THE MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF ARAB SPRING IN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS: THE CASE OF PAKISTANI *THE NEWS INTERNATIONAL* AND SAUDI ARABIAN *ARAB NEWS*

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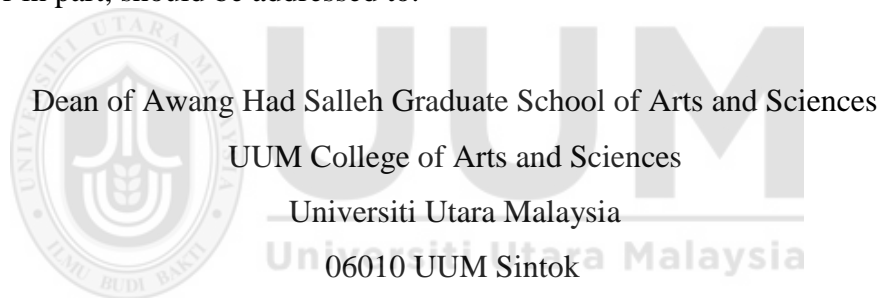
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Abstrak

Rencana sering dilihat sebagai alat sebaran akhbar yang mendedahkan unsur-unsur yang tersirat seperti konteks sosial dan budaya, latar belakang penulis rencana dan kepercayaan ideologi akhbar dalam sesebuah masyarakat. Pembaca bukan sahaja berkomunikasi dengan rencana tersebut, tetapi juga membuat tafsiran secara subjektif. Namun, tidak banyak yang diketahui tentang bagaimana kandungan media dihasilkan. Memandangkan kajian berkenaan Kebangkitan Arab tidak dilakukan sepenuhnya di dalam rencana-rencana tersebut, kajian ini meneliti bagaimana rencana akhbar arus perdana berbahasa Inggeris di Pakistan dan Arab Saudi menggambarkan kebangkitan ini. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis, kajian ini meneliti suara akhbar bukan Arab (Pakistan), *The News International* dan akhbar Arab (Saudi), *Arab News*, dengan tujuan untuk memahami Kebangkitan Arab. Data kajian kualitatif ini terdiri daripada empat puluh lapan rencana yang dikumpul sepanjang tempoh Kebangkitan Arab mendapat liputan luas media, dari Januari 2011 hingga Disember 2012. Analisis data dijalankan berdasarkan konsep kategori skematik van Dijk, liputan ideologi dan peranti retorik yang digunakan dalam wacana media serta tiga mod pujukan, iaitu etos, patos dan logos. Penemuan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa para penulis rencana bagi kedua-dua akhbar menggambarkan Kebangkitan Arab secara positif sebagai suatu pergerakan 'perubahan'. Para penulis menentang pihak berkuasa di negara-negara yang terlibat melalui perwakilan negatif lain (*them*) dan menyokong penunjuk perasaan yang menuntut perubahan, melalui perwakilan kendiri positif (*us*). Kajian ini juga mendedahkan bagaimana akhbar berkongsi emosi penunjuk perasaan secara retorik dan memberi justifikasi permintaan mereka untuk menyingkirkan rejim-rejim diktator. Sebagai kesimpulan, kajian ini menyumbang kepada pemahaman kritikal tentang bagaimana rencana akhbar boleh memperkasakan/melemahkan pembaca melalui penggunaan wacana yang betul.

Kata kunci: Penggambaran media, Wacana akhbar, Rencana, Kebangkitan Arab, Analisis wacana kritis

Abstract

Editorials are often viewed as the mouthpiece of newspapers which reveal embedded elements such as social and cultural contexts, background of editorial writers and ideological beliefs of a newspaper in a society. Readers not only communicate with the editorials, but the former also interpret them subjectively. Yet, not much is known about how the media content is produced. Given that the Arab Spring has not been fully examined in the editorials, this study explores how editorials of mainstream English language newspapers in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia portray the uprising. Using a critical discourse analysis approach, the study examines the voice of a non-Arab (Pakistani) newspaper, *The News International*, and an Arab (Saudi) newspaper, *Arab News*, with a view to understand the Arab Spring. Data for this qualitative study consist of fourty-eight editorials collected, during the period of high media coverage of the Arab Spring, from January 2011 to December 2012. The data are analysed based on van Dijk's concepts of schematic categories of editorials, ideological square and rhetorical devices utilised in the media discourse and the three modes of persuasion, namely, ethos, pathos and logos. The findings reveal that the editorial writers in both newspapers positively portray the Arab Spring as a movement of 'change'. The writers oppose the authorities in the affected countries through negative other-representation *(them)* and favour the protesters, who demanded change, through positive self-representation *(us)*. The study also reveals how the newspaper rhetoric shares the protesters' emotions and justifies their demands to remove the dictatorial regimes. As a conclusion, the study contributes to the critical understanding of how newspaper editorials can (dis)empower the readers through the use of carefully constructed discourse.

Keywords: Media portrayal, Newspaper discourse, Editorials, Arab Spring, Critical discourse analysis

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List of Abbreviations

AN	*Arab News*
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NI	*The News International*
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
RCD	Democratic Constitutional Rally
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The power of the media is generally both symbolic and persuasive since the media potentially control the readers' minds. This power highlights the role of the media within a broader framework consisting of social, cultural, political and economic power structures of a society. The mediated information is often considered biased or concealed in such a style that it reshapes the direction of knowledge and beliefs of audiences. Hence, control over means of mass communication is significant to maintain power over the media discourse. The influence exerted by the media discourse can be realized through discourse strategies, structures, content and forms practiced in the press and their relationship with institutions and audiences. Therefore, in order to examine various types of stories reported in the news media structural properties of the media discourse and conditions under which it is produced must be made known (van Dijk, 1995d).

The media discourse acts as a source of information for people's understanding which is reflected in knowledge, opinions and attitudes of both elite and non-elite audiences (van Dijk, 2000b). The media discourse refers to various forms of interactions in either written or spoken form which targets non-present readers (O'Keeffe, 2006). Some of its major roles consist of delivering information, imparting education and interpreting events to readers (Hiebert & Gibbons, 2000). Owing to its dominant grip over masses, the media discourse becomes inescapable as it is widely disseminated and highly persuasive especially when it shapes the public opinion (Talbot, 2007)

about different issues. The media discourse "has built into it a subject position for an ideal subject, and actual viewers or listeners or readers have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject" (p. 41). It differs from face-to-face discourse and targets mass audiences even without knowing their exact identities (Fairclough, 2013b). The media are authoritative advocates of their sponsors who simply desire to advance their own agenda and thus constrain the media policies. This is ensured through careful selections of editors and journalists who broadcast news or opinion which conform to their institutional policies (Chomsky & Hermon, 2010). Similarly, the media inflict a deeper impact on ideological structure of societies and act as architects of ideological and political buildings. Hence, the media cannot be considered neutral owing to the role they play in processing events (Kress, 1983).

The hidden power of the media discourse is exhibited through systematic tendencies adopted in news reporting and other media related activities. The media discourse exerts powerful influence in social reproductions due to "the very scale of the modern mass media and extremely high level of exposure of whole populations to a relatively homogenous output" (p. 45). A singly produced media text is insufficient to create any tangible impact on readers. Therefore, the power of the media has cumulative effects and works through particular ways of dealing with causality, agency and positioning readers (Fairclough, 2013b). Despite its complex involvement in contradictory and ideological processes, the media discourse is still an important part of our social structure since it influences knowledge, beliefs and social relations. Nevertheless, the media version of reality is dependent on social standings and interest of those who produce it (Fairclough, 1995). Over the past three decades,

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several renowned critical discourse analysts (e.g., Fairclough, Richardson, Talbot, van Dijk, Wodak) have recognized that the "media are deeply imbricated in relations of power and ideology" (p. 5) and their representations of issues have implications for the way they are understood (Johnson & Milani, 2010).

Until today, the mass media have become the core system for distributing ideologies. The solidarity and manifestation of ideologies is dependent on the mass media, which occurs through various means of communication such as rhetoric used to represent day to day happenings (Gitlin, 2003). In order to realize the impact of the media, it is essential to understand how the media content is produced. The study of the media content is necessary for us to infer the less open and visible phenomena, the people and the organizational and cultural settings which produce it. For instance, other than news stories which create appeals to different types of audiences, production of an editorial content is also affected by social, political or cultural orientation owned by a media group or organization. The study of various media content enables researchers to explore availability of the media messages and predict their impact on audiences. This process can be better realized with understanding of the forces which drive such media content or narratives. Conducting research on different media content such as audience-related newspaper editorials involves different conceptual and methodological approaches (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). It is asserted that the media discourse has developed into a complex and sophisticated source of information in the twenty-first century and it can be well investigated through critical approaches (Mureşan, 2013). Similarly, given the argument that the media discourse is

manufactured through ideological levels of interaction, it can be better analysed through critical research strands (O'Keeffe, 2012).

Among different types of media discourse, the influential print media enjoy full freedom and make readers rely on newspaper for coverage of issues, conflicts and controversies. The power of the press becomes more persuasive and effective if its content suits the readers' interest (van Dijk, 1995b, 1995d). The print media serve as valuable source of information and influential mode of communication in transmitting events which occur around the globe on daily basis (Cissel, 2012). The print media have long-lasting and deeper impact on the readers' mind. For instance, they play significant roles in the transfer of knowledge and complex information through variety of discourse means including daily newspapers. In addition, the print media perform two major functions: first, ideologically, the media "constantly process material thrown up in social life and in the natural sphere so as to integrate them into consistent ideological system" and, second, politically, the media "attempt to make sense of the world for others" (Kress, 1983, p. 43). The media texts are perceived as dialogic, for instance, in the case of newspaper readers not only communicate with editors through letters but also interpret them subjectively (Wodak & Busch, 2004).

1.1.1 Newspaper Discourse and Rhetoric

Newspapers generate a shared community consciousness to make readers believe that the paper they subscribe to is their newspaper which serves their interests through news reports, comments and opinion (Douglas, 2009). Newspapers cover issues related to politics, economics, society and education as a primary source of

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information (Baum & Zhukov, 2015) and share such information with readers in an accessible manner (Cole & Harcup, 2009). As a printed source of information, newspapers attract a broad reading public on various issues of day to day concern, for instance, the Arab Spring. The language used in a newspaper reflects the language of a particular society wherein it is published and, similarly, a change in a newspaper's language mirrors the linguistic change in a society (Westin, 2002). Moreover, a media text in the form of a daily newspaper serves as a rhetorical document which is produced by an institution to transmit news on current affairs. The informative content of newspapers updates readers, reflects the "thinking of the corridors of power" (p. 3) which is produced with embedded ideologies (Ng, 2008).

Newspapers not only disclose facts about the world but they also operate language to construct ideas, values, beliefs, theories, propositions and ideologies. The representation of reality in newspapers is shaped by the ideology of the writer. Moreover, newspaper reports and editorials are written in a specific style that befits the genre of an article or a style that is suitable to a newspaper. It is interesting to explore such a specific style given that it shapes the media narrative of a particular event, for instance, the Arab Spring portrayal in this study. Newspaper articles written by particular journalists are usually "tinged with official ideology" (p .23) with their written style sounding authoritative and formal. Likewise, a newspaper obligatorily chooses a unique style of producing discourse which is communicatively facilitating for a particular setting (Fowler, 1991). Such type of discourse is written with a targeted readership in mind especially if a newspaper succeeds in building an identifiable political or social position (Douglas, 2009). The world represented in the

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press, newspapers, is not the actual world but it is the world which is skewed or judged. Another function of newspapers is to reproduce attitudes of the powerful by adopting and developing language for its own social circle/group (Fowler, 1991).

The major role of newspapers is to take up matters of the public interest and share it with readers in a fast and balanced manner and, arguably, with complete accuracy (Randall, 2007). Our sociopolitical awareness and understandings of the world mainly spring from the news which is reported to us every day (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1991). The institutional as well as ideological interests of newspapers are served through opinion discourse they disseminate (Mureşan, 2013). Newspapers exercise the institutional power by being mostly implicit and hidden. This power may restrain the content of the news in order to promote certain interpretations of events by ignoring or excluding others. These wordings apparently belong to a particular newspaper but, in reality, they might be the words of power-holders of a society. Mass media discourse is interesting due to the reason that nature of power relations exercised in it is hardly clear and therefore involves hidden relations of power (Fairclough, 2013b). Given their unique linguistic content, newspapers contribute to a large variety of language used in the media (Jucker, 1992).

Newspapers have also become popular due to their coherent discourse (Conboy, 2010) which enhances cognitive skills and develops a sense of argumentation (Hess, 2005) among the readers' communities. Any source of information particularly the news media with pervasive influence are chronically regarded either biased, real or imagined. It is suggested that objectivity, the highest ideal of journalism, tends not to

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be practiced any more. In today's serious newspaper reporting, mainly in the case of editorial writings, it has become impossible to accept an objective truth (Lamb, 1985). This is revealed in the construction of the Arab Spring in the two newspapers that I examine; how the events are recounted in the media, particularly, in the newspaper editorials. I probe into the visible and hidden power of the media discourse and how it functions in a society. In particular, this study examines the editorials of *The News International* (NI) from Pakistan and *Arab News* (AN) from Saudi Arabia as a ready-made source of information for the public consumption (Biber, 1991). The aim has been to investigate how the selected mainstream newspapers, geographically segregated, portray the Arab Spring by employing certain discourse strategies.

1.1.2 Editorial as the Medium

I have selected the newspaper editorials as the medium for analysing the Arab Spring portrayal. The medium is the message as it frames and controls "the scale and form of human association and action" (McLuhan, 1994, p. 9). The news editorials, as a crucial part of the media discourse, play an influential role in prioritizing different agenda of a particular newspaper (Le, 2003). Typically, an editorial article with a restricted length of 200-500 words has a fixed position, a typical header and a distinguished page layout which may change from one newspaper to another (van Dijk, 1992). It is, usually, published on an inside page which might be referred to as the leader page (Westin, 2002). The editorials as written copies of opinion (Biber, 1991) are authorized representatives of newspapers, supposedly free of any elements of objectivity, cover one single event or issue at a time and convey socio-political significance that a newspaper attaches to an event (van Dijk, 1989b). The editorials

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which claim "to speak their own point of view" (p. 208) are distinct from other regular items like news reporting or feature writings. Such articles are often labelled as a leading article, editorial, opinion, comment (Fowler, 1991) which express opinion of the newspaper editors or publishers on topical issues (Westin, 2002).

The editorial page provokes discussions and debates that are politically, culturally and socially vital. This page is meant to serve the community's conscience; it is "one page that represents the newspaper's most important role – as community watchdog, agenda setter and conscience" (Hallock, 2007, p. 23). The main objective of editorials is to propagate the official perspectives of a newspaper and act as a guiding principle for readers to reshape their opinion on crucial matters, issues and events happening around the world (van Dijk, 1995c). As a piece of opinion, the newspaper editorials are hardly involved in objective writing practices. Hence, by gaining insights into such roles of editorials, arguably, much can be revealed about the language used in depicting events (Lee & Lin, 2006). The editorials also provide a place for the newspapers to clarify and re-establish their ideology, speak directly to readers, and present their perception of reality. With that 'space' allocated, the newspaper editorials go through mostly dense processes such as selection, assimilation, rewriting and transformation. Hence, ideologically and linguistically, an editorial is expected to be complex and revealing part of the media discourse (Hodge & Kress, 1979).

In addition, editorials due to their convincing and influential content play several significant roles. First, from communicative and interactional perspectives, editorials influence social cognition of readers and made them accept a particular belief on

certain issues through their power of persuasion. Second, editorials reproduce ideas, attitudes and ideological viewpoints of editors. They act as a means of implementing and expressing power and dominance. Third, editorials promote accepted norms and values in a particular society and thus provide with sufficient ideological insights to recognize social issues (van Dijk, 1992). The editorials are also beneficial in creating socio-cultural harmony in a particular society and among various group/party members by strengthening their ideological interests (van Dijk, 1998a, 1998b). Further, as opinion tellers, editorials are constrained by the newspapers' policy and function as benchmark for readers in giving judgments (Hynds, 1994; Pak, 1997; Vaughan, 1994). Their opinions are concealed as facts delivered by editorial board members who possess the authority inside a news organization (Reah, 2002).

Lamb (1985) also concurred with the idea that editorials as opinion of newspapers, publishers, owners or high ranking editorial staff are written by the publisher, editor-in-chief, or staff member especially hired as the editorial writers. The editorial *we* represent corporate expression or voice of the publishers, editorial boards or editorial page staff writers as one team. For this reason, editorials are not signed. However, some newspapers believe in individual expressions and their editorial discloses initials of the writer (s). In either case, an editorial opinion is expressed "to arouse public spirit, to educate and, even to give readers a chance to take issue with the paper" and has "a direct link to an event or issue of current interest…known as news peg" (p. 62). The editorials enable newspapers to legitimize some media constructions over others, related to social and political world, through rhetorical, persuasive and lexical choices (Phelan, 2007). Given such arguments, editorials, as a media discourse genre, are

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worth exploring from different perspectives such as the real world perspective, the socio-cognitive approach of the writers, the discourse analytical perspective and the pedagogical point of view (Bhatia, 2002).

Gillespie (2012), an editorial page editor of the U.S. newspapers *Star Tribune*, shared that editorial board members exercise full autonomy to endorse certain personalities without involvement of any other news staff in decision making processes. Such validations of editors may arouse mixed appraisals; at one place they are appreciated if editorial stances back up one's favourite candidates, and at another place, their reasoning is questioned if they are not compatible with one's position. Hence, people may hold dissenting views about the editorial boards. It is true that members of an editorial board have meetings to discuss their choices and unanimously give a consensus to an argument which is then published as institutional opinion in the form of an editorial. Or, usually editors get instructions from the editor-in-chief about how to react to certain events, such as what to write, how to write and when to write. Thus, the editorial opinions are produced as shared beliefs of the newspaper editors. Interestingly, despite the fact that the editor's identity is revealed to the public, the published editorial article has no signature nor does it have a by-line as it represents a group's viewpoints and not individual interests (Meltzer, 2007). Likewise, Raines (as cited in Barringer, 2000), a former executive editor of *The New York Times,* remarked that editors should let readers understand that what is reflected or endorsed in editorials is actually shared insight and "collective wisdom" of the newspaper editors.

The study selects the editorials published in *The News International* of Pakistan (NI) and *Arab News* of Saudi Arabia (AN) to investigate the Arab Spring. These editorials portray the 2011 protests which broke out in five Arab countries, namely, Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. Thus, it is worth investigating editorials that are produced with intended effects and meanings involving ideologies.

1.1.3 The Research Setting: The Origins of the Two Newspapers

The research setting of the study represents Pakistan and Saudi Arabia as the origins of the selected newspapers. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is the second largest Islamic state and the sixth most populous country of the world with a population size of about 196,174,380, as of July 2014, scattering over an area of 796,096 km^2. The country has a parliamentary democratic system of government with four provinces, autonomous regions and a federal capital territory. This Muslim majority country came into existence in 1947. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan but English is equally significant with the status of an official language in the country. English is used as the medium of instruction in all institutions ranging from primary to tertiary education. In addition, English language has become a means of educational, political, economic and social gains in the country. It is rated as a symbol of social status, prestige and a doorway to success (Ghani, 2003; Shamim, 2011).

The English media in Pakistan are elite-centric and cater mostly to the urban class of the country. The English print media, in particular, have greater impact on upper strata of the Pakistani society comprising politicians, opinion makers and members of business community. The print media is the oldest form of media in Pakistan. The

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first English newspaper *DAWN* was launched by the founder of Pakistan in 1941 (International Media Support, 2009). The Pakistani press takes the responsibility to serve the public and protect the rights of citizens by promoting the freedom of the press and public awareness ("Press Council of Pakistan", 2002).

Throughout the years, the Pakistani government implemented several measures to curb the media freedom in the country which included various press laws, taking over of publishing houses and media outlets, creation of different media groups, controlling news agencies, distribution of newsprint quotas, cash prize awards and monetary benefits for selected journalists, writers and opinion makers. The media in Pakistan have embedded itself in political struggles happening at various level of administration in the country (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). However, after 1999, the Pakistani media started flourishing with more freedom. The Pakistani press is classified into three categories based on its linguistic divisions: English, Urdu and regional languages. The English press has been more popular among the educated citizens as English language newspapers are considered more liberal, qualified and democratic (Hassan, 2012; Safdar, 2015).

The leading newspaper groups in Pakistan have been illustrated in Table 1.1. The first group, Jang, follows conservative policy and publishes news through its most popular media outlets. The second group, Dawn, adopts policies which are more liberal, moderate and based on secular perspectives. Third group, Nawa-e-Waqt, is reviewed as conservative with the policy of promoting democracy, national interests and Islamic values (Mezzera & Sial, 2010; Rehman, 2014; Safdar, 2015). Over the past

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decade, the media in Pakistan have influentially changed people's thinking on political and social issues. For policy makers in Pakistan, the print media are considered more influential. The news is supported by editorials in which newspapers take decision on critical issues (Rehman, 2014). The English newspapers in Pakistan also pay attention to international affairs (Shah, 2010) such as the Arab Spring editorials published by the NI.

Table 1.1

An Overview of Newspaper Groups in Pakistan

Owner and Publisher	Founded	Name	Type
Jang Group of Newspapers	1942	*Jang*	Daily
		The News International	
Pakistan Herald Publications	1941	*DAWN*	Daily
Nawa-i-Waqat Group of Publications	1940	*Nawa-e-Waqt*	Daily
		The Nation	
Express Group	1998	*Daily Express*	Daily
		Express Tribune	
Daily Times Group	2002	*Daily Aaj Kal*	Daily
		Daily Times	

Source: (Mezzera & Sial, 2010)

Saudi Arabia is the birth place of Islam which homes the two Holy cities, Makkah and Madinah. This significance gives the country an edge to have an ideological and political influence over 1.6 billion Muslims or the 23 percent of the world's population (De Bel-Air, 2014). Established by King Abdulaziz in 1932, the country

occupies four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula scattered over an area of approximately 2,250,000 km^2 with a population size of about 28.7 million. Additionally, Saudi Arabia receives millions of pilgrims for Umrah and Hajj (Al Zahrani, 2014), which further highlights the country's status in the Muslim world. Saudi Arabia is a monarchy administered by Sharia (the Islamic law) and the head of the state and government is the King. It is the third-largest country in the Middle East by land area (Alarfaj, 2013). The official language of Saudi Arabia is Arabic. However, English as a foreign language has deepened its roots in different sectors of the country ranging from education to industry. Al-Shumaimeri (1999) described that English in Saudi Arabia serves as the medium of instruction in higher educational institutions and pays considerable services to the sectors of trade, economy and diplomacy. English has already been introduced into the primary level of education to promote its use and realize its importance as a competitive global language (Al-Seghayer, 2011).

The English language has played a significant role in the Saudi print media by disseminating the country's point of view to local and international readership. The Saudi Press Agency, the first national news agency established in 1970, prints news in both Arabic and English. The agency is the central body which collects and circulates news officially about the Kingdom and distributes reports to different media outlets (Ministry of Culture and Information, n.d.). The history of the print media can be traced back to the twentieth century when the first official newspaper of the region *Al-Hijaz* was published in 1908. The press development in Saudi Arabia underwent several stages. The print media gradually gained momentum and newspapers became the most popular medium (Alarfaj, 2013). The newspapers in the country still

influence the readers and are considered an important news vehicle. To many Saudis, a true story is what is actually published in a newspaper (Al Maghlooth, 2013).

In Saudi Arabia, the Ministry of Culture and Information is responsible for enacting press and publication laws. The government takes the responsibility to protect the general welfare which means anything that can provoke "friction between the government and citizens, or adversely affect each citizen's duty towards his religion, country and community" (Alawadh, 2014, p. 16). Self-censorship is pervasive among the Saudi writers and they have to be careful of violating any taboos (Alarfaj, 2013, 2013; Alawadh, 2014; Al Maghlooth) it is incumbent for the information media to serve the society, consolidate Islamic values, uphold Arabic traditions and safeguard its inheritance, firmly oppose what appears as a threat for its purity and harmony and emphasize on the stability and safety of the country (Al-Garni, 2000). Among more than a dozen newspapers in Saudi Arabia, editors-in-chief follow the written guidelines of the official news agency related to crucial local, domestic and foreign policy issues (Alarfaj, 2013; Al Maghlooth, 2013). Most of the press establishments in Saudi Arabia are dominated by Arabic language newspapers except two daily English newspapers of which *Arab News* is the focus of this study. Table 1.2 displays an overview of leading newspaper groups in Saudi Arabia.

Table 1.2

An Overview of Newspaper Groups in Saudi Arabia

Owner and Publisher	Founded	Name	Type
Al-Bilad Press and Publication Establishment	1964	*Al-Bilad*	Daily
Al-Jazeera, Press / Publication Establishment	1964	*Al-Jazeera*	Daily
Okaz Organization for Press and Publication	1965	*Okaz, Saudi Gazette*	Daily
Al-Madinah Press Establishment	1964	*Al-Madinah*	Daily
Makkah Establishment for Printing and Information	1964	*Al-Nadwah*	Daily
Al-Yamamh Press Establishment	1964	*Al-Riyadh*	Daily
Dar-Alyoum Press/Publication Establishment	1965	*Al-Youm*	Daily
Asir Establishment	2000	*Al-Watan*	Daily
Saudi Research and Publishing Company	1972	*Arab News Asharq al Awsat*	Daily

Source: (Alarfaj, 2013; Al Maghlooth, 2013; Almistadi, 2014)

The multidimensional relations between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are deep and historic. Saudi Arabia was one of the first countries which recognized the birth of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan after independence in 1947. Since then, both the countries have served each other with more brotherly relations. These bilateral relations are guided by national interests, tied by the Islamic faith of unity, historic brotherhood and religious and economic proximity. Additionally, both Pakistan and

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Saudi Arabia reiterate and revise their close affiliations, various issues of common interest and joint ventures through exchange of official visits by dignitaries of the two countries (Wahab, 2015). These factors have built strong, reliable and iconic relations between the two countries. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are also leading members of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The two countries have worked closely for protecting stability and peace in the Islamic world (M. H. Khan, 2012).

Thus, the relationship between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia is based on strong foundation and "the two countries are strategic allies and have a long history of friendship and mutual interests" (Almaeena, 2015, para. 12). With geo-strategic relations, the two countries have shown convergence and shared their like-mindedness on issues of regional and international concern which commonly affect the two nations (Alam, Almotairi, Gaadar & Malik, 2013; M. H. Khan, 2012). With such relationship, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have always supported each other during conflicts and crises. In relation to the Arab Spring, the two countries issued a joint declaration to resolve the Syrian conflict by agreeing on "lifting of siege of the Syrian towns and villages; stopping … bombardment; and setting up of safe corridors...to deliver food and humanitarian aid to besieged Syrian citizens, under international supervision" (Syed, 2014, para. 7).

Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were not directly affected by the Arab Spring. On the contrary, the noticeable reforms in Saudi Arabia averted such uprisings and the country showed remarkable ability to maintain peace and remain invulnerable to all types of political disorders (Aarts & Al-Tamamay, 2013; Abdulla, 2013; Al Zahrani,

2014). Similarly, Pakistan also did not experience any anti-regime rebellions similar to the Arab Spring. The major reason which averted the uprisings included existence of democracy and political culture as part of the country's system (Sheikh, 2013; Syed, 2012) in contrast to the dictatorial regimes in the affected countries (Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Syria) of the Arab Spring. Moreover, the revolution remained away from the Pakistani society as it enjoyed comparatively more freedom of media in relation to Tunisia, Egypt and Libya (Soherwordi & Akram, 2011; "The Arab Spring", 2012).

Given such settings, the study investigates the impact of bilateral relations and media constraints on the portrayal of the Arab Spring. The opinion and ideologies embody sociocultural norms and values which are shared by a particular group or community (van Dijk, 1995c) which may share causal relationship due to certain events. The CDA approach explores such "opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes…"(Fairclough, 2013b, p. 93). Such an approach helps determine to what extent the sociocultural background, Islamic societies/communities/countries, influences the Pakistani and Saudi editorial writers in delivering opinions about the uprising. Hardly, any contemporary media research studies in these two countries have investigated the Arab Spring. The researchers in Pakistan (e.g., Mahmood & Ahmad, 2013; Raza & Akbar, 2012; Shabir, Khan, Adnan & Safdar, 2014) and Saudi Arabia (e.g., Alarfaj, 2013; Alawadh, 2014; Alotaibi, 2015) explored the media discourses related to non-Arab Spring issues. Hence, there is need to explore the media perspective of the two countries on Arab Spring.

1.1.4 Rationale for the Two Newspaper Editorials

The study compares the editorial coverage of the Arab Spring in Pakistan (NI) and Saudi Arabia (AN). Within the domain of the media discourse, a research study may compare "two or more nations with respect to some common activity" (Edelstein, 1982, as cited in Livingstone, 2003, p. 3). The study investigates how one common event, Arab Spring, is produced by the mainstream media in two different socio-cultural societies (Arab and non-Arab). Therefore, it is suggested that comparison creates opportunities for getting exciting insights into in-depth understanding of issues that focally concern different countries. Further, it provides information regarding different media patterns contained by social, political and geographic positions (Verhulst, 2008), for instance, the case of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

My choice of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia also reflects my own positioning as an insider and outsider in the real life context. The "insider-outsider" perspective (Merton, 1972) advocates how a person outside a group (my ethnicity, for instance, being a non-Arab) may achieve insights in a way different from the one inside a group, as the outsider has no in-group sensibilities. Similarly, the Pakistani newspaper (NI) is considered an outsider that belongs to a non-Arab society/country which is geographically segregated from the Arab Spring nations. On the other hand, in the context of the Arab Spring, the Saudi newspaper (AN) is considered an insider which represents the voice of an Arab society/country within the region of the Arab Spring nations. Such positioning encourages me strongly to explore the two news editorial perspectives. I argue that while there might have been numerous studies on the Arab Spring incidents, not much has been explored on how the events are constructed in the

news editorials of an Arab and non-Arab media. Given the argument, where there are two countries/nations involved in representing conflict, the situation is assumed as either the negative "out-group" realm, which is the NI, or the positive "in-group" realm, which is the AN (van Dijk, 1998b).

The rationale behind the selection of the NI and AN is also driven by the following justifications. Firstly, Pakistan is my country of origin and birth where I am a national and an ardent reader of the NI. Thus, it is heartening to make sense of the editorial excerpts concerning the Arab Spring. I am able to analyse the editorials in a more discerning and objective manner without, arguably, being biased about the events. However, the elements of inter-subjectivity and subjectivity will nevertheless exist as I interact (as a reader and researcher) with the portrayal of the events; I cannot possibly ignore the cultural specifics of the discourse (see Duranti, 2010) given that I have lived and worked in Saudi Arabia. This is consistent with the notion that the aim of critical approach to discourse analysis can "…reveal …hidden… 'often out of sight' values, positions, and perspectives" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 186).

Secondly, the selection of the AN from Saudi Arabia resonates with the host country where I currently teach and reside. I have become interested in exploring the Arab Spring incidents due to my work relationship in a multinational Arab setting and through my affiliation with the Arab community. I have been inspired by the feelings of my university colleagues from different Arab countries given the interpersonal interaction I have with them often. Some of those, I am acquainted with, originate from and work in the Arab Spring countries. Such interests have prompted me to

explore how the mainstream newspapers outside the protest-affected countries portray the Arab Spring.

Hence, this research aims at analysing the extent to which the selected newspapers reflect similarities and differences in portraying the uprising. It is assumed that the NI belonging to a distant, non-Arab and geographically segregated country generally adopts a pro-Arab Spring approach. On the contrary, the AN may remain more concerned about the uprising countries due to its regional and sociocultural affiliations with the Arab Spring nations.

1.1.5 Arab Spring: The Breakout

The phrase Arab Spring represents a series of protests, reform movements and revolutions that engulfed some of the Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa (Perrin, 2013) including Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. These nationwide protests that broke out against the ruling authorities, during the late months of 2010 and the early months of 2011, intended to generate a tendency of change in the region (Blaydes & Lo, 2012; Chokoshvili, 2011). Historically, the term "spring" was used in Europe to define popular uprisings against a political system (Al-Mulhim, 2016) such as the Prague Spring which erupted in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (Perrin, 2013). The term also refers to the European Revolution, namely, The Springs of Nations which occurred in 1848. In the Arab world, it reminds of the Damascus Spring of 2000 to 2001, the Beirut Spring in 2005 (Massad, 2012), the Baghdad Spring in 2003 and the Cairo Spring in 2005 to 2006 (Abusharif, 2014).

The Arab Spring protests first broke out in Tunisia and rapidly spread to Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. The wave of anti-regime protests overthrew long-standing dictatorial regimes in these affected countries except Syria. This pro-change movement reshaped the politics of the region (Aday, Farrell, Lynch, Sides, & Freelon, 2012; Al-Mulhim, 2016) by questioning the existing authoritarianism (Bauer, 2015) and carrying out the demands for 'freedom' and 'change' (Panara & Wilson, 2013). The tragic story of Mohammed Bouazizi, who burnt himself to death, ignited the Arab Spring protests and aroused worldwide sympathies. As a dweller of a Tunisian town, Mohammad Bouazizi was a primary breadwinner for his family; he failed to bribe the municipal authorities and his weighing scales and cart, the sole means of making his income, were seized by the officials. Bouazizi's desperate calls for seeking justice went futile. Subsequently, he burnt himself on 17 December 2010 (Kashefi, 2013). Consequently, the death of this 26-year-old despondent sparked the first violent wave of anti-regime protests in Tunisia (Karkouti, 2016).

The Arab Spring in Tunisia, also known as Jasmine Revolution, (Khosrokhavar, 2016) caused more than three 300 death and over 2000 injuries (Shahshahani & Mullin, 2012). As reported, pro-change protests in the country against socio-political injustice, widespread unemployment and severe economic recession ("Tunisia Boils Over", 2011) were seriously suppressed by security forces and the images of police brutality against the Tunisian protesters were watched across the world (Abushouk, 2016). Consequently, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's ruling party in Tunisia was ousted on 14 January 2011 (Acemoglu, Hassan & Tahoun, 2014; Hashemi, 2013). Figure 1.1 illustrates the timeline of the Arab Spring.

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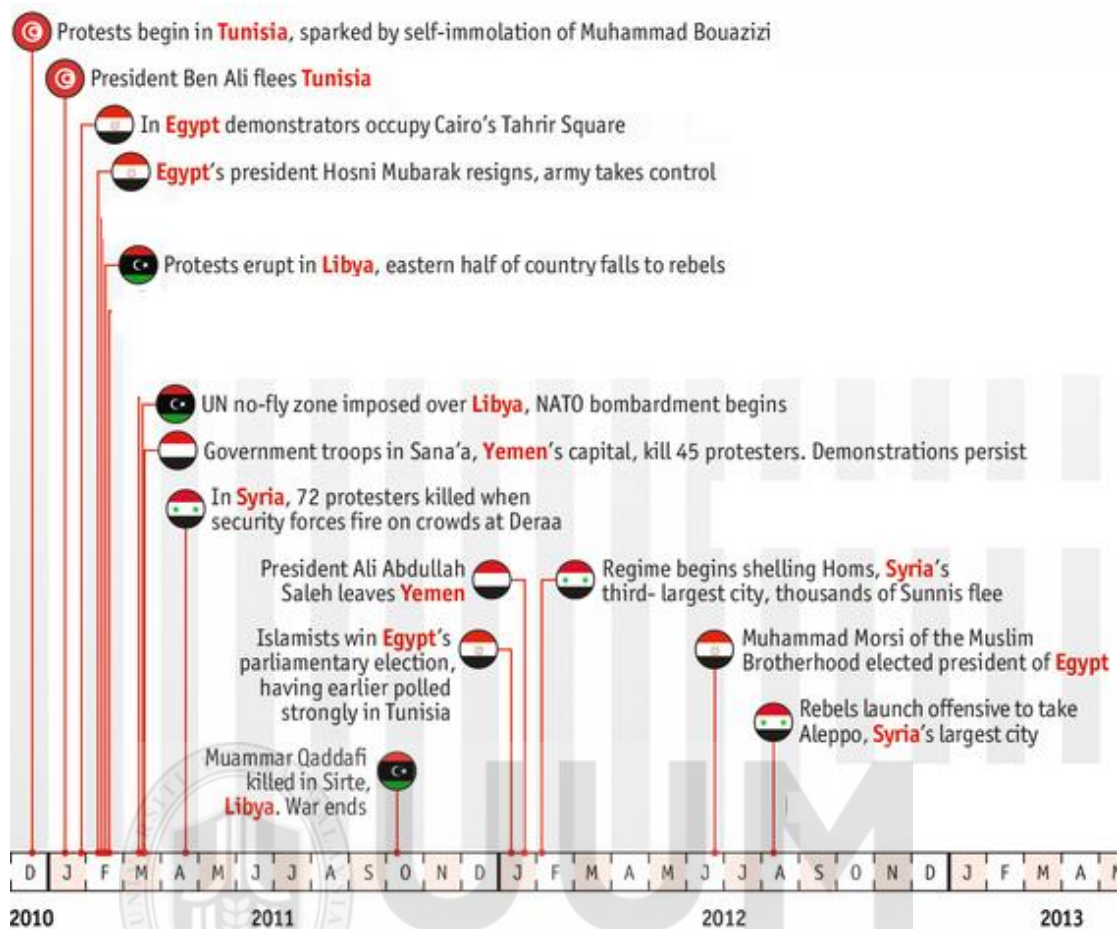
Figure 1.1. Timeline of Arab Spring

Source: (Rodenbeck, 2013)

The Arab Spring broke out in Yemen when a Facebook post on 16 January 2011 invited the public to express solidarity with the Arab Spring protesters in Tunisia. This invitation instigated anti-regime protests in the country which culminated in removing President Ali Abdullah Saleh's 33-year-old rule on 27 February 2012. The proclaimed reasons of frustration in Yemen were almost the same as in Tunisia such as corruption, social abuses, economic instabilities, political turmoil and joblessness faced by the youth (Moaddel, 2012). More than 2,000 people died while 500,000 were internally displaced and thousands became foodless and homeless during the unrest in the country (Reuters, 2012). The anti-regime protests in Yemen were supported by

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religious leaders, government officials, tribesmen and others. The decade long tyrannical rule of President Saleh became a matter of concern for many Yemenis (Al-Faqih, 2011). As claimed, these despondent citizens wanted to establish a modern civil state in Yemen by eradicating the corrupt rulers who had badly failed to serve their countrymen (Hill, Salisbury, Northedge & Kinninmont, 2013).

In Egypt, on 25 January 2011, a public rally was also mobilized through Facebook to raise voice against the regime's violence, corruption and acts of emergency (Moaddel, 2012). The death of Khalid Mohamed Saeed, a young Egyptian protester, beaten by security forces in the city of Alexandria, intensified the public anger against President Hosni Mubarak's regime when images of his disfigured corpse were circulated through the social media. Mubarak's National Democratic Party was claimed as an epitome of economic favouritism, corruption and monopolization of political power (Acemoglu et al., 2014). On February 4, 2011, thousands of the protesters gathered at Tahrir Square in Cairo and other parts of the country to demand the regime 'change' through elections and democratic reforms. During the Arab Spring in Egypt, at least 800 nationals were killed and more than 6,000 were injured (Zagger, 2011). Finally, Mubarak was forced by the protesters to quit on February 11, 2011 (Abushouk, 2016).

The Arab Spring with its rapidly increasing momentum also spread to Libya. On February 17, 2011, protests erupted against the Libyan regime. President Colonel Gaddafi adopted several precautionary measures but could not survive against the gigantic Arab Spring. It was reported that his rule, which started in 1969, crushed all forms of dissidents and denied Libyans of human rights (Kashefi, 2013). There had

not been any proper governmental system for ages ("Qaddafi Totters", 2011). The protesters were desperately dissatisfied with expanding corruption and unemployment accompanied by deep-rooted systems of tribal preferentialism. The Libyan diplomats at the UN supported the Arab Spring and insisted on the Libyan military to support anti-regime protesters. The conflicts between military and Qaddafi's loyalists broke out which dragged the country to a full-fledged civil war (Abushouk, 2016). Finally, the protesters succeeded in liberating Libya from Qaddafi's 42-year-old rule of brutal repression (Cottle, 2011). Ultimately, in October 2011, Qaddafi was captured and killed by the protesters (Khosrokhavar, 2016). At least, 30,000 people were reported dead, 50,000 were wounded and thousands were reported missing in Libya's six-month civil war (Laub, 2011).

The Arab Spring erupted in Syria when security forces opened fire on the protesters, on 13 March 2011, who demanded the release of children detained for painting anti-government graffiti on the walls of a school (Moaddel, 2012). President Bashar al-Assad was accused of creating internal colonialism like situations by bombing his people and stopping them from joining the freedom movement launched through the Arab Spring (Hashemi, 2013). On 25 March 2011, massive protests were held which demanded reforms and lifting of the country's 48-year-old state of emergency. It was reported that security forces treated the protesters with extreme cruelty, bombed cities and villages and openly killed civilians (Rovera, 2012). Syria was engulfed by nationwide protests which also included several Fridays, in which millions participated, such as Friday Quit, Friday of the Descendants of Khalid ibn al-Walid, Friday of the Killing Silence and Friday of International Support and Protection

(Khosrokhavar, 2016). During the Arab Spring, more than two million Syrians had to seek refuge in neighboring countries with 4.25 million people internally displaced (Edwards & Dobbs, 2013). The death toll in Syria even surpassed 150, 000 (Barnard, 2014). The regime encountered deep trouble due to pro-change protests which threatened the autocratic hold of Assad's family. Consequently, the Syrian uprising tuned into a civil which still continues (Khosrokhavar, 2016).

With these events and their developments in perspective, I examine how the (AN) and (NI) newspaper editorials construct the Arab Spring.

1.2 The Problem Statement

The news is a re-contextualization of different events ranging from politics, society and education. Therefore, the news helps elevate people socially, politically and educationally when they are in direct contact with it through the media discourse, which tends to shape the public mind on different socio-political issues, build social relations through portrayal of events of mutual interests and help to understand the importance of a society as a single entity (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). As an integral part of the media discourse, newspapers are cultural artefacts which suggest that the print media vary from country to country and culture to culture. However, it does not imply that the print media in one country are better than the other. Rather, newspapers represent the culture they are produced in or originate from and their language has its "own emotional and cultural loading" (Reah, 2002, p. 55) which often reflects the attitude of one culture showing little respect for certain groups, beliefs or concepts related to other culture. Thus, the newspaper language tends to change with the

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change in belief and values. Like other forms of texts, the newspaper discourse also operates at lexical and syntactic levels to deliver a clear ideological message, establish a particular relationship with audiences and determine their nature (Reah, 2002).

Since the institutions of news reporting and productions are situated socially, politically or economically, the news is produced based on a particular angle or ideological position. Thus, a strong tendency of bias exists in the media descriptions of events as the news is not simply "a value-free reflection" (p. 4) of realties or facts (Fowler, 1991), for instance, the news editorials in this study. Through a printed discourse type, writers produce forms and meanings which are either assumed to be understood by readers or which may explicitly address them and stimulate reactions or it may simply be produced as a recipient-designed discourse. In such type of written communications, writers (journalists) and readers (media users) get entangled into sociocultural practices, shared beliefs and ideological relationships which make the news text a societal product (van Dijk, 1988a). Hence, the ideological bias in a new text cannot be ignored and it is not the issue who is supported or opposed but the issue is the existence of bias, as seen in the Arab Spring portrayal. In the process of news production, editors have the power of making decisions on behalf of readers who might not be fully aware of the omitted information or news stories. The news in this case is, therefore, produced under legitimate editorial control (Reah, 2002).

The media played a critical role in covering the 2011 Arab Spring where different media outlets including the newspapers were considered a driving force behind prompting anti-regime protests. The Arab audiences, for instance, in Tunisia, Egypt,

Yemen, Libya and Syria also relied on international newspapers during the uprising beyond their national media channels and newspapers. This is due to the reason that the national media in these countries usually remained loyal to the existing regimes and, hence, lacked credibility. The Arab Spring caught extraordinary attention from the international media and the Arab Spring countries were subjected to intense media coverage. However, the media's tendency to restrain or fully cover some events depends on several factors such as newsworthiness, news sources and loyalty shown by the media organisation to its national policies. Such media control served as a tool for the governments to mobilise the Arab audiences by propagating and glorifying the achievements of the ruling elites (Haider, 2016). Amazingly, when these countries were burning with revolutions, the state-owned media mostly reported empty streets denying any signs of the uprising or pro-change movements (Ramadan, 2014).

The Arab Spring has become worth examining since the revolutions generated a "new set of media images" (p. 144) for research scholars to explore various aspects of the events (Salaita, 2012). The events challenged the academics, commentators and policymakers to contemplate the developments and circumstances it produced (Abusharif, 2014). Since the protests broke out, they gained attention and interest among the scholars and social scientists around the globe. There have been an increased number of research studies about the Arab Spring revolutions but the research on social media representations of the protests dominated the scene (Rand, 2013). As claimed, due to absence of any "open media and civil society in the uprising countries, the new media played an instrumental role by serving as an updated source of information about the revolutions (Khondker, 2011). Specifically,

Facebook, Twitter and You Tube (Axford, 2011; Chung & Cho, 2013; Harsch, 2011; Rane & Salem, 2012) disseminated the conflicts (Campbell & Hawk, 2012) as sole drivers and the Arab Spring was even considered a direct outcome of the popularity of the Internet and digital media (Arif, 2014). Thus, relatively less attention has been given to the newspaper coverage of the events (Haider, 2016).

By pinpointing the existing research trend of too much dependence on the social media coverage, this study draws the readers' attention towards the news media coverage of the Arab Spring, or rather, the portrayal of each episode that occurred. Despite a good number of studies on the Arab Spring, not much has been explored about the events from the CDA perspective of the newspaper discourse (Alhumaidi, 2013; Bardici, 2012; Youssef, 2012) where specific lexical choices in the text would become the analytical factor. Upon reviewing the existing news media discourse studies in the context of Pakistan, it has been observed that the media researchers largely neglected the portrayal of the Arab Spring. Rarely, the researchers examined the newspaper coverage of the uprising in Pakistan (Alasuutari, Qadir & Creutz, 2013) despite widespread media reporting of the protests in the country. Similarly, the media research on the Arab Spring has also been limited in Saudi Arabia (AlMaskati, 2012; Amin & Jalilifar, 2013) despite the fact that the country has cultural, linguistic and geographical proximity with the uprising nations.

The media discourses including the news media can be better explored as a specific type of language use, text or a particular type of sociocultural practice (van Dijk, 1988a) such as the case of the Arab Spring. The study of such a media discourse

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becomes more significant if its objectives are to investigate whether the power is manipulated through the linguistic forms or a particular genre of discourse, for instance, editorials, or by the people who control the events (editors) or have access to the public spheres (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). For instance, the editorials as newspaper representatives convey certain tendencies which are in accordance with the implicit ideologies practiced in the news media manifested as either legitimized or de-legitimized means adopted to achieve certain goals (Fairclough, 2013a). Moreover, the mind control by the media works effectively when the media users change their minds of free will and accept journalistic opinions as legitimate without realising its implications (van Dijk, 1995d).

