On the other hand, one might ask question if Wikileaks has leaked original documents to the public, then what is the communicative purpose behind the development of news stories alongside with the publication process?. It is not a secret that news stories in journalism are developed to communicate event from the point of view of producers. That's why, news stories always carry ideologies and subjectivity, whether implicit or explicit, is a key feature.

As explained earlier in literature review, the news stories of Wikileaks present a different genre. First, the type of data is not typical to that of traditional news stories. Second, because the medium of communication is new to media consumers. Third, many factors and participants are involved in the production of this genre of news stories; the association of these factors makes Wikileaks news stories a specific genre used to convey specific aims.

Another aspect within the same line of discussion and analysis is the incorporation of key words analysis. The latter highlights the most cited words in news stories. Again, the results were not surprising when the word 'Wikileaks' has got the highest frequency

of 61, 56% with regard to other thematic nouns selected. The frequency is equal to 285 citations across the cables. This frequency was tolerated by the typology of news stories developed. The first move structure devoted to establishing the credentials of the documents Wikileaks appears in three areas, the first is the identification reference of the cable which introduces the number of documents within Wikileaks website; second, the source of document provides the 'http' of the cables that includes wikileaks.org as the official website where the cables are exposed; Third, Wikileaks is also initiated in the history case, this includes the time and date when Wikileaks received the cable from original sources. The co-occurrence of the domain name of Wikileaks in several introductory elements of the cables reinforces and stresses the institutional belonging of Wikileaks discourse.

Consequently, reporters, journalists, and any news media institution, why not researchers, specialists in the field if they may use information about Wikileaks, they have to acknowledge the credentials of information as belonged to Wikileaks. As a result, Wikileaks has well succeeded to establish a Wikileaks say culture, and registered the name as point of reference for those interested in using the content available on official website of the institution.

Another crucial element of investigation is the extensive use of cognitive nouns across the cables. The reason behind this orientation is to provoke important issue in the mind of readers and consequently characterize meaning in their minds. Meaning is then correlated with a special function. It was explained through contextual approach that the use of cognitive nouns aims to develop shared responsibility and point of view between readers and Wikileaks. Moreover, cognitive nouns allow speakers and writers to construct special meaning in the mind of readers. In addition, it enables the producers of discourse to link important concepts and notions to another clause that contain the actual information.

When meaning is constructed in the mind of readers, manipulation and hegemony can be easily exercised. The readers are implicitly taking the institutions' stand point and develop a sense of belonging to its primary mission. For this reason, the discourse of Wikileaks has established hegemonic relationship with readers, especially new media society. To further support this claim; Wikileaks major concern was purely financial. After the accounts of the institution have been blocked in MasterCard and Paypal, Wikileaks continue to prevail despite its financial worries. Initially, Wikileaks started with a donor list of 106 people in 2009 with only 35.000$, directly after the release of diplomatic cables in 2010 has generated an incredible increase in donations. By the end of 2010, the Wikileaks overall capital reached 1.85 $ million (Domscheit- berg, 2011).

It is a fact that Wikileaks has exploited the affordances of digital technologies to convey secret documents to the public. However, Wikileaks pays no attention the effect of the release of document to the security of objects, agents, institutions and countries on a broad scale, and even the public itself. Whether, the release of cables would put critical eye on the national security of any country under attack. The creation and the exposition of the collateral murder video is a perfect instance. The scenes present aggressive shooting of civilians from the American army, the video also revealed a complete ignorance towards civilians' lives. Indeed Wikileaks has not frontiers in making unprecedented revelations regardless of the possible Sid effects that may emerge from these revelations. Note that, its mission was impossible to succeed without the basic digital infrastructure offered by digital applications and technologies nowadays. The developments of digital technologies maximize the dangers of the internet not only on national security, but also on people's private and personal lives. Consequently, the second hypothesis of the present research is **confirmed**.

<u>Hypothesis -3-</u>

The present statement hypnotized that the discourse of Wikileaks is subjective. The stand point of the institution is involved in almost every document.