Given such arguments, a need was felt to investigate how the news media viewed the Arab Spring from outside the borders of Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, and Syria where the freedom of the press was restricted by the authorities to promote their own dictatorial interests (Haider, 2016). For such reasons, this study presents two different media perspectives from outside the affected countries. It highlights the Arab Spring portrayal from the lens of the mainstream newspapers in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Supposedly, the NI (Pakistan) might cover the events differently with an 'outsider' perspective from outside the borders of the Arab region and the AN (Saudi Arabia) might cover the events differently with an 'insider' perspective located within the Arab region. Given the fact that the media discourse tends to shape the people's mind-set, we need to utilize our sense making of the Arab Spring as well as of the media sense making of this particular turmoil.

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There is also a need to understand how editorials as an 'opinion discourse' (van Dijk, 1995c, 1998b) construct the Arab Spring. A qualitative research method is required to explore the way (senior) media workers (editors) describe the events as an ideological discourse; the way the media shape public opinion and inform readers about the ideological mindset of a society, at least, in terms of the Arab Spring episodes; and whether issues like ethnicity, nationality, regionalism, religion, or culture really matter in describing such events. It is also significant to analyse similarities and difference in the editorial portrayal of the NI and AN to gain insights into two major aspects: first, the way the newspaper editorials despite their distinct backgrounds construct the Arab Spring before presenting it to the public in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia; secondly, the way these newspapers broadly help the same masses to make sense of these events or to develop a mind-set favouring either the authorities or the protesters in the Arab Spring countries.
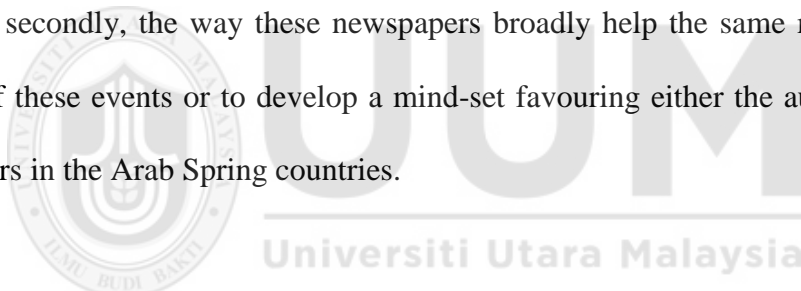
In order to address this problem, the study adopts two research strands as illustrated in the subsequent chapter (see Figure 2.1). The first approach is van Dijk's notion of CDA that includes the use of schematic categories, ideological square model and rhetorical devices as utilised in the two newspaper editorials. The second approach includes the use of three modes of persuasion adopted by the editorial writers to create ethical, emotional and logical appeals. Through the blend of these approaches, how the lexical choices of the editors influenced the readers to favour either of the two sides, groups, parties or the Arab Spring actors (protesters vs. authorities) are explored. These approaches are also pertinent to understand how the editorial

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discourse is used as a medium to provoke the readers' feelings and make them react in a particular way.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study fulfils the following research objectives:

1. To investigate the schematic categories used by Pakistani *The News International* and Saudi Arabian *Arab News* editorials in portraying the Arab Spring.

2. To identify the rhetorical devices utilised in portraying the Arab Spring by the editorials.

3. To examine the construction of the Arab Spring actors (protesters vs. authorities) in the two newspaper editorials.

4. To explore the use of persuasive appeals in the editorials.

1.4 Research Questions

Specifically, the study answers the following research questions:

1. How do the editorials of Pakistani *The News International* and Saudi Arabian *Arab News* use schematic categories in portraying the Arab Spring?

2. What are the rhetorical devices employed in portraying the Arab Spring?

3. How do the two newspaper editorials construct the actors (protesters vs. authorities) of the Arab Spring conflict?

4. How do the editorials utilise the modes of persuasion in portraying the Arab Spring?

1.5 The Significance of the Study

The study on the Arab Spring portrayal by the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspaper editorials specifically investigates the editorial content of the selected newspapers on a similar subject but in two different countries. It is suggested that a cross-national research aims to: improve understanding of one's own national country, develop understanding of other countries, test a theory in diverse settings, evaluate the scope of certain phenomena and improve international understanding (Livingstone, 2003). The study is also vital for broadening perception and awareness on social issues. It sharpens the power of description and plays a pivotal role in concept-formation by focusing on similarities and contrast (Collier, 1993). The contribution of the study sheds light in three dimensions: theoretical, methodological and practical.

The study reveals how the media perspectives (editorials) influenced people's decision making inside the Arab community and outside the Arab community. It presents the way editorial columns inform the audience in their own countries as well as in the countries where they circulate their 'thoughts' about what happens. Such elite audiences consist of unequivocally, among other stakeholders, readers, political analysts, researchers involved in empirical studies, critics and editors themselves who echoed their own voices through editorials that often acted for readers as oracles carrying didactic messages. Further, it reveals the orientation and behavioural trends held by different people associated with various media institutions including the media group owners, readers and newspaper editors. It presents the way editorials construct embedded ideologies and rhetoric in the world where the media seem to be

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the 'main distributor of knowledge', whilst at the same time, the affected persons/nations might also be part of the knowledge recipients. The study also informs us about the mainstream trend, that is, what is considered politically correct in the world we live in. The Arab Spring is almost like a small window of the current world where we witness a number of chaotic situations, typically sparked off by small incidents due to injustice and provoked emotions to name a few.

The study also investigates the media practice of "legitimation and marginalization" as argued by Rohizah (2012, p. 13) in her analysis of the Iraq war narratives by the British and Malaysian newspapers. In this study, such embedded practices in the Arab Spring portrayal which accept certain actors/events and reject others through its preferential treatments are highlighted. The study demonstrates how the editorials posit the voice of newspapers where the editorial writers use their privilege to legitimize certain practices (favour) and disregard others (against). Such a voice acts as an 'eye-opener' to the role of media advocacy. As argued by Harun (2007) in her study about Malays and Chinese in Malaysia, the sensemaking of diverse ethnic members in daily experiences is realized through negotiated acts and strategies. She made sense of Weick's sensemaking approach in understanding interpersonal communication among the ethnic members. Similarly, this study tries to make sense of how diverse others—the people who are (in)directly involved in the events, the editors, and the readers (us)—make sense of the events that have been unfolded in front of our eyes through the newspaper editorials as the medium. Given that the people might share the same religion, their enactments speak volumes.

By focussing on the Arab Spring, it is emphasized that the editorials provide snapshots of sociocultural identities (Le, 2010) in which the real-life actors (editors) deliver opinions and leave readers with the newspapers' own stance. Thus, the role of the editorials in reshaping the public opinion through 'socially-shared' representations of the Arab Spring is reaffirmed and reiterated. In this sense, McLuhan's (1994) notion, medium as the message, is reinforced. Given that the news texts indicate social change (Fairclough, 1995), this study informs us how the NI and AN editorials as distinctive representatives of the two societies play a crucial role in reshaping the public mind-set, creating social awareness and providing citizens with forums to respond on sensitive issues. It draws attention to how the Arab Spring editorials, immersed with the power of rhetoric and persuasion, contribute to portray contemporary social uprisings (McCombs, 1997). The Arab Spring in the Middle East was considered among the most important developments of the contemporary world. This study highlights how the affected Arab nations collectively revolted against the regimes and demanded 'change' for better economic, political and social conditions after bearing the decades of suppression and getting disappointed by their rulers. It also highlights the sufferings caused to the Arab Spring protesters by pro-government forces which retaliated by using violent and riotous means (Haider, 2016). Thus, the study points out social inequities and injustices faced by the Arab Spring protesters and how unjustly they were treated by the dominant ruling authorities in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria when they demanded 'change'.

1.6 The Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the editorial portrayal of the Arab Spring in a non-Arab newspaper (NI) published in Pakistan and an Arab newspaper (AN) published in Saudi Arabia. These selected editorials cover anti-regime protests which broke out in 2011 in some Middle Eastern and North African countries. It focuses on the Arab Spring as it broke out in five countries, namely, Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria which relatively received more media attention around the world. The sampled editorials were published between January 2011 and December 2012. This period was considered the peak period of media coverage of the protests (Dube, 2013). The sampling for this study consists of forty-eight editorials, twenty-four editorials from each of the selected newspapers, utilised as the units of analysis.

The qualitative study focuses on similarities and differences in the editorial content of the NI and AN. It makes sense of the 'power of editorials' embedded in the viewpoints of the two newspapers by examining the Arab Spring portrayal in two different contexts. It investigates the use of language as a form of social practice through the CDA approach. Specifically, the study probes discursive strategies employed by the editorial writers such as the schematic categories of editorials, ideological square, rhetorical devices and modes of persuasion employed to construct the Arab Spring. For manageability of the data and electronic coding, the study is assisted by NVivo.

1.7 Definitions of Relevant Terms

The following terms are defined as they are used in the study:

Arab Spring: Arguably, the term "Arab Spring" is said to be coined by the American Journal of Foreign Policy (Massad, 2012). The Arab Spring as explored in this study refers to anti-regime protests which broke out in 2011 in Tunisia (Soengas, 2013) and later spread to other countries.

Editorials: Editorials are the widest circulated and mass communicated type of 'opinion discourse' in a society (van Dijk, 1995c). They are intended and structured to "express and convey the opinions of the newspaper about recent news events…written about a single event or issue per day…implicitly signal that the newspaper attributes particular social or political significance to such an event" (van Dijk, 1989b, pp. 230-231).

Ideology: An ideology is argued as a "fairly abstract system of evaluative beliefs, typically shared by a social group that underlies the attitudes of a group" (van Dijk, 1995c, p. 12).

Ideological Square: The ideological square refers to the "strategy of polarization - positive in-group description and negative out-group description" (p. 33). It is based on the evaluative principles of emphasizing our good properties and their bad properties and mitigating our bad properties and their good properties (van Dijk, 1998b).

Modes of Persuasion: According to Aristotle (1356/2006), persuasion takes place at three modes: ethos, pathos, and logos. The ethos refers to the personal character, authority or credibility of a speaker or writer. The pathos refers to the appeals to emotions (anger, fear, confidence, pity). Finally, the logos refers to the appeals to logic and reasoning.

Opinion: In this study, opinions are understood as the "special form of mental representations; their acquisition, usages and functions are social, and their expression often discursive" (van Dijk, 1995c, p. 7).

Rhetorical Devices: The rhetorical devices are used to make a text more persuasive for readers. They may include syntactic operations (such as parallelism), semantic operations (such as comparisons or metaphors, hyperbole) and words and sentence meanings that build some form of climax or contrast. The rhetorical moves or structures occur at the level of text and their purpose is to "attract attention, to highlight, to emphasize, or to de-emphasize specific meanings of discourse" (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 122).

Schematic Categories: The term refers to van Dijk's (1992) assumption that the schematic structures of editorials feature the following three conventional categories: (a) the 'Definition' of the situation that presents subjective summary of the news events; (b) the 'Evaluation' that presents editorial judgements of recent news events; and (c) the 'Conclusion' is the final category that reflects editorial expectations about

future developments, normative opinions, recommendations and what specifically news actors should do or not do (van Dijk, 1992).

1.8 Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter one presents the background of the study. This includes an explanation of the roles adopted by the media discourse and newspapers and how the editorials disseminate opinion on critical issues. It also reveals the two research settings, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, with reference to bilateral relations and the Arab Spring. Further, it presents the rationale for selecting the two newspapers (NI and AN) and the break out of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. The chapter also reveals the problem statement which explains the need for exploring the news media portrayal of the Arab Spring. Next, the chapter discusses the research objectives and research questions used to investigate the discourse strategies utilised by the editorial writers in portraying the Arab Spring. The significance of the study and the scope of the study are presented and the definitions of relevant terms are also explained.

Chapter two presents the theoretical framework of the study that guides the analysis of the Arab Spring and is based on two research strands. The first strand consists of van Dijk's concepts related to the schematic categories of editorials, ideological square and rhetorical devices used in the media discourse. The second strand consists of the modes of persuasion, namely, ethos, pathos and logos suggested by Aristotle. The chapter also presents a detailed discussion on the concepts related to newsmaking and newsgathering, discourse, discourse analysis approach and the CDA framework

adopted in this study. It also explains rhetoric, contemporary rhetoric and classical rhetoric and its relationship with CDA. Lastly, the chapter presents a critical review of the past studies which include the media studies conducted on the newspaper discourse in general, media discourse studies on the Arab Spring and media discourse studies relating to the Pakistani and Saudi contexts.

Chapter three discusses the research methodology adopted in this study. It explains the qualitative research method and its suitability for exploring the Arab Spring portrayal. The chapter also presents the data collection method, background of the selected newspapers and sampling of the Arab Spring editorials published in the NI and AN. Next, the chapter elucidates the data analysis procedure which consists of content analysis. Further, it illustrates how the coding was done using Microsoft Word (manual coding) and NVivo 10 (electronic coding). The last part of the chapter presents ethical considerations.

Chapter four reveals the analysis of the Arab Spring portrayed by the Pakistani (NI) newspaper editorials. First, the chapter presents the analysis of the emerging themes. Second, under van Dijk's framework of CDA, the chapter analyses the three schematic categories (definition, evaluation and conclusion) used in the editorials about the Arab Spring. Third, it makes sense how the Pakistani newspaper editors used the ideological square to portray the Arab Spring actors (protesters vs. authorities) in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. Fourth, the chapter investigates how the editorial writers of the NI used different rhetorical devices to construct the Arab Spring message. Finally, the chapter also reveals how the editors

employed the three modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos) to gain the readers' attention.

Chapter five presents the analysis of the Arab Spring as portrayed by the Saudi (AN) newspaper editorials. First, the chapter presents the Arab Spring themes that emerged during the process of analysis. Second, based on van Dijk's concepts, the chapter reveals the analysis of the three schematic categories of editorials employed by the AN editors to represent the Arab Spring. Third, it represents the analysis of the ideological square to examine the portrayal of the protesters and authorities in five Arab Spring countries. Fourth, it reveals how the editors of the AN employed rhetorical devices to emphasise or de- emphasise their point of views. Finally, the chapter reveals the analysis of the three modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos) used by the Saudi writers to create editorial appeals.

Chapter six discusses the findings obtained from the Arab Spring as portrayed in the selected newspapers. It reveals similarities and differences in the two media narratives by comparing how the Pakistani newspaper editorials represented a non-Arab (outsider) perspective and the Saudi newspaper editorials represented an Arab (insider) perspective of the Arab Spring. The chapter also discloses how the NI and AN, through several discursive strategies, adopted the editorial stance which was found more oppositional and critical towards the authorities in the Arab Spring countries than the protesters. Thus, the chapter exemplifies in detail the pro/anti-Arab Spring stance of the two newspapers.

Chapter seven concludes by revisiting the Arab Spring portrayal and presenting an overview of the post-uprising situation. It discusses the contributions and limitations of the study. The chapter also presents recommendations for future research on the Arab Spring and related events. Lastly, it discusses the sociocultural and pedagogical implications of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study, based on two research strands: van Dijk's model of CDA and Aristotle's modes of persuasion, and review of the related literature. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part one reviews the theoretical concepts that are relevant to the media practice of newsmaking and newsgathering, the term discourse, discourse analysis as an approach and the CDA framework. Next, the chapter reviews the concepts related to rhetoric, classical and contemporary rhetoric and elucidates the relation between classical rhetoric and CDA. Part two reviews the past media studies conducted on the newspaper discourse, media discourse studies on the Arab Spring and media discourse studies in the local context of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The review of prior studies leads the researcher to a theoretical framework in order to initiate the research, confront and apply the data analysis procedure within the research context and examine the data gathered. The theoretical framework in a qualitative study is defined as a conceptual model that demonstrates how the researcher theorizes or logically makes sense of relationship among several factors which are fundamental to the research problem (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). The theoretical framework of this study employs two research strands, namely, van Dijk's theories and Aristotle's modes of persuasion as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The first approach illustrates three of van Dijk's theories as a type of CDA: schematic

categories of editorials (1989b, 1992), ideological square (1998a, 1998b) and use of rhetorical devices in the news media discourse (1988a, 1988b).
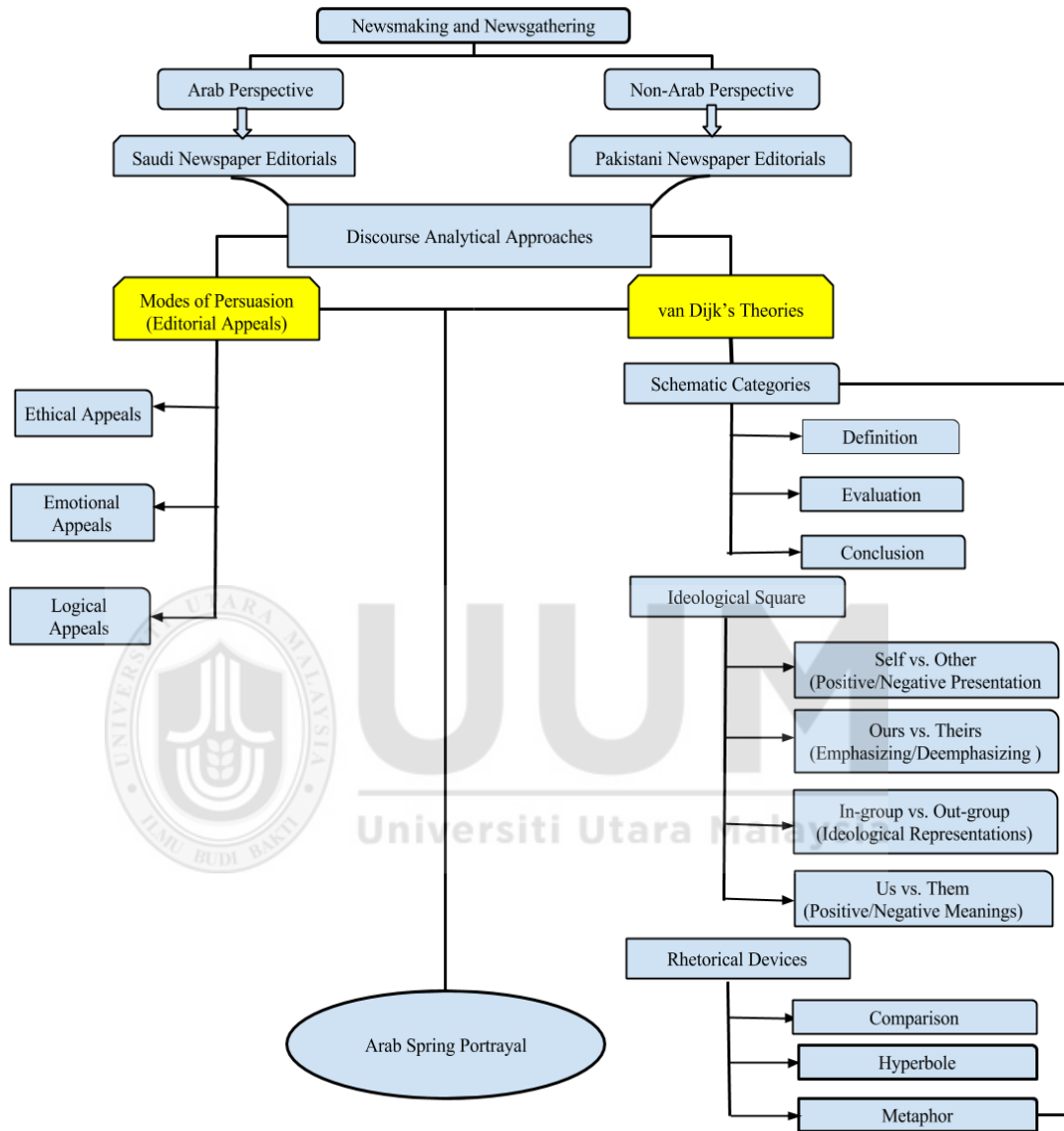
Figure 2.1. Theoretical framework of the study

Source: (Aristotle, 1356/2006; van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1989b, 1992, 1998a, 1998b)

The second approach relates to the classical modes of persuasion namely ethos, pathos and logos (Aristotle, 1356/2006) and is included in the framework to analyse the editorial power of persuasion embedded in the Arab Spring message. The application of such a blended theoretical framework assisted me in understanding

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various discursive practices employed by the editors of the two mainstream newspapers, NI (Pakistan) and AN (Saudi Arabia), in representing the Arab Spring. The purpose of blending the two theoretical approaches is based on the following reasons.

First, the CDA approach has been found useful in "investigating the problem represented by the Arab Spring" (p. 43), analysing socio-political actions and emphasising the role played by discourse in describing such actions. Second, in the context of the Arab Spring, the CDA approach has been found worthwhile to examine the portrayal of the protesters and authorities in the countries of the uprising, investigate the role played by language in addressing social changes and motivating people to adopt a particular line of action and exploring the newspaper bias, if any. Third, CDA also uncovers how the newspapers adopt a particular discourse to represent power relations of their societies in which they operate, for instance, the case of Pakistan (non-Arab society) and Saudi Arabia (Arab society). Hence, the application of CDA allows the researcher to integrate language, power, ideologies and societies by exploring such conflicts (Haider, 2016).

Lastly, during the Arab Spring conflict, people faced difficulty in collecting credible information coming from a variety of sources including the media with multidimensional nature of meaning. Therefore, the CDA methodology has been considered appropriate to reveal the hidden meanings of discourse and take into account different discourse strategies adopted by the text producers to deliver their messages neutrally, positively or negatively. van Dijk's notion of ideological square,

in particular, have been considered vital in uncovering group polarisation (*us*/*them* and *self*/*other*) produced by the newspapers based on their socio-cultural loyalty with their countries of publication (Haider, 2016) while representing the two sides (protesters vs. authorities) of the conflicts in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria.

Based on the second approach of the theoretical framework, the study also investigates how the editorials of the NI and AN employed the three modes of persuasion and persuaded the readers to either support the Arab Spring protesters or oppose the authorities by creating ethical (ethos), emotional (pathos) and logical (logos) appeals. The rationale behind adopting these modes of persuasion lies in the editorial message on the Arab Spring. These appeals exist in the editorial description of such events, for instance, through logos the newspaper editors try to gain the readers' attention on particular issues and convince them by employing logical appeals. These appeals are privileged over other modes of persuasion due to their highly logical and rational arguments. There also exists in the editorial portrayal of events a covert appeal to emotions created by the editors to target the readers' passion and mood. The editors' credibility is also considered synonymous to their reputation in different types of editorial writings. This appeal generates editorial ethos, credibility and trustworthiness (Mureşan, 2013). Similarly, Hannon (2012) supported the idea that the editorials have to be persuasive enough to urge readers to go for, through positive endorsements, or against, through negative endorsements, a party or group based on a newspaper's policy. Since the editorials reflect beliefs and opinions of a particular institution, they directly address readers on specific issues through such

appeals. The following sections discuss in detail the concepts relating to the theoretical framework.

2.2.1 Newsmaking and Newsgathering

The newsrooms are no different than any other organizations which contain a particular set of practices, routines or formalities. Various practices involved in the routinization of news gathering and selection greatly affect news production and cause uniformity in news content. Since news events have largely been reduced to organizational routines, it is perceived that organizational values or routines overpower the newsmen's personal choices. News may be produced or gathered in a slanted way through several processes such as omission, selection and placement to sever the newspaper's policy. The policy refers to "consistent orientation adopted by a news organization" (p. 34) and is often reflected in newspaper headlines, columns and editorials as in the case of Arab Spring. The policy is majorly influenced by the publisher which overpowers its regulation and sometimes it may even violate journalistic norms. Nevertheless, a true organizational policy, newsgathering practices and journalistic routines are the ones which serve the organization, have deep roots in organizational system and are hardly questionable (Rohizah, 2012).

The news organizations routinely process unexpected events that can be defined as "happenings in the every-day world" and news should be understood as "accounts and explanations of events presented by news organization" (p. 175). The newsmen consider events not only as everyday happenings but as potentially newsworthy materials which are processed by news organizations such can be the case of the

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newspapers in this study. The newsmen utilise five terms which are categorised as hard news, soft news, spot news, developing news and continuing news. Hard news consists of factual presentation of events or important matters deemed newsworthy while soft news refers to interesting matters or a story that interest human beings. Likewise, spot news may be considered as an unexpected event learned by newsman and it may become developing news as long as facts are gathered. The final category of continuing news refers to a series of stories on the same subject matter depending on the events happening over a period of time (Tuchman, 1997).

In the making of a news text, journalistic activities and interaction amongst journalists and social members are involved. In addition, it involves professional routines of newsrooms, institutional environment of newsmaking, characteristics of journalists as group members, ideologies and news values which are socially shared by journalists. Mostly, the information used to produce news stems from certain discourse forms such as reports, declarations, press releases or other media messages. Such discourse genres may become a news event or coverage in their own way by promoting a particular news actor such as a prime minister or president (authorities). It is through such processing of multitude of sources of texts the news discourse production takes place. Further, newsmaking does not involve isolated individuals. Rather, journalists take part in news ventures and edit news articles as social members. This process of newsmaking affects their ideological beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and goals shared by professionals or social groups. Specifically, the media news in a day to day practice can be understood as news information about events or persons and news text or discourse which contains information about recent events that is made public in the

news media. The news may also refer to the content or meaning construction in a news article. Newsmaking can be further explored in terms of strategies, beliefs and attitudes involved in news production and how newsmakers represent or reproduce social contexts of news production (van Dijk, 1988b).

Newsgathering contexts contain special goals such as representing an event in relation to its potential reproduction in news discourse. Mostly, news is derived from discourse which itself can be a news event or may serve as an information content. Within the routines of newsgathering, certain basic operations are implemented in news production such as selection, summarization, local semantics, stylistics and others. The organization of newsgathering in different beats (sections) gives priority to events produced by sectors and actors which belong to social and political life. Hence, it is reiterated that the routines of news production reproduce social structures through organizations, institutions and persons with in certain requirements. A special interest is also given to social and political elites, elite organizations and elite countries. In this sense, new production endorses social standing and power of elite actors and their events. A conclusion is drawn that news values "reflect economic, social and ideological values" (p. 122) in the way discourse is reproduced in a particular society through the media (van Dijk, 1988b).

The notion of news values is significant in relation to news production as it explains how news items are selected, their chances of publications and how the actual news is formulated. These news values, shared by the professionals and public of the news media, determine newsworthiness of events or discourse and "provide the cognitive

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basis for decisions about selection, attention, understanding, representation, recall, and the uses of news information in general" (p. 119). Generally, there are different types of news values. For instance, there are news values driven by economic terms of news productions in different market system and profit-oriented organizations. Constraints such as budgets for newsgathering, sales and advertising may limit the editorial space. Likewise, beliefs and opinions of influential news actors and the public also control topics, issues and ideological orientation of opinions embedded in the treatment or selection of news stories. Another category of news values concerns social and organizational routines of newsgathering and organizational production. Periodicity of newspapers determines the overall preference for instants of events with clear beginning and end (van Dijk, 1988b). Some other news values which determine the production of news in the press are illustrated below (see Figure 2.2).
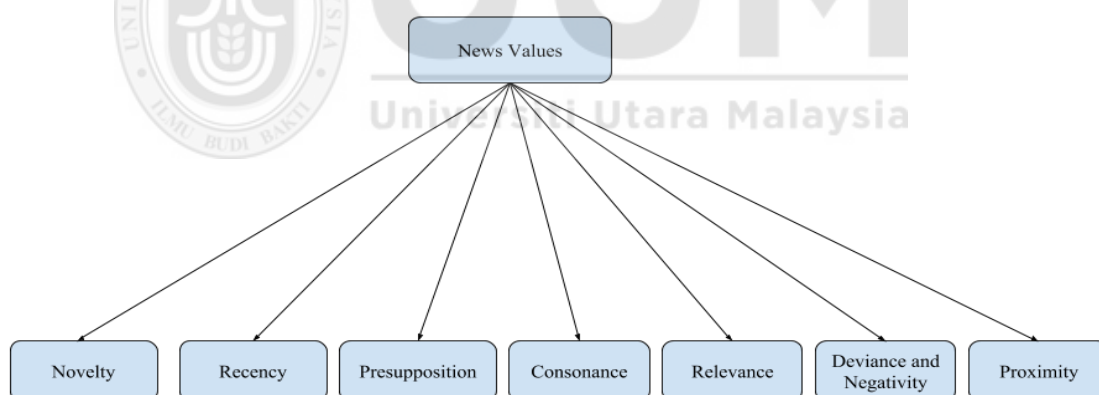
Figure 2.2. News values determining the production of news
Source: (van Dijk, 1988b)

As illustrated in Figure 2.2, the news value of novelty refers to the fundamental principal that events should be new and readers should not get any information they are already aware of. Recency as a news value necessitates that if events are not new they should be at least recent happening between one and several days. This news

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value also plays a major role in enhancing attention and interest both for events and texts. Journalists also assume that readers have not forgotten previous information. Hence, presupposition of news information requires partial summarization which acts as a background for actual events. Similarly, an event becomes easier to understand or accept if it is consistent with socially-shared norms, values and attitudes held simultaneously by journalists and readers – referred to as consonance. This particular news value involves existing opinions and attitudes that conform to the ideological consensus of a society or culture. News can be about countries, persons or actions which conflict with our dominant values and may get less attention unless it confirms our negative opinion about such persons, countries or actions (van Dijk, 1988b).

Similarly, journalists prefer information that is relevant for readers. In this way, interest of a large group of readership may become a social constraint in the selection of news. Relevance criteria reflects how events or decisions influence our lives as readers, for instance, news about unemployment, law and regulations meet this condition. The relevance is also determined by the interest of those who dominate the social system. So, minority relevance may get less emphasis and powerful groups may get more. Likewise, some relevant information may not be released by the sources (authorities), from which the press gets information, if it threatens the interests of those in power. Negativity as news value refers to the news discourse that covers negative events such as conflicts, problems and war. Such negativity reflects expression of "our own fears and their incumbance to others both provide relief and tension by proxy participation" (p. 123). These negative events are also associated

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with emotional system of self-defence. Such information processing may cause a stimulation of similar incidents which may unsettle our own lives (van Dijk, 1988b).

Also, information about negative and deviant situations helps readers recall events due to their distinctiveness. Various types of deviance provide information to in-group members about out-group members and confirm the own-group values. Deviance and negativity in news require conformity and positivity. That is, news stories about problems and conflicts also need happy endings. Moreover, in reproducing problems, positive solutions and reestablishment of shared values of a group or culture are required. Lastly, the news value of proximity refers to local and ideological proximity. Local proximity refers to knowledge, presupposition and relevance. For instance, we know more about our continent, countries, town and villages through some experiences. Consequently, the media messages about known or close event are better understood and consumed as more reliable (van Dijk, 1988b) – as the Arab Spring media message may appeal more to the readers in the Arab region (Saudi Arabia) than the non-Arab region (Pakistan). Closeness with events also yields better choice of topics for storytelling. Given the argument that proximity refers to geographical or cultural nearness with events (Bednarek & Caple, 2014), it is assumed that the Arab editors (AN) due to their cultural and geographical nearness with the Arab Spring events and actors (participants) may handle the issues more closely than the non-Arab editors (NI).

2.2.2 Discourse: Clarifying the Concept

The term discourse has manifold uses, across social sciences, within the field of CDA. Discourse as an analytical category, in its most abstract sense, refers to "the vast array of meaning-making resources available to everybody (p. 39)". It is both socially shaped and socially constitutive which involve situations, knowledge, social identities and relationship between people and group of people (Wodak, 2011). The function of discourse, as a construction of coherent textual structures, is to transport real forms of communication (Johnstone, 2002; Schiffrin, 2006; van Dijk, 1985c). Foucault (as cited in Weedon, 1997) viewed discourse as the means of constituting knowledge in combination with social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which exist in such knowledge.

Discourse, whether written or spoken in form, "occurs in particular social and cultural settings and is used and understood in different ways in different social and cultural settings" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 15). Moreover, discourse refers to the language beyond the level of a sentence (Scollon, Scollon & Jones, 2012) that is coherent, written in form and is larger than a sentence or a clause (Pustejovsky, 2006). Discourse is by nature ideological; it involves values and beliefs concerning relations between people and groups; it distributes social power and social goods; and it helps in recognizing who is insider or normal and who is not. To this school of thought, discourse involves ideologies everywhere (Gee, 2012) by representing how the language as a vehicle of ideology runs (Tyson, 2006). Similarly, as a socially dominant factor, discourse endorses power with ideological influences such as production and reproduction of socially unequal power relations between social groups (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

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Discourse is a form of social practice which signifies social aspects of the world by defining issues, indicating all forms of possibilities, necessities and future predictions (Fairclough, 1992). It also constitutes different genres that reflect social life in diversified means and can be classified into different forms (Fairclough, 2001, 2003, 2005) such as the newspaper editorials. As a rich form of language diversity, discourse is a socially accepted association which includes different ways of using language and expressions related to thinking, feelings and even believing. It encompasses much more than what is considered language and provides identity to individuals as members of a group which is socially meaningful (Gee, 2012) and even reveals what they visualize (Whisnant, 2010). This notion of discourse has been recommended by most discourse analysts (van Dijk, 1997). However, a discourse type with such features requires social contexts and presence of social institutions so that group members within a society can raise their voice as writers (van Dijk, 1993a, 1998a). For that reason, discourse as a social entity is described to be a cluster of socio-cognitive representations of a social group with the impression of a communal social identity (Koller, 2012).

The investigation of the editorial discourse in this study indicates how the Arab Spring episodes are exposed through the media messages of the NI and AN editorials. Such media messages can be effectively examined through several discourse analytical approaches (van Dijk, 1983, 1988a, 1989a, 2000b), namely, syntactical expressions, lexical choices and rhetorical and persuasive strategies, underlying connotations and implications (van Dijk, 1985b) which are part of the theoretical framework chosen for analysing the Arab Spring portrayal. This is in consistent with

the argument that for a meaningful analysis of discourse more attention should be diverted to socio-cultural implications of discourse than exploring any linguistic descriptions which are vague in nature (Brown & Yule, 1983; Wu, 2010).

2.2.3 Discourse Analysis as an Approach

Discourse analysis of news texts, for instance editorials, is not limited to textual structures. Since these structures point towards underlying meanings, opinions and ideologies, analysis of cognitive, social, political and cultural context is required to explain how the underlying meanings are connected to the text (van Dijk, 1991). The analysis of discourse involves investigating socio-cultural context where language plays the role of a successful communicative instrument (Krippendorff, 2013; Paltridge, 2012; Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001; Woods, 2006). Moreover, multidisciplinary approach of discourse analysis is useful in exploring relations between the media messages and their sociocultural contexts (van Dijk 1988b, 1991, 2004). Discourse analysis assists exploring different patterns of language across texts and studies these patterns in their respective social and cultural contexts in which these texts are produced (Paltridge, 2012). However, it depends on analysts to adopt a particular line of analysis based on certain research objectives (van Dijk, 1985d).

Discourse analysis is effective for analysing different varieties of written interactions with diversified contexts even including various forms of the media discourse (Fairclough, 2012). It is based on the details of writing that are arguably considered relevant to the context and arguments that are being analysed (Gee, 2014). Given the case, discourse analysis primarily deals with relationship between discourse and

society and between linguistic features of social events and social practices. Yule (2014) asserted that for analysing discourse a thorough investigation is required which consists of decoding the way a particular message is communicated; how well-constructed texts are recognized, understood and interpreted; and how we take part in such complex activities. In addition, discourse analysis treats language as natural or social data which are used in social situations (van Dijk, 1983, 1988b).

Through discourse analysis approach, researchers can have glimpses of interchanges between minds, personalities, social situations and society as it investigates various discourse dimensions and studies discursive surroundings of words and sentences (van Dijk, 1985a, 1988b, 2000b, 2007a). This study investigates the Arab Spring portrayal in the editorial discourse in order to highlight ideological representations and discourse strategies used by the editor-writers. The purpose is to gain insights into the media production of the two societies and reveal how the editorial writers of the NI and AN construct these events.

2.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis Framework

The CDA framework can be traced back to the period before the Second World War when Frankfurt School of Critical Theory (van Dijk, 2001a) greatly contributed to learning about CDA and understanding the two concepts 'critical' and 'ideology'. Ideology in relation to CDA plays a significant role in creating and managing unequal power relations. Critical theories such as CDA are given special standing for guiding human actions. Such theories aim at causing enlightenment and emancipation, describing and explaining and rooting out delusion, if any. The critical theory despite

having different concepts of ideologies aims to create awareness among agents as how they are deceived about their own needs and interests. In relation to this notion, CDA intends to simplify discourses by deciphering ideologies. Horkheimer, Director of the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, assumed the work of a theorist as "that of articulating and helping to develop a latent class consciousness" (p. 9). Based on Horkheimer's opinion, it was argued that for all those concerned with CDA, the application of results is important in any field ranging from practical seminars for teaching staff, doctors, civil servants, devising school books to writing expert opinions (Wodak, 2001).

The tasks of critical theory were to help remember a past that was in the threat of being forgotten or overlooked, fight for emancipation, explain the reasons for it and describe the nature of critical thinking. The connection between theory and practice was realized as dynamic. Horkheimer thought that there was no single method of research that could produce final and dependable results about any object of inquiry as the application of such a method could risk getting a distorted picture. Instead, Horkheimer believed that several methods of inquiry should enhance each other. In conformity with the critical theory, CDA importantly involves itself in activities of interdisciplinary nature and to understand the role of language in collecting and transmitting knowledge, bringing synergy in social institutions and exercising power (Wodak, 2001). Moreover, within the tradition of critical theory, CDA aims at bringing transparency in the discursive practices of "societal disparities and inequalities" (Meyer, 2001, p. 30). CDA also deals with extra linguistic factors such

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as society, culture and ideology which have a deep impact on the construction of a particular text in a particular context (Wodak, 1996).

CDA refers to the analysis of social problems with a particular emphasis on manipulation of language as one of its crucial features (van Dijk, 2006; Wodak 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a). This multidisciplinary domain explores the relations between social inequality, power abuse, dominance and injustice in a society. Power that is exercised by elite groups or institutions through dominance causes social and cultural inequities (van Dijk, 1993a, 1993c, 1996, 1998b, 2001a, 2001c). CDA explores the connection between discursive practices, texts and events with socio-political and sociocultural aspects and investigates the manner in which these practices are given an ideological shape in agreement with power and dominance (Fairclough, 2013b; Kress, 1990). To elaborate, social power survives on some of the means which involves social status or position, authority, group relations, education and so on. On the other hand, dominance is an accepted form of power. These privileges are limited to a social class or certain groups or institutions that influence the minds of others, control their freedom and make them act in a desired way through the use of power. The same is true with the media discourse responsible for preserving and reproducing institutional power, dominance and ideologies. Therefore, gaining a privileged access to the media discourse is one of the resources on which power and dominance stand. Such an access can be perceived through a particular genre, for instance, the editorials. The analysis of such a genre reveals how the newspaper editors have a preferential access and control over the input and how it is presented to the public. Arguably, these journalists have a dominant role in the

production of this particular genre in comparison with the ordinary people who have a very passive role in its production (van Dijk, 1993a, 1995a).

Further, the CDA approach investigates linguistic forms of social exchanges and is unique in its perspective of valuing connection between language and society. It considers language (or any type of written discourse) as a type of social practice due to its engagement in dialectical correlations between situations, institutions, social contexts, social structures, discursive acts and events which surround it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 2009). Similarly, CDA focuses on communicative events that are narrated in various media and institutional organisations and overlooks ordinary linguistic constructions. CDA identifies those abused by socio-political injustices and suggests remedies through discursive involvements of texts. It aims to simplify opaque features of discourse, which are ambiguous to people, by exposing ideologically infused structures of power and dominance and strategies of bias and prejudice in the use of language (Wodak, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a). In addition, the CDA scholars are advocates of social discrimination whereas CDA itself approaches problems critically and unveils concealed power relations (Meyer, 2001) as we witness in this study.

Hence, the CDA analysts expect change by means of critical understanding. Their perspectives align with the victims of dominance and inequality and their targets are power elites who disregard social injustice and inequality. Through their work, they express unity to those who suffer and discuss problems which are real and serious about existence and comfort of individuals rather than explaining problems of

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discourse structures. Their critique is group focused that involves power relations. Their insight is more general and they have deeper involvement into the primary role of discourse reflecting social disparity. This is due to exploration of text and talk structures by CDA which let us know how the power to convince audiences is exhibited in discourse by means of various strategies. The two important characteristics of discourse, namely, production and reception are the key entities of CDA that show how dominance is verbalized in the production of a text through lexical and syntactical choices, rhetorical and persuasive figures, argumentations, semantic structures and what impacts are created in the minds of recipients. These persuasive moves construct two complementary divisions of 'positive representations of our groups' and 'negative representations of their groups' to help analyse social inequalities (van Dijk, 1993c).

In summary, CDA helps probe the relations between discourse, society and culture due to the reality that it exposes hidden agendas of the media discourse (van Dijk, 1995a). It also addresses the social wrongs by considering the causes and possibilities of eradicating such social injustices (Wodak & Meyer, 2009b) and identifies drastic changes in social livings by taking into consideration various discourse strategies which may be less salient at one point and more at another (Fairclough, 2003). CDA, in this way, facilitates to investigate the power balance between the dominant and less dominant groups by deconstructing mass media ideologies (Henry & Tator, 2002). The CDA tends to highlight the opaque aspects of discourse as a social practice. This approach is not based on a "fixed theoretical or methodological position" (p. 40). Rather, the approach starts with a research topic related to social problems such as

democratic participation, globalization and others. Such a research topic can be investigated through diversity of approaches (Wodak, 2011). The choice of CDA for the Arab Spring analysis has been made to probe and compare the underlying ideological representations of the Saudi (supposedly in-group or inside editors) and Pakistani (supposedly out-group or outside editors) newspapers. I aim to investigate how the editors belonging to two newspaper institutions (Arab and non-Arab) exercise their power and dominance through their privileged access to editorials.

2.2.5 van Dijk's Theories

Among CDA theorists, van Dijk's (2009) sociocognitive model has been widely sought after in the critical studies of the media discourses. The sociocognitive approach illustrates how social ideologies direct the practices of some social actors including the journalists (editors) and how they get changed through day-to-day discourses taking place in the social contexts of various institutions such as the press (van Dijk, 1998b). The analysis of discourse is actually an ideological analysis. This is due to the fact that discourse serves as a preferential site for ideological perspectives with their reproduction rooted in institutional contexts (van Dijk, 1995b). Such a theory of ideologies is multidisciplinary which involves the conceptual triangle joined by society, discourse and social cognition in the framework of CDA (van Dijk, 1993c). The cognition refers to mental representations of group members which are framed by ideologies. Social cognition is shared by the members of social groups, institutions and organizations. It is based on socially shared values, ideologies, attitudes and knowledge (van Dijk, 1995b). Given the argument that opinions and ideologies have social, political and cultural functions, they are

represented through editorials which are a socially, politically and culturally significant genre. With reference to the triangular relation (discourse - cognition - society), these sociocultural relations, processes and structures are attached with socially shared mental representation in the same manner as the mind is based on the society and vice-versa. Within the sociocognitive model, opinions should be studied in relation to discourse, cognition and society since they are a special type of mental representations and their functions are social and their expression or reproduction involves a particular type of discourse (van Dijk, 1995 c).

Ideologies contain three components, namely, social functions, cognitive structures and discourse expression and reproduction. Social functions refer to ideologies for groups and institutions and provide answers to why people develop ideologies. In this component, ideologies to some extent promote and protect group interests and mainly coordinate social practices of various group members for achieving group goals. Cognitive structures refer to mental nature and internal structures of ideologies and their connection with other cognitive structures and social representations such as socially shared values, attitudes, opinions, knowledge and personal and contextual models based on experiences and intentions. This component answers questions such as "what ideologies look like" and "how they monitor social practices" (van Dijk, 1998b, p. 23). It also refers to what people act as group members should reflect what they actually think and vice-versa. This theory also claims that ideologies characterize basic principles which control the social judgment, the right or the wrong, the true or the false notions held by group members or institutions (van Dijk, 1998a).

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Ideologies can also be represented as group self-schemata which feature certain categories. Considering journalists (editors) as a group inside an institution (newspaper), ideological categories provide information about the recognition of journalists (through diploma or license) and their activities as writing editorials. These categories also tell about the editors' goals of serving a watchdog of a society and informing the public. These categories further inform about the editors' values and norms (truthfulness and reliability), their position in relation to readers and authorities, and their groups resources (information). As these schemata are ideological, they may appear biased as they describe members of a particular group or institutions when analysed or seen from the point of view of others. Hence, according to the sociocognitive approach, ideologies from of all forms of social depictions and descriptions are socially shared viewpoints (van Dijk, 1998a).

In line with van Dijk's (1998a) approach, editorials in the press deliver opinions which differ in their ideological presuppositions depending on the type and stance of a newspaper. These opinions are also directed by journalistic ideologies which influence discourse structure of editorials. This suggests a complex relationship between ideologies, opinions and the media discourse. Together, the notion of ideologies and opinion involve beliefs or mental representations which invoke the need for the cognitive approach. The opinions of the newspapers are not personal but they are social, institutional or political and can be best analysed in terms of social structures through integrated sociocognitive theory which deals with the use and acquisition of social representations in social contexts. In order to analyse subtle textual accounts of ideologically based opinions, the sociocognitive orientation is

embedded in discourse analytical frameworks. There is no standard way to conduct a critical or ideological discourse analysis of the newspaper editorials. However, several steps are involved which include: (a) examining the context of the discourse; (b) analysing the groups, power relations and conflicts that are involved; (c) looking for positive and negative opinions about 'us' and 'them' (d); spelling out the presupposed and the implied; and (e) probing all formal structures that (de)emphasise polarized group opinions (van Dijk, 1998a).

Moreover, editorials as an 'opinion discourse' have opinions that are shared among editorial board members or editors, newspaper management and other groups or parties a newspaper is oriented with. Even if an editorial is written by a single editor it is, arguably, considered an opinion of a particular newspaper. In this case, opinions about specific events are derived from social representations and not from personal opinion or experience of a single editor. Such a sociocognitive foundation of the editorials is also manifested in their structures as the use of the first person pronouns and narrations about personal experiences are avoided. Thus, the newspaper editorials are impersonal based on the news events related to the public and support general opinion (social, economic, cultural or political) shared by the elite. They are produced to look institutional or directed towards the public through the deliberate use of style and formal properties of context in selecting lexical choices and syntactic structures and other methods of argumentation (van Dijk, 1995c).

As suggested, no critical analysis is possible without knowing facts about historical, political or social background in which a particular conflict occurs. The critical analysis of discourse also requires knowledge about the participants, reason or basis of conflict and leading positions or arguments. In relation to the context, the information about ideological positions of editors, aim of the event, intended audience, setting, medium and ideological functions of discourse should also be known. For instance, the newspaper editorials may serve as a critique and advice to certain specific and elite groups or institutions. Thus, there exist power relations which involve the media, media writers and media groups. Moreover, ideologies become the source of sustaining and reproducing social conflicts, dominance and inequity. Such social conflict can involve any interests and are organized in a polarized way through the representation of *us* vs. *them* or the ideological strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Such ideological interpretations represent evaluative beliefs or opinions of the newspaper editors. These opinions are implicit, hardly expressed, presented in an implied way which appears as hidden or presupposed, denied or even taken for granted (van Dijk, 1998b).