More practically, through the analysis of features selected to represent and judge the extent to which the discourse of Wikileaks is subjective. It was revealed that the type of modals used across the hundred stories analyzed are those epistemic modals suggesting the high levels of possibility, probability and even certainty of prepositions being made in texts. It was very surprising that the use of modals will, must, could was targeted to make judgment about the probability of truth made in discourse (epistemic). At this point we get back to Palmer (1979) who stated that modals of will, must or may are subjective in discourse.

Another feature that reveals subjectivity in the discourse of Wikileaks is the use of the person system. Uncovering the subject positions in this account involves examining how Wikileaks make reference to different subjects in texts, with special focus on first person singular and plural forms. The analysis has examined how, and according to what rationality, Wikileaks is positioned in relation to particular, forms of action, rewards, punishments and particular forms of identity which recipients of discourse are obliged to recognize. Though, the high frequency was attributed to the pronoun 'he' most of times suggesting a reporting function. The use of the pronoun we cannot be overlooked. Arranging from exclusive 'we' and inclusive', whether Wikileaks identifies itself with the public in a particular discourse instance, or whether it presents itself as an organization providing point of view within discourse, both notions highlight that the discourse of Wikileaks is subjective to a great extent. Note that, subjectivity in discourse is another dimension of power in discourse. To conclude, the third hypothesis is also **confirmed.**

<u>Basic Recommendations:</u>

Empirical research has always been collocated with development and progress. Research comprises scientific studies, experimental studies, theoretical frames, descriptive, qualitative, quantitative and other terminology involved in the generalization of knowledge, processes of application and further innovation. Any empirical research hold a certain mission, throughout the research process, and moving from theory to practice, the research ultimate aim is to provide input of knowledge, initiate move actions, extends experiments, develop awareness and ideally change realities. The present study has:

Recognized the importance of technological progress and development of digital communication technologies which is invading people's lives and disclosing vast prospects of development for the benefit of mankind. At the same time, it entails some dangers and threats especially in cases where these technologies are misused against people's private lives, and impose surveillance on their practices. Therefore, exploitation of digital technologies gives rise to complex ethical and legal problems.

Proposed alternatives to face the maximized dangers that may emerge from unethical use of technologies, first, users of new digital technologies should understand and develop their knowledge towards protecting themselves in the obscure world of the internet. Second, critical perception of news available through digital platforms should be questioned and verified before taking standpoints. Third, there is a necessity towards the adequate use of technologies from emerging generations.

Adopted the UNESCO 2005 convention that stressed on the expansion of the web as a multi-space for communication, social interaction, and creation should promote *'freedom of expression'* alongside with *'the right to privacy'* (UNESCO report, prepared by Octavio Kulesz, 2016, p. 4)

<u>Pedagogical recommendations:</u>

The pedagogical recommendations resulted from the current study are divided into two major parts. The first part addresses the importance of critical discourse analysis in higher education studies. Second, highlights the importance of educational policies that support and develop the principles of digital literacy for emerging generations.

CDA is a vast field of incredible research and findings. It is a meeting point of different scientific and non-scientific disciplines including applied sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, history, art, religion, and others. Based on the experience of the current research, it is argued that a researcher cannot fulfill his task without extensive readings from different disciplines interrelated to his research. Moreover, knowledge of methodology and statistical operations is another challenge. To put this into context, In Morocco, there is a huge lack of reference programs mainly specialized in discourse analysis. Undergraduate studies in most faculties do not introduce discourse analysis as independent subject of study. It could be highlighted in the course of methodology in some faculties and upon the decision of the course instructor. It is true that, instructors face serious challenges related to course description and time management; In addition to the fact that students should be equipped with basic methodologies foregrounding for more sophisticated methods of research. However, developments of discourse analysis across different domains have imposed itself as a basic research method.

On the other hand, in today's tech-led culture, there is an emerging concept about digital literacy. The latter refers to the ability of social groups to use digital communication technologies effectively. No one denies the invasion of technology in people's lives and the maximized potentials of those technologies to impact the social, cultural, political, and economic policies worldwide. Developed countries have acknowledged the need for digital literacy long time ago. In Britain, primary school students are introduced to basic courses of digital technologies, the objectives and content of these courses aim to develop students 'awareness of the effective use of technologies. On more advanced levels, students develop networks and work on

developing security systems related to virus elimination, detection of faulty advertisement, and identification of violation attempts to their personal accounts on different social and educational networks.

In Japan, students in primary education are introduced to information science throughout the six years of education, later in high school students are introduced to programming, the final year students should realize the project of the invention of particular programs, mainly soft wares of different interests.

The case is much different for underdeveloped countries; it is not surprising that if such attempts, if ever made, would face serious challenges related to different cultural and financial constraints. However, policies around the globe are developed and cope with contextual circumstances. In the specific case of Morocco, it would be more convincing if we call for the inclusion of digital literacy content in the syllabus from primary to higher education. Note that, we are not referring to basic teaching of information technology classes that teaches students how to use a computer, the terminology of computer, and the like. The new millennium generation when sent to school already knows these guidelines. It is more important to introduce content related to the importance of technologies in mediating interactions worldwide, different applications of internet, dangers of extensive use of technologies on students' achievement, and other issues of similar interests. Generally, researcher, specialists and all those involved in decision making in education in Morocco have to reestablish the policy underlying the principles and aims of most theories and approaches dated back to history. The new millennium calls for important decisions that could enable the Ministry of Education to achieve the established objectives of the 2030 plan.

Finally, the call for financial and institutional support to assist and inform the developments of social sciences in Morocco is badly needed. Conferences, study days, workshops, forums provide researchers with an environment of enhanced spirit of responsibility towards scientific innovation and research.

Socio-cultural recommendations:

This research started with a broad scope of focus directed to describe and analyze the discourse of Wikileaks as a new media platform versus the widespread controversial event of leaking classified information belonged to powerful sites of power, mainly the United States. Discussion and interpretations of results were convincing enough that the new millennium has introduced several 'radical' practices tolerated by digital technologies nowadays. It was stated earlier that, the present paper does not blame nor support the mission of Wikileaks, instead, it suggests that the act of whistleblowing and hacking secret information cannot just be limited to institutions and organizations. On a micro level, taking into consideration that whistleblowing and hacking have become ordinary practices within digital networks. Then, to what extent can anyone tolerate the publication of personal files for examples family pictures, work projects, or other information supposed to be secret? To what extent surveillance is rapidly becoming a way of life?

In fact, it is obvious that when we are exposed to secret content available through social media networks, new media society does not generally think of later consequences, or whether may be their turn is coming. The idea of carelessness towards the sensitivity of content in fact stem from the complete ignorance of digital citizenship rules and rights.

This study strongly emphasis the importance of digital citizenship education within all social institutions including family institution as the most important factor that transmits and shapes social practices.

Digital citizenship includes the set of rights and laws that governs life in the digital world. It includes but not limited to:

Digital etiquette: refers to the appropriate use of technology in positive ways and for appropriate purposes.

Digital access: refers to accessibility of resources available online and the ability of consumers to judge legitimacy of these sources.

Digital law: few internet users are aware that not any content should be exploited in legal manners. Ownership and privacy rights are belong to digital law that must be respected.

Digital rights and responsibilities: involves manners of interaction and communication in addition to responsibility towards reporting unethical issues to other users.

Digital health: the excessive use of the internet has many psychological and physical consequences, especially on youth. It also affects their ability to focus for success.

Digital security: involves practices that keep users safe from hackers, viruses, identity theft.