Discourse analytical approaches describe different structures of text in a systematic way and relate these structures to their social, political and context. Such approaches focus on overall topics of discourse and more local meanings such as implications and others. These approaches also include syntactic and lexical forms and rhetorical devices such as metaphors or hyperbole or overall organization of news events such as the schematic categories of editorials. The purpose of these tactics is to emphasize or de-emphasize the meanings of discourse to make certain point of views or opinions

more emphatic than others (van Dijk, 2000b). It has been further argued that such discourse analytical approaches are essential to examine the complex structures and strategies of the news media discourse. This is due to the reason that news cannot be treated as "transparent messages whose contents may be analysed in a superficial, quantitative way" (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 33).

In order to make sense of the Arab Spring portrayal in the editorials of the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi newspapers (AN), it is interesting to explore how the ideological opinions are embedded in such descriptions. The study of certain structural features, through which information or opinion is emphasized or deemphasized, is vital to understand ideological positions of a particular form of discourse (van Dijk, 1998b). For instance, in the present study, I analyse the editors' tone (rhetorical and persuasive) overall organization of the discourse (schematic categories) and lexical choices of the editors. The purpose is to explore how the authorities in the Arab Spring countries (governments, regimes), who controlled the power and had the means to solve the problems, are portrayed. I also reveal how the Arab Spring protesters (the public), arguably, the victims of 'inequalities' and 'injustices' are portrayed. As often, such elements of power and dominance are employed in the editorial discourse representing conflicts (van Dijk, 1993c, 2001b; Wodak, 2011).

2.2.5.1 Schematic Categories

The schema helps to identify how topics in a text are arranged. For instance, stories have overall organizational patterns based on a number of conventional categories: opening (summary) or closing a discourse, setting, and headlines. Similarly, a news

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text may feature background or evaluation of news events. These categories can be taken as constituents of news schemata. The schemata are used by readers and journalists in producing, organizing and understanding news texts or reports (van Dijk, 1988b). As suggested, the news media texts demonstrate a hierarchical schema which consists of certain conventional categories (van Dijk, 1993b). These categories are used for formal organization of news texts and may include "summary (headline and lead)… main events, background, context, history, verbal reaction, or comments" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 15). The news editorials which are intentionally structured to deliver the ideological opinions usually follow three types of schema known as the schematic categories (van Dijk, 1989b). These schematic categories include the 'definition' which summarises events, the 'evaluation', which includes judgements about events, and the conclusion, which gives recommendations, advice, warnings and so on (van Dijk, 1989b, 1992). These schematic categories have been considered well-known structures of the editorial rhetoric and argumentation (van Dijk, 1993b).

More precisely, to elucidate, the schematic category of 'definition' does not always summarize events in a straightforward way. It involves opinions which are not merely factual. The editors often take advantage of this classification to subjectively define, summarize and introduce events to readers. However, this category can be expressed in short if an event is already known. The purpose is to remind the readers of the events under discussion; sometimes a simple nomination also works. In summary, through this category, the editors inform about what happened by assuming that readers have some knowledge of the situation (van Dijk, 1989b, 1995c).

In describing events, editors also shed light on the good and bad aspects by disseminating their opinions through the schematic category of 'evaluation'. They furnish reasons and critically evaluate the actions of the participants which lead to specific developments. This schematic category makes use of different evaluative beliefs and judgments to communicate editorial stances. It also authorizes editors to represent events in a more intended manner as recommended by their policy makers, through ideological arguments and presuppositions. The category is also useful in analysing how the editors identify themselves with certain events or actions through propagation of editorial messages. Since this category conveys editorial judgments, it is hardly neutral or objective. Moreover, it is mostly based on the implications of evaluative styles (van Dijk, 1989b, 1995c).

By drawing 'conclusions' (the third schematic category), the editors conclude editorials in a pragmatic way. They often give advice, recommendations and even drop didactic messages as warnings. Further, the editorial writers also share expectations about the future scenarios of events as normative opinions of newspapers. The category also represents editorial suggestions about what should be done or what can be avoided in relation to any specific event. It even offers solutions as the expected course of action, recommendations and predictions drawn from the two preceding schematic categories. These editorial tones also validate a typical editorial stance arranged in a very argumentative and systematic way. This category also aims at entrancing readers into acknowledging ideologically standardized beliefs as concluding remarks of editorials. Like other schematic categories, it rarely demonstrates any element of objectivity (van Dijk, 1989b, 1995c).

The above discussed schematic structures are crucial for the following functions. First, they unify and consolidate a particular article. Second, they facilitate readers to decide which part of the narrative to focus on. Third, they make the central theme more prominent. Fourth, they trigger associated cognitive networks required to comprehend the text. Finally, they help in the formation of overall mental schemas (van Dijk, 1983). Despite all such functions, the possibility of bias in the schematic organization cannot be ruled out such as by placing an important piece of information at the end of the story or omitting it altogether (van Dijk, 1988a). It is also worth exploring how the editorials with their dramatic beginning, ending and through the use of emotive language engage the readers' community (Zaidan, 2006).

On similar lines, it was suggested that editorials may introduce problems or needs first and solutions later. The 'beginning' (definition) is the most important part and it has to be interesting enough to attract readers and promote their understanding towards general information. An editorial sometimes may start with a question to create curiosity and attract readers to look for an answer to many social and political issues by reading the editorial. The readers would comfortably accept an editorial opinion if it matches their own interests or usually what they expect from editorials. They may also modify their opinions by accepting an editorial point of view even if it does not support their belief or they may consider the opinion unacceptable at all. It was also confirmed that 'evaluation' part of the editorial involves explanations, analysis and arguments related to the subject matter, events and actors. It is the place where the writers may win or lose the battle of persuading readers (Rystrom, 2004).

For the 'conclusion' part, Rystrom (2004) described six general forms in which editorials can be concluded. Through the first form, *urging*, the editorial writers directly and specifically conclude issues by urging readers to do something. The second form of conclusion, *approving*, is drawn to end an editorial by giving positive remarks about a praiseworthy action which has already taken. The third form of conclusion, *disapproving*, is constructed to communicate negative views through some negative ending. The fourth form of conclusion, *concluding righteously*, consists of high moral tones as one of the purposes of the editorial writers is to serve their community by backing the public rights. The fifth form of conclusion, *taking consolation*, may be adopted as an alternative to a disapproving category through some endings. The last form of conclusion, *coming down softly*, is produced when editorials are ended intentionally and an issue does not appear in the news and editorials intend to inform readers.

Henry and Tator (2002) also advocated that triadic role of editorial representations is to: deliver summaries of major events, evaluate people and issues involved and communicate the editors' point of views by offering conclusions. Similarly, Entman (1993, 2004, 2010) validated that editorials define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies as solutions for the problems. Gitlin (2003) also concurred with the notion that the media portray events through persistent patterns which include cognition, presenting and interpreting events, making selections and laying emphasis and exclusions. Through these patterns, discourse is routinely organized. I also find Entman's (2010) notion useful to understand how editorials frame events. One example is the content bias which promulgates a

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particular interest or ideology. This type of bias supports the interests of power seekers and disregards their opponents, persuades people to accept the media construal of favoured actors and be one-sided to support certain suggested interpretations. This bias or slant is so influential that it shapes people's behaviour, thinking, and attitudes as desired by the writers. The second type is the decision-making bias through which the editors at major media groups float ideologies to direct news decisions in a controlled manner. Hence, the journalistic belief system often influences the media discourse and endorses ideologies through slanted frames to back their favourites. For such reasons, certain types of discourse appear more noticeable to audiences and single out the desired interpretation that looks more distinctive, striking and intelligible than others. This study aims to investigate how the editorial writers of the NI and AN employed the three schematic categories, namely, definition, evaluation and conclusion to portray the Arab Spring.

2.2.5.2 Ideological Square

The notion of ideological square as coined by van Dijk (1998a, 1998b) represents the binary schema of *us* and *them* where the former characterizes the good actions and the latter characterizes the bad actions. Through this approach, the newspaper editors represent stances and define actors in a concealed way by adopting different discourse tactics. This model also empowers readers to perceive cognitive depictions of the editors and their positive and negative attributions as in-group and out-group members (van Dijk, 1989b, 1998a, 1998b). This model works on four evaluative principles or functional moves that are employed in the depictions of social conflicts through lexical choice and express positive or negative evaluations. It is dependent on

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the polarization strategy which represents positive in-group evaluation and negative out-group evaluation. These evaluative principles or functional moves are employed to emphasise the good acts of the allied groups and the negative acts of the opposite groups and mitigate the bad actions of the allied groups and the good practices of the opposite groups (van Dijk, 1998b) as indicated in Table 2.1

Table 2.1

van Dijk's Ideological Square

van Dijk's Ideological Square	
Emphasize *our* good properties/actions	Emphasize *their* bad properties/actions
Mitigate *our* bad properties/actions	Mitigate *their* good properties/actions

Source: (van Dijk, 1998b)

The evaluative principles of ideological square have been considered useful in getting insights into different types of actor descriptions in the media accounts of conflicts. However, these principles are dependent on the ideological opinions of journalists in narrating the events. In this context, opinions are assumed beliefs of the newspaper editors which are evaluative and involve presumptions of values and judgments about others. Ideologies are social beliefs and principles which control social judgments in determining the right and the wrong. Together, the ideological opinions symbolize social group attitudes where conflicting interests are involved such as the notions of polarized ideologies through the representations of *us* and *them* (good/positive vs. bad/negative). These ideology based groupings describe several roles of journalists, what they do as the editorial writers, how they achieve their goals as the representative voice of a society, how they respect norms and values, and how they

position themselves in relation to the readers and authorities (van Dijk, 1995c, 1998b). For editorials, opinion and ideologies are produced by journalists or writers who "exhibit their shared social representations, and participate in the complex processes of newspaper production and reception as well as in intergroup interaction and institutional reproduction" (van Dijk. 1995c, p. 2).

In order to construct in-group and out-group ideologies, it is important to build up positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation which needs strategies like justification and legitimation as essentials of persuasive rhetoric. It was pointed out certain discursive strategies which include the following: first, the referential or nomination-strategy which relates to the editorial construction or representation of actors such as creating in-group and out-group ideologies. This strategy is exercised through devices such as metaphors, metonymies and others. Second, the prediction strategy involves labelling of social actors as individuals, group members or groups. In this way, actors are labelled in a positive or negative manner through the evaluative attributes of the positive or negative traits. Third, using the argumentation strategies, the positive or negative attributions are justified. Fourth, through the strategy of perspectivation, framing or discourse representation, the speaker [writer] shows his/her involvement in discourse and presents point of views in reporting the relevant events. Fifth, the intensification or mitigation strategy is used to intensify or mitigate the illocutionary force of utterances (Wodak, 2011), for instance, such as the editorial intentions of threatening, warning, opposing and commanding.

Considered as the journalistic beliefs, ideologies and opinions contribute to the discourse of the newspaper editorials and are produced through certain discourse structures namely lexical items, propositions, implications, presuppositions, descriptions and polarization (van Dijk, 1998b, 1995c). The lexical choices or individual words are employed to portray events, actors, opinions and ideologies. These editorial choices are hardly neutral in the construction of events which involve two sides or parties. Preferring one lexical expression over the other has certain intentions. In the media depictions of events, such as the Arab Spring, lexical selections are an important tool to point out concealed newspaper opinions and ideologies (Stubbs, 1996; van Dijk, 1983, 1985e, 1988b, 2000b). Similarly, editorial propositions also express opinions. To cite, if negative attributions are assigned to the people performing the role of agents, then they are declared more responsible for their actions in this particular role. Therefore, propositional structures emphasize and de-emphasize the agency of a particular group, for instance, through the use of passive constructions. Also, propositions are constructed to present *our* people through good acts and *their* people through bad acts (van Dijk, 1998b).

Likewise, grammatical choices are also important in representing ideologies. To illustrate, pronouns as a grammatical category are well characterized for expressing and manipulating social status, power and hidden ideologies. These pronominal variations describe intimacies, politeness, formalities for in-group members and derogations and distancing for out-group members. In this way, the pronominal pair of *us* and *them* symbolizes ideological respect and disrespect implied in the discourse representing events and actors (van Dijk, 1983, 1988b, 1998a). The ideological

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opinions are also expressed through implications which may not be explicit in propositions. As a media strategy of portraying events, information is deliberately kept implicit as long as the journalists do not intend to disclose it. Equally, presuppositions are also employed to express ideological stances of newspapers but they are not always true (van Dijk, 1998b, 1988a, 1988b).

Yet, descriptions are another important discourse mechanism in this context. This approach actually describes how propositions are sequenced when events are discussed in terms of generality or specificity. Such descriptions can be analysed through the application of ideological square which indicates that *our* good actions are described at the level of specificity (in more details) and *our* bad action are described at the level of generality (in less details) and vice-versa (van Dijk, 1998b). In addition, polarization is another significant strategy which points to how ideologies are based on the in-group and out-group interests. To serve these interests, the ideological opinions are structured in an opposed manner. This ideological pattern promotes positive self-representation (us/in-group) and negative other-representation (them/out-group) (van Dijk, 1998b).

2.2.5.3 Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical devices are deliberately employed in discourse to emphasize or de-emphasize meaning and construct a positive image of the in-group or a negative image of the out-group as a function of the ideological opinions. The study of rhetoric particularly in the media discourse refers to how an opinion is delivered in an intended manner, how tighter organization is created, how better memorization is

achieved and how more persuasion is targeted. Rhetoric is produced through the use of certain operational tactics such as metaphor, comparison, hyperbole (overstatements, exaggerations), euphemisms or understatements, repetition moves like parallelisms and words producing climax and contrast. Such rhetorical strategies or figures of style manipulate the comprehension power of recipients. To elaborate, some of these figures like metaphors in the representations of conflicts are embedded to depict events and construct negative image of opponents or out-group members. Similarly, comparisons and contrasts as figures of rhetoric are also employed in the descriptions of clashes to de-emphasize the negative acts of own-group members and emphasize negative acts of other-group members. The media reproduction of events also depends on the rhetorical devices such as exaggeration and understatement to communicate a particular message with a particular emphasis and through a particular argument. In the same way, parallelism as an important rhetorical strategy of discourse increases the attention through recurrent moves which stress a particular viewpoint (van Dijk, 1989b, 1992, 1993a, 1998a, 2007b).

Discourse can be rhetorically constructed to circulate particular views about globalization, rationalize actions, justify policies and legitimize certain strategies concerning social agents or agencies (Fairclough, 2006). Production of discourse has remained part of contemporary rhetoric which acts as a means of oppression through its perspectives centred on specific issues. The discourse calculated rhetoric channel readers to certain directions by serving as a method for reaching decisions or prompting cooperative activities. The most constant feature of rhetoric is to work as a type of instrumental discourse, meant for getting responses, providing reinforcement

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or changing the mind of audiences or social fabric of a society (Gill & Whedbee, 1997). Rhetoric delivers persuasive communication by managing how readers will evaluate and understand events. Hence, it is not surprising to expect that rhetorical structures play an instrumental role in manipulating ideologies (van Dijk, 1998a).

Another purpose of rhetorical writings is to react to social issues or problems and suggest actions or change in the world. Certain figures of speech or rhetorical devices like metaphor, simile, analogy, repetition, parallelism, antithesis and other similar devices are crucial in expressing ideas and constructing arguments vividly (Gill & Whedbee, 1997). The use of such rhetorical devices is a common practice in the newspaper discourse for describing *us-them* groups. These rhetorical devices represent appeals to group feelings and emphasize meanings in the "mind's eye" of readers. These strategies are part of an argumentative discourse to ensure credibility and add persuasive weight to usually questionable propositions expressed through opinions (Richardson, 2004). Rystrom (2004) also concurred with the majority that editorial writers employ picturesque images to make the editorial language colourful and help clarify editorial points. This can be practiced through certain figures of speech such as metaphor, hyperbole and so on.

2.2.6 Modes of Persuasion

Rhetoric is an art of discourse in which the receiver of the message and the rhetor (writer or producer) share an equal amount of power. Rhetoric refers to the "faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, 1356/2006, p. 7). Thus, in Aristotle's point of view rhetoric produces persuasion,

speeches and texts and has a theoretical element in it. Contemporary theories of rhetoric consider rhetoric to invade all means of communications and constantly engage in exercising power (Duncum, 2014). It causes certain effects that can be ethical (related to character), practical (including politics), emotional and intellectual (related to academics). Rhetoric exists in everything such as the rhetoric of philosophy, the rhetoric of sociology, the rhetoric of religion, the rhetoric of science (Booth, 2009) and the rhetoric of the media messages (van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b). Rhetoric has been connected with words that can be written, spoken, listened or read as features of human communication (Andrew, 2013). This merit of rhetoric brings its closer to CDA which unfolds structures of power used in a type of discourse which is meant for persuading readers to favour one side and go against the other. CDA enriches our understanding, focuses on the mechanism of language, of concepts which are fundamental to rhetoric (Zdenek, 2008).

Rhetorical discourse has some distinguished characteristics: it "is (1) planned, (2) adapted to audience, (3) shaped by human motives, (4) responsive to a situation, (5) persuasion-seeking and (6) concerned with contingent issues" (pp. 8-9). All forms of writings may not display such characteristics but these benchmarks provide a starting point for understanding, recognizing and reacting to rhetorical discourse. To elaborate, rhetorical discourse is thoughtfully planned and directs us to people's (writers) choice they make for addressing audiences (readers). Moreover, it is planned with some audiences in mind by establishing a link between a rhetor and audience. In a larger perspective, this means rhetoric addresses the audiences' beliefs, values, social status and experience. The third quality concerns the motives of

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rhetoric; it addresses the public with certain motives in mind to be achieved which include seeking convergence of views, building consensus which enables group action, arranging a compromise or agreement to end stalemates (Herrick, 2013).

Rhetorical discourse is crafted in response to circumstances, events or situations "including a particular time, location, problem and audience" (p. 11). Regardless of the topic, rhetorical discourse presented in any situation is a response to previous events or circumstances. Thus, rhetoric refers to response-making but it is also response-inviting as rhetorical expressions may invite an opposing view from individuals. For this nature of rhetoric, a rhetor keeps in mind receiving responses from audiences while constructing rhetorical appeals. Similarly, persuasion has also been one of the goals of rhetoric; it intends that audiences should comply with a proposed idea and act accordingly. One way to achieve persuasion is by creating appeals which elicit emotions or engage the commitment of audiences. Rhetoric also addresses unresolved or contingent issues which do not have a particular outcome. As individuals, we face these practical or moral issues that need judgments or decisions (e.g., see Herrick, 2013).

Further, rhetoric also plays certain important social roles. First, it tests ideas publicly to ensure that it is convincing, clear, argumentative and reliable enough for audiences it is presented to. Second, it assists advocacy by igniting voice to ideas and drawing the public attention towards these ideas. Third, rhetoric distributes power as it lets us discover the powerful who are allowed to speak in a society, the topic they discuss, the setting, the language they employ and what media are available to them and why.

Certain social groups have preferences in raising their concerns over others. This privilege points out the role of ideology in rhetorical transitions which shapes the public attitudes and beliefs. Rhetoric, power and ideology are also linked in another way. A dominant ideology in a society certainly influences the basic conceptions of rhetoric and influence the way rhetoric infuses power into a social group. Fourth, it helps to discover facts which are crucial to decision making. Also, rhetoric is epistemic as it shapes knowledge by playing decisive social roles in determining the true, right or probable. Lastly, rhetoric builds communities by creating common bonds that strengthen sense of community (Herrick, 2013). Some definitions of rhetorical discourse even qualify it as a discourse capable of changing the situation for which it is designed (Johnstone & Eisenhart, 2008).

2.2.6.1 Classical and Contemporary Rhetoric

Classical rhetoric contrasts with contemporary rhetoric in four areas. First, the contradiction about the image of man and society differentiates the two rhetorical periods. The classical Aristotelian tradition defines man as a rational animal who solved problems by relying on logic and reasoning. The definers of this concept argue that such a man dwelled during the time characterized by stability of values, unification of cultural and social cohesion. In contrast, modern rhetoric defines man as a rhetorical or communal animal who relies on shared and private symbols. Such modern man is not a dweller of a simple or cohesive society. Rather, he lives in a universe which is characterized by chance where shared values or customs are almost non-existent. Second, classical rhetoric stresses on logical proofs while contemporary rhetoric emphasizes on emotional or psychological proofs. Thus, for classic

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rhetoricians men's ability to reason and logical arguments constituted a persuasive discourse. It indicates that classical writers were expert logicians while contemporary writers have to be keen in practical psychology (Ede & Lunsford, 1994).

Third, a distinction is also made about the rhetor-audience relationship. In classical rhetoric, this relationship is defined as manipulative, one-way, antagonistic or unilateral communication. In contrast, in contemporary rhetoric the relationship between rhetor and audiences is based on cooperation, empathy, mutual interest and it is dialogic (two-way). Next, a distinction is also drawn about the end results between the two periods. The classical rhetoric targets persuasion while the goal of contemporary rhetoric is to achieve communication (Ede & Lunsford, 1994). Similarly, in the classical concept of Aristotle, rhetoric is an art of persuasion. Such a theory of persuasion is built on syllogistic mechanism or micro-logical argument. On the contrary, persuasion of audiences by a rhetor is not the focus of contemporary rhetoric. Rather it "covers the arts of discourse in public and private settings" (Andrews, 2013, p. 182).

Major distinctions between the two rhetorics are largely fundamental than those which are traditionally described. Given that Aristotelian theory is the most comprehensive, distinctions between classical and contemporary rhetoric can be refuted as inadequate and misconceptions – failure to relate Aristotle's rhetoric to his entire philosophy and limited readings about his concept of rhetoric, to name a few. Despite these distinctions or divided opinions on rhetoric, there are similarities which bring contemporary rhetoric close to the classical one. For instance, both classical and

contemporary rhetoric treat man as language-using animal which discourses with others by unifying reason and emotion. Therefore, the two types of rhetoric acknowledge that the role of language is central to rhetoric in creating certain beliefs. Similarly, both periods of rhetoric provide a dynamic methodology whereby a rhetor (writer or speaker) and audiences jointly access knowledge. The third compelling similarity between the two periods is to hold rhetoric potentially capable of clarifying activities in various fields such as attending to complex human issues of any nature or any field where certainty is hard to achieve (Ede & Lunsford, 1994).

The interest of classical rhetoric in invention (finding/creating arguments/making meaning) has also been renewed by contemporary rhetorical studies as how rhetorical processes facilitate meaning or knowledge. All rhetoricians recognize the fact that choices made in a discourse written or spoken are never neutral. The contemporary rhetorical studies focus on choices which are more global, choices about types of persuasive strategies and lines of argument to be adopted and how to formulate texts. In classical rhetoric, these choices refer to Aristotle's terms invention and arrangement (Zdenek & Johnstone, 2008).

2.2.6.2 Ethos, Pathos and Logos

The study explores three modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos) in the editorial discourses of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers. Aristotle's concept of three appeals or means of persuasions (ethos, pathos, logos) builds a framework for analysing arguments (Lamberti, 2013). These three modes of persuasion are also defined as

three types of proof which refer to ethical proof (ethos), emotional proof (pathos) and logical proof (logos) as suggested by Steinberg (1999).

The first type of appeal, ethos, is concerned with the personality (personal character) of the speaker or writer. This appeal signifies writer's command or authority over subject matter and is practiced through the choice of words and style adopted in a particular form of writing. Ethos also establishes writer's credibility, ethical appeal and produces an impression of his ability to communicate with audiences. Hence, an author is highly esteemed if he is persuasive in his approach (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005; Shabo, 2010; White, 2006). Ethos acts as a persuasive tool as we believe "good men more fully and readily" than common people (Aristotle, 1356/2006, p. 8). Ethos is sensed through the audiences' perception of the writer's knowledge, credibility, confidence, good will, trustworthiness, expertise and seriousness or honesty reflected in the writer's message. Therefore, a true form of discourse is the one which displays ethical appeals centred towards audiences (Hannon, 2012; Steinberg, 1999).

The second mode of persuasion namely pathos, stirs and awakens emotions in audiences. Pathos is incorporated through Aristotle's prescribed emotions including anger, fear, excitement and pity which have a lasting effect on rational judgments of audiences. This appeal evokes emotional response by constructing convincing arguments such as shifting blames on opponent groups and so on (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005; Shabo, 2010; White, 2006). Pathos stirs emotions of hearers or readers as their judgments are different when they are pleased or friendly than they are pained or hostile (Aristotle, 1356/2006). Such emotional appeals are created for

blaming or praising someone in epideictic form of discourse. For an audience, an emotional appeal would only be judged and considered persuasive if rhetoric appeals to their passions and mood (Steinberg, 1999).

The third element or appeal of persuasion, logos, relies on logical proof provided through the content. Through logos, an author persuades his audiences by depending on logic. At times, this persuasive strategy becomes privileged over other modes of persuasion due to its highly regarded logical and rational arguments which communicate writer's assumptions (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005; Shabo, 2010; White, 2006). Logical appeals occur through persuasive arguments to prove truth or an apparent truth by using reasoning (Aristotle, 1356/2006). Besides, logical appeals target rational side and direct readers to reach at some conclusion after getting convinced by the provided testimony or by assessing the given proof or evidence (Steinberg, 1999).

I concur with the argument that editorials are driven by the strong personality of editor-writers; they earn high respect for newspapers; regularly interest readers; and their ultimate objective is to persuade audiences (Davis, 2013). Moreover, one of the crucial roles of discourse is to form and transform emotions in addition to knowledge, beliefs, opinions and ideologies (van Dijk, 2010). Given the arguments, I intend to explore how the story of the Arab Spring, otherwise involving high level of emotional episodes, makes sense to the editorial boards of the NI and AN and in turn to us as readers. I also aim to highlight how the editors through their persuasive tones represented the events as 'opinion discourse' of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers.

In other words, the role of the editorials as the medium for sharing and publicizing the Arab Spring is argued. As readers to understand the nature of such descriptions, we first need to understand how the editorial writers can build a convincing case by incorporating rhetorical appeals such as ethos, pathos and logos (Hannon, 2012).

2.2.6.3 Classical Rhetoric and CDA: Bridging the Relation

Classical Rhetoric has been described as one of the disciplinary foundations of CDA. The roots of CDA lie in classical rhetoric (Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak, 2001). CDA has never provided any single specific theory or methodology in a research. In fact, the approach is multidisciplinary under which multiple genres are studied and researchers rely on multiple approaches (Wodak, 2002). As suggested, CDA as a specific form of discourse analysis accounts for some of the detailed strategies of text and talk including rhetorical (van Dijk, 2001c).

Mureşan (2013) argued that both CDA and rhetoric share several similarities. First, rhetoric which pays a particular interest to the public discourse operates on various levels such as means of persuasion, domination and oppression. From this perceptive, rhetoric gets connected with CDA. Second, both CDA and rhetoric are interested in a particular form of public discourse such as the media discourse. The reason for this interest is that rhetoric and CDA "see media and their performance as the most representative forms of public communication" (p. 51) which focuses on issues and strategies. For instance, the newspaper editorials are relevant in this respect where "certain issues get strategic approach" (p. 51) in order to persuade readers on particular points. Third, both the orientations focus on discourse as an attempt to

advance the producer's interest. Fourth, both the orientations view public communication from a functionalist angle which has a social function to perform. Lastly, CDA and rhetoric agree on a common premise that different discourse types consist of linguistic choices which are never "innocent" as the language used is never neutral particularly in the media representations of conflicts such as the portrayal of the Arab Spring.

Another evidence of relation between rhetoric and discourse studies, specifically CDA, was traced in Lamberti's (2013) study. It was argued that insights from rhetorical studies shared much with what is considered discourse analysis of today or any critical study of discourse such as CDA. Rhetoric presents an "overarching dialogic theory", which contributes to knowledge about language and its practice, and acts as a "meta-disciplinary unity for the arts of discourse" (Andrews, 1992, as cited in Lamberti, 2013, p. 18). It was argued that rhetoric other than persuasion deals with the effects of text and necessarily involves speakers, writers, audience and readers. So, rhetoric has an equal relation with text and context both. Hence, this makes rhetoric more evidently a precursor of discourse studies than linguistics. For rhetoric to create an impact, presence of the speaker or writer and audience is needed in the same timeframe and physical space which make contexts visible material. Therefore, a common existence of context between rhetoric and discourse also establishes the link between the two. For that reason, rhetoric is best associated with dialogical approaches to discourse and writing (Lamberti, 2013). Eagleton's (1983) study (as cited in Lamberti, 2013) further revealed that the link between rhetoric and discourse in not new. Eagleton described rhetoric as the study of exploring the way discourses

are constructed in order to attain certain desired effects. Lamberti (2013) also supported the choice of CDA by arguing that discourse studies took over from rhetorical approaches and contemporary discourse theories offer new analytical methods emphasising more on exploratory power and broader theoretical scope.

The power of written discourse has been one of the concerns of rhetoric particularly the way language is used in persuading audiences on important public issues. CDA also identifies itself with such tradition by attending to "purpose, situation, genre, diction, style, and other rhetorical variables" (Huckin, Andrus & Clary-Lemon, 2012, p. 109). In other words, CDA supplements rhetoric in several ways, for instance, by focusing on linguistic details, engaging the text that reflects power abuses and inequality and drawing on various research methods and disciplines. Moreover, CDA has become a multidimensional form of analysis by benefitting from several contemporary domains such as psychology, linguistic pragmatics, textlinguistics, discourse analysis and social theory. Such features also make CDA a power methodology for rhetoric that can bring richness and versatility in research. CDA also fits with in the domain of rhetoric as it enables researchers to examine the impact which power dynamics, contexts and social interactions cause to written texts and processes involved. CDA offers rhetoric three points including issues relating to power in private as well as the public discourse, analysis of texts that are multimodal, historical and multiple in nature and lens to the researcher for coordinating the analysis of macro rhetorical purposes accompanied by micro details of language (Huckin et al., 2012).

Another point that overlaps between CDA and rhetoric is the ethical use of language. CDA is utilized to reveal certain ways in which language uses reflect power inequalities. Another common interest on which CDA and rhetoric converge is found in the analysis of the news media coverage. Just as rhetoric concerns itself with the events of the day, CDA is well suited for conducting critiques of how events are portrayed in the media. Since CDA takes into account the ideological trait of discourse, its incorporation into a rhetorical framework leads to rigours conceiving of deeply involved rhetorical aspects such as persuasion, enactment of ethos, as a textual effect. Hence, a reciprocal and two-way relationship exists between CDA and rhetoric in which both enhance each other's development (Huckin et al., 2012).

2.3 Review of the Related Studies

This section reviews the past studies categorized as the media discourse studies conducted on the newspaper editorials, media discourse studies relating to the Arab Spring and contemporary media discourse studies in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

2.3.1 Media Discourse Studies

The news media are the first "to witness or describe breaking events, new developments, or local situations" (p. 28) through reporters or correspondents and have specific access to the means of influencing the public opinion (van Dijk, 1995d). For instance, the newspaper editorials tend to gain the researchers' interest due to ideological portrayal of international events. This section represents the news media discourse studies, the editorials in particular, which guide this analysis.

In one particular study, van Dijk (1989b) examined how the editorials from the British newspapers, namely, *The Guardian, The Times, The Daily Mail, The Telegraph, The Sun*) covered the story of inner city disturbances. van Dijk examined the ideological portrayal of actors involved in riots which included young Afro-Caribbean males and police. It was found that the editorial content exhibited three major categories: definition, evaluation, and conclusion, recommendation or moral. Using the ideological square, to critically investigate the events, the researcher used pronominal pairs of *us* that represented the British, whites and ordinary people and *them* that represented aliens, criminals and Blacks. The findings revealed that riots were evaluated as criminal acts of young Afro-Caribbeans, whilst police were portrayed as victims and the force of order which deserved respect. It was concluded that editorial is "the formulation place for newspaper ideologies" (p. 252). This claim was based on the evidence that ideological structures systematically appear in argumentation, rhetorical and lexical style and in overall organization of the editorial texts.

In another study, van Dijk (1995c) analysed the editorial published by *The Washington Post* about explosion of an arm cache in Nicaragua in 1993. The purpose was to explore how opinion and ideologies are manifested in the discourse of a 'specific genre' as the newspaper editorials. It was emphasised that editorials with institutional functions and like a routinized discourse type possess the schematic categories of summary or definition, evaluation and pragmatic conclusion (recommendation, advice, and warning). van Dijk reported that negative opinions were described through lexical selections, presuppositions, implications and metaphors. It was suggested that opinions may not only be "expressed implicitly, but

also be implied indirectly by specific factual statements" (p. 30). The findings indicated that explicitness of opinions depended on the context and political role of the newspaper such as the conservative stance adopted by *The Washington Post*. This study also suggested that editorials express "the stylistic, rhetorical and argumentative devices" (p. 30) which helps readers to construct a preferred model of events and make them concentrate on the positive or good representation of *us* vis-a-vis the negative or bad representation of *them*.

Similarly, Shoeb (2007) examined the editorials of the Pakistani newspapers including *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Dawn* and *Daily Times*. Following van Dijk's (1989b) concept of the three schematic categories, namely, definition, evaluation, and conclusion, recommendation or moral, the study investigated the representation of the 2007 emergency events in Pakistan. The findings supported these categories as "the basic components of the editorials" (p. 104) which overlapped during the coverage of events – indicating both similarities and differences. The study shed light on two aspects: the Urdu-English newspaper divide in covering the events and the government-press relationship. With reference to the Arab Spring, I intend to investigate the power relations embedded in the schematic categories of the NI and AN editorials and how such conflicts are produced with some social objectives.

van Dijk (1992) also explored various argumentative strategies employed by the conservative British press editorials from *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun* about ethnic affairs. Using the ideological square, the editorial representations of the two-groups, involved in conflicts, demonstrated "in-group" cohesion among the ordinary white

readership and the elite. The findings revealed that the editorials legitimated the dominance of the white group by representing them as *us*. Meanwhile, minorities, immigrants and refugees were represented as *them* and "out-group" members. Also, the newspapers accused the black community of lacking adaption and ignored their harassments by police. It was suggested that editorials persuasively formulate their opinion and "propositions of the editorial schema are realized by… rhetorical strategies and moves" (p. 255).

Through another study, Vaughan (1994) compared the coverage of Lebanon's invasion by Israel in the editorials published by *Al-Fajr* (Palestine), *Al-Nahar* (Lebanon), *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel) and *The New York Times* (America). It was drawn from van Dijk's (1988b) concept that analysis of editorials deals with argumentations, presumptions, norms and values, underlying concepts, style and rhetoric. The researcher aimed at analysing key events, themes and players. It was found that Al-*Nahar* did not express opinions directly but used harsh words for its people and government. *The Jerusalem Post* kept on fluctuating on its viewpoints and critiqued its people and government policies. Meanwhile, *Al-Fajr* showed no condemnation of Palestinians and remained sarcastic. *The New York Times* rarely criticized its government and relied on the rhetoric of didacticism. It was suggested that editorials from such mainstream newspapers provide "very special view of the opinions in a society" and they are "not neutral observers" (pp. 38-39). Moreover, editorials represent the news events which are compliant with a particular policy.

Lagonikos (2005) investigated the editorial portrayal of the September 11, 2001 events in the American (*The Washington Post*), British (*The Times*), South African (*The Cape Times*), Zimbabwean (*The Daily News*) and Kenyan (*The Daily Nation*) newspapers. Five editorial samples were investigated through Fairclough's CDA and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar approaches. The researcher focused on ideological representation of actors, events, themes and editorial structures. It was found that editorials promoted in-group ideologies under the influence of newspaper institutions, instead of representing objective viewpoints. The findings revealed that through the *us-them* dichotomy readers were persuaded to identify with in-group members and to show support for their ideologies. This was achieved by positively evaluating the *us-group* and by discouraging readers from joining the negatively portrayed *them-group*. The study revealed that the editorials practice a uniform variety of discourse properties which makes this genre as an 'opinion discourse'.

Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007) explored the editorial coverage of Iran's nuclear program in three American newspapers: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Based on van Dijk's (1998a) concept of ideological square, the researchers investigated ideological beliefs of the U.S. about Iran's capability to acquire nukes. The study focused on linguistic elements of naming choices referring to the participants of events and lexical choices referring to the portrayal of events, players and policies in the editorial opinions. It was concluded that the editorials of the newspapers opposed Iran's nuclear policy and maneuvered the issue through "linguistic, stylistic, and argumentative" (p. 161) framework.

Following van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square, Healy (2011) also examined ideological representations of the Irish (*Irish Independent, The Irish Times*) and British (*The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*) newspaper editorials covering issues related to cease fire by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 2005. The findings revealed that *The Daily Telegraph*, *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* negatively portrayed the IRA statement and warned readers to remain cautious about it. On the contrary, *The Guardian* adopted a positive ideological stance on the IRA declaration and persuaded readers to stay contended with a bright future for all groups. It was suggested that, based on in-group and out-group associations, the editors used the discourse strategy of positive self-representation to persuade readers to agree with the opinion and negative other-representation to portray the opposite group as deviant.

Achugar (2004) examined the editorial coverage by the Uruguayan newspapers, *El País* and *La República*. The focus was to investigate the discourse strategies deployed in the construction of the in-group and out-group identity in portraying the 9/11 events. The researcher analysed political ideologies expressed as "good versus evil as a consequence of the events being depicted, evaluated and represented" (p. 293). The findings suggested that the editorials attributed 'evil' to members/forces outside their own-group. The newspapers manipulated characterization of actors to make their argument more coherent and suitable to the dichotomous style adopted by the two dailies. It was found that both the newspapers adopted a similar strategy of representing actors by distinguishing between *us* (the US/Western nations/victims) and *them* (the Islamic/non-Islamic terrorist groups/state terrorism) in order to advance

in-group ideologies and condemn the attacks. This study affirms how ideologies are embedded in discourse to serve the interests of different social group members.

Similarly, Hakam (2009) analysed news articles (news reports, editorials/opinion pieces or news analyses) which addressed the issue related to the cartoons controversy about Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in 19 English-language newspapers representing twelve Arab countries. This study explored how the selected newspapers reproduced, resisted or challenged the discourse that stemmed from a dominant Euro-centred culture. It examined how ideologies are reproduced and resisted in the English-language Arab press as "both a product of society and a shaper of its discourse" (p. 34). The researcher used analytical tools such as modality, naming and description (polarizing we/us and they/them), collocational incongruity, presupposition and signals of affiliation. The findings revealed that the newspaper discourse produced in the coverage of cartoon controversy proved to be "locus of ideological struggle that is rooted in socio-cultural conflicts that are at once current and long-running" (p. 53).

Kim (2014) examined how the US media constructed North Korea through news stories/articles published in the selected US mainstream media outlets, namely, *CNN*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*. The researcher examined how "discursive practices of the news media contribute to the shaping of social structures" (p. 222). It was found that the US media reports relied on the theme 'threat' to project North Korea as a menace to the world peace and international community. This study revealed that the US media divided the world countries into different groups, pro or

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anti- US, in relation to their association with North Korea. This division was based on the political associations of these countries with the US rather than any geographical or historical relations. The study reaffirmed the prevalence of polarization in the media discourse which categorizes people or groups on the basis of in-group (self/us) or out-group (other/them) ideologies. For instance, as found, North Korea and Iran were portrayed as close allies in the reporting of *CNN, Newsweek* and *NYT* due to their anti-political approach towards the US.

The CDA approach has also been found useful in investigating themes. Bhatia (2006) explored the language used in political press conferences held by the two ideologically opposed leaders and former presidents, Chinese President Jiang Zemin and the US President George W. Bush belonging to different ideological backgrounds, experience, status, socio-political influence and political objectives. The researcher focused on how "ideologies are discussed and negotiated, how power relations are asserted…" (p. 174). This study investigated issues related to terrorism and proliferation of nuclear arms. The findings revealed three major themes examined through various linguistic features. These themes included positivity (for reinforcing mutual trust, respect and progress), influence and power (to pre-determine one another's future behaviour) and evasion (to avoid inconvenient questions from the media) through which the two leaders discussed issues in a positive way.

Another study (Alvaro, 2013) investigated "biased ideological representations" (p. 289) in the media discourse. The analysis focused on the media coverage of Liu Xiaobo who is a dissident social actor and author of *Charter 2008* – a document

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emphasizing human rights and democracy in China. This study focused on the linguistic choices used to construct China's ideological positions in its major English language media: China's English Press (*The China Daily*, *People's Daily Online*) and Xinhua News Agency which is not ideologically independent. The findings indicated the media use of passive, agent deletion, definition, redefinition and attribution of derogating qualities to dissidents. This study also reveals that *us* (China's judicial system', 'China', 'Beijing, 'Beijing court') and *them* (Liu and the Nobel Peace Prize) discourse gets endorsed through various strategies which de-emphasise the negative process related to *us*, for instance, concealing of agency when repressive actions such as detaining, sentencing and arresting of dissidents are involved.

Hannon (2012) examined rhetorical underpinnings of the endorsement editorials published in the Canadian newspapers (*Globe* and *Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto Star*, and *Toronto Sun*) during the 2011 federal election campaign. The researcher found that the newspapers varied in giving their endorsements and dis-endorsements (negative message) for a particular party. Hannon claimed that the editorial writers combined rhetorical appeals (ethos, pathos, logos) to persuasively speak to readers through the beliefs and opinions of the newspapers which, in fact, reflect the way power relations are constructed within a society. The findings demonstrated that rhetorical appeals and figures produced a compelling argument and encouraged readers "to support or vote for a candidate or party" (p. iii). Inspired by Hannon's findings, the current study explores how the editorial writers of English language newspapers in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia constructed the Arab Spring message by employing the three modes of persuasion, namely, ethos, pathos and logos.

The above-reviewed past studies demonstrate how newspapers utilize different discourse strategies to portray different events in different contexts and in different ways according to their media policy. In particular, the newspapers editorials have been found a crucial medium for sharing ideological opinions with readers. The review of the above listed studies (for more related works, see Al-Sharoufi, 2006; Atai & Mozaheb 2013; Katajamaki & Koskela, 2006; Tahir, 2013) uniformly suggest that editorial descriptions become a 'meaningful source' for getting insights into issues and conflicts of diverse nature.

2.3.2 Media Discourse Studies on Arab Spring

The Arab Spring which produced large civilian protests threw off decade old authoritarian regimes (Martin, 2014) in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt and Libya except Syria. Looking back at the uprisings when they actually occurred we find that the events were optimistically viewed by those who favoured the 'protests' and called the Arab Spring by the names like 'inspirational movement' that succeeded in capturing worldwide imagination. The movement simply demanded a better way of living and new models for the Arab societies. It was all reported as bringing about positive changes in existing system of governments (Culbertson, 2016). It was thought that the Arab Spring revolutions would make a new epoch in the history of some Arab countries where different forces fought to replace the old order (Kadri, 2016). Due to its uniqueness and global implications, the Arab Spring attracted numerous research scholars from different arenas with media scholars getting the lead (Asmeret, 2013).

The review of the contemporary Arab Spring research has revealed that a large number of current studies focused on the coverage of the uprising by different social media outlets and ignored the news media discourse. For instance, some of the researchers examined the Facebook posts and Tweets related to the Arab Spring events (e.g., Aouragh 2012; Barnsby, 2012; Creech, 2014; Schueller, 2012; Skinner, 2011). Similarly, some other research studies just analysed Tweets shared about the Arab Spring (e.g., Bruns, Highfield & Burgress, 2013; Lotan, et al., 2011; Lynch, Freelon & Aday, 2014; Starbird & Palen, 2012). Meanwhile, researchers also analysed the coverage of the Arab Spring by YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, online bloggers and mobile telephony (e.g., Cottle, 2011). Moreover, there have been studies on how Facebook, Twitter and blogs (e.g., Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011) represented the events. More Arab Spring studies were conducted on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube (Chebib & Sohail, 2011; Hassan, 2015). Similarly, some researchers relied on the coverage by Twitter, Facebook, blogs, YouTube (e.g., Kamel, 2014), the Internet (e.g., Chokoshvili 2011) and Facebook (e.g., Tufekci & Wilson, 2012). Also, some more contemporary studies (e.g., Faris, 2012; Zeid & Al-Khalaf, 2012) investigated the contribution of blogs in transmitting views related to the Arab Spring and so on.

Surprisingly, the newspaper editorials have been given little attention for their representation of the Arab Spring events. The spread of the revolutions was mainly attributed to the role of social media in diffusing the information (Lindsey, 2013). The past studies have evidenced that current research on the Arab Spring is largely limited to the social media reporting. Hence, there exists a research gap in the Arab Spring literature on how the news media particularly the newspaper editorials depicted the

Arab Spring revolutions. This study hopes to gain insights into how the real life events are constructed and co-constructed by the people who have the power to shape the readers' perception and thinking. Such power is represented by the use of words, phrases and sentence formation in a particular context. For instance, we see how the editorials used some words such as protests, uprisings, conflicts, unrests and rebellions to refer to the Arab Spring which were coined when the incidents occurred.

One particular study on the Arab Spring was conducted by Alhumaidi (2013) who used Fairclough's theoretical framework based on three dimensions: textual analysis, discursive practices and sociocultural practices. The researcher examined how Egypt's government-owned newspaper, *Al-Ahram*, and Qatar-based news network, *Aljazeera*, represented "the protests and the antagonists both textually and discursively" (p. 12) through five textual and discursive features including lexicalization and predication, presupposition, verbal process, intertextuality and topics. The researcher also adopted van Dijk's (1998a, 1998b) ideological square to explore how *Al-Ahram* and *Aljazeera* employed in-group and out-group discourse strategies in representing the conflicts between the protesters and government and how they emphasized the positive actions of the in-group and deemphasized the negative actions of the out-group. The analysis of online news articles indicated differences between the coverage by the two media outlets on both the textual and discursive level. Alhumaidi also noticed the existence of 'group polarization': *Al-Ahram*'s reporting treated the Egyptian government as the in-group and the protesters as the out-group while *Aljazeera*'s reporting represented the protesters as the in-group and the Egyptian government as the out-group.

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I find Alhumaidi's (2013) study useful as it provides insights into different approaches of CDA framework and its application to the Arab Spring media coverage. However, one obvious limitation of this study is that it focuses on Egypt only and neglects other countries of the Arab Spring namely Tunisia, Yemen, Libya and Syria which equally received a high media attention. Moreover, despite dissimilarity of stances, both the media outlets belong to Arab countries. There is a need to explore how the Arab and non-Arab media portrayed the uprising, in particular, the countries which were not involved in the Arab Spring. The current study overcomes this shortcoming in two ways. First, it examines the Arab Spring portrayal related to five countries. Second, it explores the editorial content published in the Arab (AN) and non-Arab (NI) newspapers using van Dijk's framework.

Several other research scholars also highlighted how newspapers reported the Arab Spring. For instance, Baum and Zhukov (2015) investigated articles related to civil war in Libya published by different newspapers in 113 countries between 18 December 2010 and October 2011. The researchers examined the media tendency to "under-report or over-report certain types of events" (p. 1). It was emphasised that such a tendency in reporting was dependent on the political context of the news organizations. It means more pressure is exerted on the media in non-democratic regimes than democratic regimes. This study suggested that in relation to the Libyan Arab Spring the media in non-democratic states indicated "pro-incumbency" whereas the media in democratic states adopted a "pro-challenger" bias in the coverage. The findings imply that the media under-report or over-report events. Such findings concur with the argument adopted by the current study that media representations of

conflicts are hardly neutral (Fowler, 1991; Kress, 1983; van Dijk, 2000d). However, this study is limited in its scope as it only explores the Libyan uprising. This gap is covered by the multi-prong approach of the present study which presents a detail perspective of how the Arab Spring that happened in five different countries is made sense of by the editors of the Arab and non-Arab newspapers.

Abushouk (2014) analysed underlying causes of the Arab Spring and their consequences in the news articles, reports, editorial notes, and communiqués published by the *Time* and *Newsweek* (American) magazines in 2011. The researcher examined how the two magazines highlighted the scenarios in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. It was found that root causes for the uprisings included political dictatorships and corruption, youth quake in the Arab world and use of cell phones and social media. It was declared that the magazines addressed the issue from a journalistic perspective that was informative. The researcher argued that victory of the Islamist parties in Tunisia and Egypt alarmed the two news magazines and made them pessimistic about the outcome of the Arab Spring. Thus, Islamists were predicted a threat to the Western interests in the region. Though based on the Arab Spring, this study is more informative in nature and hence does not provide a comprehensive assessment of the issues. The CDA approach adopted in the present study accounts for this limitation. It provides a more detailed view of the conflicts by examining the media practice of using ideological, rhetorical and persuasive strategies.

Youssef (2012) explored the newspaper portrayal of the Egyptian revolution in *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (Egypt), *The Telegraph* (Britain) and *The Washington Post* (America) in the light of protest paradigm, war and peace journalism and depictions of the Arab Spring protesters. The study examined the use of dichotomous language which represented *us* and *them*. Using van Dijk's (1998a, 1998b) ideological square, the researcher traced the media use of 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other-presentation. It was revealed that national newspapers in Egypt were more inclined to highlight the protesters' acts of violence and war reporting. In contrast, *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* moved away from the protest paradigm and adhered to peace-reporting. *Al-Ahram* served as a mouthpiece of the government and highlighted the regime's positive characteristics and protesters' negative characteristics. On the other hand, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* leaned towards military and ordinary citizens but referred to police as *them*. It was found that *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* addressed pro-democracy protesters as *us* while the military and regime were portrayed as *them*. This study demonstrates that lexical choices are pivotal "to pin down the ideologies of the newspapers" (p. 114). It advocates that the newspaper policy influences production of ideologies in discourse.

Dağtaş (2013) investigated the portrayal of the Arab Spring in Bahrain, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria in the news reports published by six Turkish newspapers, which were categorized as pro-government (*Star*, *Zaman*, *Daily Sabah*) and anti-government (*Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet Daily News*, *Taraf*). Using analytical categories adopted from van Dijk's and Teo's studies, the researcher investigated discursive strategies employed at macro and micro structures of new reports. At the macro level,

headlines, leads and main topics were examined. The analysis of micro structures involved examining the remaining content of news reports. This study critically examined news actors, quotation patterns, lexicalization, over lexicalization and syntactic preferences. Dağtaş found that similarities in the news discourse of six newspapers were more significant than differences. The findings demonstrated that the newspapers created a positive image of the Arab Spring, that is, "the positivity of Arab upheavals" and negative image of the oppressing regimes, that is, "the negativity of the oppressive regimes" (p. 30) based on the two stances of the newspapers: supporting the government or not supporting the government. This study makes us aware of the dynamics of power that are constantly being interplayed by the media.

Amin and Jalilifar (2013) investigated how ideologies are constructed through different linguistic choices in different sociocultural contexts. The researchers focused on the editorial coverage of the Syrian Arab Spring in *Tehran Times* (Iran), *Today's Zaman* (Turkey) and *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia). Amin and Jalilifar adopted van Dijk's ideological square (1998a, 1998b) to compare the *self* and *other* representations. The findings suggested that the *Arab News* delegitimized Assad and his supporters by using negative comments. On the contrary, *Tehran Times* supported the Syrian government and downgraded the opposition forces and external supporters while *Today's Zaman* took a different view by constructing a more real picture and broader view of the uprising by remaining impartial. The researchers argued that "sometimes even contradictory positions are taken toward one single event by the governing political agenda of countries of the world" (p. 2) based on the ideologies which are dominant among political groups or the established religious ideologies.

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This study conveys that the editorial opinions are influenced by the political positioning adopted by the newspapers (van Dijk, 1995c). Though focusing on only one country of the Arab Spring, the study is beneficial in exploring how the newspaper editorials belonging to different ideological contexts portray the events.

Alasuutari, Qadir and Creutz (2013) analysed the coverage of the Egyptian Arab Spring in three newspapers published in Britain (*The Times*), Finland (*Helsingin Sanomat*) and Pakistan (*Daily Times*). By relying on online news stories, articles, editorials and letters to the editor, the researchers analysed domestication of foreign news by other agents in addition to journalists. The study identified certain discursive modes through which the events were domesticated. One of these modes included: "bringing the events closer through appealing to emotions" (p. 699). The findings revealed that journalists employed the form of discourse which appealed "to the emotions and sentiments of the readers" by giving vivid depictions containing "loaded narrations, stories of bravery and solidarity" (p. 699) which involved the readers emotionally. It was also showed that the Pakistani newspaper adopted a neutral stance. On the other hand, the British and Finnish newspapers used several discursive means to bring the events closer to the readers. I also investigate how the editors of the NI and AN utilised emotions as a mode of persuasion to portray the Arab Spring.

Eskjær (2012) compared the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Syria covered by the Danish daily newspapers, namely, *BT*, *Politiken*, *Jyllandsposten* and *Information*. The study aimed at identifying different patterns of news reporting by using keywords including Syria and Tunisia. Articles were collected from January to March 2011. It explored

whether the Danish press coverage of the Arab Spring was influenced by temporal developments of the Arab revolutions, level of journalistic presence in the region and national differences. The findings revealed that the Middle East received a high media attention by the press reports. This study is limited to media reporting of the uprising and lacks a systematic analysis of how newspaper ideologies influence the discourse structures (van Dijk, 1989b) of the Arab Spring as probed in the current study.

Bardici (2012) through online articles, published by *CNN*, *The Washington Post*, *New Middle East*, *EMAJ Magazine* and Doha Centre for Media Freedom in January to September, 2011, examined the contribution of social media to the Arab Spring in Egypt. The researcher focused on surface descriptions and structure, objects, social actors, language and rhetoric, framing and ideological viewpoints. The findings revealed that rhetorical and exclusionary media representations overstated the role of the social media by labelling the Egyptian uprising as a Facebook revolution. These online media reports hyperbolically constructed a positive image of different corporate players such as Facebook, Twitter and media companies and exaggeratedly gave high importance in representing these social media actors. Though it was acknowledged that "media representation does ideological work" and "tends to be rhetorical" (pp. 56-58), the researcher did not examine how this was described by editorials as leading articles of newspapers.

Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) examined the framing of the Egyptian uprising by focusing on news stories and opinion columns in some of the semi-official newspapers (*Al-Ahram, Al-Akhbar, Al-Messa, Al-Jomhoriya*), independent newspapers (*Al-Shorouk,*

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Al-Youm-Al-Sabee) and social media posts. The findings revealed that pro-government newspapers framed the uprising as a conspiracy against the regime with severe consequences ahead, used the conflict frame and painted the protests as a harmful catastrophe. On the contrary, the social media postings relied on the human interest frame and considered the protests as a struggle toward achieving social justice and freedom. However, the independent newspapers reflected a combination of these frames. This study pointed toward possible roles that the news media perform in shaping the public views through their specific agendas.

Youssef, Arafa and Kumar (2014) analysed news reports and commentaries broadcast by five TV channels. The researchers focused on the language used in describing the conflicts between security forces and protesters during the Arab Spring in Egypt. The findings suggested that the language was militarized by journalists, reporters and presenters due to involvement of the Egyptian military in the revolution. It was claimed that the media discourse presented civil protests as a military battle or war violence by using military vocabulary, for instance, the word fight and others. It was also suggested that the language used in the media discourse serves various purposes such as it signifies the news, the participants in the news, the actions initiated or completed by different parties.

AlMaskati (2012) also examined the portrayal of the Egyptian protests covered by *Al Ahram* (Egypt), *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia), *China Daily* (China), *The Guardian* (Britain), *International Herald Tribune* (America) and *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel). This research focused on the type and intensity of reporting, shifts in the newspapers'

tones and interaction with certain types of social media. The findings revealed that news stories cited more from conventional news media sources than social media sources. AlMaskati also noticed that the newspapers' intensity of the Arab Spring coverage was largely influenced by some important factors such as national policies, diplomatic relations and geographic proximity. The study implies that newspapers are rich and interesting sources for exploring events, particularly from the editorial point of view. I also examine the editorial voices to make sense of how the NI and AN portrayed the uprising under the influence of geographic proximity.

Thus far, the previous studies have demonstrated that the news media were immensely engaged by the series of the Arab Spring protests. However, if compared to the wealth of the media studies on the Arab Spring, the editorials have not been given much attention. We have not seen much how the editorials portrayed the Arab Spring by employing the schematic categories of editorials, ideological square, rhetorical devices and modes of persuasion. Also, there is need to highlight the in-group and out-group associations of the newspaper editors in different contexts and their implications for readers. Thus, the previous studies hardly provide a comprehensive view as they rarely explored the uprising in five countries.

2.3.3 Media Discourse Studies in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia

It is somewhat striking that the media discourse studies in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia also paid less attention to the Arab Spring despite the fact that the uprising attracted several Pakistani (e.g., Abbas, 2012; Khalique, 2011; Naeem, 2011; T. A. Khan, 2012) and Saudi (e.g., Almaeena, 2015; Al-Mulhim, 2016; Al Sharif, 2012; Fatany,

2016) journalists, columnists and reporters who shared their viewpoints on the Arab Spring including the newspaper editorials under study. Instead, the researchers from these two settings seemed more interested in exploring local issues related to their own countries as pointed out in the subsequent discussion. Therefore, it is maintained, that more research is needed which informs the researchers of the value in pursuing the Arab Spring portrayal from the perspective of the newspaper editorials.

Some of the past editorial studies in Pakistan focused on the portrayal of Taliban (Malik & Iqbal, 2011), image of the Pakistani President (Raza & Akbar, 2012) and constructions of the US image (Mahmood & Ahmad, 2013) in the Pakistani newspapers. Some other researchers (Jan, Raza, Siddiq & Saleem, 2013; Madni, Nawaz, Hassan & Abdullah, 2014) investigated editorial coverage of different political parties in Pakistan and descriptions of India-Pakistan relationship (Shabir et al., 2014). Further, some more recent editorial studies also ignored the Arab Spring and instead analysed editorial perspectives on Pakistan-US relations (Ayoub & Ahmed, 2013; Yousaf & Ali, 2012) and the media portrayal of Osama bin Laden's death (Tabassum, Shah & Bilal, 2013). In one of the rare Arab Spring studies, Arif (2014) compared the role of You Tube during the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 with the political crises of 2007 in Pakistan. However, the study was again inspired by the social media and does not inform readers about the news media coverage of the events such as the ideological roles acted by the NI editorials in Pakistan.

Similarly, the review of the contemporary media discourse studies in Saudi Arabia also unveils that little attention has been given to the Arab Spring events. Rather, some of the researchers (Alarfaj, 2013; Alawadh, 2014) explored the newspaper coverage related to the 9/11 attacks. Another recent study focused on framing of the Saudi youth in the traditional media (Alotaibi, 2015). The Arab Spring was also not given attention by Alghamdy (2011) who focused on the media representation of elections in Saudi Arabia. Similarly, in another study, Al-Hejin (2012) also neglected the uprising and preferred the media portrayal of Muslim women. Further, some recent discourse studies (Al Maghlooth, 2014; Almistadi, 2014; Alqahtni, 2014) in Saudi Arabia focused on the local issues.

As evidenced, the above reviewed media discourse studies in the local context of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia neglected the editorial descriptions of the Arab Spring. It is maintained that the editorials as the mouthpiece of newspapers need to be investigated more when analysing such crucial events. Since editorials frame the readers' mind about the world events and construct the public opinion, "a vast scholarly literature on them" is expected (van Dijk, 1995c, p. 1). Therefore, the present study contributes to the deficiency of literature by making sense of how the (NI) and (AN) editorials served as the 'medium' for disseminating the Arab Spring message to the readers in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has provided the review of concepts and theories which are pertinent to the Arab Spring analysis. The theoretical review focused on the concepts relating to the media practice of newsmaking and newsgathering, the term discourse, discourse analysis approach and the CDA framework. Further, a critical review of discourse analytical approaches, utilized to make sense of the embedded meanings, have also been illustrated. First, as a part of the theoretical framework, these approaches constituted van Dijk's concepts of the schematic categories of editorials, ideological square and rhetorical devices. Second, with reference to the three modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos), this chapter has defined and reviewed the concepts related to rhetoric, contemporary rhetoric and classical rhetoric and its relationship with CDA. In addition, the chapter presents a critical review of the pervious media research relevant to this study. In particular, it reveals some of the past CDA studies conducted on the newspaper discourse, media discourse studies on the Arab Spring and media discourse studies in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The subsequent chapter outlines the research methodology adopted in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology employed in examining the Arab Spring as portrayed by the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspaper editorials. It discusses the qualitative research method utilised to make sense of the editorial portrayal. The chapter lays out the research procedure including the data collection and data analysis methods. It also presents the background of the two selected newspapers and the sampling technique used to collect the Arab Spring editorials as a unit of analysis. Through content analysis method, the data were analysed in several steps to investigate the discursive practices, namely, the schematic categories of editorials, ideological square, rhetorical devices and modes of persuasion. The process of inductive coding was assisted by Microsoft Word and NVivo. The chapter ends with a discussion on ethical considerations.

3.2 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research method has been found suitable for exploring events in their sociocultural context over a specified period of time (Creswell, 2009; Grix, 2001; Savenye & Robinson 2008; Silverman, 2012; Wodak & Busch, 2004) with a focus on a particular unit of analysis (Willig, 2013) like newspaper articles (Yin, 2016). The approach involves studies exploring people's attitudes, opinions and beliefs in various settings. The qualitative approach is dependent on a social reality or social context and it contains interpretations of social phenomena (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010). The

qualitative research findings remain far away from generality as they represent a particular context and such results are restricted by a particular timeframe (Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugach, & Richardson, 2005). This exploratory approach is adopted to attain insights into underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2008) that can be achieved through thematic content analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1999). The purpose can be to investigate the editorial discourse (Shank, 2006) by understanding the deeper meanings of the content (Macnamara, 2005), for instance, the Arab Spring. In this way, I am able to explore the conflict in their real settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2015) through the editorial portrayal.

Thus, this qualitative study makes sense of the editorial voices in terms of their capability to persuade people and make them believe in what they read about the Arab Spring. I choose to examine the editorials which were published between January 2011 and December 2012. During this particular timeframe, the Arab Spring received a high media attention and it was witnessed as a peak period for media coverage of the events.   I select the editorials from the two mainstream English language newspapers, namely, the NI and AN. My intention is to gain insights into how the two media perspectives presented the events to the readers in both the settings which did not experience such uprising. Otherwise, the Arab Spring in 2011 caused a serious blow to the exceptionalism in the Middle East and was launched to transform the Arab region from a province of long-living dictatorships to more dignified communities of people (Shehadeh & Johnson, 2015).

3.3 Research Procedure

The study adopts the following research procedure as indicated in the flow chart (see Figure 3.1).
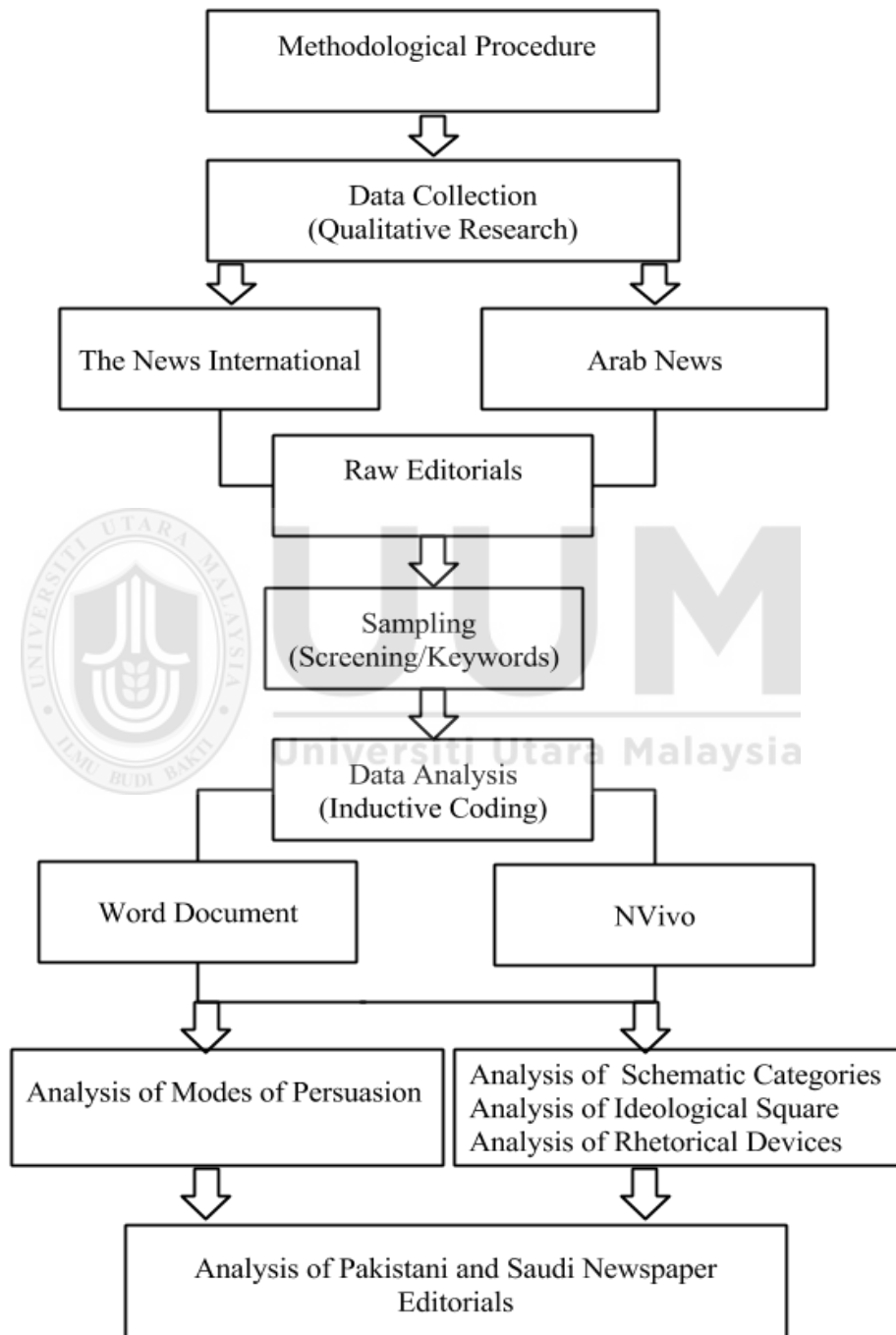
Figure 3.1. Flow chart of the research procedure

3.3.1 Data Collection Method

Data help connect theories and ideas to the practical world (Griffee, 2012). The researcher defines the type of procedure that should be applied, how data should be collected and why certain methods of gathering data for certain analysis are more effective than others (Meyer & Nelson, 2006). In this study, the editorials of the NI and AN are utilised as a source of data for investigating the Arab Spring portrayal (see Figure 3.1) with reference to the rationale discussed in Chapter One.

3.3.1.1 *The News International*

The News International (NI) is a premier English language daily newspaper published, in Pakistan, by the largest and oldest media group of newspapers (Jang Group) with an estimated circulation of 140,000 copies per day. The paper was founded in 1991 and has its publication offices in all major cities of the country. An overseas edition is also published from the United Kingdom. The paper captures 35 percent share of the readership amongst the English language newspapers' market in the country. Thus, it attracts the younger generation of readers given that 40 percent of its readers fall under the age of 25. The electronic version of the NI, Pakistan's first newspaper website launched in 1996 (www.thenews.com.pk), is visited regularly by the readers with almost half a million page views a day. The newspaper has established its reputation for producing thought provoking articles and news analyses. As claimed, the paper has gained popularity for its "passion to speak out on behalf of its readers…politics and policy, government and its pitfalls…a reflection of its people, a watchdog…inspiration and guiding force for the youth" (Aftab Associates for M. Consulting, 2008, para. 16).

The NI has also attracted several Pakistani research scholars (Jan, Raza, Siddiq & Saleem, 2013; Mahmood & Ahmad, 2013; Malik & Iqbal, 2011; Raza & Akbar, 2012; Shabir et al., 2014) to explore the editorial opinions of the paper on various domestic, regional and international affairs. As claimed, the NI has a liberal editorial policy; it is the first newspaper which introduced the concept of investigative reporting in the Pakistani journalism (Aftab Associates for M. Consulting, 2008). The paper is widely read by the country's elite and mostly publishes one-column structured editorials daily which direct readers on wide-ranging issues such as the Arab Spring (e.g., see Chapter 4). The space is reserved for the editorial columns on the left side of the opinion page under the masthead of the paper (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2. Sample of the editorial page of *The News International*
Source: Retrieved from http://e.thenews.com.pk/10-11-2013/page7.asp

3.3.1.2 *Arab News*

Arab News (AN) is the first mainstream English language daily newspaper published in Saudi Arabia. The paper was launched in 1975 and has an estimated circulation of 110, 000 copies per day. It makes a wide coverage of news across Asia, Far East, Europe, America and the Middle Eastern countries. The AN has assigned itself the role of unifying the Arab and non-Arab communities by breaking all cultural barriers (BBC, 2006). The newspaper is one of the 29 publications patronized by the Saudi Research and Publication Company. It owns a diverse group of readership among different sections of the Saudi society and is available throughout the Middle East. The electronic version of the paper (www.arabnews.com) has increased its plurality among web surfers ("About Us", n.d.).

The AN delivers the Saudi perspective in English. The editorial columns of the paper have diverse range of topics on various issues of regional, national and global interests including the Arab Spring (e.g., see Chapter 5). The paper has also attracted several research scholars (AlMaskati, 2012; Amin & Jalilifar, 2013) for its coverage of the Arab Spring. It became more popular for its coverage of international conflicts such as the Gulf War of 1990 when online version of the newspaper received a record of one million hits from all over the world (Hanware, 2014). The daily also plays a vibrant role in promoting English language among the Saudi citizens by providing updates about global events and has become "the most favourite daily for its avid readers" (Hanware, 2015, para. 3). The AN consistently publishes editorials on Fridays and randomly on other days of the week. One-column editorials are printed with the date of publication above the caption "editorial" in capital letters followed by

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the actual title and the text. Two-column editorials are published on Fridays as illustrated in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3. Sample of the editorial page of *Arab News*
Source: Retrieved from www.pressdisplay.com on 27-09-2013

3.3.1.3 The NI and AN Newspaper Editorials

Several qualitative researchers have acknowledged the newspaper discourse as a genuine source for collecting data (Hoepfl, 1997; Jeff, 2010; Yin, 2016). The newspaper articles and reports have been considered "a popular source in doctoral research" (Grix, 2001, pp. 82-83). This study considers the actual corpus of the newspaper editorials more natural and credible datasets as they hold real instances of language practiced in the media discourse (Meyer & Nelson, 2006). The news

editorials contain information about events (Bailey, 1994) which makes their analysis more meaningful if thoroughly explored. In this case, I give particular attention to all minute and relevant details embedded in the Arab Spring editorials.

A purposive sampling strategy is adopted in the process of data collection. This technique is utilized by the researcher based on his judgment in selecting the units (pieces of data) that are to be investigated. The aim of purposive sampling technique is to focus on certain features of selected samples which best provide answers to research questions (Baran & Jones, 2016; Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2016). The technique also emphasizes on saturation and the data are sampled until a comprehensive understanding is reached and no information in required (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). The logic of this strategy lies in selecting information-rich cases about issues which are central to the purpose of research for properly utilizing the available sources (Etikan et al., 2016; Patton, 2015). For studies like the Arab Spring, purposive sampling technique has been found useful to find editorials "on similar subjects and during similar periods of times" (p. 14) in order to analyse the editorial similarities and differences (Hallock, 2007). The sampling period for the Arab Spring editorials lasted between January 2011 and December 2011. The sampling technique has been explained in the following steps.

First, as a sample for this study, I choose one newspaper from my own native place, that is, Pakistan and the other from Saudi Arabia where I have lived and worked. I follow a rigorous process (Griffee, 2012; Grix, 2001) in picking out the editorials. I screen all the published editorials to make sure that the Arab Spring is the central

topic as a part of the final selection and collection of data. I, then, peruse the samples

and do some more screening which requires me to discard articles which do not have

the Arab Spring content, that is, events as they happen in five countries. Next, I use

the keywords (e.g., see Figure 3.4) for narrowing the scope of sampling which include

Tunisia (Ben Ali), Yemen (Ali Abdullah Saleh), Libya (Qaddafi), Egypt (Mubarak)

and Syria (Bashar al-Assad), Arab Spring, uprisings, revolutions, unrest, protests,

protesters and so on.
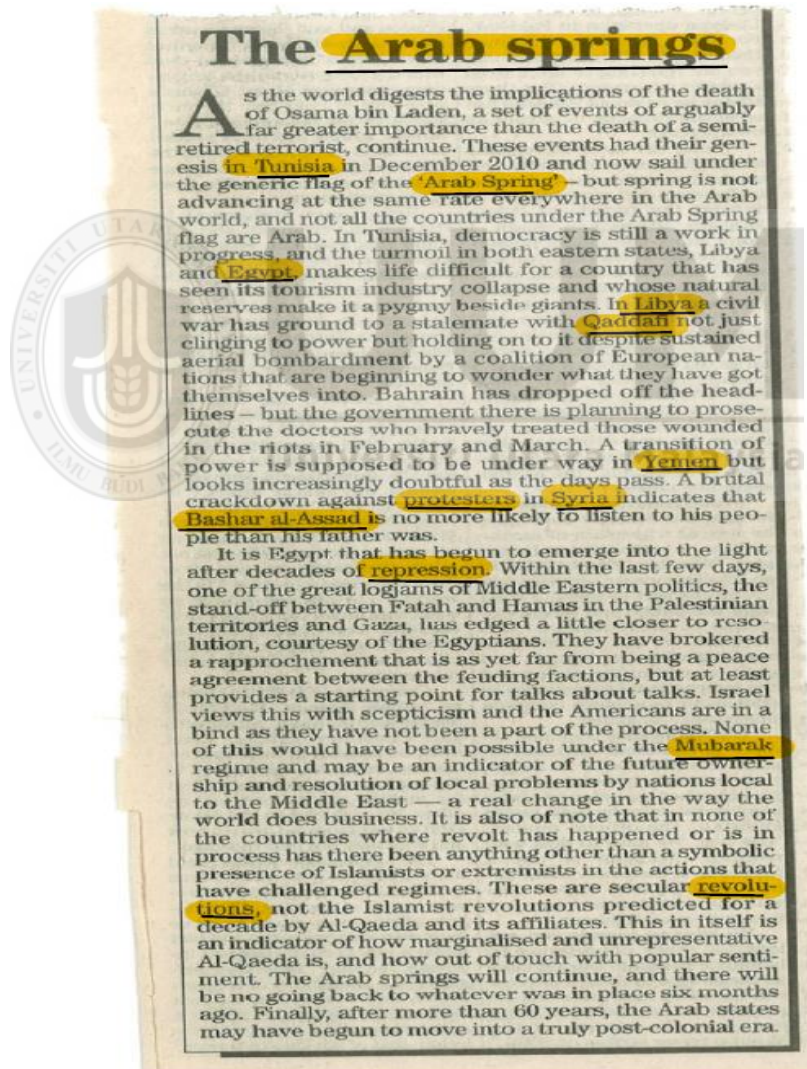
Figure 3.4. Editorial displaying keywords used in sampling
Source: *The News International*

Thus, only the editorial articles which cover the Arab Spring events and/or make reference to these are analysed without considering non-event editorials. Next, I read the editorial content for understanding and reread it for analysis purpose. In doing so, I highlight words, phrases or parts of the statements which describe the Arab Spring.

During the process of data collection, in total, 104 opinion pieces (NI = 40 and AN= 64) related to the Arab Spring were collected. Later, during the process of sampling, the number was reduced to 48 editorials. This means 24 editorials from each newspaper (NI = 24 and AN = 24) were selected based on the following standards. Sampling in a qualitative study is a big challenge as there are no such statistical techniques or other measurement scales to calculate the sample size. For the Arab Spring data, this study depended on the recommendations that qualitative research focuses on in-depth analysis of the cases which are usually small in number and are purposefully selected (Patton, 2015; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2008). Moreover, in purposive sampling the researcher depends on information-rich cases, which provide a depth of information about issues considered central to the research. Also, in a qualitative research, an ample amount of data is collected until saturation is reached (Mason, 2010; Patton, 2015; Walker, 2012). For the Arab Spring, the decision about information rich editorials was based on the key words (e.g., see Figure 3.4) and the researcher's judgement through multiple readings of the content. The process of saturation in this study reached when the data became repetitive and I felt that the addition of any new data units, more specifically, the themes would not result in any new information (Dworkin, 2012; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2008; Walker, 2012).

3.3.2 Data Analysis Method

The Arab Spring editorials are analysed qualitatively through analytical coding method (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) based on the two theoretical strands, namely, van Dijk's model of CDA (schematic categories, ideological square, rhetorical devices) and the modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos). Since this study examines the insider-outsider (Arab and non-Arab) perspective of the events, the NI and AN data sets are compared (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This technique of comparing brings uniformity in presenting and analysing the data. It also reveals the media portrayal in two sociocultural contexts, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, from outside the borders of the uprising countries. In addition, the comparison generated more meaningful findings, for instance, more convincing evidence was obtained with the emergence of similar themes constructed by the editorial writers of the two newspapers. During this process of analysis, I constantly read and re-read the data to gain familiarity. I then compare each code with either the earlier coding for any refinement or checking it with similar codes for both consistency and appropriateness. The decision is also made about naming the codes, sometimes merging two codes into one or sometimes splitting one code into two (Tesch, 1990).

I focused on the construction of ideas and word choices in order to capture the meaning and make sense of the editorial descriptions (McClure, 2011). In this way, I attuned myself with Henry and Tator's (2002) remarks that while exploring the media discourse the researcher should unfold how and why the editors employ specific lexical choices when they editorialize about different conflicts. For the NI and AN editorials, such lexical choices provided the basis for coding as well as identifying the

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themes. As demonstrated earlier in the flow chart (see Figure 3.1), the analysis was conducted on four data sets collected from two newspapers. Thus, in total, eight data sets were examined (see Table 3.1) through the following four steps.

Table 3. 1

Data Sets of the NI and AN Newspapers

Data Sets	Data Sources	Purpose of Analysis	Theoretical Orientation
I- Schematic Categories		Definition Evaluation Conclusion	
II- Ideological Square	Newspaper Editorials	Portrayal of actors (protesters vs. authorities)	van Dijk's Model
III- Rhetorical Devices	(NI and AN)	Editorial emphasis and de-emphasis	
IV- Modes of Persuasion		Ethos Pathos Logos	Aristotelian Appeals

Source: (Aristotle, 1356/2006; van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1989b, 1992, 1998a, 1998b)

The first step of analysis focused on the use of three schematic categories namely definition, evaluation and conclusion (van Dijk, 1989b, 1992) by the NI and AN editorials. The purpose was to investigate how the editors defined and evaluated the protests and what conclusions, recommendations or predictions they made.

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The second step of analysis involved the application of ideological square (van Dijk, 1998a, 1998b) to critically appraise how the editors from two different contexts portrayed the actors: those who had the resentment (protesters) and those who held the power (authorities). Specifically, I investigated how the NI and AN editorials constructed the actors by emphasizing or de-emphasizing their actions (van Dijk, 1993a). Here, the focus remained on the editors' lexical choices which characterized the actors through positive representation of *us*, negative representation of *them*, deemphasising *our* negative acts and deemphasising *their* positive acts (van Dijk, 1998b).

The third step of analysis dealt with the use of rhetorical devices such as metaphors, hyperbole, comparison and others (van Dijk, 1988a, 1992, 1998a, 1998b, 2007b) in the editorial perspectives of the NI and AN. The purpose was to investigate how rhetorical devices helped the editors to achieve their objectives of persuading audiences by emphasising or de-emphasising the Arab Spring developments.

The fourth step of analysis included the three modes of persuasion, namely, ethos, pathos, logos (Aristotle, 1356/2006). The purpose was to probe how the NI and AN editorial writers created persuasive appeals to convey the Arab Spring message.

The application of such discourse strategies determined the anti or pro-Arab Spring stances of the two newspapers. Such discourse tactics not only contribute to understanding of sociocultural contexts which produce the events but also remind us that how the news is produced through the filters of culture, organizational practices

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and professional norms (Rohizah, 2012). Based on the above illustrated steps of analysis, the Arab Spring data were coded through the content analysis method, both, manually and electronically.

3.3.3 Content Analysis

The CDA approach is operationalized through the content analysis and coding procedures (Cukier, Bauer, Middleton & Ngwenyama, 2009). Content analysis as a principal method investigates the media messages (Neuendorf, 2002) such as the editorial portrayal of events (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The application of content analysis to the selected samples produces descriptive results with a special attention to a wide range of discourse meanings (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). This technique effectively condenses qualitative data and facilitates in sensing the core meanings of recurrent discourse strategies (Patton, 2015). The practice has been found useful in investigating the media portrayal which covers violence and other social representations (Gunter, 2000). This method also bridges the gap between the text and the context as each editorial represents a particular context (Krippendorff, 2013).

I conducted a content analysis of the sampled NI and AN editorials. Initial findings revealed that the two selected newspapers depended on several common themes to construct the Arab Spring. These themes were identified in the data through the technique of reading and re-reading of editorial texts (Rice & Ezzy, 1999; Ryan & Bernard, 2003) based on the researcher's analytical perception (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Such emerging themes mainly portrayed the actors (protesters vs. authorities) and their actions in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. Such an analysis of

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themes functions at a higher or global level of discourse, than analysing words or sentences at micro-levels or treating isolated sentences alone, to capture important aspects of the news discourse as a whole (van Dijk, 1988a; 1988b). Thus, the existence of themes in the news discourse in fact signals "what the discourse is about, globally speaking" (van Dijk, 1988b, p. 30). These themes were based on the editors' perceptions and what they considered pivotal to the making of the Arab Spring discourse. My subsequent chapters demonstrate the themes constructed by the editors.

3.3.3.1 Coding

The application of content analysis depends on the assessment of coding categories and due to its flexible approach (Schreier, 2014) several editorial citations are placed under one umbrella of coding. Content analysis may operate through inductive emergence of themes/categories or deductive application of themes/categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). In CDA studies, inductive approach has been found more useful for analysing emerging patterns within the selected samples (Tracy, Martinez-Guillem, Robles & Casteline, 2011). However, there have been differences among the proponents of CDA about theoretical or methodological foundations. Some are inclined towards deductive approach while others proceed inductively – considered more time-consuming but relatively more reliable and less biased (Tenorio, 2011).

The Arab Spring data were coded through inductive method. At the outset, manual process of coding was implemented. I utilized the inductive technique for analysing emerging themes, concepts and categories (Allan, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005;

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Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2015) during multiple readings of the media content produced by the NI and AN. This approach is also called bottom-up coding which requires working closely with data to determine codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Through this method, I coded meaningful data segments by assigning a label or category to data chunks (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2004) in Microsoft Word which involved several steps. First, I prepared the data (Schreier, 2014; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009) by converting hard copies of editorials into word files to be processed in a ready-made form as electronic copies. Then, I closely read the editorials several times to become familiar with the writing style (Carvalho, 2011; Hannon, 2012; Harmount, 2014) of the Arab Spring editorial writers. Next, I used highlighters to identify the relevant themes. This technique was found useful in reflecting various codes, concepts and categories (Marshall & Rossman, 2015; Tracy, 2012). Each Arab Spring theme was coded under a salient phrase (Saldana, 2013), for instance, 'democracy' and 'dictatorship' that captured the crux of the editorial matter.

The colour coding technique makes it simple to examine which chunks of the data belong to which category (Stottok, Bergaus & Gorra, 2011). Thus, a specific colour was assigned to each data chunk and the coding category which it represented. Whenever, I found a relevant data fragment which aligned with the research questions I arranged into a similar category accordingly. I examined how the editors used different discourse strategies such as schematic categories to produce an overall picture of the Arab Spring. I also coded the lexical choices employed by the editors to ideologically represent the protesters and authorities. Similarly, I also coded the rhetorical devices and modes of persuasion utilised to construct the uprising. So, in

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this process of coding I made sure that all the meaningful data were analysed and coded according to the research objectives.

Later, I referred to NVivo for a systematic analysis of the editorial content. NVivo facilitates the CDA studies, where the data exist in high volumes, (Cukier et al., 2000) to enhance methodological transparency (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). As per the NVivo protocol, three types of coding were exercised: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. During open coding, the Arab Spring data were read line by line several times and tentative conceptual labels were assigned to each data chunk. This line by line reading avoided bias in the process of analysis. In the next stage, axial coding, initially coded categories were re-examined and the relationship was identified among open codes and similar nodes were merged into one category. Finally, I made use of NVivo's selective coding which contained core codes and key themes/concepts. During this stage, the data categories were further integrated into core categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) which depicted the stances of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers on the Arab Spring. Figure 3.5 presents a sample of NVivo coding for the NI editorials. As illustrated, the word 'sources' indicates the number of editorials and 'references' indicates the number of comments analysed or coded. Figure 3.5 also indicates the parent and child nodes which were generated during coding.

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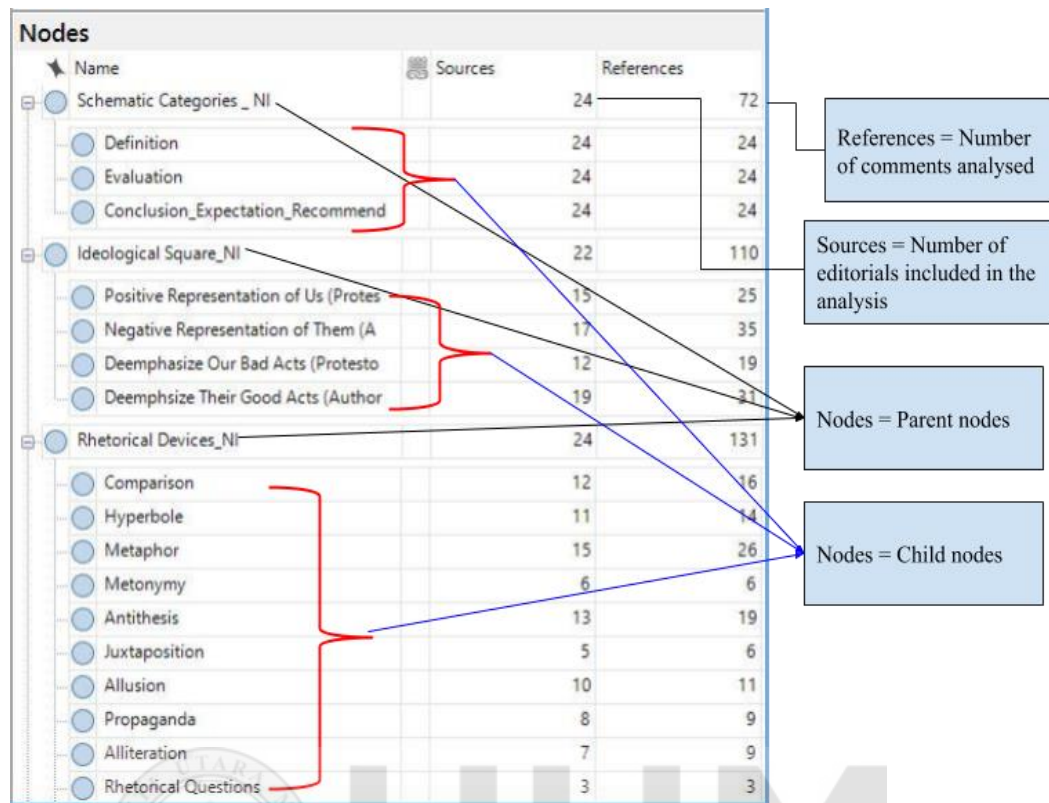
Figure 3.5. Sample of NVivo screenshot for coding

During the actual process of coding, the data were coded until the saturation was reached. To illustrate, first, all relevant concepts were covered and the research questions were adequately answered (Schreier, 2014). Second, all the necessary information about the Arab Spring events was obtained and there was no possibility for any further coding (Fusch & Ness, 2015) or new understandings or themes (Williams et al., 2009).

3.4 Ethical Considerations

The main objective of ethics in the research is to ensure that there is no harm or adverse result from a research study. Cooper and Schindler (2013) suggested four areas of ethical considerations: (a) treatment of the participants (if any); (b) ethics of the sponsor (c) ethics of the researcher, and (d) integrity and truth in carrying out the

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research design and procedures. Under such considerations, first, I used the sampled editorials of the NI and the AN as the ready-made source of information without any manipulation of the data or text. Secondly, I ensured that this study addressed the pertinent questions related to the portrayal of the Arab Spring. Third, as a citizen of Pakistan and resident of Saudi Arabia, I also ensured that this study should not become subjective to create a potential positive bias. Finally, a special care was taken to strictly follow the methods, techniques and procedures that were listed under the theoretical framework of the study.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology which illustrated the research procedure through a flowchart diagram. The chapter has also presented the background of the selected newspapers, the NI and AN, and the sampling method used for data collection. Further, it illustrates the content analysis method, inductive technique and coding process through Microsoft Word and NVivo. It also reveals the data extracts that were analysed through four steps, namely, the schematic categories, ideological square, rhetorical devices and modes of persuasion. The chapter also presents the ethical considerations for this study. The subsequent chapters present the detailed analysis of the Arab Spring portrayal in the Pakistani and Saudi newspaper editorials.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PORTRAYAL OF ARAB SPRING IN *THE NEWS INTERNATIONAL*

EDITORIALS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings obtained from the editorial portrayal of the Arab Spring in the Pakistani newspaper, *The News International* (NI), based on the emerging themes. The qualitative data were analysed to investigate how the events were constructed through (a) the three schematic categories of editorials (van Dijk, 1992, 1989b), (b) ideological square (van Dijk, 1998a, 1998b), (c) rhetorical devices (van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b) and (d) the modes of persuasion (Aristotle, 1356/2006). In total, 24 editorial sources were coded in NVivo with different number of comments for each editorial. Approximately, 519 references were analysed from the NI editorials (see Appendix A).

4.2 Themes of Arab Spring

Table 4.1 illustrates themes as revealed in the NI editorials. The number of references in the table demonstrates the number of times the Arab Spring content was coded and the number of sources indicates the number of editorials coded. These references and sources were counted by NVivo 10 based on the coding done by the researcher. For example, if a theme was coded in two different editorials it counted as two sources and two references. Sometimes, one editorial constructed a single theme through several comments. So, in this case, the number of sources differed from number of references. Similarly, some editorials were coded multiple times as they represented more than one theme. The use of terms 'sources' and 'references' has been illustrated

in Figure 3.5 in Chapter Three discussing the research methodology. Such an approach of coding was adopted throughout this qualitative analysis. As illustrated, for the NI themes, there were one hundred and fifty-two editorial references analysed during content analysis. In total, there were ten Arab Spring themes; the comments related to each theme were represented under a particular child node (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1

Analysis of Themes of Arab Spring in the NI Editorials

Themes (Parent node) ⇩ Child nodes ⇩	**No. of Sources** (24)	**No. of Ref.** (152)	**Editorial Comments**
Protest (1)	7	15	mass protests in Tahrir Square
			people eventually threw off the shackles
			street action in Tunisia
			crackdown against protesters in Syria
			the uprising in Tripoli
			protests have been announced across
			uprisings across the Arab world
Horror (2)	14	23	mass arrests, violence
			pilots…refused to bomb or strafe civilians
			brutal and ruthless security and police
			firing live ammunition
			the site of some of the bloodiest attacks
			gruesome massacre
			bloody events in the last six months

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Table 4.1 continued.

			international condemnation of the atrocities
Revolution (3)	9	19	revolution in process ... the Arab world
			the revolution began
			the revolution that saw the end of Mubarak
			the revolution in Tunisia
			these are secular revolutions
			rerun their revolution
Political Instability (4)	12	16	political polarities
			cultural, social and political identities
			politically, there has effectively been no power
			turmoil in both eastern states, Libya and Egypt
			Syria is now engaged in a civil war
			fragmentary opposition and its inability
Democracy (5)	11	19	make up a credible transitional government
			the transition to democracy
			presidential elections will be held
			the promotion of pluralist government
			democratic elections that have passed
			democracy was quick to take root
			exercise their democratic rights
Global Intervention (6)	12	21	the US, Britain, France, Germany and Portugal
			UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon
			Russia and China which refuse to shift

Table 4.1 continued.

			coordinating closely with NATO
			Turkey's attempt to broker a diplomatic
Dictatorship	7	8	dictators are proving to be more durable
(7)			dictator living in a dream world
			the end of tyranny and dictatorship
			one-party dictatorships
			waving of a flag or the exit of a dictator
			until a year ago, a one-party state
Internal	10	11	military will be the guarantors of whatever
Threats			security and police machine that sustained
(8)			the army is dominated by Alawites
			there is damage to the oil infrastructure
			Al-Qaeda is now operating in Syria
Regional	4	6	Arab League to monitor the situation
Intervention			Assad … a lone supporter in the OIC, Iran
(9)			Arab League has already given its unanimous
			Arab League's move to suspend Damascus
			OIC suspended the membership of Syria
Future	11	14	laced with just as many uncertainties
Developments			NATO also has expertise in post-war
(10)			will impact global economic recovery
			international support for the long-term success
			which way the politico-religio-cultural winds
			supposed to be a national parliament

Source: A content analysis of the NI editorials

Theme One: The Protest

Out of twenty-four editorial sources, seven editorials employed the theme 'protest'. For this particular theme, fifteen editorial references (comments) were analysed in a child node in NVivo representing the theme 'protest' (see Table 4.1). This theme reflected the NI opinion about how the Arab Spring protests started in Tunisia and, later, caused the collapse of regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya and demanded the same in Syria.

Theme Two: The Horror

The second theme, 'horror', was examined in fourteen editorial sources. For this theme, twenty-three references were examined. This theme covered the editorial opinion about mass arrests and killings of the protesters, especially, in Libya and Syria where the regimes proved more durable and resistant than other countries of the Arab Spring.

Theme Three: The Revolution

The Arab Spring was also portrayed as a type of 'revolution' against the authoritarian regimes. As investigated, nine editorial sources of the NI through nineteen references claimed that a series of revolutions were launched by the protesters who intended to bring 'change' with more freedom and seek an end to decade old repressions.

Theme Four: Political Instability

The NI pointed out different types of 'political instability' in the Arab Spring countries. Out of twenty-four sources, twelve editorials discussed this theme. There

were sixteen references recorded in the child node representing this theme (see Table 4.1). The paper declared that the governments in the Arab Spring countries were mainly one-party rule which lacked political institutions.

Theme Five: The Democracy

The editors of the Pakistani newspaper also discussed 'democracy' as one of the Arab Spring themes. There were eleven editorial sources which highlighted the democratic aspect of the uprising. In support of this opinion, nineteen references were investigated from eleven sources. The protesters' demand for democracy was viewed as a right of the suppressed nations. The elections in Tunisia and Egypt were portrayed as transparent, successful and achievements of the protesters.