The new millennium is witnessing an incredible invasion and innovation of digital technology. Emerging generations should accordingly develop awareness towards digital rights and responsibilities and develop their sense of digital citizenship as an enhanced responsibility towards the wellbeing of humankind. The present research on a micro scope has brought to focus how social practices are being shaped to realize different agendas. It further raises the awareness towards the implicit role of new media society in tolerating and mediating some radical practices just because of lack of understanding. Nowadays, it is the responsibility of everyone to contribute to the safe progress of digital cultures around the globe; it is unrealistic to suggest complete band of digital technologies. Contrary, the adoption and implementation of prevention and safety approach will be more convincing.

Conclusion:

The present chapter has collected the overall efforts and the findings realized from the association of theory and practice to realized the objectives and provide answers to the major concerns related to power in new media platforms. These findings have inspired the researcher to suggest further progress and research.

Further research

The outcome of the current research has initiated and inspired several notions and problems worth investigation. The notion of whistleblowing and hacking that have become ordinary in the new millennium is in fact critical. It is of considerable interest to investigate the extent to which media society nowadays are affected by these practices in comparison to assess their readiness to contribute to content news based on unethical values.

Another idea of further research is the digital culture and the notions of surveillance that has become widespread in internet mediated technologies. In today's tech-led culture, it seems that people engage in online conversation for long time just for the sake of surveying other practices and everyday lives of other people.

On more advanced level. New media platforms have lately initiated several revolutions initiated by different social groups. The affordances of the new generation of the web have diminished distance between society and governing institutions. Today, through a Twitter Hashtag, or Facebook share, it is possible that the mass communicate their voice, unveil bias exercised in different institutions and uncover sources of mistreatment and misconduct.

These proposals could be great reference for post-doctoral research program.

General Conclusion

This research shows that power in new media platforms is manifested in several forms. The primary focus of the present research study was to describe the unique characteristics of new media platforms as a medium; its openness, the equality of information and knowledge, the users' affordances. Wiki websites in this research were chosen to be the representatives of the new media platforms under investigation. Presicely, Wikileaks as the object of investigation has provided the relevant corpus for this study.

Wikileaks's primary objective was to defend transparency and truth. The organization has used several methods of information gathering to justify the release of the classified cables. Wikileaks' biggest leaks in history has created an international debate about online piracy, privacy risks and the classified institutional discourse with the power it tries to exert on the internet and internet society. The US pointed out that what Wikileaks perceive as transparency on the side of the United States government, it is a threat to its national security, and the well-being of its citizens.

Because the discourse of powerful elite is based on measures that restricted the release of information publically, the appeal to the United States government was successful from other countries included in the release project. The debate about Wikileaks is also similar in this way. A more transparent government and freedom of expression and information access are reasons why Wikileaks leaked documents.

The approaches of Wikileaks, the Pirate Bay and Anonymous are more effective and enable Wikileaks to manage materials perfectly without leaving instances. This organization managed to navigate and exert power over the digital landscape more easily; furthermore, it has become the most powerful institution of news media that is telling about hidden agendas. The role of Wikileaks in shaping discourse and exerting power over new media society is very complex, because the effectiveness of their power relies on the commitment to their own ideology, which restricts the ways they

can effectively use power on the internet. The release of the classified information especially the OPAQUE video (collateral murder video) shows that Wikileaks is able to make unexpected revelations.

Ideology therefore plays a very important role on the internet, specifically regarding organizations that use the internet as a tool for political activism.

The internet and practically new media platforms changed society in a number of ways, such as the way people access media, as in the case of the Pirate Bay, the way political activism is conducted, as in the case of Anonymous, the way people are able to anonymously leak governmental documents, as in the case of Wikileaks. These three examples are just a tip of the iceberg with regards to how the internet has changed society. These emerging practices all play an important role regarding the discussion about political issues on the internet, and they are all non-traditional.. Since the internet is still a relatively new medium, more research should be conducted to fully understand how the internet has changes societies, and also how to protect the internet in its current shape. In the future, the internet will become more accessible, faster, and will contain more information, meaning that its influence on society will also become greater. In order to realize the full potential of the internet, with regards to education, activism and international relations, more research is thus needed.

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