Theme Six: Global Intervention

The paper also shared its viewpoints about different types of 'global intervention', through twelve editorial sources and twenty-one references, made in the Arab Spring countries. As portrayed, in Libya, such interventions were made by France, Britain, NATO and the UN to weaken the Libyan regime headed by Qaddafi. On the contrary, in Syria, China and Russia actively intervened to back the Syrian regime of Assad and weaken the protesters' movement for 'change'.

Theme Seven: The Dictatorship

For the NI, the regimes in the Arab Spring countries were decade-old 'dictatorships' which suppressed their countrymen and incurred the protesters' anger due to their

unlawful tactics. The child node for this particular theme displayed seven sources and eight editorial comments as illustrated in Table 4.1.

Theme Eight: Internal Threats

The theme 'internal threats' was coded in ten editorials. The analysis of eleven references revealed several threats to the 'change' sparked by the Arab Spring. For instance, the paper pointed out negative role of military in Egypt which hindered democratic transitions, irrecoverable losses made to economies and infrastructures and divided opposition groups particularly in Libya and Syria.

Theme Nine: Regional Intervention

The theme 'regional intervention' was analysed in four editorials through six references. The NI editors referred to several regional interventions made in the Arab Spring countries that included conciliatory efforts made by the Arab League and OIC in Libya and Syria.

Theme Ten: Future Developments

Lastly, the theme 'future developments' included the newspaper opinions relating to future developments in the Arab Spring countries, for instance, recovery of economies in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, future challenges, international support and so on. In total, fourteen references were found in support of this theme in eleven editorial sources.

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4.3 Schematic Categories of Editorials

Based on van Dijk's concept, this section presents the analysis of the schematic categories in the NI editorials. These categories constructed overall episodes of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. For the purpose of coding, three child nodes were created, as displayed in Table 4.2; all twenty-four editorial sources employed these schematic categories. The analysis included seventy-two editorial references.

4.3.1 Definition

There were twenty-four editorial references for the schematic category of 'definition' as illustrated in Table 4.2. All the editorial sources used this category. To cite a few examples, the uprising in Tunisia was defined as a *template* that should be followed by other countries as footsteps to bring 'change' in dictatorial governance (*how to recover from the chaos of regime change*, NI, January 16, 2012). The editorial portrayed the Tunisian Arab Spring as a precursor to revolution in the region. It was portrayed how Tunisia contributed to a democratic movement by which many political parties emerged, after decades, and enabled people to form a new government and celebrate the first anniversary of the Arab Spring. The spark of the Arab Spring in Tunisia was defined as a *generic* wave that rapidly engulfed other surrounding countries. Similarly, Tahrir Square in Egypt was portrayed as a permanent *site* of the protests. The editorial portrayed that the Egyptian regime was suspected of killing the Arab Spring protesters (*complicity in the killing of protesters*, NI, 18, June 4, 2012). The opinion stated that the dictatorial regime in Libya also killed the protesters (*the Arab Spring [had] morphed into the Summer of Blood*, NI,

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August 23, 2011). Likewise, it was declared that the Syrian regime forces killed civilians as portrayed through the lexical choice *massacre*.

Similarly, another editorial opinion informed the readers that all the UN members, except Russia, approved regional intervention against the Syrian regime. Through the lexical choice *more durable than was expected* (NI, August 02, 2011), it was described that Assad's regime became more long-lasting unlike Gaddafi's regime in Libya and Mubarak's regime in Egypt. The paper also predicted that the Syrian situation would end up with the *bloody repression* of Syrians and drag the whole country into a fix with no possible solution ahead. While in Egypt, the editorial presupposed a dark future for President Hosni Mubarak as the Swiss government had frozen his bank assets. Through the schematic category of definition, the NI editorial also informed the readers about the collapse of regimes in the Arab Spring countries as: departure of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia, Mubarak's exit in Egypt, Ali Abdullah Saleh's dismissal in Yemen and assassination of Colonel Gaddafi in Libya.

4.3.2 Evaluation

Approximately, twenty-four references were examined for the schematic category of 'evaluation', which highlighted the good and bad aspects of the Arab Spring, extracted from twenty-four sources as illustrated in Table 4.2. For instance, through the editorial comment *still a work in progress* (NI, May 06, 2011), it was evaluated that despite the removal of Ben Ali's regime the Tunisian Arab Spring had to pass through a painful transition from a dictatorial government to an ideal democratic rule. About the situation in Egypt, it was also evaluated that military threatened the process

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of transitions by holding powers which disappointed the Egyptian protesters (*not a revolution in real terms*, NI, February 12, 2011). In Yemen, too, the revolutionary transitions were assessed as hard to achieve. In Tunisia, the editorial opinion evaluated a future economic uncertainty of heavy economic losses as the country had suffered due to absence of any oil resources, lack of tourism and whose natural reserves made *it a pygmy beside giants* (NI, May 06, 2011). Likewise, for Libya's future, the editorial evaluated several threatening challenges such as *political tensions*, *availability of weapons* and Libyans' integration on one platform. Similarly, it was assessed that a cruel form of repression was involved in crushing opposition parties and *intimidating* people to forcibly accept the demands of the Libyan regime.

The editorial also stated that political institutions in Libya were seriously damaged (*building a political system from scratch*, NI, February 24, 2011) due to autocratic regime. Similarly, after Mubarak's exit in Egypt, the situation was evaluated as a political failure since the protesters could not choose any future representative to form a new government. It was warned that such a failure to select any candidate would give *strength and confidence* to the regime. The poor state of economy in Egypt was evaluated trough the lexical choice *basket case*. In the case of Syria, the situation was also evaluated as a political failure since the opposition failed to build a strong unity against President Assad. The opinion also shared with the readers that pro-regime security forces influenced the Arab League's mission in Syria. The editorial excerpts pointed out that the Syrian regime survived due to powerful international support from Russia and China which hindered the UN's actions against Syria (*all have largely failed in their mission*, NI, March 16, 2012). The newspaper also portrayed

human causalities especially in Libya and Syria resulting in severe injuries and deaths of thousands of anti-regime protesters.

4.3.3 Conclusion/Recommendation/Advice/Warning

For the schematic category of 'conclusion', twenty-four sources were analysed through twenty-four references as illustrated in Table 4.2. For instance, the Arab Spring in Tunisia was concluded as a source of inspiration for other nations protesting against the autocratic regimes. Through the concluding comment, *cultural, social and political identities* (NI, May 06, 2011), the readers were informed that Arabs were regaining their lost identities through the Arab Spring. The opinion also anticipated that the Arab Spring would carry on, *irreversible momentum*, whatsoever the costs were. The paper also recommended that urgent needs like *inward investment*, careful selection of political parties as future rulers and a representative homogeneity should be fulfilled in the Arab Spring countries. In the case of Egypt, the NI editorial expressed optimism about elections and their outcomes and predicted a long-lasting change in the country. On the contrary, the NI editorial also anticipated that ex-President Mubarak would witness the country's development, *constant change*, from prison. However, later, after Mubarak's exit, the editorial warned that Egypt might never recover from considerable damages it suffered throughout the revolution. The editorial message also concluded that due to the seizure of power by military, *generals today hold a very frail new-born* (NI, February, 13, 2011), Egyptians would have to pass through further struggles which looked more serious than overthrowing the previous regime.

In Libya, an early outcome of the Arab Spring in the form of people's elected administration was anticipated even much before the killing of the Libyan leader Qaddafi. The opinion presupposed that democratic changes in Libya would accompany certain future uncertainties and warned of imminent challenges and dangers ahead. The lexical choice *frail infant* referred to new Libya that should be handled carefully - portrayed as *careful parenting*. The editorial accepted that the Libyan protesters succeeded due to military interventions made by the NATO forces; but it also warned that the coalition might unusually prolong its stay for certain reasons. The opinion also advised that post-Qaddafi Libyans should not rely on any such interventions for an extended period. In the case of Syria, one of the editorials predicted continued unrest with no apparent outcome through the end remarks *inclusive Syria-led political process* (NI, July, 12, 2012). The opinion also concluded that volatile situation in Syria would lead to an unending civil war caused by *conflicting* and *vested* interests. The paper, however, showed reluctance in openly recommending or rejecting military strikes against the Syrian regime and instead anticipated *fatal outcomes* in either case. The editorial advised that Assad's supporters, Russia and China, should be strongly pressurized to enforce the UN backed peace plan. Otherwise, it warned about the danger, *fear,* of a possible division of Syria which could become a reality. Table 4.2 illustrates the analysis of the schematic categories used in the NI editorials.

Table 4.2

Analysis of Schematic Categories of the NI Editorials

Schematic Categories (Parent node) ⇩ Child nodes ⇩	No. of Sources (24)	No of Ref. (72)	Editorial Comments
Definition (1)	24	24	revolution that catalysed 'the Arab Spring' political parties …part of governance the generic flag of the 'Arab Spring political turbulence…moving through Egypt protesters had not moved … Tahrir square guilty of complicity in the killing of protesters ruled Libya for 41 years may not remain a commitment to killing all those who opposed planned airstrikes against dictators are proving to be more durable the bloody repression would soon be over the outcome remains inconclusive
Evaluation (2)	24	24	painful transitions – and realizations democracy is still a work in progress does not have a sustaining oil industry have to cohere around a single military... continue in power and suppress Islamist parties were ruthlessly suppressed

Table 4.2 continued.

			building a political system from scratch
			morphed into the Summer of Blood
			availability of weapons has raised doubts
			has powerful supporters … Russia and China
			army … shadowed the League's mission
			no unified opposition in Syria
Conclusion, Warning, Recommendation (3)	24	24	Tunisian revolt … fuelling the Egyptian
			Arab springs will continue
			cultural, social and political identities
			Egyptians … to rerun their revolution
			Mubarak will watch developments … prison
			constant change is here to stay
			battle for reconstruction, good government
			close to holding their country… own hands
			NATO will be far harder to get rid of
			There is no fix in Syria
			slow burn civil war … possible outcome
			military intervention with or without UN

Source: A content analysis of the NI editorials

4.4 Ideological Square

The Arab Spring actors included the protesters and authorities portrayed, with different names and roles, by the NI editorials. In Tunisia, for instance, the protesters consisted of the general public or Tunisians who launched anti-regime uprisings against the authorities described as Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and the Tunisian police. In Yemen, the protesters included the general public, various tribal holds and inter-elite rivals who protested against the authorities represented as Ali Abdullah Saleh, his son and nephews. Similarly, in Egypt the protesters included the people or ordinary public which demanded their share of the Arab Spring from the authorities: President Hosni Mubarak, his son, military and armed security forces. In the tribal society of Libya, the protesters consisted of the Libyan people and different rebel groups that stood up against the authorities who were portrayed as President Colonel Gaddafi, his son and the regime's military and security forces. In Syria, the situation was described more complex with several actors; the protesters contained the Syrian people, rebels, Free Syrian Army, defected military units and other fighting groups. The Syrian authorities involved President Bashar al-Assad, the ruling Alawite elite, pro-Assad militia, the Syrian army and the security forces. Figure 4.1 illustrates the actors as portrayed by the NI.
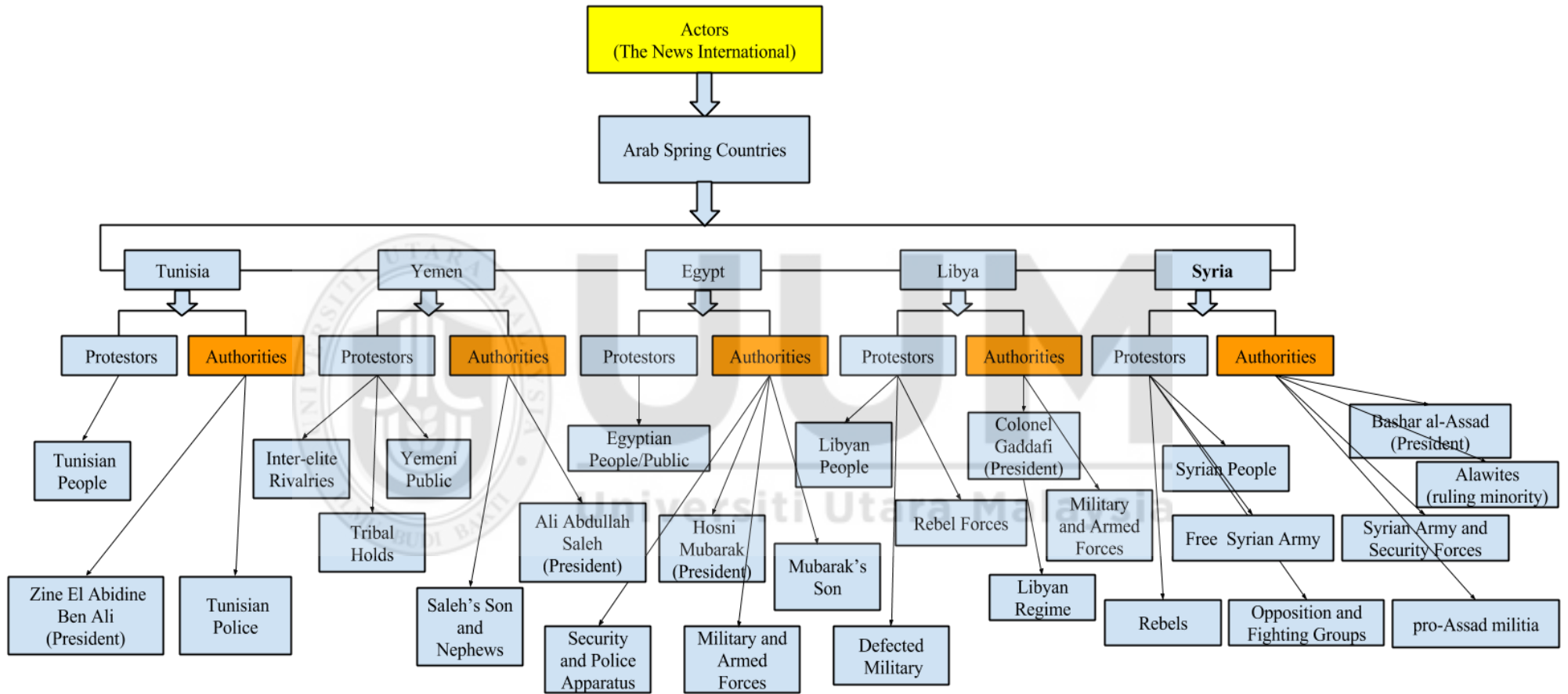
Figure 4.1. Types of Arab Spring actors portrayed by *The News International* (Pakistan)

The analysis revealed that the NI editors often utilized four evaluative principles to represent the Arab Spring actors. These evaluative moves included emphasizing good and bad actions and mitigating bad and good actions. These moves characterized the two sides of the conflict: good/us (protesters) versus bad/them (authorities). The focus remained on the editors' lexical choices to unveil such editorial association or disassociations with the actors. Table 4.3 illustrates the analysis of the ideological square in the Arab Spring.

4.4.1 The Protesters

The labelling of the Arab Spring protesters was categorized under the evaluative moves of 'emphasizing our good actions' and 'mitigating our bad actions'. Out of twenty-four editorial sources, fifteen editorials employed the evaluative move 'emphasizing our good actions' to describe the protesters. Approximately, twenty-five references supported this particular move (see Table 4.3). For instance, the NI congratulated Tunisians on the eve of their first anniversary after the 'change'. The protesters' struggle for 'change' was portrayed through the lexical choice *direction of democracy* despite facing recurrent poverty, exploitation and injustice. The paper also portrayed that Tunisians remained united in their mission (*under the banner of one cause* NI, January 16, 2012) and arranged credible election within months after the previous regime had collapsed. This action was represented by the paper as their *biggest achievement*. Tunisians' action of launching the Arab Spring was labelled as a model, *template*, for other countries trying to recover from tyrannical rules.

The editorial also declared that the Egyptian protesters were suppressed by long-standing poverty in the country. Their protests were considered unified struggles

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that were made for a purpose, described through the lexical choice *a driving force*, which expelled the autocratic regimes. The NI linked the protesters' anti-regime actions with the revolution in process across different parts of the Arab world. Egypt's famous Tahrir Square was described as the *birthplace*, of the protests, and *site* where people gathered and protested to demand 'change' for the sake of their *democratic future*. The paper seriously advised the protesters to unanimously figure out one leader for a credible transitional government in the post-uprising period. Overall, the Egyptian protesters were portrayed as *peaceful* in demanding 'change'.

The lexical choice *coordinating closely* informed the readers about the Libyan protesters' collaboration with the NATO forces for launching anti-regime actions. The editorial anticipated that the Libyan protesters were approaching success and dreaming of holding the country in their *own hands*. It was suggested that international strikes should support the protesters from air as they were battling to conclude an eight-month-old rebellion against Qaddafi. It was also reported that the Libyan ambassadors resigned in support of the protesters. Similarly, the lexical expression *frequent and appalling* represented the massacres faced by the protesters in Syria which turned the country into a *bleed and burn* state. On the other hand, it was declared that the protesting groups in Syria were divided on ethnic and sectarian lines. They were viewed as *fragmentary opposition* which made Assad's job easier in suppressing their voices. For the NI, Syria had also become *the summer of blood* due to the way anti-regime protesters were treated by the authorities. Equally, the paper also shared with the readers that Syrians' *legitimate concerns* must be addressed in accordance with the Kofi Annan's peace plan (UN's envoy to Syria).

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Out of twenty-four sources, twelve editorials used the evaluative move 'mitigating our bad actions' to represent the protesters. Table 4.3 illustrated that nineteen references were coded under this child node. Mostly, the actions of the Arab Spring protesters were de-emphasized, for instance, through the lexical choice *desire for change*. The NI mitigated the protesters' engagements as painful transitions consequent upon the Arab Spring. The protests were described as secular revolutions aimed at bringing positive reforms. The editors represented that Egyptians for the last three decades survived in suppressive conditions, through the comment *lived under a permanent state of emergency* (NI, February 12, 2012), and were even forbidden to remain in groups publically. The opinion also stated that the protesters' *hopes* had fallen far below expectations when the military in Egypt refused to concede power to civilians. The lexical selection the *young liberal moderates* represented the protesters in Egypt.

The aerial attacks on the protesters in Libya were labelled through the comment *killed by warplanes and helicopter gunships* (NI, February 24, 2011). The editorial recommended that Libyans should be supported to meet their challenges of democratic transitions. A sigh of relief was expressed that Libyans' suppression (*suffered for too long*) was over with Qaddafi's death. The paper claimed that the Syrian security forces used low-flying helicopters to kill the protesters, portrayed through the lexical choices *successive episodes* of killing, *ever-escalating* violence and *continued bloodshed*. The opinion also described that excessive killings of the protesters during the Arab Spring in Syria received *international condemnation*. It was reported that the protesters and their houses were ruthlessly shelled and

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summarily executed, *battered into submission,* by Assad's soldiers. Thus, anti-regime actions of the Arab Spring protesters were deemphasised as Arabs' struggle to regain their lost sociocultural and political *identities*. Table 4.3 illustrates the portrayal of the Arab Spring actors in the NI editorials.

4.4.2 The Authorities

The lexical choices employed by the NI editors revealed that the Arab Spring authorities were labelled under the moves of 'emphasizing their bad actions' and 'mitigating their good actions'. Out of twenty-four sources, seventeen editorials employed the evaluative move 'emphasizing their bad actions' – analysed in thirty-seven comments (see Table 4.3). For instance, the Arab Spring governments were labelled through the lexical choices such as *old regimes and dynasties* which were eventually defeated by anti-regime protesters. The Tunisian regime was portrayed as *autocratic government* that spread nationwide frustration and invited demonstrations. The dictatorial government of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia was labelled as a *one-party* state and *Ancien Régime* which controlled people through fearful oppressions. His actions were described through evaluations such as *corruption*. He was depicted as a *despised leader* and held responsible for instigating rebellions in the country. President Mubarak was also held responsible for spreading *corruption* and generating anti-regime demonstrations in Egypt. His regime was labelled as *unpopular government* that led to dynastic politics, dictatorship and decades of repression (e.g., see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Ideological Square in Arab Spring: Actor Labelling in the NI

Parent node	Child nodes (Sources = 24 , References = 110)			
⇓	⇓			
Ideological Square	**Emphasize our good actions** Sources =15 / Ref. = 25	**Emphasize their bad actions** Sources = 17 / Ref. = 37	**Mitigate our bad actions** Sources = 12 / Ref. = 19	**Mitigate their good actions** Sources = 19 / Ref. = 31
Lexical choices of the NI editors (comments coded)	revolution in process	political turbulence	poverty	helicopter gunships
	unity of purpose	dynastic politics	corruption	his brand of quasi-socialism
	popular revolt	unrest and disaffection	last thirty years	just clinging to power
	transition period	the wave of dissent	killed by warplanes	powerful supporters
	blessing of the protesters	attempts to contain	bleed and burn	recalcitrant Assad
	generic flag	his future may not be	continued bloodshed	may not remain in power
	secular revolutions	no power other than	unable to put together	one man
	coordinating closely	last 40 years	mass killings	government-minders

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Table 4.3 continued.

a template to recover	brutal and ruthless	identities	holds on grimly
brought down a rigid	state of emergency	desire for change	despised leader
choosing their own mastery	noted for his eccentricity	managed to overthrow	an unpopular government
under the national flag	commitment to killing	they see as freedom	nominally the leader
banner of one cause	threatened to retaliate	young liberal moderates	seems less and less likely
post-colonial shakeout	repressive regime	appalling massacre	regime forces
moderate Islamist	deluded dictator	pile of dismembered bodies	the Assad regime
direction of democracy	barely allowed the	eventually threw off	pro-Assad militia
biggest achievement	tyranny and dictatorship	shackles	government forces
credible transition	repressing civilians	forbidden to gather	had a lone supporter
new government	bloody repression	suppressed	benefited from this disunity
siding with the protesters	the bloodiest attacks	democratic rights	the old school

Table 4.3 continued.

in their own hands	their grisly work	suffered for too long	he was wrong
celebration	the summer of blood	help	dictator's death
determined	decades of repression	support	slaughter its own people
success	commitment to killing	fragmentary opposition	autocratic governments
	brutal crackdown	vote	old regimes and dynasties
	Libyan demagogue	divided	forces loyal to President
	massacres		the principal architect
			crumbling of his regime
			hinder the observers' mission

Source: A content analysis of the NI editorials

As illustrated in Table 4.3, the NI portrayed that Mubarak imposed a permanent state of emergency banned congregations and kept his people in *shackles*. The Egyptian law and order forces under Mubarak's rule were labelled as *security and police machine*. The editorial claimed that Mubarak would not quit the regime (*unless he is forced out*, NI, February, 6, 2011) against the demands of the Arab Sprig protesters.

The Libyan leader Qaddafi was depicted as a strange personality – known for his *eccentricity*. His dictatorial rule of 40 years was labelled as one man *for all practical purposes* (NI October 22, 2011), Libyan *demagogue* and a *desperate* regime. The editorial portrayed that Qaddafi's administration was nothing more than a brand of *quasi-socialism* which had run its course. On the contrary, the editorial described that the UN Security Council speedily approved strikes against Libya with a clear determination of *toppling* his government. The opinion stated that Qaddafi had annoyed the Arab League countries which turned against him and unanimously endorsed a no-fly zone over Libya. The editorial portrayed the NATO's role of removing Qaddafi through the lexical choice *de-facto rebel air force* which provided Libyans with an opportunity of holding *celebration*. Qaddafi's death was represented as the single most *dramatic* development of the Arab Spring. The lexical choice *commitment to killing* portrayed Qaddafi' actions; his address to Libyans was labelled as *a lengthy rant…add to his reputation* (NI, February 24, 2011).

The NI also drew the readers' attention through the opinion that Assad was more intolerable than his father; his actions were labelled as *brutal crackdown* by *forces loyal* to Assad. The editorial portrayed that the international community was reluctant to attack Assad due to his friendship with *China* and *Russia* who often favoured

Assad.   Another opinion shared with the readers that Assad rejected diplomatic solutions offered by Turkey, the Arab League and UN to resolve the Syrian conflict. The editorial pointed out that Assad's ruling party and the Syrian army were dominated by the Alawites who have been in power since 1970s; they never opposed the regime. Assad was further labelled as a *recalcitrant* ruler who refused to end his *bloody repression* and *bloody attacks* on the Syrian protesters. The editorial also represented that pro-Assad militia was *lambasted* by the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon for their actions against the protesters.

As shown in Table 4.3, nineteen sources employed the evaluative move 'mitigating their good actions', to de-emphasise the retaliatory actions of the authorities, as analysed in thirty-one references under the relevant child node. For instance, the Egyptian President Mubarak was labelled as a *principal architect* of a cruel security and police *apparatus* that he used against his countrymen. Through another opinion, it was revealed that Mubarak made mass arrests to secure his stay in power. The editorial opinion further unveiled that the Egyptian regime never allowed its people to elect *their candidates of choice* during one-party *dictatorship* of President Mubarak. Similarly, in Libya, Qaddafi's actions against anti-regime protesters were also deemphasised. The paper claimed that Qaddafi threatened and killed his people as they rejected his *fancies*. The NI demonstrated that Qaddafi held power by force and targeted his own people. The editorial pointed out that Qaddafi was also *on the wrong end of his arms-suppliers* (NI, March 19, 2011). The opinion also deemphasised that Qaddafi ruled Libya for decades through the lexical choice *no power other than Qaddafi* (NI, February 24, 2011) existed for the last 40 years. His firm grip over the

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Libyan regime was portrayed as *clinging to power* and his actions were described as using *helicopter gunships* against the protesters.

The NI also deemphasized Assad's actions against the Arab Spring protesters in Syria. For instance, the actions of the Syrian authorities were labelled as *appalling massacre* of 'pro-change' protesters. It was portrayed that nothing could stop the Syrian government which was highly determined to *slaughter* its own people. The editorial opinion claimed that the forces loyal to Assad insistently devastated rebellious cities like Hama and demonstrated a true image of *massacres* by the regime. Further, it was deemphasised that the Syrian security forces deliberately planned to *hinder the observers' mission* (NI, March 16, 2012), *shadowed* the task of the Arab League monitors and kept their *ferocity* of murdering Syrians. An opinion was also made that due to Assad's obstinate attitude the Arab League's mission became an absolute failure, *debacle*. It was represented that Assad frequently backed out of his promises and showed *no sign* of carrying out peace accords. The editorial employed the lexical choices such as *grimly, grisly work* to deemphasise the actions of the Syrian authorities and their role. The editorial cited that Assad held on *grimly as his armies…about their grisly work…the longest and bloodiest of the Arab revolts* (NI, March 16, 2012).

4.5 Rhetorical Devices

The rhetorical devices used in the NI editorial content included comparison, hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, antithesis, juxtaposition, propaganda, alliteration, rhetorical questions, and number game. Out of twenty-four sources, one hundred and

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twenty references were coded. There were ten child nodes; each node displayed the analysis of a particular rhetorical device (see Table 4.4).

The NI editors employed the rhetorical device 'comparison' on a number of occasions to make their perspectives more emphatic. Out of twenty-four editorial sources, twelve editorials employed this strategy. In total, sixteen comments were coded for this rhetorical device. For instance, the lexical choice *no less impactful than the breakup* (NI, February 24, 2011) was used to compare the 'change' caused by the Arab Spring with similar circumstances that caused the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Similarly, the victory of the Islamist party in Egypt was portrayed as a dominant political entity of Egypt by comparing it with other parties (*none of the other parties*, NI, February 24, 2011) which had secured fewer votes. To cite another example, Libyans' protests and their demands for 'change' were described as similar to the ones made by the protesters in Tunisia and Egypt (*as the Egyptians and the Tunisians*, NI, March 19, 2011) who struggled against pro-regime supporters.

Similarly, through the rhetorical device 'comparison', in Syria the paper claimed that Assad was not so tolerable, in treating the protesters, as his father. It was pointed out that no outside military intervention was made in Syria (*no call for action against Syria…as there was in Libya*, NI, August 02, 2011) as was the case in Libya through the judgement that Syrians had suffered more than Libyans. The NATO airstrikes against Qaddafi were approved through the claim that the organisation had the expertise of post-war reconstruction as it did in Kosovo and Bosnia. The death of the Libyan President was depicted as the *most controversial figure* akin to the death of

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then wanted Al-Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden. Likewise, the electoral process in Egypt and Tunisia was declared equally successful through the belief that it passed international security. The post-Arab Spring difficulties in Egypt and Tunisia were comparatively depicted as a challenge *no lesser than* the regime change.

Similarly, the NI editors also made use of the rhetorical device 'hyperbole' in constructing their opinion. The child node for this device presented eleven editorial sources and fourteen references. For instance, a hyperbolic statement was made to represent Qaddafi as an autocrat of his own *dream world* who ruled Libya with the self-deception that his people remained loyal to him, never thought of facing rebellions from them and *barely allowed* the growth of institutions and civil society. Likewise, in Egypt the sentence awarded to the Egyptian President was exaggeratedly portrayed as *an ignominious end*. Also, the lexical choice *grisly work* represented brutal handlings of the protesters by the Syrian regime and the use of lexical choice *submission* connoted forcible recapturing of the Syrian cities from the protesters. In the same way, the Syrian regime's treatment of the protesters was termed as *ever-escalating violence*. On the contrary, hyperbolic declarations about the Syrian opposition were constructed as *highly mobile* and *increasingly well-organized* force. In Tunisia, the 'change' was hyperbolically evaluated as a *template* for other nations to follow since it was the first country to launch anti-regime protests. The opinion about elections in Egypt also appeared exaggerated through the comment that it happened *first time* in the history of almost 50 years. Also, the rhetorical expression *no TV channel* telecast videotapes, showing the outrageous homicide of the protesters, depicted atrocities committed by the Syrian regime.

The NI editors also incorporated the rhetorical device 'metaphor' to create more distinctive opinions. Out of twenty-four sources, fifteen editorials used this device as analysed in twenty-six references (see Table 4.4). To begin with, the use of *ripple* metaphorically portrayed the start of anti-regime protests in Egypt that might transform into a larger revolution depicted through the lexical choice *wave*. To portray President Mubarak's decade-old rule, the opinion metaphorically labelled him an *old school* similar to the *generations* of Arafat and Saddam. The victory and power of the protesters in the Syrian city of Hama were described as a *thorn* for the Syrian government as the city was renowned for initiating anti-regime demonstrations. The Arab Spring was declared as a *summer of blood* owing to the killings of the protesters and violent scenes in Libya and Syria. The metaphor *frail infant* was employed to point out future uncertainties in setting a democratic government in Libya. Similarly, the metaphorical expression *a very large fly in the ointment* (NI, November 14, 2012) represented the Syrian National Council consisting of the opposition groups that frightened the Syrian regime. The lexical choice a *snowball in hell* conveyed the editorial dissatisfaction about nominal contribution of the international community to solve the Syrian uprising.

The rhetorical device 'metonymy,' was analysed in six editorial sources through six comments made by the NI editors. For instance, the metonymical opinions symbolized the horrifying situation of the Libyan and Syrian people, mostly anti-regime protesters, through the linguistic choice *Libya and Syria both bleed and burn* (NI, August 02, 2011). The metonymical expression *deepening Assad's isolation* referred to the isolation of the whole Syrian regime at the international level and not

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only Assad. The editorial also portrayed the apathy shown by the international authorities in dealing with Assad who had remained defiant to all forms of peace deals. Another use of metonymy, *a poisoned chalice*, circulated the editorial opinion about Kofi Annan's difficult task, as the UN peace broker, of solving the Syrian conflict. The metonymical comment, *the White House and the IMF*, depicted that the Islamist government in Egypt, otherwise suspiciously viewed, might get some favours from the US government and International Monterey Fund due to the ceasefire it arranged between Hamas and Israel.

The rhetorical device 'antitheses' was coded in thirteen editorials and nineteen references. For instance, the antithetical opinion was created for the Egyptian military that intended to hold on to power and refused to quit its intervention in political affairs (*yesterday's saviours have become today's villains*, NI, November 23, 2011). An antithetical opinion was also made after the fall of regimes in Tunisia, Yemen and Egypt. For instance, the uncertainty is Yemen about the 'change' through the Arab Spring was shared through the antithetical comment *transition of power…but…doubtful* (NI, May 06, 2011). The editorial pointed out a vague situation created by the old regime members who were still in place even after President Mubarak had departed. Similarly, another contrasting opinion first declared that Tunisia remained *turbulent* even the country was in the second year of the post-revolution period but later claimed that it was the turbulence of *adjustment* without any indications of further revolts. The editorial first deemphasised the NATO countries' intervention in Libya by commenting that it would be *far harder to get rid*

of (NI, August 23, 2011) than Qaddafi but later, after the regime fall, accepted it an *inescapable fact* without which there would be no celebrations in the country.

The use of 'juxtaposition' was coded in six references extracted from five sources. The undemocratic role of military in Egypt was highlighted that despite the formulation of the country's lower house the military was ruling in disguise (*the lower house in place…military is still the de-facto ruler*, NI, January 27, 2012). Similarly, the opinion admitted the transition of power in Yemen but juxtaposed it with a future uncertainty about transitions in the post-Arab Spring scenario. The editorial portrayed the losses made to oil industry in Libya but it also drew the readers' attention towards more serious issues through the lexical choice *governance is the greatest* (NI, August 23, 2011). A similar contradictory statement was made when the paper portrayed that Assad feared a united opposition as a threat to his government but at the same time it advocated that the Syrian President enjoyed considerable support in certain parts of the country. Elsewhere, Assad was depicted as *nominally* holding power and running short of time but at the same time he was portrayed as a man belonging to a powerful family with *multitude* of assets in Syria. Through the editorial comment *honoured in the breach rather than the observance* (NI, May 27, 2012), the editorial juxtaposed Assad's promises for peace and his failure to keep such commitments. On the contrary, in Tunisia the paper circulated the 'change' through the juxtaposition a *human rights* activist got raised to the position of president and a *jailed moderate* Islamist became the prime minister.

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The rhetorical device 'propaganda' was coded in nine references and eight editorial sources. For instance, the paper propagandized the Libyan leader's address w a *rant* by depicting that his speech had no impact and Qaddafi would be a loser, as soon as his regime *falls apart*, in the battle against the protesters. Similarly, Qaddafi's authored Green Book was propagandised by the NI as a symbol of Libyans' repression. The paper also warned the international community that Qaddafi's threat of retaliation should be taken seriously, not *a mere bluster*. This opinion was based on the conviction that Qaddafi was capable of striking ships in the Mediterranean or destroying Libya's oil fields (*damage on the commerce of the region*, NI, March 19, 2011). It was also propagated that the protesters demands in Egypt were not fully met through the lexical choice *slowness of change*. The editorial also remarked that the protesters who gathered at Tahir Square demanded *death penalty* for Mubarak by expressing their frustration at the delayed results of the Arab Spring. The editorial also propagandised that America would support the Egyptian army through the lexical choice *going to be supporting the army* (NI, February 06, 2011). In Syria, the paper propagandized that the Arab League's mission had become *farce* since its monitors untruly praised the Syrian regime for its cooperation with the League. The opinion predicted that such an action of the League would give more time to Assad to prevent monitors from seeing the areas of bloodshed.

The NI editors made use of the rhetorical device 'alliteration'. Out of twenty-four editorial sources, nine alliterative references were analysed in nine sources. For instance, the protesters' failure to overthrow President Mubarak was portrayed through the alliterative opinion *day of departure* that could not become true as the

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President was still there. Another alliterative phrase, *rigid and repressive regime* (NI, November 23, 2011), represented how Mubarak's government behaved towards the protesters. Likewise, the neutral role of military was praised as *saviour security* as it initially refused to suppress the protesters. The lexical selections such as *dramatic development*, *dictator's death* and *shock and sighs* portrayed Qaddafi's assassination and the end of his dictatorial regime. The phrase *inward investment* was inserted to demand the stability of institutions with homogenous political administration in Tunisia. The alliterative phrase, *ferocity of the fighting* (NI, May 27, 2012)*,* described massacres committed by the Syrian authorities in the presence of the UN observers. The use of alliteration, *histrionic hand-wringing*, portrayed that the international community had no constructive plans to salvage Syria's uprising. The opinion *foreseeable future* claimed that Assad's forces were marching towards victory.

The NI editors also employed a few 'rhetorical questions'. As seen, there were four editorials comments coded in four editorial sources. For instance, the rhetorical question *what next game* portrayed Mubarak's exit and at the same time it questioned the future of the country that would confront Egyptians. The paper also claimed that the Arab Spring protesters, determined to select their own leaders, were faced with uncertainty about the end result of the revolutions (*Could it be, perhaps…?* NI, January 28, 2011). Similarly, it was depicted that the authorities in the Arab Spring countries were supported by the Western countries. The editorial rhetorically questioned that whether or not the protesters would succeed in creating a real *new Arab world* controlled by Arabs, rather than the West (*Could it be, that…?*). In Libya, the NI also questioned whether there would be any future relief after Qaddafi's death

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as Libyans' problems were not over and it would be premature to breathe such a sigh of relief (*is it premature…?*). In Syria, Russia's offer of diplomatic settlement was portrayed through the rhetorical question *between who and whom* as President Assad had rejected peace plans and the Syrian opposition groups too seemed divided. Thus, the opinion declared that such non-military options, for peace, in Syria badly failed.

The content analysis of the NI editorial also demonstrated the use of 'number game' as a rhetorical device. This device was coded in twelve references extracted from nine sources. To cite a few examples, the use of *25 potential candidates* (NI, February 06, 2011) portrayed that the 'change' in Egypt attracted different political parties to participate in elections. The editorial portrayed that for the first time *in 30 years* the vice-president's position was filled in Egypt. The figure *300 died* portrayed that the Egyptian regime cruelly dealt with the protesters. Similarly, the editorial claimed that *500 protesters* died due to Libyan regime's use of warplanes and helicopters. Through another example, *for the last 20 years*, the opinion depicted that Libyans got little profit from their oil wealth. In Syria, the use of number *170 died* claimed the protesters' deaths in a couple of days in addition to killings portrayed as *8,000 people* were killed in just *15 month* of rebellions. Similarly, more deaths of anti-regime protesters in Syria were reported through the lexical choices such as *200 villagers* were slain in Tremseh despite the presence of *260 UN observers*; pro- Assad security forces killed *108 people* in the Syrian city of Houla; and *30, 0000 refugees* were forced to flee to Lebanon in just *48 hours*. The editorial also claimed that *22 generals* disowned the Assad regime and absconded to Turkey. Table 4.4 illustrates the analysis of rhetorical devices employed by the NI editors.

Table 4.4

Analysis of Rhetorical Devices in the NI Editorials

Rhetorical Devices (Parent node) ⇩ Child nodes ⇩	No. of Sources (24)	No of Ref. (120)	Editorial Comments
Comparison (1)	12	16	no less…than…breakup of the Soviet Union
			none of the other parties are as well-organized
			Assad is no more …his people than his father
			Libyans…the Egyptians and the Tunisians, is help
Hyperbole (2)	11	14	Colonel Qaddafi was a deluded dictator
			ignominious end…he could never have foreseen
			President Assad holds on grimly … grisly work
			the first time in almost half a century
Metaphor (3)	15	26	to contain the ripple and prevent wave formation
			The Arab Spring…the summer of blood
			Hosni Mubarak of Egypt is one of the old school
			Hama has long been a thorn in the flesh
Metonymy (4)	6	6	Kofi Annan was handed a poisoned chalice
			deepening Assad's isolation
			the White House and the IMF
			Libya and Syria both bleed and burn
Antithesis (5)	13	19	yesterday's saviours have become today's villains
			Qaddafi not just clinging to power but holding on

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Table 4.4 continued.

			transition of power…but looks…doubtful
			Tunisia…turbulent but…turbulence of adjustment
Juxtaposition	5	6	activist...president…once-jailed…prime minister
(6)			win day for Presidency rather than protesters
			lower house in place…military … de-facto ruler
			damage to oil infrastructure…that it is not severe
Propaganda	8	9	still has powerful military assets – air, land…sea
(7)			mission is a farce…allowing Assad to buy time
			influence the military …over the electoral process
			protesters demanding death penalty for Mubarak
Alliteration	7	9	rigid and repressive regime
(8)			before being finally forced out
			saviour security forces
			ferocity of the fighting
Rhetorical	3	3	But is it premature to breathe a sigh … just yet?
Questions			Could…Arab world …to choose its own leaders?
(9)			But the question is: between who and whom?
			Could…Arab world…not controlled by the West?
Number	9	12	25 potential candidates…transitional government
Game			Generals are on the run … 22 of them…in Turkey
(10)			Perhaps as many as 8,000 people have died
			vice president, the first time … for 30 years year

Source: A content analysis of the NI editorials

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4.6 Modes of Persuasion

Through content analysis of the Arab Spring data, I coded the editorials comments based on the Aristotelian appeals ethos, pathos and logos. As a reader and researcher, I coded all such editorial comments/statements/clauses as ethos which demonstrated the writers' knowledge, choice of words and appeared convincing in terms of credibility. I coded editorial remarks as pathos which specifically blamed or praised the Arab Spring actors, emotionally conditioned the readers and made them feel sympathetic. These emotional appeals included expression of fear, happiness, hate, anger and so on. Likewise, I coded all such editorial remarks as logos which were based on sound reasoning, convincing evidence or facts and appeared reasonable and rational. The decision on the selection of these modes was based on the editorial evidence. To obtain details, the findings from the NI editorials were arranged as ethos, pathos and logos. Out of twenty-four editorial sources, sixty-five references were coded in three child nodes for this discourse strategy. Table 4.5 indicated all such editorial remarks/phrases/loaded comments that represented the modes of persuasion.

4.6.1 Ethos

The first mode of persuasion, ethos, was analysed in twenty-four editorial sources and twenty-one references were coded (see Table 4.5). The lexical choices of the NI editors established several ethical appeals. For instance, the comment, *far greater importance*, represented the significance of the Arab Spring and comparatively placed a secondary importance to bin Laden's death – portrayed as a *semi-retired terrorist*. Similarly, the editorial ethos *switched sides* represented that deposing the old regime for Tunisians did not mean their democratic goals were achieved or the followers of

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Ben Ali's ex-regime were totally removed. The paper also portrayed the Islamist party of Egypt as the largest party in the world (*committed to democratic process*, NI, February 13, 2011) by giving the evidence that the party held 88 seats in the national assembly. The use of the ethical appeal *less and less likely* depicted the future of Qaddafi's rule in Libya and his *unlikely* stay in the Arab world as exemplified in the following excerpt:

> As the hours pass, it seems less and less likely that the Gaddafi government will survive, and he and his family will have to find alternative accommodation. This is unlikely to be in the Arab world. (NI, February 24, 2011)

The NI assessed the international debate whether or not the Syrian opposing groups should be armed to fight against the regime's forces by sensing the majority's point of view, *many agree*, for not supporting arms. The ethos was built that the 'change' through democratic means was comparatively a more suitable option than supplying arms. The paper recommended that the Syrian government should be pressed through economic, diplomatic and other pressures, internationally, to solve the crisis. The paper also shared its information about the Syrian issue by portraying the cruel treatment faced by the protesters through the lexical comment *human catastrophe*. The editorial built its ethos, by claiming the unwavering attitude of the Syrian dictator Assad, that Kofi Annan's visit would not bring any changes. Similarly, the editorial ethos was constructed to portray that the Syrian opposition groups were not true representative of Syrians. Their lack of unity, which benefitted the Syrian regime, was represented as a *legitimate concern* for resolving the Syrian crisis.

The editorial ethos also evidenced that the Arab Spring revolutions were in fact a *post-colonial shakeout* of the autocratic regimes; these countries had once remained European *colonial assets* in the 20th century but now their relations were cutting off with their *former masters*. Another ethical appeal proved that independent states which emerged from the Arab Spring revolts preferred the Islamist governments, *Islamist leaning,* and therefore would not accept such colonial influences any more. The opinion also stated that there was no early solution of the Syrian crisis (*a let-up seems like a faraway dream*, NI, July 15, 2012). This editorial ethos was based on the evidence that Syrians' killings, *Tremseh massacre*, were reported soon after the UN diplomats had ended their first round of talks on resolution in Syria. Another ethos-based opinion declared that Russia indirectly suppressed the Syrian protesters by supporting Assad, *repulsing calls for sanctions*. It also asserted that China should participate in the OIC meetings with an *observer status* along with Russia as these two countries vetoed the UN's sanctions against Assad.

4.6.2 Pathos

This mode of persuasion was examined in twenty-two emotionally charged comments extracted from twenty-four sources (see Table 4.5). The NI editors got the readers involved in the Arab Spring portrayal by engaging them through the emotionally charged opinion. For instance, an emotional appeal claimed that the Syrian protesters in the city of Hama sacrificed their lives for a genuine cause, *what they saw as freedom*, and *170 died* in just a couple of days. Another emotionally charged appeal was found in the editors' choice *no diminution of conflict* was possible in Syria. It declared that for the Syrian Muslims there was no rest and peace even in the holy

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month of Ramadan. The editorial pathos claimed that Egyptians had lived under a permanent state of emergency for three decades and they were forbidden by the autocratic law to stand in groups, not in *more than five*. The emotional appeal also claimed that Egyptians had to face *ruthless* security forces of Mubarak's regime when they demanded 'change'. The paper claimed that the international community played a very little role, remained *paralyzed*, to end the sufferings of Syrians. The editorial also built it pathos by declaring that there was deprivation of commodities and provisions for the Syrian protesters, through emotionally charged lexical choices, *cash*, *bakeries*, *flour*, *Ramazan*, as seen in the following excerpt:

> The banks are running out of cash and the bakeries are out of flour just as Ramazan begins. The Syrian conflict is now in danger of infecting all around it, and the world stands largely paralyzed. (NI, August 15, 2012)

The editorial pathos also depicted that the Libyan pilots defected when they were ordered to *bomb civilians* and similarly military in some areas also allied with the protesters targeted by Qaddafi's desperate regime. In Egypt, an emotional appeal was created through the lexical selection *not universally happy*. It reflected that the protesters were not contented as their demands for 'change' were not fully accepted as the military refused to relinquish powers. An emotional appeal was also created through the claim that the *victory* of Islamists by means of transparent votes brought contentment in the Egyptian parliament as expressed in the lexical choice *a sense of triumphalism*. Such an appeal invited the readers to *celebrate* the arrival of a new Islamist rule consequent upon the Arab Spring.

The editorial created another appeal by portraying that the Syrian protesters had to face shortage of *food* and *medicine* which the UN officials pledged to distribute from the borders of some neighbouring countries. Similarly, the depiction of a carnage incident in Syria, *a pile of dismembered bodies…the entry and exit wounds…a woman* (NI, May 27, 2012), drew attention to the protesters' killings. It was claimed that Assad's security forces even targeted women in their desire to remain in power and used *chemicals* to suppress anti-regime protests. Another emotional appeal represented that the Syrian regime violated its commitment and used *heavy arms* such as artillery tanks and helicopters to *massacre* its own people. On the contrary, the pathos was constructed through the remark that a new body, *single entity*, called National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces would manage all affairs of the Syrian opposition groups related to politics, economy and it would be a central point for all types of *humanitarian and military* assistance. Some other emotional appeals were also created by citing killings of the Syrian protesters on various occasions across the country such as 200 villagers *slain* in Tremseh. The editorial pathos claimed, through the lexical choices such as *caught by shells, summarily executed*, the slaughtering of the Syrian protesters by Assad's forces.

4.6.3 Logos

For this mode of persuasion, twenty-two references were examined in twenty-four editorial sources. The editors of the NI constructed several logical appeals (see Table 4.5) to create a more rational image of the Arab Spring. For instance, through the logically-oriented words *building a political system from scratch* (NI, February 24, 2011) the editorial claimed that politically there was no power other than Qaddafi

during his dictatorial regime of 40 years. The opinion asserted that with every day passing Qaddafi's government was losing credibility. The lexical choice *a radical foreign-policy rethink* (NI, February 24, 2011) pointed out that the UK and USA as heavy investors in Libyan oil and gas reserves needed to revise their foreign policy and stop supporting Qaddafi. The editorial asserted that breakdown of Qaddafi's regime would much depend on attack, *early strikes against him*, by the international coalition. The editors used lexical choices *more complicated and prolonged conflict* (NI, March 19, 2011) to portray the threat that failure to capture Qaddafi's major assets could cause serious problems such as retaliation from his regime. Based on such logical appeals, the editorial claimed that anti-regime protesters should be given support, *from the air*, for an early dismissal of Qaddafi. The opinion logically concluded that Libyans would face with the *same problem* as faced by Egyptians due to *support* for the old regime members as cited in the excerpt below:

> Libya faces much the same problems as that faced by the Egyptians. They managed to overthrow a repressive regime…substantial body of support for the old regimes... cannot be eradicated by… the exit of a dictator…replacing them with something that is hopefully better... (NI, March 19, 2011)

The logical appeal proved that no call was made to eliminate the Syrian regime, *action against*, as it happened in Libya. The editorial logos of the NI claimed that reason for not attacking the Syrian regime was that Syria had no *tradable assets* which Libya had abundantly and which became the personal interest, *thirst for black gold*, of the Western countries. Another logos-based opinion pointed out the weakness of the Syrian opposition parties, through the linguistic choice *a mosaic of group*, which were occupied with tribal and sectarian interests and remained divided against Assad. The editorial logically evidenced that Assad was afraid of a united opposition,

credible government, as a substitute political entity desired by the entire world community except for Russia and China. The editorial logos portrayed the rule of Islamists in Tunisia through the opinion *Islamist yes* but argued that they have to be more practical, rule cautiously and revive tourism for the survival of economy.

In Libya, the threats like instability and future uncertainty in the post-change era were portrayed through logical appeals, for instance, *political tensions*, *easy availability of weapons* and so on. In Egypt, the editorial rationalised the regrouping of the Arab Spring protesters through the comment that their hope for *the change* was damaged by the military which suddenly converted to an apparatus of power against the *democratic future* of the country. The editorial created the logos through the judgment that workability of diplomacy in a conflict zone must be there but it was not possible, *absent*, in Syria due to the regime's obstinacy. Similarly, it was portrayed that the OIC nations really *mattered* in taking decisions on Syria with less outside intervention. The logos-based comment proved that there was *problem* in Russia's stance which overruled sanctions against Assad and instead maintained that the UN should look for a political solution of the Syrian crisis. For the NI, it was not possible for two strong reasons: first, there was no united opposition to negotiate peace; and secondly President Assad himself was not serious in relegating powers to the opposition groups. Table 4.5 displays lexical choices used by the editors to create ethical, emotional and logical appeals.

Table 4.5

Analysis of Modes of Persuasion in the NI Editorials

| Parent node = Modes of persuasion		
⇩		
Child nodes (Sources = 24 , References = 65)		
⇩		
Ethos oriented lexis	**Emotionally charged lexis**	**Logic oriented lexis**
Sources = 24 / Ref. = 21	Sources = 24 / Ref. = 22	Sources = 24 / Ref. = 22
people are discovering	slaughter	like it or not
the largest Islamist party	dreadful losses	not going to be quick
seems less and less likely	bloody repressions	man of the generation
far greater importance	longest and bloodiest	historic moment
makes life difficult	summer of blood	end of tyranny
to be more durable	forbidden by law	repression
Libya has the potential	ruthless security	fatal outcomes
2011 will long be	bomb civilians	unable to sway
So far there is no sign	siding with protesters	civil rights
the biggest achievement	prolonged conflict	symptoms that produced
credible election	crackdown	not look like
not true representative	decades of repression	now has to address
many agree	holy month of Ramazan	system from scratch
today's ripple	conflicting interests	thirst for black gold
tomorrow's wave	less than stable	none of the countries

Table 4.5 continued.

democratic change	unrest	no call for action
All have largely failed	humanitarian assistance	imagining that his people
there is little sign	live ammunition	does not remove challenges
poisonous brew	bloodiest attacks	the hope that accompanied
post-colonial shakeout	desperately poor	truth about the crackdown
seems like a faraway	frustration	gravity of their mission
not adequately explained	celebration	if the economy
rejuvenation of the OIC	conflicting loyalties	still a work in progress
legitimate concern	food and medicine	what needs to be done
considerable surprise	mass killings	all practical purposes
dogged persistence	dismembered bodies	not been blessed
independent states	wounds	fighting is unabated
controversial figures	influence of former allies	not going to be pain-free
mistitled Arab Spring	chemical weapons	problem with Russia's
on the wrong end	worrying development	For diplomacy to work
certainly over	ominous	no unified opposition
wave of dissent	military assistance	one thing the Assad regime
pluralist government	banks out of cash	almost certainly greater
prototypical revolt	bakeries out of flour	nations that really matter
appears impotent	bloody fight, dead	unless he is forced out
sticking-plaster solutions	frail infant	has failed
Western thirst	gruesome	neither of them palatable
precursor to revolution	caught by shells	greater or lesser degree

Source: A content analysis of the NI editorials

4.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the data analysis of the Arab Spring portrayal in the Pakistani newspaper (NI) editorials. It discusses the emerging themes as analysed in the content of twenty-four Arab Spring editorials. These themes included protest, horror, revolution, political instability, democracy, global intervention, dictatorship, internal threats, regional intervention and future developments. The chapter also presents the four-step analysis of the discourse strategies utilised by the NI editors. The first three steps of analysis refer to the use of schematic categories, ideological square and rhetorical devices based on van Dijk's theoretical framework. Next, the fourth step involves the analysis of the modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos) based on Aristotle's concept. The following chapter provides the data analysis and a thematic study of the Arab Spring in the Saudi newspaper (AN) editorials.
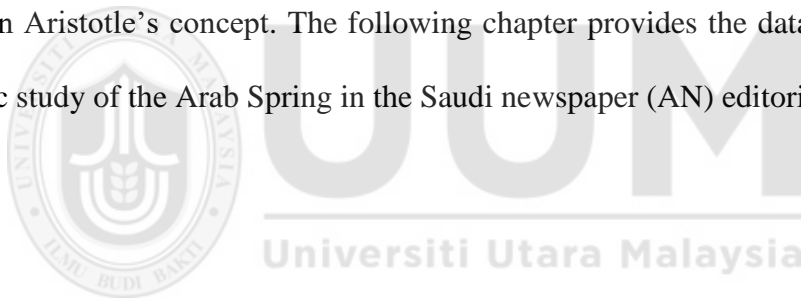
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PORTRAYAL OF ARAB SPRING IN *ARAB NEWS*

EDITORIALS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings obtained from the editorial portrayal of the Arab

Spring in the Saudi newspaper, *Arab News* (AN), based on the emerging themes. The

data were analysed how the events were portrayed through (a) the three schematic

categories of editorials (van Dijk, 1992, 1989b), (b) ideological square (van Dijk,

1998a, 1998b), (c) rhetorical devices (van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b) and (d) the modes of

persuasion (Aristotle, 1356/2006) used in the media discourse. In total, 24 editorial

sources were coded in NVivo. Approximately, 510 references were analysed from the

AN editorials (see Appendix B).

5.2 Themes of Arab Spring

Table 5.1 illustrates the themes used by the AN editors. The number of sources in the

table indicates that twenty-four editorials were coded under the parent node 'themes'.

There were one hundred and forty-six editorial references analysed during content

analysis. In total, there were ten child nodes; each node represented one Arab Spring

theme.

Table 5.1

Analysis of Themes of Arab Spring in the AN Editorials

Themes (Parent node) ⇩ Child nodes ⇩	No. of Sources (24)	No. of Ref. (146)	Editorial Comments
Protest (1)	10	10	protests in the Tunisian town of Sidi Bouzid
			massive marches across Syria
			a storm of protests from Syrian opposition leaders
			more mass protests expected …across the country
			thousands of unarmed, peaceful protesters
			revolution … triggered by the mass protests
			there have been a number of protests
Horror (2)	10	13	he can in reality keep on killing
			horrific and terrifying…international community
			Like Libya, Yemen is sliding into civil war
			the country's deadly revolt
Revolution (3)	10	18	chances of a people's revolution succeeding
			revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt
			revolution is as yet an unfinished affair
			the most inspiring people's revolution
			Libya's revolution was itself triggered
			revolution that motivated the population
			the Year of Arab Revolutions

Table 5.1 continued.

Political Instability (4)	12	17	broad political spectrum
			strong central authority
			country is now in a state of war
			political representatives proved at such odds
			would fight till the last man
			pluralist political system that guarantees
			those with a political agenda
Democracy (5)	9	17	the notion of democracy
			vote in a historic election
			elections in the North African nation's history
			Egypt's presidential election
			There will be elections
			change has come to the Middle East
Global Intervention (6)	13	29	Russia's continued supply of arms to Syria
			UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon phoned
			The US has talked about the first stage of the
			Russia, China and Iran are prepared to undermine
			The UN Security Council has passed a resolution
			NATO finessed its air operations
			The UN monitors
			President Barack Obama finally broke his silence
			French, British, Italians, Turks, Americans…Arab

Table 5.1 continued.

Dictatorship (7)	7	7	no ordinary military dictator in love with power
			the 42-year dictatorship of Muammar Qaddafi
			no longer assume dictatorial powers
			blood-thirsty dictator who has no interest
			the Syrian dictator to have admitted
			the removal of a strongman dictator
Internal Threats (8)	7	12	Bitter tribal rivalries
			divisions among security forces
			the army becomes the only stabilizing force
			there is Al-Qaeda
			army will insist that it retains a political role
			divided opposition
Regional Intervention (9)	8	12	the Arab League … called for a no-fly zone
			Saudi Arabia, along with Qatar and Kuwait
			the Arab League and the OIC must employ
			the Arab world's stance against the Assad regime
Future Developments (10)	8	11	further challenge for the new president
			essential to the future of Arab world
			a pluralist political future for Syria
			important to the future of Egypt
			future governance of Syria.
			Libya's future

Source: A content analysis of the AN editorials

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Theme One: The Protest

Out of twenty-four editorial sources, ten editorials employed the theme 'protest'. For this theme, ten editorial references (comments) were analysed in a child node in NVivo (see Table 5.1). The AN portrayed how the Arab Spring protests which erupted in Tunisia, contagiously spread to other countries and overthrew the regimes in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and sparked the uprising in Syria.

Theme Two: The Horror

The second theme 'horror' was coded in ten sources which consisted of thirteen references. This theme represented how the 'change' through the Arab Spring turned violent and caused intense sufferings such as killings of the protesters by regime forces and mass arrests seen during the prolonged conflicts in Libya and Syria.

Theme Three: The Revolution

The Arab Spring movement was also portrayed by the AN editors a series of 'revolution' launched by the protesters, intended to bring 'change', against their governments. There were eighteen references for this theme analysed in ten editorial sources. The newspaper often referred to this theme by pointing out injustices suffered by the protesting public in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria.

Theme Four: Political Instability

The theme 'political instability' was also utilized by the AN editors to portray different types of political uncertainties. This theme was based on the editorial opinions claiming absence of any political establishments or broader political

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spectrum in the Arab Spring countries. This theme was coded in twelve sources and seventeen editorial references were examined for this purpose.

Theme Five: The Democracy

The editors of the Saudi newspaper also portrayed the uprising by employing the theme 'democracy'. The AN shared the message that the Arab Spring provided an opportunity for arranging elections in Tunisia and Egypt. There were nine editorial sources which represented the Arab Spring as a democratic movement. For this particular theme seventeen references were coded as shown in Table 5.1.

Theme Six: Global Intervention

The AN also circulated its opinion about different forms of 'global intervention' made by Russia, China, Iran and the UN in Syria. The newspaper also portrayed interventions made by France, Britain, USA, NATO and the UN Security Council in Libya. This particular theme was analysed in twenty-nine editorial references and thirteen sources of the AN.

Theme Seven: The Dictatorship

All forms of governments in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria were often labelled as 'dictatorships' which ruled their nations for decades. These regimes were represented as holding power dictatorially, suppressing the public and refusing to quit in favour of the 'change'. The child node for this theme represented seven editorial sources and seven references.

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Theme Eight: Internal Threats

The theme 'internal threats' was coded in twelve references extracted from seven editorial sources. The threats were evaluated as diverse forms of dangers for 'change' sought through the Arab Spring. For instance, these threats included tribal rivalries in Yemen, Libya and interferences by old regime party in Tunisia and the political role of military in Egypt that constantly intervened in political process (see Table 5.1).

Theme Nine: Regional Intervention

The theme 'regional interventional' was illustrated in eight editorials and twelve references. It mainly portrayed the regional interference made by the Arab League particularly in Libya and Syria.

Theme Ten: Future Developments

Finally, the theme 'future developments' was coded in eleven editorial comments about future challenges confronted by the Arab Spring nations such as economic recession, governance, lack of unity among opposition groups, future uncertainties and others. As analysed, eight editorial sources represented such developments.

5.3 Schematic Categories of Editorials

For these categories, the AN editorial content was coded under three child nodes as illustrated in Table 5.2. All twenty-four editorial sources made use of these schematic categories through seventy-two editorial references.

5.3.1 Definition

All twenty-four editorials (sources) of the AN employed the schematic category of 'definition' to summarize the Arab Spring protests. There were twenty-four editorial references for this category as demonstrated in Table 5.2. For instance, the paper portrayed that the ex-ruling party in Tunisia, RCD, was responsible for the failure of (*started to fall apart*) new government in the country. The elections in Tunisia and Egypt were portrayed through the lexical choices such as *broad political spectrum, milestone* and *praised to the skies*. The protesters in Tunisia were defined happy, *understandably euphoric*, after throwing Ben Ali's regime. This development was claimed as *the first fruits* of the Arab Spring. Similarly, in Egypt, the arrest of the Egyptian President and his sons was defined as a historic moment (*history [was] on the march*, AN, April 15, 2011). Mubarak's trial, that he committed crimes, as a head of state was claimed as a moment of *historic importance*, a *major moral* advancement and the first such incident in the history of Egypt. The Arab Spring was also defined as an *infinite* possibility of 'change'. The paper reported a striking turnout, *electors [stood] in line patiently* (AN, May 24, 2012), in election where people voted for a new leader in Egypt. It was asserted that less number of killings in Yemen, compared to Libya, should not be considered as an excuse for the stay of the Yemeni President.

The Arab Spring was defined as *extremely contagious* that reached Libya where the protesters came *under attack* by security forces. The AN urged the Arab League to immediately, *now*, intervene militarily in Libya and save the Libyan protesters. The readers were also was informed that the UN approved, *decisive phase*, military coalition against Qaddafi. His death was defined as a great occasion, *something to*

cheer about (AN, October 24, 2011), in the history of the Middle East and climax of the Arab Spring. The editorial also portrayed that the Syrian regime killed protesters, *dead revolt*, and the Arab League had to send its monitor to observe these killings (*crimes against humanity*). The readers were also informed that due to lack of cooperation from President Assad all peace-directed dialogues between the government and the protesters would fail. The editorial described that Assad violated and defied *anguished calls* for peace in spite of making commitment with the Arab League. It was portrayed that due to massacre of people, *death continues*, the regime was asked to cooperate with the UN Human Rights Council. The paper also informed the readers that political parties in Syria were at *such odds* that they failed to present a unified platform against Assad.

5.3.2 Evaluation

For the schematic category of 'evaluation', twenty-four references were analysed in all twenty-four editorial sources as illustrated in Table 5.2. For instance, the editorial evaluated that *power vacuum* in Tunisia might jeopardise democratic transition and invite militants or forces loyal to the ousted president. These elements were portrayed as a *grave* threat to democracy. The victory of the Islamist party was evaluated through the comment *national and Arab nationalist*. The opinion highlighted that the party which faced *repression* under Ben Ali's regime had won elections. Similarly, Egyptians' choice of the Islamist party was described through the comment *beneficiary* of democracy. The victory of Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt was evaluated as a political consensus made in the region (*Islam to be fully part of their countries' political life*, AN, January 20, 2012). The editorial evaluated that

Mubarak's trial was a difficult task for the military rulers as their former boss – living in *peaceful isolation*. The protesters' regrouping at Tahrir Square was evaluated as their struggle to demand a *speedy* trial against Mubarak (*a free and fair trial*, AN, April 15, 2011). The paper declared that there was *no easy answer* for the situation in Yemen by evaluating several threats, *dangerous ingredients*, (separatist groups) which made the country a failed state. Overall, the year 2011 was also judged as a *momentous year* of the Arab revolutions.

The newspaper also warned, through the comment *has to be believed*, that Qaddafi's threat to fight against the protesters, till the last moment, should be taken seriously. In evaluating the success of a no-fly zone over Libya, the editorial evidenced that it *did not protect* people from Saddam Hussein in Iraq and the Serbians' massacres in 1995. It was evaluated that due to *high scale* of violence the Libyan uprising turned into a humanitarian and political crisis. The editorial also used the lexical choices like *spinelessness* and *extremely clueless* to represent the international silence over the Libyan situation and *full two week*s to represent the UN's delay in deciding about Libya. The editorial judged that the Arab Spring would bring 'change', *hyper-drive*, in Libya and the capture of Qaddafi's sons was portrayed through the lexical choice *inconceivable*. In Syria, it was evaluated that the Arab Leagues' peace plan (*Arab plan* with *an Arab perspective* and for an *Arab country*, AN, April 12, 2011) would never be an easy implementation due to Assad's attitude, *not kept his word*, and his violent crackdown on the protesters. Through the editorial comment *lip service*, it was evaluated that the Western powers were not serious to resolve the Syrian conflict. The AN also evaluated that Russia's backing of the Syrian regime served as a major blow

to the protesters' demand of removing it and Russia even damaged its reputation, *ever-deepening hole*, by supporting Assad. The opinion evaluated that Russia's policy in Syria was just a *power play* as it was not at all concerned about the human rights. The AN posited that it was amazing to see the Arab League, Russia and China handling Assad softly as portrayed through the lexical choice *with kid gloves*.

5.3.3 Conclusion/Recommendation/Advice/Warning

The twenty-four editorial sources in the AN also used the schematic category of 'conclusion', as illustrated in Table 5.2. For instance, through the lexical choice *Tunisians do not trust anyone* (AN, January 19, 2011), it was predicted that the old RCD party should be disbanded. The opinion optimistically concluded that Tunisia's Arab Spring, *a monumental achievement* and *success story*, should also be replicated in Egypt and Libya. The paper also advised the Gulf countries to back, *productive economic support*, the fragile economy of Tunisia and also recommended an outside investment for economic recession in Egypt. The editorial anticipated hardships, *tough consequences*, for the new government by emphasising that Egyptians might not have the endurance for economic re-balancing. Through the lexical choice *will not be peace*, it was warned that stability in Yemen would not come until President Saleh held the power. Without a strong central authority in Yemen, the situation was projected a catastrophe, *disaster*, for neighbouring and regional countries. In Egypt, for instance, the AN presupposed that a *fair trial* of President Mubarak would be a catalyst for accountability across the Arab world (*and all those in authority*). Otherwise, it was warned that the hard work of the protesters would be wasted and the Egyptian revolution would be paralysed.

Through the lexical choice *exporting his dreams of revolution far and wide* (AN, February 22, 2011), it was concluded that Qaddafi distributed oil money to groups, revolutionaries and dictators of his nature to gain favours. A warning was issued that it would be difficult to extricate Qaddafi, such *mentality* and *vision*, who had mercenaries and money. The advice *come to the help* urged on Arabs to help their protesting Libyan brothers and sisters. The editorial predicted that the Arab Spring will bring freedom through the remark *a new Arab world* was being born. The AN cautioned that any foreign involvement, *Western-sponsored puppets*, in Libya would have adverse consequences. Similarly, the editorial comment *systematic onslaught* warned that if the Arab Spring continued to witness bloodshed in Syria then the whole country would live in trouble, *not quiet down*. It was anticipated that Syrians' nightmare would not end unless the concerns, *voices*, of these regional countries (Turkey and Gulf States) were recognized internationally – as portrayed through the comment *global chorus*. The Syrian opposition groups were advised to stay united against the regime without their personal gains, *narrow interest,* and their boycott of the conference in Cairo was lexically concluded as *shameful*. The international community was urged to do more for Syrians, *innocent lives*. On the contrary, it was warned that if Russia continued to support Assad, it should be made to face tough consequences as portrayed through the lexical choices *play hardball*, *sanctions, isolation* and so on. Table 5.2 illustrates the analysis of the schematic categories used in the AN editorials.

Table 5.2

Analysis of Schematic Categories of the AN Editorials

Schematic Categories (Parent node) ⇩ Child nodes ⇩	No. of Sources (24)	No. of Ref. (72)	Editorial Comments
Definition (1)	24	24	protesters objected to the … role of… RCD praised by … observers …fair election. the ouster of Tunisia's leader, Ben Ali numbers of civilians killed in Yemen Mubarak and his sons … arrested…trial the first day of voting in Egypt's…election people of Libya are under attack UN Security Council has finally woken up the sobering end of Muammar Qaddafi security forces … shot dead 11 villagers Arab League mission to monitor violence Russia's continued supply of arms to Syria
Evaluation (2)	24	24	if the politicians cannot agree … the army Al-Nahda was successful because … 2011 will surely…Year of Arab Revolution Yemen…dangerous ingredients... failed genuine... free … fair trial, nothing more

Table 5.2 continued.

			Mubarak … discord as a survival policy
			Egypt...revolution has come of age
			threat has to be believed…Qaddafi
			no-fly zone is not … Libya from Qaddafi's
			pointlessness of international institutions
			Arab League mission … most difficult
			No… calls … any difference … Damascus
			Russia … to prop up a blood-thirsty dictator
Conclusion,	24	24	RCD's days are clearly numbered…disband
Warning,			achievement in democracy and a success
Recommendation			must now give … economic support
(3)			It would be a disaster— for Yemen…
			Let us hope this whole process…catalyst
			Egyptian revolution is as yet an unfinished
			tough consequences of economic re-balancing
			difficult to dislodge…has the mercenaries
			Arabs must … Libyan brothers and sisters
			Libya's future must be left to its people
			systematic onslaught, then the country will
			Syrian people's nightmare is unlikely
			bury their differences… revolution in peril

Source: A content analysis of the AN editorials

5.4 Ideological Square

The names and roles of the actors portrayed in the AN editorial excerpts vary from one country to another especially the authorities. For instance, in Tunisia, the protesters included Tunisians or the general public. On the contrary, the authorities consisted of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, his ruling RCD party and the Tunisian police. In Yemen, the protesters included several separatist groups, civilians, defected army units, opposition and tribal groups while the Yemeni authorities included President Ali Abdullah Saleh and military and civil supporters of his regime. On the other hand, in Egypt, the protesters were portrayed as the public and the authorities consisted of President Hosni Mubarak, his sons, pro-Mubarak protesters, police and army. Meanwhile, in Libya the protesters involved the public, joined by rebel fighters, anti-Qaddafi forces and defected military units. As portrayed by the AN, the authorities in Libya consisted of President Muammar Qaddafi, his son Seif Al-Islam, the Libyan military and pro-Qaddafi forces. In Syria, the situation was described more complex: the protesters included the Syrian public, rebel fighters, opposition groups and Free Syrian Army. The Syrian authorities were described as President Bashar al-Assad, army and security forces and President Assad's foreign friends. The classification of the actors, protesters vs. authorities, has been illustrated in Figure 5.1 as represented by the AN.
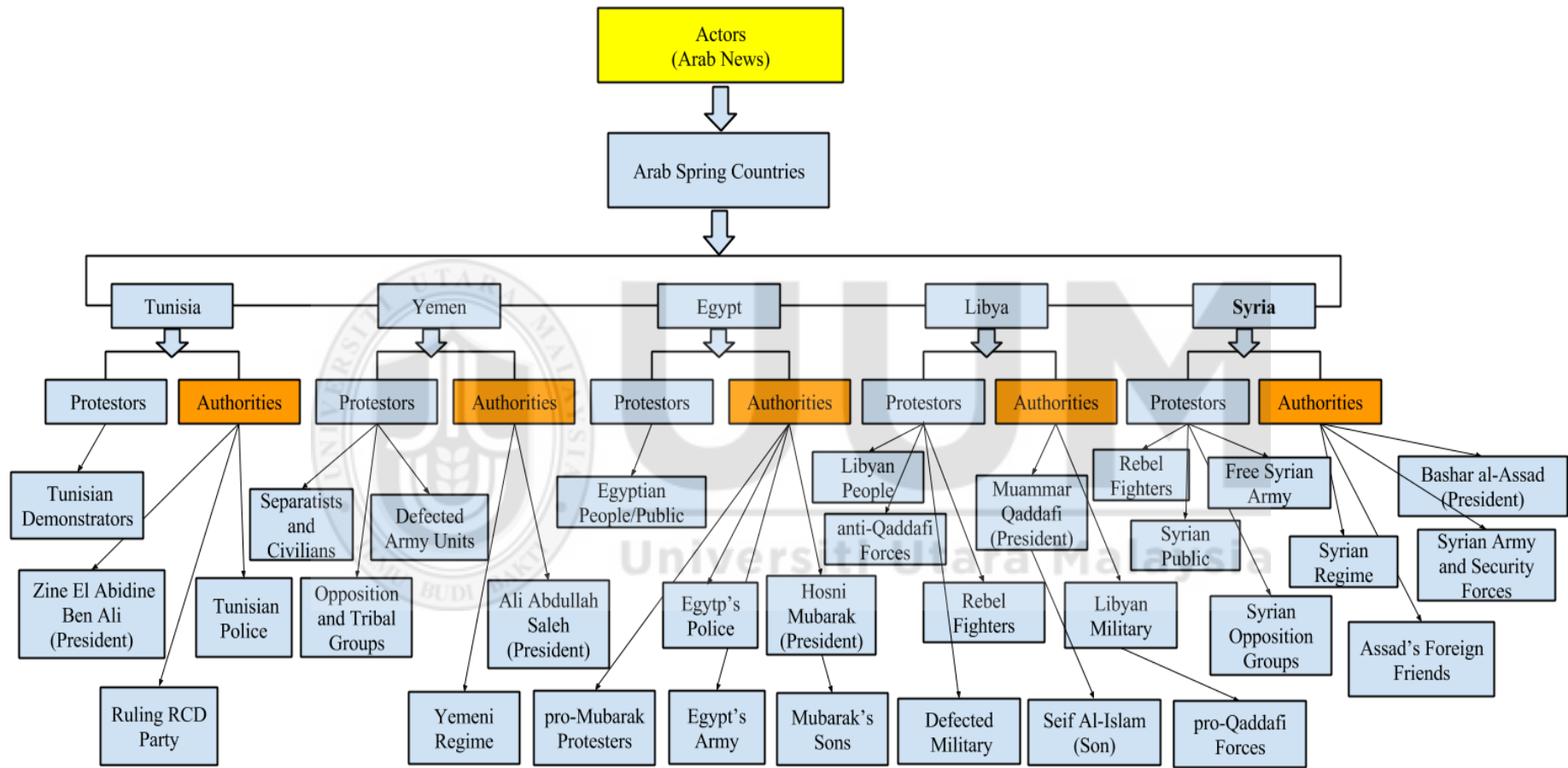
Figure 5.1. Types of Arab Spring actors portrayed by *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia)

The analysis revealed that the AN editors employed four evaluative principles to characterize these actors. These evaluative moves included emphasizing good and bad actions and mitigating bad and good actions assumed as the ideological beliefs of the Saudi newspaper editors which represented the two sides. To analyse these evaluative principles, one hundred and nine editorial references were analysed in approximately twenty-four sources. Table 5.3 illustrates the analysis of the ideological square in the Arab Spring.

5.4.1 The Protesters

The labelling of the Arab Spring protesters by the AN was categorized under the evaluative moves of 'emphasizing our good actions' and 'mitigating our bad actions' (Table 5.3). Out of twenty-four sources, fourteen editorials used the evaluative move 'emphasizing our good actions' to portray the protesters. Nearly, twenty-two editorial references supported this particular move. For instance, the lexical choice *democratic elections* represented early achievements of the protesters in Tunisia. It was evidenced that Mohamed Bouazizi tragically set himself ablaze in his protest against *harassments* from the Tunisian authorities – the incident which *triggered* the Arab Spring. The editorial portrayed that the protesters generated a 'change' in the region (*a tsunami of change*) and were lexically labelled as *victorious* and *euphoric* for their choice of candidates and new constitution. The AN also claimed that the protesters were determined, *the demand of many*, to object to RCD's participation (party of the ex-Tunisian leader Zine El Abidine Ben Ali) in the transitional management. As revealed, Tunisians were attacked and intimidated by the members and loyalists (*armed supporters of the ousted president*, AN, January 19, 2011) of the old regime. Similarly, in Yemen, the AN portrayed that the protesters who demanded President

Saleh's dismissal were executed, *in numbers*, and faced hardships, *repression*. They were represented as courageous enough to conduct *mass protests* across the country even though they faced *bloodshed* and despotic manoeuvres of the regime.

In Egypt, the Arab Spring protesters were labelled as *unharmed* and *peaceful* but they had to face *deadly force* and confront hurdles in their struggle for bringing 'change'. The lexical selections *people's revolution* and *masters of their own destiny* (AN, August 31, 2011) portrayed the actions of the Arab Spring protesters in Libya. The paper depicted that despite initial impasse the protesters achieved what was seen *inconceivable* as they were fully determined to annihilate whatever was related to Qaddafi's government. It was also emphasized that Libyans were committed to *democracy* and it was their right to remain *euphoric*. The editorial also used the comments such as *brutally eliminated*, sacrificing in *hundreds*, *abandoned, short of arms* and *crying out* to portray 'anti-regime' protesters in Libya. In Syria, the AN described that the Arab Spring protesters remained *peaceful* and *unarmed* but faced hardships. The editors also used lexical choices such as *brutal crackdown, deadly, bloody butchery* to portray the Syrian people. Another editorial portrayal of the AN claimed that *dissident* villagers in Horns were shot dead and the whole city was *torched* by the Syrian security forces. The editorial remarked that protesting Syrians, *onto the streets*, would draw *comfort* from the positive results of the Arab Spring in Libya. The AN also used the word *tumultuous* to portray the unrest faced by the Syrian protesters during Eid.

Likewise, anti-regime actions of the Arab Spring protesters were de-emphasised through the evaluative move 'mitigating our bad actions'. Out of twenty-four sources, nine editorials engaged this particular move (Table 5.3). The table indicated that fourteen references were coded under this child node. For instance, the comment *control of their own affairs* (AN, February 25, 2011) deemphasized the protesters' actions of revolts who eventually forced the regime to step down through their million marches. Egyptians' action of rearranging protests was portrayed as their just demands for a *speedy retribution* and *speedy trial* of President Mubarak. It was also claimed that the innocent protesters, demanding *faster reforms,* were forcibly taken away in military vehicles. They were depicted as delighted with the outcome of elections, *people's verdict*, during the Arab Spring and they decided to support *the choice of majority*. The editorial reported that Egyptians faced chronic issues like economic recession, unemployment among the youth and poor salaries. They were portrayed as committed to their demands. For instance, the opinion cited that it was not possible for Egypt's new military rulers to move against Mubarak *but given the growing public unrest* (AN, April 15, 2011) the military could not avert his trial.

The actions of the Libyan protesters were deemphasised through the opinion that some towns of Libya were captured (*into the hands of protesters*, AN, February 22, 2011) by the protesters and the regime's security forces disappeared. They are portrayed as *trained* by foreign forces and supported by the NATO. The AN also asserted that Libyans faced a *brutal treatment* and sacrificed their lives to make their *revolution* productive. It was insisted that the Arab League should take *immediate action* to protect Libyans. The AN also pointed out that the protesters did not have

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sufficient arms, *short of ammunition*, and their victory would depend on military intervention by the West. The demands of the Arab and Muslim nations for an outside intervention, to protect the *unarmed* civilian population in Libya, were portrayed as an *unprecedented call*.

The actions of the Syrian protesters were also deemphasized by the AN. For instance, it was evidenced that the Syrian protesters had to face an adverse reaction of the regime with the emerging reports of *carnage* across the country which was even witnessed by the UN and Arab League's monitors. On another occasion, the protesters' action of calling countrywide *marches* was deemphasised through the comment that they wanted to assess the regime's commitment in implementing peace accords. Further, the protesters in Syria were labelled as *defenceless civilian, victims of Syrian regime* who were badly treated in the holy month of Ramadan with three hundred fifty *deaths*. The lexical choice *license to kill* referred to the Arab League's ultimatum given to Assad for dialogue. The editorial also pointed out that the opposition groups could not produce any unified action against the regime. The opinion also claimed that army and police deserters turned their guns at the Syrian security forces in support, *defence*, of the Arab Spring protesters. Table 5.3 illustrates the portrayal of the Arab Spring actors in the AN editorials.

Table 5.3

Ideological Square in Arab Spring: Actor Labelling in the AN

Parent node ⇩	Child nodes (Sources = 24, References = 109) ⇩			
Ideological Square	**Emphasize our good actions** Sources = 14/ Ref. = 22	**Emphasize their bad actions** Sources = 20 / Ref. = 45	**Mitigate our bad actions** Sources = 9 / Ref. = 14	**Mitigate their good actions** Sources = 11 / Ref. = 28
Lexical choices of the AN editor (comments coded)	momentum still lies	continuing savagery	butchered for their efforts	ousted president
	winds of change	crackdown on Friday protests	totally abandoned	enfant terrible of the region
	new Arab world	attacks by armed supporters	defenceless civilian	Qaddafi's hired guns
	freedom	the horrific proportions	peaceful protesters	totally delusional
	historic	corruption	brutally eliminated	dwindling band of friends
	rapid pace of change	account for their actions	tumultuous Eid for Syria	deadly force
	moral advance	Assad lied to the UN	victims of Syrian regime's	prison walls
	went into hyper-drive	their people's blood	unemployment	plain clothes police
	notion of democracy	violence and repression	save Libyans	Ben Ali's regime

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Table 5.3 continued.

euphoria of the Libya people	yet to permit …journalists	demand of many	his police state
extremely contagious	deadly and bloody	killed	regime's guns
heralded the Arab Spring	bloody and barbaric regime	people's revolution	snake-like and mesmeric
tsunami of change	frighten people	immediate action	cynical powers
understandably euphoric	rule for ever	under attack	assaults by government forces
people's verdict	kills the people	need protection	regime has its loyalists
political consensus	abuse of power	short of arms and	political visionary
well-qualified graduates	chief architect…brutal	demanding faster reform	African mercenaries
massive marches	repression	demanding their share	pro-Qaddafi forces
chances of victory	violent killings	self-immolation	Saleh refusing to leave
desperate for change	acted as a tyrant	primary target for	must go
achievements of populations	murderous	repression	ridiculously named
won a real say	savagery	more carnage	delusional boasts

Table 5.3 continued.

inspired by Tunisia	harsh-winter	growing public unrest	meaningless referendum
intent on abolishing	killing machine	speedy justice	cling on to power
rapid pace of change	unbridled violence	retribution	Russia's resolute defence
the choice of majority	carnage, butchery	harassment, executed	Russian military on Syrian soil
impassioned voters	murderous Syrian regime	control of their own affairs	reputation…dragged
Islam to be fully part	liars	rallying behind	thick-skinned and callous clique
monumental achievement	blood-thirsty dictator	women and children	Assad's intentions
political process	boss and close ally	fight to finish	entrenched leadership
fair trial	international condemnation	intent on abolishing	old cynical game
speedy retribution	mentality	innocent lives	will have to disband
historic mandate	license to kill	for half a century	so-called State
brothers and sisters	reign of terror		paramilitary thugs

Source: A content analysis of the AN editorials

5.4.2 The Authorities

The lexical choices of the Saudi newspaper (NI) revealed that the Arab Spring authorities were labelled under the evaluative moves of 'emphasizing their bad actions' and 'mitigating their good actions' (Table 5.3). It was examined that out of twenty-four sources, twenty editorials portrayed the authorities through the evaluative move 'emphasizing their bad actions'.   As analysed, approximately forty-five references supported this category. For instance, the lexical choice *old cynical game* was used as a label for governments in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. Similarly, the AN predicted an earlier departure (*days [were] clearly numbered*, AN, January 19, 2011) of President Ben Ali's regime and his RCD party in Tunisia. The paper accused the ruling party of financial irregularities and terrifying Tunisians to make its forcible entry into elections. Further, Ben Ali's rule was labelled as a *police state* which suppressed the Islamist parties in the country.

In Yemen, President Saleh's rule of 33 years was also linked with *inevitable* bloodshed and *instability*. Similarly, in Egypt, the AN through the lexical choices *corruption*, *abuse of power* and *deadly force* portrayed Mubarak and his sons. It was claimed that Mubarak practiced authoritarian and repressive tactics such as crushing all forms of revolts and controlling the country by keeping *lid on popular discontent* (AN, May 24, 2012). The opinion portrayed that Mubarak's regime ignited, *deliberately engineered*, Muslims-Christian clashes to hold the Islamists responsible and exploit the divide (*discord*) and rule situation to stay in power. The AN portrayed that the Egyptian authorities "regularly used … divide and rule…the excuse to clamp down on … and a justification for retaining a police state" (AN, June 20, 2012).

The AN employed the lexical choices such as *the enfant terrible of the region* (AN, February 22, 2011) and *political visionary*, determined to change the world, to label the Libyan leader Qaddafi. It was claimed that Qaddafi wasted the country's oil money for transferring his own *dreams* of revolutions. The opinion presupposed that Qaddafi might exploit intervention by the NATO forces in Libya and get Libyans' support. The paper also suggested that in order to dislodge Qaddafi and to save Libyans the best possibilities were the armed forces of Egypt and Tunisia as *liberators*. As claimed, Qaddafi had lost its legitimacy by violating peace deals, *unilateral truce*, intensified the crisis by resisting the protesters and used murderous antics and *savagery* against civilians, which prompted the Arab League to demand a no-fly zone over Libya. His regime was metaphorically labelled as *prison walls* of 42 year-old rule. Qaddafi's claims that Libyans loved him were portrayed as his *delusional* boasts. He was described as the dweller of a *fantasy world* and cruelly eliminated those who refused to obey him. Likewise, Qaddafi's death was portrayed as the end of Libyans' *nightmare* and his party, Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, was described as a *garbage heap* of history.

In Syria, President Assad was labelled as *thick-skinned* and *callous clique* who remained rigid to the UN and Arab League's proposals and deceived the monitors by giving a false, *own*, version of the protesters' killings. The Syrian authorities were portrayed as refusing to quit power despite repeated calls made by different regional and world powers. To the editorial labelling, Assad forcibly held power, continued *bloodshed* and never learned any *lessons* from the fate of Tunisia's Ben Ali, Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and Libya's Qaddafi. The opinion constructed that the Syrian

opposition groups *doubted* Assad for his false promises relating to peace negotiations. Further, the paper highlighted Assad's 'anti-change' attitude that he would hardly surrender, *highly unlikely*, in favour of the Arab Spring. He was held responsible for denying journalists as he wanted to hide the *carnages* committed by his security forces. The editorial described his referendum as *meaningless*, to deceive his people and the world, since it did not state whether Assad would quit power or not. Through some more lexical labels like *snake-like*, *barbaric acts, bloody and barbaric regime* the paper demonstrated Assad's attitude during the Arab Spring. It was also portrayed that Assad exploited the lack of unity among the opposition groups and used *unrestrained* violence. The opinion stated that the Syrian authorities were denounced as *liars* by an international human rights commissioner. The paper further used the remarks *lied* and *publicly accused* to claim that Assad "lied to the UN secretary-general...has not kept his word….rare for a UN secretary-general to accuse a country's president of lying" (AN, August 24, 2011).

The editors also employed the evaluative move 'mitigating their good actions' to deemphasize, otherwise, retaliatory measures adopted by the authorities to save their rules (see Table 5.3). Out of twenty-four sources, eleven editorials used this move. The child node for this particular move displayed twenty-eight references. For instance, the editorial deemphasized the actions of the Egyptian authorities by describing that pro-Mubarak supporters, *plain clothes police*, attacked the Arab Spring protesters several times in Tahrir Square. Similarly, Mubarak's trial was argued as an essential development, *wake-up call*, for the future of the Arab world. The editorial also used connotations like *mercenaries* to mitigate the actions of the

Libyan authorities against the Arab Spring protesters. Similarly, the editorial belief conveyed that how Qaddafi regularly launched *crackdown* on the protesters and killed them. Recapture of some areas by pro-Qaddafi forces was deemphasized as *superior firepower* of Qaddafi's forces which pushed back the protesters and renewed prospects for the regime's survival. Further, the actions of the Libyan regime against the protesters were labelled as *too horrific and terrifying*. The editorial characterized Qaddafi a strange person, *totally delusional*, who was desperate with his absolute power abuse. The opinion cited that Qaddafi never stopped to "proclaim his support for people power, had acted as a tyrant. He kills the people in the name of the people" (AN, February 22, 2011).

The paper also deemphasized anti-change actions of the Syrian authorities. For instance, it was circulated that Assad frequently *unleashed a reign of terror* (AN, October 19, 2011) on his people who had suffered the Bathist tyranny for half a century. It was also declared that Assad deployed war-like machinery including warplanes, mortars, tanks and heavy artilleries to crush anti-regime protests. Another label *killing machine* was employed for the Syrian authorities who remained intolerable to the protesters' demands. The paper also circulated that Assad painted the country *red* with Syrians' blood and *brutally* tortured school students who were arrested for spraying anti-regime slogans on walls. His regime was depicted through the lexical choices such as *murderous Syrian regime* that turned the Arab Spring into a *harsh-winter*. Assad's international friendship was also deemphasized through the editorial comments *cynical, dwindling band of friends* (AN, August 24, 2011) due to which he clung on to power and slaughtered his people.

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5.5 Rhetorical Devices

The AN editors used such devices which included comparison, hyperbole, metaphor, metonymy, antithesis, juxtaposition, propaganda, alliteration, rhetorical questions, parallelism and number game (see Table 5.4). Out of twenty-four editorial sources, one hundred and thirteen references were coded. There were eleven child nodes; each node represented a particular rhetorical device used in an editorial comment.

The rhetorical device 'comparison' was inserted to (de)emphasize the Arab Spring developments. For this rhetorical device, twenty-four references were investigated from fifteen different sources. For instance, through the opinion *far more revolutionary going on* (AN, February 22, 2011), it was demonstrated that the Arab Spring in Libya consisted of higher scale of violence compared to the revolts in Tunisia and Egypt. The newspaper propagated that the Libyan protesters wanted to completely eradicate Qaddafi's Kingdom, *state*, like the fate of the Soviet Union. The editorial also compared the political role, *guardian* of its constitution, adopted by the Egyptian military (against the desire of the protesters) with the Turkish military. It was emphasised that Egypt required a strong central government, *authority*, like it has had since 1952 revolution to solve its problems. The paper also compared the elections held in Tunisia and Egypt (*watched with great interest*) as a result of the Arab Spring. The opinion claimed that the political *version* of Islam possessed by Tunisia's Islamist party, Ennahda, was closer to Turkey's model than the ideology held by Taliban or Bin Laden. The threat, *imminent civil war*, given by Qaddafi's son to the Arab Spring protesters was compared with Mubarak's frightening claim, *Islamists if the regime falls* (AN, February 22, 2011).

The paper also presupposed that the UN's declared no-fly-zone would not save Libyans from Qaddafi's repression as it did not protect people from the regime forces in Iraq and Bosnia, *the Srebrenica massacre*. Through the strategy of comparison, it was declared that Qaddafi's regime would soon collapse as its stalwarts, *loyalists*, were abandoning as it had already happened with President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt and Ben Ali in Tunisia. Similarly, the editorial pointed out that Libyans suffered international isolation, due to absence of international and conventional *media*, in comparison with the situation in Tunisia and Egypt. A comparison was also made between the Arab Spring developments in Libya and Yemen in order to emphasize that Yemen would slide into *civil war* similar to Libya. The paper also compared 'anti-change' attitude adopted by the Russian and Syrian regime in first accepting (*one step forward*) and then rejecting (*three steps back*) peace plans.

The AN editors also employed the rhetorical device 'hyperbole' in seven editorials, which included ten references. For instance, the paper hyperbolically warned through the comments such as *no end to the riots* and *demonstrations* (AN, January 19, 2011) if the old-regime party interfered in the transitional phase in Tunisia. Similarly, it was emphasized that 'change' in Tunisia should happen democratically through an exaggerated opinion that military might become the sole *guarantor* of security if political parties failed to established a central authority. Another hyperbolic opinion propagated achievements of the Arab Spring in Tunisia by declaring elections as historic (*in the North African nation's history*, AN, October 31, 2011). The AN also drew attention to the plight of Libyans by overstating that Qaddafi hardly listened (*his own vision*) to the Libyan public. The opinion hyperbolically circulated that Libya

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would have been one of the *richest nations* on earth if Qaddafi did not waste oil resources. Another instance of exaggeration was seen in portraying the Libyan regime as *wilderness* years. The hyperbolic opinion *never before* portrayed the trial of the Egyptian President. The paper also used the lexical choice *dragged through the mud* to hyperbolically construct that Russia damaged its international reputation through its constant intervention in Syria.

The Saudi newspaper editorial writers also used the rhetorical device 'metaphor'. Out of twenty-four sources, nine editorials used metaphorical expressions that were analysed through fifteen references. For instance, the Arab Spring was represented as *winds of change* that reached the Arab countries and culminated in removing some of the autocratic regimes. Qaddafi's regime was metaphorically deemphasized as *prison walls* as a symbol of repression and dictatorship. Similarly, another metaphorical opinion, *the killing machine*, constructed the Syrian regime's ferocity in murdering the protesters. The metaphor *Great Russian Bear* referred to Russia's indirect involvement in the killing of the Arab Spring protesters in Syria by extending moral and diplomatic support to Assad. Similarly, Tunisians' action of launching the Arab Spring was also metaphorically depicted as a *tsunami* of 'change' which later passed on to other dictatorial rules. Likewise, victory of the protesters who ousted Ben Ali, in Tunisia, was metaphorically exemplified as the *first fruits* of the Arab Spring.

Evidently, six editorials also employed the rhetorical device 'metonymy' to construct the events as analysed in fifteen references. For instance, the lexical choices like *Qaddafi's mercenaries* and *African mercenaries* represented pro-regime forces in

Libya and rhetorically emphasized their role of killing the Libyan protesters. Another metonymical statement, *the US and its Western allies*, represented the government of the United States and other world powers which usually support America on international issues. The paper held these countries responsible for not taking any military strikes against Syria as they enthusiastically acted to *liberate* Libyans. The lexical choice *Putin administration* portrayed the Russian government and its influential role of backing the Syrian ruler and opposing the protesters' demands.

Several opinions were also constructed by employing the rhetorical device 'antithesis'. In total, eight newspaper editorials utilised antithetical opinions as analysed through ten references. To cite a few instances, about the Libyan revolution, the editorial first portrayed the UN for remaining indecisive, through the lexical choice *divided and ineffectual*, about actions against the Libyan regime; however, at the same time, it contradicted its opinion by presuming that any action taken by the UN, *if the UN does decide*, (AN, February 25, 2011) would not stop the killings of the protesters. Similarly, the editorial declared that the US sanctions on Libya were *symbolic* which might not damage the regime's stability but it also supported that sanctions were *significant* as the first step against the Libyan regime. The paper portrayed President Mubarak's trial as an important act for the head of a state but it also pointed towards other people who had remained part of his government and were not tried for any charges. The antithetical opinion predicted that it would be difficult for military to proceed against Mubarak, *ally of four decades*, as their former head. However, later, a reverse statement was made that under the protesters' pressure it would be impossible, *in no position*, for the military to spare Mubarak.

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Similarly, nine editorial references from eight sources were analysed for the rhetorical device 'juxtaposition'. For instance, the AN accepted future uncertainties through the remark *tough times ahead* for Libyans but it also remained optimistic about democratic transitions, *a road forward*, through the Arab Spring. In Yemen, the situation was more marked by *confusion and instability* than any chances of *success*. It was juxtaposed that the Yemeni President was pressurized by anti-regime protesters to step down but on the other hand the editorial anticipated a delay in holding presidential elections due to the unrest in the country. The AN also emphasized that the Syrian opposition groups called Assad's parliamentary elections *farce* but the same was declared true for these groups as they remained *at odds* and could not become true political representatives of Syrians. The opinion circulated that the US was hesitant to launch, *get bogged down*, aggression against a Muslim country with prolonged occupation and Russia and China were also reluctant to intervene in, *getting embroiled in,* the national affairs of a sovereign Syria. The editorial choice *licence to kill* referred to the protesters' criticism of the Arab League for giving a dialogue ultimatum to Assad and the word *spurned* referred to Assad's refusal of implementing the League's proposal. Similarly, it was presupposed that if the protesters' massacres by the Syrian regime continued, *the more his forces kill*, then there would be an adverse reaction, *inflame*, with more anti-regime protests.

The rhetorical device 'propaganda' was examined in four editorial sources (five references). For instance, the AN propagandized that the Syrian President deceived, *lied,* the UN and refused to admit the responsibility of the killings witnessed by human rights activists. The paper also rejected the Western point of view, *tactics*,

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which considered the victory of the Islamist parties in Egypt and Tunisia an unexpected outcome of the Arab Spring and a threat to freedom and civil liberties. It was propagandized that Russia remained unconcerned, *unbothered*, about Syria which was *tearing* itself apart with thousands of Syrians dead. The lexical choice *prop up a blood-thirsty dictator* (AN, June 1, 2012) propagated that Russia always backed Assad who was least interested in negotiations and more interested in slaughtering his countrymen. In a similar opinion, the paper circulated that Qaddafi was just a *tyrant*, *no ordinary* military dictator*,* who killed his people desperately. In response to the criticism of the Arab League by the Syrian opposition groups, the newspaper propagated that the League made great efforts, *considerable skill*, by exerting pressure on the Syrian regime to solve the conflict.

Alliteration as a rhetorical device was coded in twelve references extracted from nine editorials. For instance, the alliterative use *drowsing and dithering* portrayed the UN's inaction in Libya. Similarly, the editorial selection *being butchered* emphasised the predicament of the Libyan protesters and the use of *abuse of absolute* and *dangerously desperate* represented Qaddafi as a ruler who never let any chance go away to oppress his countrymen. The rhetorical opinion, *command and control compound* (AN, March 22, 2011), stressed that the Libyan regime was serious in crushing anti-regime protesters. The linguistic choice *far reaching ramifications* referred to Mubarak's trial that it would send a strong signal to autocratic regimes for accountability. The uncertainty about Egypt's future was represented through the editorial comment *fog of the future*. In the same way, the alliterative judgement *pure power play* referred to Russia's unwanted interference in Syria without any human

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concern. The editorial comment, *cunning credence*, represented Assad's deliberate selection of the figure 51 percent as a turnout of referendum. The alliterative opinion *peaceful population* portrayed the Tunisian protesters and the comment *bloody and barbaric* depicted the actions of the Syrian regime against the Arab Spring.

The editors of the AN also employed several 'rhetorical questions' as analysed in five references extracted from five sources. For instance, through the lexical choice *will they blow* the editorial portrayed whether Qaddafi will be ousted by the Arab Spring protesters or stay in power for a few more years portrayed as *will he be able..?*. Another rhetorical question (*how many innocent must die...*AN, August 23, 2011) propagated the deaths of innocent and helpless Arab Spring protesters in Libya. In the same way, another rhetorical choice, *who will...*, predicted an uncertainty about a new Libyan rule after Qaddafi. The AN also shared with its readers that victorious anti-regime forces in Libya might not remain united, *will...fall…?* The editorial choice *will...spate of revenge* depicted the possibility of clashes between anti and pro-Qaddafi forces. A similar future uncertainty related to militancy in Libya was communicated through the rhetorical question *will the shadows of militancy fall…*? (AN, August 23, 2011). Through another rhetorical question (*when will this agony end…*? AN, March 30, 2012), the paper portrayed that the Arab Spring protesters in Syria had to face a stern retaliation from the regime.

The use of 'parallelism' as a rhetorical device was coded in four references taken from four sources. For instance, the repetition move *fight till the last man, the last woman, the last bullet* (AN, February 22, 2011) portrayed the threat issued by the

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Libyan authorities and their intentions to fight against the Arab Spring protesters. The lexical assertion *has to come, can only come* (AN, February 25, 2011) insisted on Libya's neighbouring countries to go for military strikes against Qaddafi's regime. Similarly, the rhetorical comment, *fair...fair...fair* represented the AN opinion about explanations given by Moscow's foreign minister to supply arms to Syria and support Assad. The paper declared that it was *fair* for Moscow that civilians in Syria should be brutality treated, *fair* that security forces butchered the family of rebels and it was *fair* that Assad would only negotiate after the opposing groups surrendered. The editors' choice of the repetitive phrase *kill, kill and kill* emphasised that Assad increased the protesters' death toll in Syria during the Arab Spring revolution.

The use of the rhetorical device 'number game' was analysed in eleven references taken from nine different sources. For instance, the comment *2,200 Syrians* portrayed the number of killings by the regime forces in a few months' time including *350* in the month of Ramadan. Similarly, the figure *3,000 killed* emphasised how the Arab Spring protesters were handled by the Syrian authorities. The use of lexical choice *half century* pointed towards the long-standing dictatorial regime in Syria. The editorial also claimed that the Arab League succeeded in getting *700 detainees* (protesters) released from the regime's prisons but there were still *30,000 imprisoned*. Another editorial opinion asserted that *15,000 people* died in Syria. Also, the figure more than *three decades* pointed out prolonged stay of President Mubarak's dictatorial regime in Egypt. Likewise, the comment *millions* on the streets represented the Arab Spring protesters in the country. Also, the use of words like *hundreds, thousands* and *horrific proportions* depicted the deaths of the protesters in Libya due

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to tyrannical handling of the regime as claimed by the AN. Table 4.5 illustrates the analysis of rhetorical devices employed by the AN editors.

Table 5.4

Analysis of Rhetorical Devices in the AN Editorials

Rhetorical Devices (Parent node) ⇩ Child nodes ⇩	No. of Sources (24)	No. of Ref. (113)	Editorial Comments
Comparison (1)	15	24	Seif Al-Islam…warned... like Egypt's Mubarak
			Like Libya, Yemen is sliding into civil war
			Moscow…Damascus…similar political tactics
			Another…leader ... dragged … as …Qaddafi
Hyperbole (2)	7	10	Russia's reputation … dragged through the mud
			free elections in ... North African nation's history
			head of state…on trial … a supremely moral act
			consigned to the garbage heap of history
Metaphor (3)	9	15	the killing machine went into action
			a tsunami of change….winds of change
			The Great Russian Bear is back …
			the prison walls of the past 42 years
			Arab Spring produced its first fruits
Metonymy (4)	6	8	African mercenaries
			America and its ever-willing allies

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Table 5.4 continued.

			the US and its Western allies
			the Putin administration
Antithesis (5)	8	10	UN… divided …But even if the UN does decide
			revolt …not … by success but rather by
			1,000…slain…he has seen nothing frightening
			trial is…important… But…others in Egypt
Juxtaposition (6)	8	9	keep on talking, he can in reality keep on killing
			more his forces kill…it will inflame protest
			Qaddafi is allowed…country…will suffer.
			Egyptians – Christians and Muslims…convinced
Propaganda (7)	4	5	they…are the liars…Assad has not kept his word
			protesters doubt … Assad's intentions
			Syria and its dwindling band of friends claim
			Saleh...Yemen…counterpart Damascus…wake up
Alliteration (8)	9	12	Qaddafi's command and control compound
			this bloody and barbaric regime
			their policy in Syria is a pure power play
			drowsing and dithering…abuse of absolute
Rhetorical Questions (9)	5	5	When will this agony end?
			But will they blow away Muammar Qaddafi?
			How many innocents…die … world comes…?
			What is … a 15-day ultimatum for dialogue?

Table 5.4 continued.

Parallelism (10)	4	4	fight … the last man…last woman…last bullet
			has to come…only come, from other Arab states
			fair that civil protest…fair…butcher…fair
Number Game (11)	9	11	thousands of Libyans have been killed
			2,200 Syrians have been killed since the
			crackdown began in March
			numbers of civilians killed in Yemen
			700 detainees…
			opposition claims … 30,000 more

Source: A content analysis of the AN editorials

5.6 Modes of Persuasion

Out of twenty-four editorial sources, seventy references were coded in three child nodes (see Table 5.5) based on ethos, pathos and logos used by the AN editors.

5.6.1 Ethos

The first category of ethos, as a mode of persuasion, was examined in twenty-four editorial references extracted from twenty-four sources (see Table 5.5). The editors built the ethos that RCD in Tunisia destroyed its remaining credibility, *unwilling to share power*, through the evidence that the party disrupted the 'change' and raised doubts about the new government in the country. Another ethical appeal declared that normally at the time of conflicts *the world looks* to the UN to resolve issues but it flailed in Libya. With this evidence of the UN's failure, the editorial ethos suggested

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that the Arab League should *authorize* military strikes on Libya to rescue the protesters. Similarly, another ethical appeal claimed that the UN's reluctance indicated failure, *pointlessness,* of international bodies. The editorial also emphasised that it was meaningless for the UN to wait for USA, *host* country, to take initiatives against Libya. The editorial ethos *never been known for a firm grip on reality* (AN, May 24, 2012) declared that the Libyan leader was unaware of the reality of the Arab Spring or the protesters' demands. With full awareness of the issue, the editors also highlighted dangers involved in any type of foreign intervention (s) in Libya but it simultaneously justified that the risks of *inaction* by foreign powers, against Libya, were even greater.

Similarly, the editorial claim *everyone knows* emphasised that Qaddafi should not be viewed as a credible person based on the evidence that he was capable of doing what he threatened. The ethos-based remark, *true to character*, portrayed Qaddafi's strange personality and declared that he vowed to *fight* to the last moment. Another ethical appeal *indeed it is clear* demonstrated the editorial knowledge about the gravity of situation in Yemen. It was also asserted that the Yemeni President should resign from government to avoid Yemen's *instability*. In Egypt, the ethical appeal claimed that the protesters certainly, *without doubt*, would not accept, *mere show*, anything less than justice in Mubarak's trial as cited in the following comment:

> Without doubt, this is a critical point in Egypt's eventful history. This is why it is important for everyone concerned, especially the country's new leaders, to ensure that nothing but justice prevails. Nor would they [protesters] appreciate a mere show of a trial to please the groundlings or certain sections of the gallery. (AN, April 15, 2011)

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Through another ethos-oriented comment, *Assad's calculation [was] quite clear* (AN, March 30, 2012), it was portrayed that the Syrian President was determined to kill his own protesting nationals. The ethical appeal, *in the eyes of some*, made the readers believe that efforts made by the Arab League in monitoring violence and maintaining peace in Syria became doubtful when it untruly gave a satisfactory report about Syrians' massacre. This opinion was supported by the evidence that when the city of Homs was *embattled* one of the League's observers, under the pressure of the Syrian authorities, claimed that nothing was *frightening* in Syria. The ethical appeal was further enhanced through the comment that the League's monitor incurred strong reaction, *a storm of protests*, from the Syrian opposition. Similarly, the opinion established that the opposition groups in Syria were *right* by not participating in any meetings which demanded Assad's inclusion in transitional government. However, the ethos was also established through the opinion that the Syrian opposition groups were wrong, they made Assad's task *easier*, by not providing any unified action against the Syrian regime.

5.6.2 Pathos

To obtain details about this particular mode of persuasion, pathos, twenty-four editorial references were examined from twenty-four sources (see Table 5.5). For instance, an emotional appeal was created through the lexical selections such as *euphoric* and *celebration* to portray the success of Tunisians for getting *infinite* opportunities after decades. The editorial pathos established that the situation in Yemen was not promising either due to *bloodshed*. Moreover, it was claimed that there was no speedy solution of the conflict, *way out of the impasse* (AN, March 25,

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2011), due to bad relationship between the pro and anti-regime groups and Yemen was *likely* to split. In Egypt, it was declared that Mubarak never allowed Egyptians for years to have any demands and instead he suppressed all forms of *discontent*. Based on this evidence, an emotional appeal was created through the opinion that justice would overcome and all those who betray the trust (*abuse [the] trust reposed in them by God and by people*, AN, April 15, 2011) will be held accountable for their misdeeds. The editorial pathos also reflected that with the backing of some international powers the rulers of the Arab Spring countries misrepresented the religion, *bogey of Islam*, to frighten the world and people of the revolutionary ideology held by the Islamist parties and thus validated their rule at *gun point*.

The AN editorial also established its pathos through the claim that during Qaddafi's 42-year-old regime all protests were suppressed with utmost *brutality*. Through such a historical reference, an alarming situation was created as to what would happen to the fate of the Arab Spring protesters. Another pathos-centric opinion shared with the readers that Qaddafi killed people, *in the name of the people* (AN, February 22, 2011), and tried to crush revolts despite his claims that Libyans loved him. The lexical choice *crying* conveyed the message that Libyans needed assistance and the paper urged on the Arab League to take an instant action and protect the protesters from the regime forces. It was asserted that such actions would make the Arab League earn commendations, *make them heroes*, from Arab nations and Libyans. The opinion evidenced that the Tunisian and Egyptian armed forces were geographically best placed to take strike against Qaddafi as these countries had experienced the same uprisings. Similarly, through the editorial choice *brothers and sisters* the AN referred

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to Libyans and urged on the Arab nations to help the protesters who faced repression from the authorities which hunted them and killed them like animals through their *mercenaries*. It was claimed that thousands of *innocent*, defenceless and *helpless* Libyans protesters were killed in cold blood by Qaddafi's hired security forces. Later, at the time of Qaddafi's death, the paper invited the readers to celebrate the *euphoria* of the Libyan people by declaring that their repression ended with Qaddafi's demise.

The editorial pathos claimed that for Syrian Muslims even the Eid (the holy day of celebration) turned *tumultuous* as they were sacrificing their lives for bringing 'change' through the Arab Spring. The editorial built the pathos by portraying that civilians in Syria were brutally killed, through crackdowns by the Syrian regime, which included *women and children* as well. Through emotionally loaded judgements like *systematic onslaught* and *carnage*, it was also revealed that the protesters in Syria were targeted by the regime forces. An emotional appeal was also constructed through the comments that Assad's regime not only unleashed *a reign of terror* during the Arab Spring but Syrians were also made to suffer *tyranny* of the Baath party for almost 50 years. The editors also used remarks such as *immediate redress* and *immediate action* to urge the Arab League monitors to save the victimized Syrians. The metaphor *killing machine* was employed to portray the cruel policies of Assad against the protesters. The appeals to emotions also asserted that the Syrian regime forces butchered, *in cold blood,* the families of those who supported the protesters. It was circulated that the Syrian security forces *tortured* and *abused* school children for anti-regime slogans. Further, the editorial remarked that *paramilitary thugs* loyal to Assad even brutally killed civilians who were *hand-cuffed*. The editorial excerpt

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below exemplifies the construction of pathos through the editorial comments such as

blood, lives, atrocities, brutal:

> Too much blood has flowed. Too many lives have been wasted and too many atrocities have been perpetrated, for Assad, the chief architect of the brutal repression of his own people. (AN, June 20, 2012)

5.6.3 Logos

Analysis of the Arab Spring editorials revealed that the AN editors employed logically charged lexical items to portray the Arab Spring. Approximately, the editors made twenty-three editorial references drawn from twenty-four sources (see Table 5.5). For instance, a logical appeal was constructed to declare the year 2011 as a *momentous year* or the *Year of Arab Revolutions* (AN, January 20, 2012) for two reasons: first, as claimed, in this year popular calls were made by the public to give their *verdict* for the Islamist parties by removing the autocratic regimes and, secondly, there were uncertainties in the region caused by the Arab Spring. The opinion rationalised that transition in the aftermath of the Arab revolution should take place democratically, *people's mandate*, to establish new governments. The editors inserted the lexical choices such as *endless* and *absolute power* to rationalise that President Saleh in Yemen and Assad in Syria must step down and quit their eternal powers of long duration as cited in the following logos-based opinion:

> However, whether it is Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen or his counterpart in Damascus, they have to wake up to the reality that change has come to the Middle East. The age of endless and absolute power is over. (AN, October 19, 2011)

The logical appeal asserted that the Arab states were responsible for helping Libyans and they must not be abandoned, *avoided or betrayed* based on the rational that Libyans were *butchered* for their efforts. The editorial also rationalised Libyans'

action of launching anti-regime protests through the comment that they were sincerely devoted to the notion of *democracy*; they were absolutely prepared to run future affairs of their country; and they were capable of deciding about their new rulers – *who* would take over. The lexical choice *stable transition* represented that transitional phase in Tunisia would be guaranteed only if the members of the old regime did not interfere. This editorial logic was supported by the historical reference that situation in Iraq had turned *deadly* due to interference of old regime members. The opinion emphasized that the UN backed coalition bombed entire cities, *indiscriminately*, instead of targeting Qaddafi's forces. Such an opinion pointed out that coalition forces put lives of Libyans in *jeopardy* as they were not sanctioned any freedom, *carte blanche*, to destroy innocent citizens blindly. Mubarak's trial was portrayed as *momentous* for several reasons. First, historically few leaders were charged, *accused of abuses*, and brought to trial. Second, the trial was crucial as Mubarak governed Egypt – a leading nation among Arabs due to its cultural and intellectual importance. Third, his trial would reflect *far reaching* implications for other dictatorial regimes in the Arab Spring countries. Fourth, he never permitted people to vote for the candidates of their own choice during one-party rule. Finally, Mubarak practiced authoritarian tactics through his oppressive security organs to *intimidate* people.

The logos-centric appeal portrayed that the Arab League did not suspend Syria's membership or demand Assad's removal, *step aside*, for the reason that it never wanted to see humiliation of another Arab Leader, *toppled violently and dragged through the streets* (AN, April 12, 2011), as it happened with the Libyan leader Qaddafi. However, the paper claimed that the League also took substantial measures,

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shed its impotence, to persuade President Assad when all other proposals had failed. The editorial logos rationalised that China and Russia did not *desert* the Syrian regime for two reasons. First, both the countries exploited the negligence shown by the United States and international community, *powerlessness*, which failed to reach any agreement for keeping peace in Syria. Second, Russia's support of Assad was based on the reason that Russia one day might remove Assad and in return demand, *price for that cooperation* (AN, June 20, 2012), the Syrian naval bases at the Mediterranean. Another logical opinion also accused the Syrian National Council for not raising their concern as a unified entity to truly represent the Syrian opposition groups and resolve the conflict; rather the *bloc* was portrayed as divided. Table 5.5 displays the lexical choices used by the AN editors to create ethical, emotional and logical appeals.

Table 5.5

Analysis of Modes of Persuasion in the AN Editorials

Parent node = Modes of persuasion		
⇩		
Child nodes (Sources = 24 , References = 70)		
⇩		
Ethos oriented lexis	**Emotionally charged lexis**	**Logic oriented lexis**
Sources =24 / Ref. = 24	Sources = 24 / Ref. = 23	Sources = 24 / Ref. = 23
destroyed…credibility	no end to the riots	Iraq has shown
broad political spectrum	kills the people	on the streets
unwilling to share power	rescue the Libyans	it should have been
world looks to the UN	make them heroes	every day wasted
risks of inaction	isolated people	they cannot simply

Table 5.5 continued.

everyone knows	immensely courageous	that doesn't, however
true to character	fears	there will not be peace
dug in vowing to fight	bombing	if this is the way
indeed it is clear	continuing savagery	as the intellectual
without doubt	defenceless civilian	even so, few world leaders
in the eyes of some	further bloodshed	there is every reason
quite clear	abuse of power	as the Libyan endgame
spinelessness	use of deadly force	seen for years
yet no one knows	unarmed protesters	however, whether it is
an obvious answer	share in the euphoria	it's important therefore
by the looks of things	died…Ramadan	will fail to overshadow
accountable for	discord and violence	nonetheless, they should
without saying	rule at gunpoint	even if the Assad regime
has to wake up	harassment…authorities	it is not just that
vote… important	victims	it is perhaps not much
it was only natural	horrors	whoever he is
this so-called Spring	abused in custody	it should be warned of
seem incapable of	guns are still firing	every day makes it clearer
wants to see	no sign	last but not least
have to listen to	testified to... assaults	if Mubarak
pure power play	unemployment	year of Arab revolutions
seems destined	low wages	far reaching ramifications
Islamists must do more	young people	right to reason

Table 5.5 continued.

the lesson is	well-qualified graduates	price for that cooperation
the time is coming	blood-thirsty	people's mandate
the truth is that	slaughtering	precisely because of
success stemmed from	too much blood	rebels have good reason to
it suggests that	bloody crackdown	there is every reason
it is clear	brothers and sisters	major reason why Ennahda
destabilized…regime	immediate action	momentous year
is nothing to do with	crying out for help	the ever more evident
has been cast into doubt	cold blood, carnage	certainly
12 months have see	hand-cuffed civilians	is over
most inspiring	brutal execution	ambitious though

Source: A content analysis of the AN editorials

5.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the data analysis relating to the Arab Spring portrayal by the Saudi newspaper (AN) editorials. It discusses the emerging themes which included protest, horror, revolution, political instability, democracy, global intervention, dictatorship, internal threats, regional intervention and future developments. These themes were analysed through the content analysis of twenty-four Arab Spring editorials. The chapter also presents the four-step analysis, based on van Dijk's theoretical framework, of (a) the schematic categories, (b) ideological square and (c) rhetorical devices and (d) the modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos) based on Aristotle's concept. The following chapter discusses the findings obtained from the NI and AN editorials.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the Arab Spring portrayal by the NI and AN, and answers the research questions. The analysis of the two discourses has revealed similar and consistent patterns in the editorial use of themes, schematic categories, ideological square, rhetorical devices and modes of persuasion. These discourse strategies constructed a 'pro-Arab Spring' opinion in two different sociocultural settings (Arab and non-Arab), namely, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The chapter also unfolds how the two newspapers adopted a similar stance of promoting the Arab Spring sentiments, backing the protesters and opposing the authorities which have been portrayed as 'others'/'them' (out-group). The editorial opinions exhibited more similarities and fewer differences and narrated the same story of the Arab Spring regardless of their contextual setting.

6.2 Pro-Arab Spring Discourse: An Overview

Given that the two countries (Pakistan and Saudi Arabia) have not experienced the Arab Spring, I considered it meaningful to analyse how the 'media voice' constructed the uprising from afar. These events were considered a turning point in the history of Arab nations which toppled some regimes (Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya) and made others soften their policies towards the public. As a non-Arab country, Pakistan provided the 'outsider' perspective on the Arab Spring from outside the Arab world. The selection of Pakistan was also made to examine how the events were realised in one of the Muslim majority countries. The newspaper from Pakistan (NI) is locally-

oriented paper and targets the local audience. On the contrary, Saudi Arabia provided the 'insider' perspective of the events due to its geographical, regional, cultural proximity to the Arab Spring countries. The Saudi newspaper (AN) targets both the local and regional audiences.

Regardless of the assumed 'insider-outsider' and 'in-group - out-group' dichotomy, both the newspapers supported the Arab Spring. However, the AN remaining an insider/in-group voice has demonstrated more concern about the Arab Spring developments and the actors than the NI. The overview of the findings reveals that the editorial voices of the NI and AN unanimously criticized the decade-old autocratic regimes but mostly remained optimistic about the Arab Spring, despite sharing some uncertainties, as detailed in the subsequent parts of the chapter. Nevertheless, when it comes to human suffering, it is not a surprise that the two newspapers share the suffering of the people (victims). This demonstrates that the selected newspapers have 'nothing to lose' as there are not the mouthpiece of the protest-affected countries. Typically, a pro-government media approach will not oppose any ruling party.

The similarity of findings in the NI and AN editorial content cannot be associated with any elements of objectivity. Since the newspaper editors construct events through their evaluative beliefs (van Dijk, 1995c), it is emphasised that the Arab Spring portrayal was not based on mere objective reporting of the conflict. Rather, the protests received a serious media attention in the selected countries as illustrated in the preceding chapters related to the NI (see Chapter 4) and AN (see Chapter 5) portrayals. For instance, while analysing the sampled editorials, it has been found that

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the editors used a similar set of themes to disseminate their opinion. Similarly, the editorial writers frequently used the schematic categories of definition, evaluation and conclusion to draw a 'pro-change' picture of the uprising. The editors also used positive lexical attributions to represent the protesters who were victimized by the authorities when they tried to suppress anti-regime protests. Thus, the editorial policy of emphasizing and de-emphasizing the Arab Spring development has been a common strategy in the discourses of both the newspapers.

Moreover, the editorial staff ideologically believed in the binary approach of 'us' and 'them' in representing the actors (protesters vs. authorities) through the discourse strategy of 'positive representation of us' for the protesters and 'negative representation of them' for the authorities. The notion of ideological square has revealed the use of derogatory and depreciatory lexical choices made by the editors to construct the authorities. Such lexical choices went beyond simple description of referring to the authorities as rulers or leaders. The papers highlighted that the authorities instead of surrendering to the protesters' demands continued to rule autocratically through self-legitimization of their autocratic governments. On the contrary, the editorial opinions of the NI and AN inclined to the protesters and their anti-regime voices were deemphasized as their last resort to seek democratic changes. Hence, both the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers adopted the strategy of in-group (*us*) and out-group (*them*) in representing the Arab Spring actors; they legitimized the actions of the protesters demanding 'change' and delegitimized all those elements that opposed the 'change' or sided with the authorities. Also, the editorial use of rhetorical devices such as comparison, metaphors and exaggeration significantly contributed to

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construct a pro-Arab Spring discourse. Likewise, the editorial usage of the modes of persuasion, namely, ethos, pathos and logos unequivocally persuaded the readers to trust the protesters' aspiration for 'change'. The newspapers rightly acknowledged painful experiences and heavy losses caused to 'pro-change' protesters.

6.3 Thematic Revelations: From Protests to Regime Changeovers

The findings reveal that the NI and AN have commonly shared their editorial perspectives on all major developments of the Arab Spring analysed as themes (e.g., see Tables 4.1 and 5.1). These themes included protest, horror, revolution, politically instability, democracy, global intervention, dictatorship, internal threats, regional intervention and future developments. The two newspapers unanimously acknowledged the contagious Arab Spring protests which instilled the spirit of 'change' at home and overseas starting from Tunisia to Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. For instance, the NI used lexical choices *mass protests, street action* to represent the Arab Spring protests and the AN employed lexical choices such as *massive marches, a storm of protests* to portray the protests. Several editorials also acknowledged the scenes of horror (e.g., *mass arrests, violenc*e – NI, *deadly revolt, horrific and terrifying* - AN) related to the killings of the Arab Spring protesters by the authorities especially in Libya and Syria. Such scenarios made the readers convinced to recognise the protesters' sufferings.

Both the NI and AN newspapers positively recognised the Arab Spring as a series of revolutions for bringing 'change' demanded by the public in the affected nations (*revolution in process* – NI, *people's revolution* – AN). The papers objected to the

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autocratic regimes of Ben Ali in Tunisia, Ali Saleh in Yemen, Mubarak in Egypt, Qaddafi in Libya and Assad in Syria that were mostly ruled by one-party dictatorship. Hence, the lack of political institutions and the need for extensive political establishments was desperately realised (*political polarities* – NI, *broad political spectrum* – AN). The newspapers unanimously blamed these authoritarian governments (*tyranny and dictatorship* – NI, *dictatorial powers* – AN) for, first, provoking rebellion due to their harsh policies in the pre-Arab Spring era and, later, cruelly suppressing the demands made by 'pro-change' protesters.

Similarly, the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers have openly supported the Arab Spring as the protesters' movement for bringing about 'democracy' in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria through the lexical selections like *democratic elections, democratic rights* (NI) and *notion of democracy*, *historic election* (AN). In a sense, the papers accepted undemocratic repressions faced by these 'pro-change' protesters. As seen, the NI and AN openly praised democratic transitions in Tunisia and Egypt. The theme 'global intervention' demonstrated that the selected newspapers opposed the involvement of Russia and China in supporting the Syrian regime (*Russia and China…refuse* – NI, *Russia, China…undermine* – AN). The newspapers unanimously endorsed military strikes against Qaddafi to favour the 'change' in Libya. The NI and AN shared their opinion about several types of 'internal threats' as potential dangers to impede democratic transitions and 'change' through the Arab Spring. These threats involved the negative role of military (*military…the guarantors* – NI, *army…stabilizing force* – AN), divided opposition in Syria and tribal factions in Yemen and Libya.

On the issue of 'regional intervention' by the Arab League in Libya, the AN remained more proactive (*authorize military intervention*) in pushing the Arab states to attack the Libyan regime. In contrast, the NI never insisted on the League to attack the Libyan authorities. However, both the newspapers have positively discussed interventions made by the Arab League in Syria, to solve the conflict, and instead criticised President Assad for his refusal to step down. The newspapers also made several remarks to express their apprehensions about future developments, *many uncertainties* (NI) and *future challenge* (AN), in the post-Arab Spring scenario that included interference by old regime members, weak economies and uncertainty of democratic transitions. Such editorial revelations imply that both the newspapers intended to see the success of the Arab Spring, by rejecting the autocratic authorities, which they fully backed and thus respected the protesters' demands.

6.4 Media Portrayal under National Compliance

The thematic revelations of the NI and AN have supported the notion that the media portrayed the Arab Spring in compliance with their national or organizationally policy of legitimising some and de-legitimising others. Contrary to the current study, Abushouk (2014) claimed that the American magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, rightly discussed root causes of the Arab Spring but expressed their serious apprehensions about the victory of Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt which "alarmed the two magazines" (p. 104). These two magazines portrayed the uprising in compliance with their own interests by claiming that the Islamist parties were not in "favour of American foreign policy in the region" (p. 104.) As a result, the two magazines

remained passive about the massacre of the Syrian protesters with uncertainties that Islamists may come to power in Syria as well (Abushouk, 2014).

Similarly, Harlow and Johnson (2011) found that *The New York Times* in its coverage of the 2011 Egyptian protests employed the media patterns that marginalized and undermined the protesters' actions. Instead, the newspaper under its policy compliance privileged official news sources sponsored by the Egyptian government and ignored the large scale protesters who were ready to give interviews at Tahrir Square. Thus, *The New York Times* did not attend to the protesters' demands.

The media portrayal of the Arab Spring by the NI and AN contrast with the findings of the above studies. As seen, the selected mainstream newspapers in both the Muslim countries (Pakistan and Saudi Arabia) acknowledged the 'change' instigated by the Arab Spring protesters and praised the results of elections (*Islamist yes* – NI, *whoever gets people's mandate* – AN) won by the Islamist parties in Tunisia and Egypt. Thus, the NI and AN rejected the Western media's portrayal of the Islamist parties as unexpected out of the Arab Spring (Abushouk, 2014) and opposed the official version of the uprising in Egypt (Harlow & Johnson, 2011).

The findings of the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi newspapers (AN) also point at varying roles played by the news media under different circumstances. During the Arab Spring, the public turned to the news media for information, as seen during the eighteen-day rebellion against Mubarak's authoritarian rule, which "struggled to shape the public by framing" (p. 1) the uprising in their own unique ways. For

instance, the news media content in Egypt, semi-official newspapers (*Al-Ahram, Al-Akhbar, Al-Messa* and *Al-Jomhoriya*), that was highly influenced by the government portrayed the Arab Spring as a conspiracy against Mubarak's regime (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2012). Hence, it advocated the media practice of 'changing roles' and shaping the public opinion under a specific agenda or context.

6.5 Schematic Representation of Arab Spring

Evidently, the use of schematic categories (definition, evaluation and conclusion) in the editorial texts of the NI and AN (e.g., Tables 4.2 and 5.2) demonstrate that structurally the Arab spring editorials were complete (van Dijk, 1988a). The strategy of employing these schematic categories aimed at making the editorial portrayal more convincing and coherent form of discourse for the readers. These categories have rendered a constructive criticism, identified problems and delivered solutions related to the Arab Spring. The 'definition' category has been used to summarise the events by simply introducing the situation factually or ideologically through the evaluative beliefs of the editors. The 'evaluation' category has represented the 'good', protesters and 'pro-change' developments, and the 'bad', anti-Arab Spring elements and authorities, aspects of the Arab Spring. Meanwhile, the 'conclusion' category, has been used to conclude the editorials by giving solutions, advice, recommendations and sharing editorial expectations. Overall, these schematic categories appear to be more critical of the ruling authorities than the Arab Spring protesters as discussed below.

6.5.1 Defining the Situation: Winds of Change

The 'definition' category in the NI editorials (Table 4.2) positively conveyed success of the Tunisian revolutions. For instance, the lexical choice *political parties* implied that the paper welcomed the 'change' in Tunisia and preferred a diverse political structure to a repressive rule held by one-party. Following Tunisia, the editorial anticipated another Arab Spring in Egypt but later represented a gloomy picture, *a kind of limbo,* of the situation in Egypt to convince the readers that the protesters did not get a tangible victory. Mubarak's future was negatively portrayed and dismissal of the Egyptian authorities was considered a positive development towards democracy through the lexical choices such as *a new era for Egyptians*. In favour of the Arab Spring, the NI supported democratic transitions which were positively predicted to grant empowerment to Egyptians for exercising their autonomous privileges in selecting new candidates.

The decade-long political instability and dictatorship in the affected countries was negatively shared with the readers through the lexical choices such as *dictators*. The paper mockingly undermined Qaddafi's address to the public during the uprising, dissociated itself from the actions of the Libyan authorities, *little hope of victory*, and promoted pro-protester sympathy. This schematic category has been utilized to accuse the old regime members for causing chaos in Libya and hence depicted a negative picture of the regime's tyrannical strategies such as *mistitled Arab Spring*. Evidently, in favour of the Arab Spring, the paper clearly emphasized that the Syrian President Assad should quit as early as possible and stop oppressing the Syrian people. This category enabled the NI editorial staff to condemn the Syrian ruler, through words

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such as *bloody repression*, for misusing his dictatorial powers and to remain in power through dreadful policies. The Syrian authorities were negatively held responsible for prolonging the conflict. The NI also blamed the Syrian opposition groups which remained *fragmentary*, became an impediment to peace and failed, *inability*, to dislodge Assad by remaining divided. Overall, this schematic category circulated anti-regime but pro-Arab Spring position of the Pakistani newspaper.

The 'definition' category used in the AN editorials (Table 5.2) publicized that the paper never wanted to see the protesters disappointed during the Arab Spring. For instance, the situation in Tunisia was encouragingly acknowledged as *unique* compared to other countries of the Arab Spring as it had triggered the 'change'. The use of this category positively summarised the paper's contentment with Tunisians' achievements, through the judgements like *national unity,* and endorsed the expulsion of a dictatorial regime. The AN upheld the 'change' and nullified the stay of the authorities in Yemen. Likewise, the arrest of the Egyptian President and his son was positively portrayed as a historic change in the country through the editorial remark *history was on the march*. Such editorial comments implied that the Arab Spring brought unprecedented results that were even unthinkable before the events broke out. The negative remarks about the Egyptian regime revealed that the paper accepted the protesters' endeavours for bringing 'change'. The AN also appreciated the spirit of pro-Arab Spring Egyptians who daringly challenged the deep-rooted regime and anticipated an early *victory* in the elections.

In support of the Arab Spring, the AN also necessitated an urgent help, *now*, for trapped Libyans in order to avoid more deaths and losses of the protesters. In its absolute desire for backing the protesters, the newspaper expressed its dissatisfaction, through the lexical *finally woken up*, over the delay in the UN's actions that proved ineffective in taking coercive measures against the Libyan ruler. The personality of Qaddafi was also negatively introduced to the readers through the blame that he broke his promise of ceasefire and remained so-called visionary. Similarly, the Syrian President Assad was also negatively defined as a constant violator of peace deals, who lost his credibility and was doubted for his bad intentions about using delaying strategies – described as *political tactics*. The paper frequently exposed the predicaments faced by the Syrian protesters, depicted their horrible situation and drew attention to indifferent response of the authorities. To make the Arab Spring an achievement for Syrians and to save the protesters' lives, the paper firmly rejected and criticised Russia's supply of arms to the Syrian regime against the protesters. As found, the paper wanted the Syrian opposition to remain united, a *united front*, against Assad for making the Arab Spring a success story. This schematic category has revealed 'pro-change' stance of the Saudi newspaper.

6.5.2 Evaluation of the Events: The Process of Change

Through the 'evaluation' category (Table 4.2), the NI editors favoured the protesters by pointing out the slow progress of democracy. The editorial blamed the followers of the old regime for interrupting the process of 'change'. It was negatively evaluated that Tunisians had undergone a dictatorial government for decades and therefore transition to an ideal democratic establishment would not be as quick as implied in the

editorial comment turning on *the faucet* of democracy. Another negative declaration of the NI editors persuaded the readers that Tunisians were right in protesting as they inherited *poverty* from their previous rulers. Similarly, another negative assessment against the authorities was made through the comment that the protesters' failure to choose a political candidate might promote confidence in Mubarak's regime and postpone his departure. It implies that the paper never approved the stay of the authorities in Egypt. The political role of the Egyptian military was disliked through the blame that it wanted to destabilize democracy and was also blamed for causing *frustration* and *anger* among the public.

In describing the Libyan Arab Spring, the NI editors also made several evaluative beliefs which aimed at protecting Libyans from the regime's forces. The newspaper conveyed its uncertainty about the success of international strikes against Libya. It wanted the UN to adopt more effective measures, *how effective*..., against the Libyan regime. The NI justified Libyans' action of launching the Arab Spring protests through the claim that they had tolerated 40-year-old regime of Qaddafi, *no power other*…without any democratic government. The NI strongly opposed the Syrian regime for its non-serious attitude towards resolving the conflict and blamed Assad for promoting sectarian violence in Syria. The editorial openly rejected Assad's claim that he stood for everyone with equality and justice through the comment *Sunnis completely peel away* from the regime. The paper also refused to accept reports released by the Arab League's observers about the Syrian city of Homos that everything was satisfactory. Hence, the paper was not in favour of Assad's regime. It

totally overruled the way Russia and China favoured Assad and made the UN unproductive, *hamstrung*, to take action against the Syrian regime.

The 'evaluation' category by the AN editorial (see Table 5.2) also abolished any non-democratic system of governance in Tunisia. The paper was inclined to promote democracy in Tunisia; it has positively evaluated the victory of the Islamist party, Ennahda …*successful*, in an optimistic way and endorsed the people's will of voting for Islamists. However, the paper also shared its discontentment with the readers that the process of transition might be disrupted, *disaster*, by the militants or army in Tunisia. As implied, the threats made by the Yemeni President to stay in power were disapproved by the AN in favour of the regime change. The paper never expected any stability in the case of Yemen, *explosive failed state*, by negatively evaluating the separatist groups as threats. The opinion also validated the demands of the Egyptian protesters against the illegal protection given by the military to its previous *boss* President Mubarak. The negative editorial beliefs of the AN exposed how badly and dishonestly Mubarak ruled for decades and his supporters even deliberately conspired against their own countrymen as witnessed in the editorial use of the opinion *discord* as a survival policy. The paper accepted the importance of the Arab Spring in Egypt by highlighting the historical and regional significance of the country.

The AN employed the word *threat* to point out the bad aspect of the Libyan authorities and blamed them for threatening the protesters to surrender. The paper was reluctant to approve that the UN's proposal of a no-fly zone would save Libyans as seen in the editorial remark *not going to protect*. It implied that the paper wanted

more severe actions against Qaddafi. Through the use of 'evaluation' category, the AN also doubted the intention of the Western military coalition by negatively commenting that such a coalition might deliberately prolong its stay in Libya for strategic reasons as demonstrated in the editorial advices that the coalition *must stick to peacekeeping* only. The paper acknowledged the Arab League monitors' hard work, *difficult task*, for resolving the Syrian conflict and blamed that all peace diplomacies failed due to cynical attitude of Assad, as seen in the remarks *no interest in negotiations*. The paper disapprovingly stated that Russia would never abandon Assad and was even willing to damage its international reputation by backing Assad. The newspaper believed that the Arab League and the UN member states, Russia and China, did not treat the Syrian regime harshly. To favour the 'change', the AN declared that it was not rational to support the Syrian regime at any level as it treated the Arab Spring protesters with utmost brutality.

6.5.3 The End Remarks: What Next?

Through the 'conclusion' category (Table 4.2), the NI editors expressed their satisfaction about the Arab Spring in Tunisia and approved the 'change' of regime as a *truly* post-colonial era. The NI positively recommended solutions to overcome challenges faced by new administrations and ensured constructive developments. The opinion favourably concluded that Egyptians voted freely in the *modern history* of the country but negatively anticipated that the military would jeopardize free and fair democratic transition, *growth process*, through its forcible interference in politics. On the contrary, the paper optimistically predicted that 'change' through the Arab Spring would become inevitable despite hurdles placed by the Egyptian authorities. The

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editors of the NI also acknowledged the 'change' trigged by the Arab Spring in Libya and anti-regime (Qaddafi) developments were praised as the events of global significance. The editorial even approved an outside assistance, *help and support*, for the democracy to take place in Libya.

The NI positively anticipated an early outcome of the Arab Spring in the form of people's elected administration in Libya even much before the murder of Qaddafi. The paper also admitted uncertainties in rebuilding Tunisia, Egypt and Libya as seen in the comments *battle for reconstruction*. The paper was found pessimistic about any future solution, *no fix*, for the Syrian conflict in comparison with other Arab Spring countries. It openly directed to resolve the Syrian issue through peace mediation and diplomatic means as we see in the editorial comment *put pressure on Russia and China* to accept the *ceasefire plan* arranged by the UN's representative. Though the editorial disapproved military strikes on Syria, it shared its apprehensions about the continued unrest in Syria. The NI never predicted a respectable exit for Assad as implied in the comment *omens are poor*. Instead, it expected a humiliating end for the Syrian President as faced by Qaddafi or Saddam. Against the Syrian regime and in support of the Arab Spring, it was highly suggested that Assad should be made isolated from getting any international backing including China and Russia, especially, and the Muslim world.

The schematic category of 'conclusion' (Table 5.2) witnessed how the AN endorsed Tunisians' demand of establishing a democratic administration and rejected, *days clearly numbered*, the old regime. The paper found it a good opportunity for

Tunisians to have free and fair elections through the revolution. To make the Arab Spring as a democratic change, the AN advised the world powers and the Gulf countries to help elevate the social and economic status of Tunisia, *struggling economy*. The paper also wanted to see the replication of the Tunisian success in other countries and therefore blatantly endorsed the departure of the Yemeni President by representing him the main cause of trouble. To oppose the Egyptian regime, it was concluded that Mubarak abused the *trust* religiously and he should be made answerable for his misdeeds without which Egyptians' demands would not come true - *unfinished affair*. Also, Egypt's case of trying the ruling elite in the court was positively recommended as a *catalyst* for certifying the Arab Spring.

A reproachful editorial conclusion by the AN editors held Qaddafi responsible for giving out poverty to his people and accused him of wasting country's resources, *oil wealth*. The right of Libyans to demand change through the Arab Spring was positively viewed as the editorial presented an optimistic, *green,* picture of Libya's future. Further, to back Libyans, a sincere advice was made to the Arabs countries to *help* the troubled protesters in support of their struggle for causing 'change'. Similarly, the paper strongly advised the battling insurgents and armed groups to unite on one platform, *must reach consensus*, for a new Libya. Likewise, in the case of Syria, an alarming 'prediction' was made, *people's nightmare*, that Syria would not settle down until the intensified violence was subsided. The editorial ended with the accusation that the Syrian authorities launched brutal actions against the protesters and urged the international community to shun their *silence* on Syria. The Syrian National Council was criticised for deliberately ignoring the peace efforts made by the

Arab League. To resolve the Syrian conflict, the paper cautioned the regime that refusing, showing *contempt* for any international peace settlements would be foolishness. As we see in the editorial remark, *sickening* and *agony*, the editorial disapprovingly remarked against the shelter given by the Russian and China to the Syrian regime.

6.6 Media Portrayal under Schematic Constraints

The findings of the NI and AN conform to the theoretical perception that such schematic categories describe the overall form of discourse which is fixed for each type of text. The function of these categories is to determine overall ordering of episodes in stories, narratives or news discourse. A news article begins with the conventional category of summary and ends with a comment section containing conclusion, expectation, speculation or other information about events shared by journalists (van Dijk, 1985f). From the perspective of news production, most forms of discourse that is processed institutionally or professionally exhibit such fixed categorical properties. These properties facilitate production of the news text in a routine as demonstrated in this study. This is consistent with van Dijk's (1986a) notion that as a part of professional constraints, journalists (editors) work with conventional or shared categories that define well-structured news reports. For instance, editorials are known for recapitulating or summarising events or focussing on specific action or actors. However, such practices of summarization, selection or focussing take place through ideologically framed opinions. Situations are first defined or redefined and then explained or evaluated. Moreover, the descriptions of

events in editorials are hardly restrained by any kind of assumed objectivity (van Dijk, 1989b) as reflected in this study on the Arab Spring.

6.7 Democratic Aspect of Arab Spring

The editorial support extended by the NI and AN for democratic aspects of the Arab Spring also conforms to Ha's (2013) findings that international media, outside the affected countries, portrayed the Arab Spring as an "expression of democratic aspirations by the Arab people" (pp. 217-218). Ha compared the Arab Spring coverage in the opinion pieces of the American (*The New York Times, The Washington Post*) and South Korean newspapers (*The Chosun Daily*, *The Joongang Daily*, *The Hankyoreh Daily*, *The Kyunghyang Daily*). It was claimed that the most prominent ideological packages delivered by the American and Korean journalists acknowledged the Arab Spring as a part of democratic transformations sought by the people in the countries like Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. Thus, the editorials as the medium have been accredited as "the major conduits" (p. 58) by mean of which the news organisation express their judgments and views about such public issues. Further, in relation to the Arab Spring portrayal, the editorials have been found conducive in investigating various themes employed by the mainstream newspapers.

The pro-Arab Spring media portrayal by the NI and AN was also confirmed by Dağtaş (2013) who investigated the uprising in Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria covered by six Turkish newspapers: pro-government (*Star*, *Zaman*, *Daily Sabah*) and anti-government (*Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Taraf*). Dağtaş found that the newspapers

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created a positive image of the Arab Spring by portraying "the positivity of Arab upheavals" and negative image of the oppressing regimes by portraying "the negativity of the oppressive regimes" (p. 30). The researcher maintained that similarities in the news discourses of six newspapers have been more glaring than differences. Hence, such similarities in the news media coverage of the protests may draw attention to the political orientations of the newspapers of "supporting or not supporting" (p. 30) a cause such as the NI and AN have never supported the authoritarian governments in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria.

Similarly, it was claimed that the news media in non-democratic countries adopted a "pro-incumbency" approach while in democratic countries adopted a "pro-challenger" approach (Baum & Zhukov, 2015). However, in the context of the current study, it is not true, both the NI and AN criticised the Arab Spring authorities vis-a-vis the protesters. Thus, 'pro-change' approach of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers reflects that the news media in these two socio-cultural societies, under the influence of bilateral relations, adopted a unanimous stance of sponsoring the Arab Spring.

6.8 Ideological Labelling of the Two Sides: Who to Blame?

As the authorized representatives, the editors of the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspapers delivered their ideological beliefs to engage the readers. Both the newspapers unanimously circulated a common discursive strategy based on the dichotomous style of *us* and *them*. The authorities (ruling elite) have been largely reproached, for not accepting the demands of the protesters, and represented as *others*. Both the papers echoed their displeasure with the governments in the protest-affected

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countries. Such opinions were constructed through the practice of derogatory comments. The editorial coverage of *them* (out-group) consisted of a deviant style which held the ruling elite responsible for opposing the protesters' demands. On the contrary, the Arab Spring protesters were portrayed through the positive strategy of *us* (in-group) and their anti-regime actions were deemphasised in favour of the Arab Spring. This strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation has been analysed with reference to four functional moves of the ideological square: (a) emphasize our good actions: (b) emphasize their bad actions; (c) mitigate our bad actions; (d) mitigate their good actions (see Tables 4.3 and 5.3).

6.8.1 The Rightful Protesters: Spirit of Change

The NI editors created a positive image of the Arab Spring protesters under the ideological principles of 'emphasising our good actions' and 'mitigating our bad actions' by constructing them as in-group members. The editorial evaluation, *post-colonial shakeout*, convinced the readers that the protesters had valid explanations for their anti-regime actions in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. The paper, for instance, by acknowledging the legitimate concern of the protesters trusted the sincerity of Tunisians for bringing 'change' and arranging swift and transparent elections. The newspaper positively advocated that it was the protesters' right to *celebrate* victory after passing through a painful process of changeover. It attributed positive values to the protesters' actions in Tunisia through the lexical choices as *the biggest achievement, direction of democracy* and so on.

The defensive tone of the NI was also noted in the remark that after facing intolerable *repression* for years, the Egyptian protesters had lost their power of endurance. The paper praised Egyptians for staying *united* during the Arab Spring and endorsed their anti-regime actions in the form of the Arab Spring. Through the positive values related to *us* (protesters), such as *revolution in process, unity, democratic right, desire for change and democratic future*, the newspaper commended the protesters for throwing away the regime in Egypt with their rightful demands for 'change'. The NI confidently represented the enthusiasm and determination of the Egyptian protesters and remained hopeful about the democratic changeover in Egypt. It fully supported Egyptians actions against the military for intervening in the electoral process and abusing power.

Similarly, the NI assigned positive values to the Libyan protesters and claimed that they were offended by the regime's suppressive tactics. For instance, pro-protester judgments included *suffered for too long, coordinating closely, holding their country in their own hands, help and support*.   The paper emphasized that Libyans were not treated justly by the authorities when they complained against the despotic regime. The NI rationalised Libyans' anti-regime actions and deemphasized, to support the Arab Spring, their negative action of working with the NATO forces to topple Qaddafi's regime. The paper praised Libyans' bravery for resisting the regime and not giving up. It kept the readers' hopes alive that the protesters in Libya would be successful in achieving their objective of bringing a democratic transition. The newspaper clearly supported the protesters through positive assessments such as *victims, legitimate aspirations and concerns, hopes for Syrians*. It was clearly asserted

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that Syrians' struggle sought freedom from tyranny of the Baathist party. The NI, in favour of the Arab Spring, acknowledged that the protesters in Syria had to go through the worst, *inhuman*, conduct. It sympathized with trapped Syrians who were cut off from the international community. Thus, through the gesture of positive representation of *us*, the newspaper convinced its readers to support the Arab Spring protesters in Syria.

The AN also portrayed the Arab Spring protesters through positive representation of *us* (in-group members). The paper through the strategies of 'emphasising our good actions' and 'mitigating our bad actions' justified the protesters' actions of revolting against the regimes through the lexical choices such as *winds of change* and *new Arab world*. The paper confirmed that the protesters were absolutely *right* in demanding their lawful rights through the Arab Spring. For instance, the AN recognized the demands of pro-change protesters in Tunisia and associated positive values to their acts of revolutions by using comments such as *democratic elections, tsunami of change, euphoric, own affairs, historic* and so on. The paper commended Tunisians for triggering a wave of change in the region. Contented with the protesters' success, the AN defended Tunisians for rightfully voting for the 'change'. With positive beliefs, the editors supported Tunisians for opposing interference by old regime party in the transitional phase. Thus, the AN created a positive image of the Tunisian protesters. Similarly, the newspaper also drew the readers' sympathies for the protesters in Yemen.

Through the strategy of the 'deemphasizing our negative actions', the AN also mitigated rebellious actions of the Egyptian protesters as their *inspiration* for seeking 'change'. They were portrayed as the victims of the Egyptian security forces through positive connotations like *their own affairs, unharmed, peaceful, speedy retribution, euphoria, the choice of majority* and so on. The paper showed its sympathy by claiming that Egyptians faced real subjugations from the regime's security forces due to poor state of economy, increasing unemployment among youth and indecent wages. Thus, a full editorial backing was given to the protesters' *verdict* of choosing their new future leaders. The AN publicly endorsed the Libyan protesters' actions of pursuing 'change' through its positive ideological beliefs such as *people's revolution, intent, masters of their own destiny, democracy, abandoned, unarmed.* The paper deemphasized Libyans' revolts and appreciated them for their democratic objectives. Instead, it sympathised with the protesters who were frequently attacked by the Libyan regime forces. Under the dichotomous representation of *us*, the paper's concern for Libyans' sufferings was evidenced by the fact that it supported the international strikes against Qaddafi to protect Libyans and even made it obligatory for Muslims countries to save them. Thus, the AN gathered full public support for 'pro-change' protesters.

The strategy of 'positive representation of *us*' also existed in the editorial representation of the AN about the Arab Spring protesters in Syria. The paper convinced the readers that the protesters in Syria remained in miserable conditions through the lexical choices such as *have been killed, peaceful, unarmed, women and children, demanding their share of the Arab Spring, tumultuous Eid, loss of more*

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innocent lives, incapable. Their anti-regime protests were also mitigated as their desire for 'change' like the protesters in other countries. The newspaper justified that due to their *just* protests against the regime of Assad, the Syrian protesters were ferociously targeted by security forces. The paper drew sympathies for Syrians as they underwent heavy losses during anti-regime strikes and got killed in thousands. Thus, the AN admired the way Syrians struggled to bring 'change', shed blood and sacrifice their lives. In favour of the protesters, the newspaper disliked the international silence over deplorable circumstances in Syria.

6.8.2 The Repressive Authorities: Anti-change Elements

The negative undertones of the Pakistani newspaper (NI) confirmed that the authorities in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria were responsible for enraging the general public which later protested against these authoritative rules. It has been evidenced that all those actions which the authorities adopted and considered positive to protect their autocratic rules were portrayed through the evaluative moves of 'emphasizing their bad actions' and 'mitigating their good actions' to create negative image of the authorities. The NI criticized the authorities through the strategy of negative representation and blamed them for adopting a hostile attitude toward the 'change' and all types of chaos and violence were attributed to the authorities. For instance, the NI treated the Tunisian authorities as *them* (out-group members) and assigned negative values to President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and his supporters through lexical choices such as *autocratic government, ancient regime* and *one-party state*. Through its negative representations of *them*, the paper blamed the Tunisian regime was responsible for triggering revolts due to its policies of suppression and

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harassments. The authorities were also accused of being repressive, inventing social and economic problems for Tunisians and inviting their hate.

Similarly, the NI created a negative image of the authorities in Egypt and accused President Mubarak and his team of causing mass oppressions and dictatorship – as portrayed in the ideological beliefs such as *permanent state of emergency, unpopular government, dynastic politics, corruption, the principal architect, one of the old schools* and so on. The readers were informed how the Egyptian regime tyrannically dealt with 'pro-change' protests and adopted stern measures to curb anti-regime demonstrations. The NI, thus, mitigated all defensive actions applied by the authorities to control mobs, used the derogatory comments to portray the authorities and welcomed their exit. The newspaper criticized Mubarak for not giving any chance to his people for raising their legitimate concerns.

As seen, the NI also disregarded the actions of the Libyan leader and his security forces through negative judgments used for representing *others*. Such derogatory beliefs included *desperate regime, his eccentricity, his commitment to killing, his fancies, nominally, he was wrong, Libyan demagogue, clinging to power*, *one man* and so on. Through another negative judgement, the paper declared Qaddafi as an *austere* despot who denied his own countrymen of their basic rights and used his own authoritarian vision to subjugate Libyans. Through its discursive strategy of *othering*, the NI suggested that the only solution for Libya was to get rid of Qaddafi. His control over power was mitigated and negatively exposed as unwanted. The paper openly sanctioned international strikes against Qaddafi. The anti-regime perspective

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of the paper was confirmed when the death of Qaddafi was disrespectfully celebrated as a *milestone* in the year of the Arab Spring. Hence, the paper employed reproachful comments to create a negative image of Qaddafi with his *peculiar* ideas of governing and almost mitigated whatever he did for Libya during 40 years.

The NI also created a negative image of the Syrian authorities. It was confirmed that anti-regime protests triggered by Syrians were cruelly dealt with and they were massively executed by security forces. The Syrian authorities were deemphasised as the cruellest form of dictatorship through negative values, such as, *brutal crackdown, massacres, grisly work, recalcitrant, bloodies attacks, slaughter its own people*, and their rule over Syria was invalidated. Such negative evaluative beliefs confirmed anti-Assad stance of the paper. Assad's actions incurred editorial criticism to mobilize the readers' opinion against his regime. The Syrian President was negatively represented as the man of unsympathetic attitude who made the Syrian conflict as *bloodier* as he could, savagely crushed revolutions and inhumanely killed Syrians. Assad was severely accused for behaving adamantly to diplomatic solutions and backing out of his promises frequently. The Syrian regime was also criticized for intentionally deceiving the Arab League and UN observers. It was negatively exposed that the Syrian authorities *abused* their lone support, at the international level, by China and Russia and violated peace deals. Assad's desire of remaining in power was thus mitigated in favour of the protesters' actions of rebellions under the prospect of bringing 'change' through the Arab Spring.

The Saudi newspaper (AN) also negatively constructed the authorities as implied by the editorial comment *old cynical game*. The paper employed the principle of 'emphasizing their bad actions'. It created a negative image of one-party dictatorships and nullified powers held by the autocratic rulers. It was also found that whatever actions the authorities adopted to save their rules were disapprovingly portrayed under the evaluative move 'mitigating their good actions'. The editorial writers depicted the authorities as *out-group* members, attributed blames to them and criticised them for not considering the demands of the protesters and ruthlessly handling them especially in Libya and Syria. Similarly, the paper adopted the strategy of deemphasizing to describe 'anti-change' actions of the authorities. The newspaper disseminated anti-regime opinion based on the declarations that the authorities in Tunisia had lost their reliability. For instance, the editors used negative representations such as *financial irregularities, police state* and *destroyed its remaining credibility* for the authorities. It also attacked Zine El Abidine Ben Ali for governing the country dictatorially and targeting Islamists. It was emphasised that Ben Ali's oppressive actions ignited anti-regime protests. The authorities in Yemen also failed to receive any editorial appreciation and the regime was negatively exposed for using suppressive tactics during the decade-old dictatorial power. The AN also showed no objection about the expulsion of President Ali Abdullah Saleh in Yemen.

Through the negative representation of them, such as *entrenched leadership, corruption, deadly force, abuse of power, police state, regularly used discord, quell the protests,* the AN editorial team accused the authorities in Egypt for forcing the protesters to take to streets. President Hosni Mubarak was blamed for exploiting his

nationals and his action of quelling all forms of protests was deemphasized by the paper. The AN also established that Mubarak even adopted the policy of divide and rule to guarantee the survival of his tyrannical rule. Thus, the paper dissociated itself with the authorities in Egypt and never opposed their trial and charges against them. Similarly, it was evidenced that the Libyan ruler received a severe criticism from the AN. For instance, the editorial choices such as *the enfant terrible of the region, acted as a tyrant, kills the people, murderous, savagery, the prison walls, delusional boasts* and *nightmare* created a negative image of the Libyan authorities. Qaddafi's actions of resorting to aggression, in order to save his rule, were negatively portrayed and mitigated. The paper made several derogatory comments to undermine Qaddafi's reputation and rejected his decade-old dictatorial rule that spared no opportunity in repressing Libyans. His absolute desperation to stay in power was totally negated by the newspaper for the sake of welcoming the Arab Spring revolution. The paper also deemphasized the security forces' actions of killing the protesters. The editorial representations conveyed that the AN contemptuously portrayed Qaddafi's regime and 'cheeringly' represented his death as a moment of *celebration*.

The editors also employed 'negative representation of them' strategy to undermine action of the Syrian authorities. Through its negative judgements, for instance, *murderous Syrian regime, so-called spring, harsh-winter, Assad lied to the UN, dwindling band of friends, bloodshed, highly unlikely* and *snake-like and mesmeric*, the paper refused to accept brutal tactics of the authorities. Assad's stay was rejected by the AN through the principle of 'mitigating their positive actions'. The paper accused Assad for adamantly opposing to step down in favour of the protesters. His

one-party rule was bitterly criticized for deploying war mechanism against civilians and worsening the conflict. The AN made several derogatory comments to represent Assad such as he was accused of *lying* about his wrongdoings and deceiving the opposition groups and international mediators. Hence, the use of such critical comments implied the paper's hopelessness with the Syrian authorities.

6.9 Media Portrayal under Ideological Constraints

The findings of the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspapers ideologically positioned the readers to favour the Arab Spring protesters and go against the authorities. Through the use of ideological square, this study has demonstrated the way information is negatively reflected on *out-group* members (authorities) or positively reflected on *in-group* members (protesters). These strategies spell out that the in-group members are described through positive connotations; their positive actions are highlighted and negative roles are deemphasised. On the contrary, the out-group members are described through negative connotations; their positive actions are downgraded and negative actions are emphasised (van Dijk, 1998a).

The use of ideological square by the editors also assumes in-group favouritism (*our*) and out-group derogation (*their*). Such ideological expressions at the level of discourse have many ways to emphasise or deemphasise meanings (van Dijk, 2000a). Moreover, overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, for instance, favouring the actions of the protesters and opposing the actions of the authorities, reflect one-sided accounts portrayed by the editors (van Dijk, 2006). This study exemplifies and supports the theoretical postulation that *our*

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good properties are constructed through specific terms and bad properties are represented in abstract terms with few details (van Dijk, 2000c).

The findings also support the notion that the binary schema represented through *us* and *them* helps to "reconstruct the attitudinal positions of the major actors" (p. 247). This schema represents social and political worldview of the newspaper editors (van Dijk, 1989b). In such type of editorial representations, "the gap between *us* and *them* may be wider or narrower and the definition of *them* may be more or less negative" (van Dijk, 1992, p. 245). The editors also practice the strategy of polarization of "positive in-group description" and the "negative out-group description" in (van Dijk, 1998b, p. 33) describing the actors (protesters vs. authorities) as proved in this study.

The findings of the NI and AN also concur with Haider's (2016) study, conducted on the coverage of the Libya uprising by English (*The Guardian* and *The New York Times*) and Arabic (*Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*) newspapers, that in describing the Arab Spring events the language has been considered a critical component in forming the ideologies and attitudes of the Arab people. The pro-revolutionary forces or elements used specific language to motivate the Arab Spring nations and 'pro-change' protesters to raise their voice against the ruling authorities. The journalists and authors were viewed as warriors for their writings which provoked the spirit of revolutions as witnessed in the editorial writings of the NI and AN.

Contrary to the findings of the NI and AN, the media in the Arab Spring countries unrealistically portrayed the evens under allegiance to their dictatorial regimes. For

instance, during the Arab Spring in Egypt, the government-owned newspapers represented the Egyptian authorities as *in-group/us* members with positive actions and protesters as *out-group/them* members with negative actions (Alhumaidi, 2013; Youssef, 2012). Hence, the newspaper strategy of representing the protesters and authorities depend on the ideological orientation of newspapers, their institutional loyalty and governmental control over the media content. Due to such control on the media, the public outside the affected nations were prevented to see any other version of the Arab Spring. To cite, the ideological viewpoints of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers which supported the Arab Spring sharply contrast with the opinions of state-owned newspapers in the countries of the Arab Spring.

Similarly, under the notion of ideological orientation, the findings of the NI and AN contradict with the Iranian newspaper's stance (*Tehran Times*) on Syria. Amin and Jalilifar (2013) claimed that *Tehran Times* supported Assad's regime and delegitimized the Syrian opposition's demand for bringing 'change'. On the contrary, the NI and AN claimed that Iran along with China and Russia supported the Syrian authorities against the desire of the international community (*Assad had a lone supporter in the OIC, Iran* – NI, *sanctions…Iran…prepared to undermine* – AN). So, in this case the newspaper coverage by *Tehran Times* reflected its own ideological orientation and national policy of Iran to support the Syrian regime, whatsoever, and oppose the Arab Spring protesters. Such contradictions imply that social, political and contextual orientation of newspapers affect the media coverage of conflicts.

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6.10 Rhetorical Tone: Pro-Arab Spring and Anti-regime Positioning

We witness several instances of how the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspapers rhetorically sent a positive message about the Arab Spring (see Tables 4.4 and 5.4). For instance, the selected newspapers employed the rhetorical device 'comparison' to emphasise pro-Arab Spring opinion and deemphasise anti-Arab Spring elements. The NI positively magnified the 'change' through the Arab Spring by comparing it with the Soviet Union crisis and accepted the popularity of the Islamist party in Egypt through the lexical choice *none of the other parties*. Also, to guarantee a successful transition, the paper promisingly suggested a similar type of support and assistance for Libyans that was extended to the protesters in Tunisia and Egypt. On the contrary, a negative connotation was used to assert that Assad was comparatively less tolerant towards the protesters' demands than his father. Similarly, the AN compared the threats given by the authorities in Libya and Egypt, *Seif Al-Islam…like Egypt's Mubarak,* to confirm the tyrannical approach adopted by the authorities. A negative comparison was also drawn to underplay the role of the Syrian President and his foreign supporter Russia against the Arab Spring protesters. The use of comparison also hinted at Tunisians' success for transporting the 'spirit' of the Arab Spring to other countries. Both the papers positively compared the results of elections in Tunisia and Egypt and gave encouraging judgments for democratic transitions. On the contrary, the editorial writers seemed more irritated (*most controversial* – NI, *over throw the state* – AN) with the prolonged presence of Qaddafi's regime in Libya.

The NI and AN also used several hyperbolic opinions to make their pro-Arab Spring approach more emphatic. For instance, the papers welcomed the UN's military strikes against the Libyan regime and showed their 'unwavering' support for the 'change'. Through the use of exaggerated language, *crippling the Assad regime* (NI) and *thick-skinned and callous clique in Damascus* (AN), the papers adopted a more critical and disliking stance to represent the Syrian President Assad who was not in favour of the Arab Spring. Both the papers severely attacked Russia and China for creating hurdles in dislodging Assad, through their support, and showing noncompliance with the UN's resolutions against his regime. The NI strongly condemned killings of the Syrian protesters by Assad through the linguistic choice such as *grisly work* and hyperbolically underplayed Qaddafi's rule through the comments like *deluded dictator*. Against the authorities, it also exaggerated that Mubarak was forcibly removed by the protesters in a humiliating way, *as ignominious end*. The AN, similarly, convinced the readers to reject all anti-Arab Spring developments and took for granted that Russia entirely lost its credibility, *dragged through the mud*, by interfering in Syria. The paper also made several hyperbolic remarks against Mubarak, fully supported his trial as demanded by the protesters and accused him of religiously deceiving his people as implied by the comment *a supremely moral act*. The AN also overstatedly ridiculed the end of Qaddafi's state, in favour of the Arab Spring, and exaggeratedly presented it to the readers as a *garbage heap of history*.

The editors of the NI and AN made several 'metaphorical' and 'metonymical' comments to authenticate pro-revolution stance of the newspapers and deemphasise the authoritative rules in the Arab Spring countries. For instance, the metaphorical

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expression *old school* (NI) created a negative image of Mubarak and implied his departure in support of the Arab Spring. The metaphor *prison wall* (AN) negatively represented Qaddafi's regime and its rejection by the paper to stay in power. As we see, the metonymical expression *a poisoned chalice* (NI) implied the challenge faced by the UN's envoy in handling the Syrian crisis due to hurdles caused by the Syrian authorities. The comment *African mercenaries* (AN) implied that Qaddafi used brutal force to kill the Arab Spring protesters. The NI editors employed the rhetorical device 'juxtaposition' to confirm positive results of the Arab Spring in Tunisia (*human rights activist* as president and *jailed moderate Islamist* as prime minister) and negative attitude of the Syrian authorities (*breach rather than the observance*). The NI also condemned the negative role acted by the military in Egypt and expressed uncertainty by constructing 'antithetical' opinions (*saviours… became…villains*). Similarly, through the use of 'juxtaposition', the AN supported a future uncertainty in Libya but also optimistically confirmed the 'change' through the Arab Spring (*tough times …a road forward*). The AN also used the rhetorical device 'antithesis', for instance, to condemn the UN's indecisiveness and inability in attacking the Libya regime (*ineffectual…even if the UN does decide*).

The Pakistani and Saudi editors also (de) emphasised several developments of the Arab Spring by using the rhetorical device 'propaganda'. Both the NI and AN constructed positive interpretations about the protesters and negative interpretations about the authorities. By supporting the protesters, the NI propagandized a capital punishment, *death penalty*, for Mubarak who opposed the changeover of his regime. In the same way, the AN propagandized against the Syrian ruler, through negative

declarations that Assad was a *liar* and unreliable person, by convincing the readers that he often violated peace deals. Several instances of 'alliterative' remarks were also used by the NI and AN editors. They overplayed 'pro-change' elements (*inward investment* – NI, *peaceful population* - AN) and underplayed 'anti-change' elements (*repressive regime* – NI, *dangerously desperate* - AN) of the uprising. Hence, both the newspapers used this device to highlight the negative actions of the repressive regimes in the Arab countries, Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, and Syria.

A similarity was also traced in the NI and AN editorial uses of 'rhetorical questions' that described several developments of the two prolonged uprising in Libya and Syria. For instance, the NI opinion implied uncertainty about the transparency of the Arab Spring revolutions amidst the Western influence (*Could it be…*) and the AN expressed its anger over the delay caused by the world powers in rescuing Libyans (*how many...die*) from Qaddafi's forces. Similarly, the NI and AN employed the rhetorical device 'number game' to claim objectivity, preciseness and credibility in supporting 'pro-change' events and opposing decade-old repressive regimes in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. For instance, the NI claimed that *8,000* Syrians died in 15 months and the AN cited the figure *2, 200* to report the protesters' deaths in Syria in a few months. Hence, both the papers unanimously relied on the 'number game' to mostly report killings of the protesters by security forces especially in Libya and the ever worst in Syria and strengthen their pro-Arab Spring standpoint. Contrary to the NI, the AN editors also used 'parallelism' to negatively portray anti-Arab Spring developments launched by the authorities and undermine their actions (e.g., see Tables 4.4 and 5.4).

6.11 Overplaying and Underplaying Tactics

The findings of the NI and AN confirm that the use of rhetorical devices is an important part of discourse analytical approaches (van Dijk, 2000a). As discovered, such rhetorical devices empowered the editors to emphasise 'pro-change' developments and condemn 'anti-change' behaviour of the authorities who forcibly ruled masses. The selected papers strongly supported the protesters' aggression of demanding 'change' of autocratic regimes and opposed all types of atrocities committed by the authorities to save their governments. These editorial perspectives were revealed through rhetorical devices such as metaphors, comparison, exaggeration, hyperbole, rhetorical question and others. Such a persuasive nature of the news does not primarily generate any change itself though the 'change' may happen due to suggestions or information given by the news discourse. Rather, the news has the "assertion-type speech act function" (p. 114) and its primary target is to achieve credibility with readers (van Dijk, 1988a). These devices are purposefully inserted to make the text more persuasive and to make the news stories/discourse more credible by paying special attention to specific details (van Dijk, 1988a).

Moreover, rhetorical structures such as sentence structures (e.g., parallelism) or semantic structures (e.g., metaphors) are regarded as one dimension of discourse. These structures are intended for readers and their aim is to increase the effectiveness of texts by indirectly drawing or emphasizing attention to specific meanings. The rhetorical devices are specifically selected to emphasize the bad nature of *them* and underplay *our* mistakes (van Dijk, 1986b). The rhetorical devices also function as a "part of an overall strategy of persuasion" (p. 35) in the news media discourse (van

Dijk, 1993b). Seen as a tool of rhetoric, these devices empowered the NI and AN editors to communicate their 'say' in an intended way, produce the desired effect of the editorial portrayal and construct the events in line with the newspapers' ideology to transport the Arab Spring message. Hence, through the use of rhetorical devices, the two selected newspapers, NI and AN, created a 'pro-change' situation that guided the readers to (re)formulate their opinion in support of the Arab Spring. Such findings uphold that the media practice of overplaying and underplaying events is geared towards achieving rhetorically effective opinion (van Dijk, 1995c).

6.12 Echoes of Persuasion: Convincing Readers to Accept Change

To make sense of the Arab Spring portrayal, this study has also investigated the three modes of persuasion; the truth and logic which refer to the writer's success in conveying the message to audiences, for which he can be relied as well as trusted, and emotions that the writer awakens in audiences to get his views accepted (Aristotle, 1356/2006). These structural principles include: (a) ethos, persuader's attempt to convince through his personality and character; (b) pathos, engages readers through emotions; and (c) logos, persuasion takes place through reasoning (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2014). The purpose was to unveil the type of discourse crafted by the editors in narrating the Arab Spring.

The editorial tones suggested that the editor-writers successfully established their trustworthiness as demonstrated in the use of remarks such as *people are discovering, far greater importance, seems like a faraway, appears impotent* (NI) and *risks of inaction, in the eyes of some, it was only natural, the time is coming, the truth is that*

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(AN) and so on.   For the purpose of building pathos, the editors employed emotionally loaded language such as *slaughter*, *bomb civilians*, *dismembered bodies, food and medicine* (NI) and *kill the people, defenceless civilian, too much blood, continuing savagery* (AN) to connect the readers (by creating sympathies) with the Arab Spring events. Such editorial appeals triggered the readers emotionally and earned the public sympathies for the Arab Spring protesters. The editors also used logically charged language such as *like it or not, now has to address, all practical purposes, problem with Russia's* (NI) and *it should have been, if this is the way, every day makes it clearer, there is every reason* (AN) to asses positive and negative aspects of the conflict through reasoning.

6.12.1 Speaking with Authority

In favour of the Arab Spring, the editors established their ethos through several statements in order to earn credibility, display authority and prove their expertise as editorial page writers.   They made these ethical appeals to the readers to mostly justify the protesters' demand of staging protests and support 'pro-change' elements. Specifically, the NI established its ethos by rightly assessing that Tunisians would have to struggle more to realise true spirit of 'change' even after the departure of old regime. The ethos-based assessments used negative labels for the European supports of the autocratic regimes and claimed their defeat through national revolutions in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. For instance, the ethical appeal included remarks such as *colonial assets*, *former masters* and others (e.g., Table 4.5) Similarly, the editorial ethos of the AN favoured the 'change' and posited strong disagreement

for the old regime of Ben Ali through the appeals such as *destroyed…credibility*, *unwilling to share* and others (e.g., Table 5.5).

Based on vivid assessment of the Egyptian situation, the NI also endorsed the 'change' brought by the Arab Spring by defending the achievements of the Islamist party through the comments like *Islamist leaning*. The ethical appeal created by the AN editors also favoured the protesters' demands in Egypt and Mubarak's trials through the opinion *important for everyone concerned*. The NI editors never defended the downfall of Qaddafi's rule in Libya. Instead, the newspaper justified his assassination and street dragging through the ethical appeals, for instance, *the single most dramatic* development of the Arab Spring. Similarly, the AN editors constructed the ethos to undermine Qaddafi's rule through negative appeals such as *dug in vowing to fight* and *true to character*. The editorial ethos of the NI supported 'pro-change' movements in Syria but also declared Syrians' plight as a human catastrophe. The newspaper also made ethical appeals about a peaceful and permanent solution of the prolonged Syrian conflict through the comments such as *a let-up seems…faraway dream*. Similarly, the ethical appeals of the AN also supported the Syrian protesters struggle for 'change' and exposed anti-Assad stance through the language such as his *calculation was quite clear* in killing the protesting nationals.

6.12.2 Pro-Arab Spring Emotions
The emotional appeals created by the NI aroused public sympathies for the Arab Spring victims (protesters). For instance, the editors used emotionally charged comments to make the readers sympathise with Egyptians such as they were banned

to stand in *more than five*, faced *brutal and ruthless* crackdown (see Table 4.5) and survived regime's *oppression* for decades. These emotional appeals (pathos) also stirred the readers' emotions that the Egyptians became angry, (*not universally happy*), as their demands for 'change' were not duly considered due to military's involvement in the democratic process. Also, the appeal *a sense of triumphalism* invited the readers to celebrate the arrival of a new Islamist rule. Similarly, the pathos constructed by the Saudi newspaper (AN) also sympathised with pro-Arab Spring protesters. It was suggested that the regimes in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya misrepresented the Islamist parties to validate their powers. For instance, the emotionally charged judgments included, *gun point rule, the bogey of Islam* and so on (see Table 5.5). The editorial constructed the pathos to appease anti-Mubarak sentiments by sharing that he would be held accountable for his misdeeds and crimes. Another emotional appeal invited the readers to join *euphoric* Tunisians for bringing 'change'. A persuasive effect was also created through the pathos (NI), *conflicting interests* and *conflicting loyalties,* that Libyans' dream of achieving their democratic goals might not become true even after the departure of Qaddafi. A very strong emotional appeal (AN) made the readers empathised with the Arab Spring protesters in Libya through emotionally charged comments such as *brothers and sisters*, *innocent, immensely courageous*. Such emotional appeals were credible enough to assure that Libyans' fight for 'change' was justified.

In representing the Syrian uprising, the NI evoked an emotional response for the protesters through the appeal *laying down their lives in the cause of what they see as freedom*. These 'pro-change' appeals also persuaded the readers that the Syrian

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protesters even faced hardships in the holy month of *Ramadan*. The editorial pathos also provided an emotional release to the audiences that deserving Syrians received the UN's relief packages and *humanitarian and military assistance*. Further appeals such as *the entry and exit wounds* in the forehead of a woman and *appalling killings* intensified anti-Assad feelings. Similarly, the use of the comment *systematic onslaught* by the AN editors revealed shocking scenes of carnages in Syria. These opinions represented an emotionally horrifying state of affairs faced by the Arab Spring protesters. The editorial pathos about the *unrest* on the day of Eid intensified the readers' anger. By establishing its pathos, *the Bathist tyranny,* the paper justified the protesters' demand of seeking an end to one-party dictatorship in Syria. Some more examples of emotionally charged opinions which portrayed the protesters' pitiable state of affairs in Syria included *opened fire*, *brutal execution*, *regime's killing machine* and so on (see Table 5.5).

6.12.3 Rationalising the Arab Spring

In the NI, several editorial excerpts offered a logical stance to the protesters' intentions and demands for seeking freedom and national rights in the Arab Spring nations (Table 4.5). To make the Arab Spring a success, it was logically declared that the Islamists in Tunisia should not be modelled as a threat to foreign tourists, *if the economy…revive*. Another logos-based opinion was constructed to describe the negative role of the Egyptian military in disrupting democratic transitions. For instance, as seen in the logical appeal *hope that accompanied the change* was damaged. A logical appeal was also created to weaken Qaddafi's rule through the rationale that he had lost all types of public sympathies and international support

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(*foreign-policy rethink*) from his Western allies. The opinion logically exposed that the Western countries played a negative role by ignoring the Syrian uprising. It was rationalised that Syria had no valuable assets which could slake the West's thirst as it happened in Libya which had precious assets like *black gold*. As claimed, for such reasons, the West did not intervene in Syria. The NI editorials also rationalised the way Assad deceived, *breach,* the international community. The paper logically blamed Assad's regime for its failure to cooperate internationally. Through several logical appeals, as demonstrated from the excerpts, the NI never expected a prolonged stay of the Syrian authorities. Hence, the paper wanted to ensure that 'change' takes place successfully and the protesters' killings come to a halt.

The AN editorial writers were also engaged in constructing logical appeals to formulate public opinion in favour of the Arab Spring. For instance, it was optimistically viewed that Tunisia was passing through a *stable transition*. A logical appeal was also constructed to portray Mubarak's trial as *momentous*. His government was negatively portrayed as *decades of repression* and his trail was rationalised through the claims that as he was *accused of abuses*. The paper justified Egyptians' dream for a democratic change and recognized their hard work. The AN also rationalized its disapproval of the interferences made by Tunisia's old party by arguing that a transparency cannot be *guaranteed* in deciding about future candidates. The logical appeal convinced the readers to accept that the dictators in Yemen and Syria must resign and accept the toughest *reality* of 'change'. For instance, it used the logical appeals such as *the change [had] come to the Middle East.*

Logical appeals were also constructed to demand help for Libyans through the lexical choices such as *responsibility*, *save*, *protect, immediate actions*. Thus, the editors rationalised their opinion in protecting the Libyan protesters and disapproving the negative actions of the regime. Similarly, rational declarations of the AN delivered strong messages in favour of bringing 'change' in Syria. For instance, the paper consistently maintained its discontentment with the Syrian regime and its foreign friends as reflected in the logically loaded comment *Russia cannot behave as a responsible international citizen*. The editors also constructed the logos to defend the Syrian protesters for raising rightful demands after surviving repression for decades. The logos-centred opinion of the AN magnified the Arab Spring, presented it as an important series of 'change' and made it more rational by attaching a historical significance to it such as the *Year of Arab Revolutions* (see Table 5.5).

6.13 Editorial Appeals

The findings reveal that the NI and AN employed the three modes of persuasion mostly to support the Arab Spring and oppose the authoritarian regimes. Whether it was Tunisia, Yemen, Libya, Egypt or Syria, with slight variations of opinions, both the papers supported 'pro-change' protesters with full convictions. Such findings justified the choice of the newspaper editorials selected for this study. The editorials have often been found persuasive types of writings as they encode ideologies of their respective newspapers (Mureşan, 2013). The editorials are such genres which are contextually defined in terms of writers' intentions and purposes as well as expectations of readers. Therefore, they are expected by the readers to formulate their opinions on contemporary news events (van Dijk, 1995c). As demonstrated in the

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current study, the editorial writers of the NI and AN seriously treated the Arab Spring as a contemporary news event and (re) shaped the readers' opinion to oppose the authorities by employing persuasive strategies.

The findings of the NI and AN concur with Hannon's (2011) study that editorial writers assemble "a combination of rhetorical appeals – logos, ethos, and pathos – to create a compelling case for the views expressed" (p. 11). These appeals mainly produce convincing endorsements, strengthen persuasiveness and make readers receptive to the opinions constructed. Moreover, when a newspaper is used as a medium or mode to convey the message, ethos becomes a basis of a "legitimate organ of information"; pathos becomes a "foundation of appeal to readers" and logos acts as "legitimating appeal on grounds of objectivity" (Kamau & Berry, 2013, p. 94).

Alasuutari, Qadir and Creutz (2013) in their study about the 2011 Egyptian Spring, covered by *The Times* (Britain), *Helsingin Sanomat* (Finland) and *Daily Times* (Pakistan), also claimed that the media stories about the Arab Spring shared vivid depictions of the events which contained "loaded narrations, stories of bravery and solidarity [which] involve the reader emotionally" (p. 699). Such news media stories aim at bringing the events closer to readers by creating appeals to emotions and sentiments as witnessed in the case of the Arab Spring in the current study.

6.14 Summary

This chapter has discussed the pro-Arab Spring message shared by the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspapers through several discourse strategies. First, the chapter exemplifies how the schematic categories of editorials created a positive image of the Arab Spring. Second, it discusses how the two newspapers represented the actors, protesters and authorities, involved in the conflict. It reveals the way the NI and AN unanimously supported the Arab Spring protesters, through positive labelling, and opposed the decade-old autocratic authorities, through negative labelling, which included President Zen El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia, Ali Abdullah Saleh in Yemen, Hosni Mubarak in Egypt, Muammar al-Qaddafi in Libya and Bashar al-Assad in Syria. Third, it exemplifies how through the use of rhetorical devices the editorial writers emphasised pro-Arab Spring developments and de-emphasised 'anti-change' elements. Fourth, the chapter has demonstrated the way editorials created persuasive appeals and convinced the readers to accept 'change' through the Arab Spring.

Thus, the newspapers made an inclusive coverage of the events. The similarity of findings implied that the newspapers shared their positions on all significant aspects of the Arab Spring. Therefore, it is reaffirmed that the editorial discourse has some common characteristics through which a newspaper shares its opinion. Based on the findings of the two contexts (Arab and non-Arab), the editorial discourse remains a realm which is distinct, yet worthwhile, for readers to explore the language used in the coverage of particular conflicts. It may be argued that whatever policy an editorial or newspaper adopts it has its own typical tone of endorsing some and disproving others through specific discourse strategies as highlighted in this study.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Arab Spring Portrayal: A Revisit

The study establishes that the newspaper editorials have played a critical role in sponsoring group ideologies and convincing the readers to favour a particular side of the conflict, by producing the rhetorically rich and persuasive discourse, while portraying the Arab Spring. Given the case of the NI and AN, the editorials can be regarded as a set of unique 'medium' to investigate such events particularly when the selected newspapers were not the 'mouthpiece' of the authorities in the affected countries. I have witnessed how the dynamics of power and ideology were interplayed in the descriptions of the Arab Spring between the participants (actors). They were labelled as protesters, yet portrayed as victims, while the authorities were labelled as cruel form of dictatorship and portrayed as 'others'.

The study reiterates that editorials as 'opinion (types) discourse' cannot be overlooked especially if they cover conflicts which are of international concern. Hence, due to particular interest of the editorials in representing conflicts, as a dominant form of discourse which reflects institutional power, readers are forced to take decisions on such issues. As certified representatives of the selected newspapers, the editorials have publicized opinions on the uprising through endorsements (pro-Arab Spring/protesters) and denouncements (autocratic regimes/authorities) following the prescriptions of their institutional policy. More specifically, we are exposed to how the editorial writers construct the events through their lens for the readers' consumption. Their way of portraying the events makes us (readers) concur with the

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newspapers' opinion, which is, seeing the Arab Spring as a movement of 'change' instigated by the suppressed public in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria . To a great extent, as a reader and researcher from Pakistan and working in Saudi Arabia, I was able to read and make sense of the Arab Spring portrayal in both the newspapers.

The study has also demonstrated the power and dominance held by the editorial writers through their privileged access to the media institutions in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The similarity in the findings reveals that despite geographical boundaries between the two countries, the mainstream media viewed the Arab Spring with a similar lens. The NI, belonging to a non-Arab country which has very little direct inference in the Arab countries, supported 'pro-change' activists and 'coldly' responded to the authorities in the affected countries. The AN, belonging to an Arab country which is in close proximity to some of the uprising countries, also denounced the way 'pro-change' protesters were treated by the authorities. Hence, the overall findings evidenced that the newspapers agreed on several subjects related to Arab Spring despite belonging to two different sociocultural backgrounds. This similarity of stances can be explained in several ways. Firstly, the editorial coverage of the Arab Spring by the selected newspapers largely reflect the influence of bilateral relations as discussed in Chapter One, for instance, the two countries often share similar views on issues concerning the Muslim world. Secondly, this bilateral-relation factor apparently dominated the notions of the 'insider-outsider' or the Arab (in-group) and non-Arab (out-group) editorial perspective assumed in this study. Third, it seems that the newspapers have maintained the majority's point of view of supporting the 'popular' Arab Spring and opposing the 'unpopular' authorities.

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The mainstream news media in both the countries were found to be in tandem with their negative views about the authorities, marginalized as *out-group* members, and positive opinion on the protesters represented as *in-group* members. Such discursive practices were utilized by the editors through the *us* and *them* dichotomy to support the protesters and oppose 'anti-change' authorities. We have been informed of the autocratic ruling which consequently forced the protesters to revolt against them. Hence, in the portrayal of the Arab Spring, the papers have managed to make the readers – myself included – empathise with the protesters who have been treated severely by the authorities. The protesters were portrayed as victims of the Arab Spring and their actions of revolts were deemphasised as their ambitions for a long-awaited 'change'. Several persuasive appeals were constructed to show support for 'change' through the Arab Spring and evoke emotional appeals in readers. Despite editorial apprehension related to uncertainties about the future governments, there was no evidence to suggest, in this study, that the selected newspapers would go (or not go) against the real 'change' (new governments).

The Arab Spring portrayal revealed how the editors employed several discourse strategies in promulgating their (influential) opinions. Hence, by exploring the editorial discourses of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers, the Arab Spring incidents are kept "alive". The readers were constantly reminded of the events which unfolded multi-layered episodes and impacted on all individuals particularly those who suffered from the crisis. The editorials, thus, belong to a particular 'discourse community' that would readily pick up any issue of societal concern and disseminate it using language that is worthy of analysis. It should not be neglected that, arguably, the news

editorials help (re) shape the public opinion. Studies on how other newspaper editorials construct the events should be pursued in our attempt to make sense of what is happening in the world outside of our own through the language used.

7.2 Post-Arab Spring Scenario

Contrary to what the Pakistani (NI) and Saudi (AN) newspapers portrayed in this study, the Arab Spring had to face serious setbacks with the passage of time. Today, even after six years, the post-Arab Spring scenario gives a threatening picture of the situation. Some of the critics believe that the Arab Spring should be relabeled as *Arab Winter* due to violent crackdowns. The hopes to deliver political reforms and social justice were responded with more war and violence and *renewed repression of dissent stands in stark contrast to the eruption of pent-up anger in 2011* (para. 4). The authoritarian practices intensified in the affected countries with some exception of Tunisia. In the post-Arab Spring scenario, the governing political structures have become more brittle due to coercive activities and blocking of any meaningful reforms. The challenges of rebuilding, reforming and constituting an open society still exist (Sayigh, 2016).

The Arab Spring fire is still burning. The expectations that the Arab Spring would bring an era of immediate reconstruction and rehabilitation have gone in vain. In reality, the world has witnessed intensified war, more violence and crackdown on people who dare to speak for a democratic society as it was aspired by the Arab Spring protesters during the 2011 revolutions. The human rights are still missing in the affected countries, children and women have been killed in hundreds and

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thousands and the armed conflicts have worsened in Yemen, Libya and Syria. The Syrian Arab Spring, in particular, turned into a conflict which generated the largest refugee crisis of the 21ˢᵗ century (Amnesty International, 2016).

In Syria, after six years of the Arab Spring, half a million people are dead; more than ten million had to flee their homes; many went into the arms of traffickers; and still many have been buried at the bottom of the Mediterranean while emigrating to Europe. Hence, what was envisioned by the NI (*Arabs are retaking control of a part of their cultural, social and political identities*) and the AN (*the winds of change sweeping through the Arab world*), about the Arab Spring, in this study could not come true. The Syrian cities have faced forcible submissions by government sieges, thousands disappeared in the regime prisons in addition to the birth of an extremist ideology and the Syrian children are facing toxic-stress and life-long trauma. This is the state of the post- Arab Spring situation in Syria. On the sixth anniversary of the Arab Spring, Syria shows dangerous signs of sliding into a deep-rooted state of warfare suffered by Iraq and Afghanistan – subject to the whims of proxy wars and internal warlords (McKernan, 2017).

Libya, similarly, has become a patchwork of cities and regions controlled by armed militia groups, warlords, city councils and tribal rivalries. Due to lack of any law and order situation crime is all-time high. Over 5,000 people have been reportedly killed since the 2011 Arab Spring, approximately half a million fled to Tunisia and around 435,000 have been sheltered in the public buildings. Hence, Libyans' aspirations of 2011, as claimed by the NI (*transition from one form of governance to another*) and

AN (*masters of their own destiny*), have been restricted to sheer dreams. They have been victimised by the country's failure to transform in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. Libya has been unsuccessful to create any functional political government; its economic status is growing poorer day by day; and the country has met ever worst migrant crises. With such a failed state status, Libya seems to face more vulnerability caused by the extremist forces to achieve their power objectives (Allouche, 2017).

In Yemen, the anniversary of the Arab Spring was held but thousands have been killed and fled home since 2011. The country which has been in disarray since the uprisings against Saleh's rule started has torn apart and people's aspirations for a real 'change' have been destroyed by violent and long-standing sectarian conflicts and divisions (Al Jazeera, 2017). Ousted during the Arab Spring, Yemen's former long-time dictatorial authorities have returned in the post-Arab Spring period to take advantage of the chaotic situation and deepen their influence again. President Saleh is the only ousted autocrat belonging to the Arab Spring countries whose fate has not been decided yet (Raghavan, 2016).

In Tunisia, where the 'democratic change' was highly praised by the NI and AN, the Arab Spring has almost failed to produce the expected results. In the country, which gave birth to the revolutions, the transition to democracy was relatively smooth with the Tunisian media enjoying more freedom but it has had two presidents and eight consecutive governments so far. Even after six years Tunisia's economic growth stands too poor to overpower challenges such as social inequality, poverty and high unemployment. Tunisians feel that their democratically elected governments, praised

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by the NI (*a template for...change*) and AN (*rapid pace of change*), have failed to run the country and provide solution to the long-standing socio-economic challenges (Alfarra, 2017).

In Egypt, six years later, contrary to what the NI (*democratic, credible elections*) and AN (*historic, free and fair, democratic elections*) claimed, problems such as unemployment, inflation and repression have grown high and the economy has weakened. The irony of the situation in Egypt is that thousands of the Arab Spring protesters who took to streets are still imprisoned but the authorities which were accused of several charges are free to walk (Lee, 2017). In a true sense, the Arab Spring in Egypt has failed and the slogans of the 2011 revolution like bread, social justice and freedom have not been fully exercised yet (El-Gingihy, 2017).

Contrary to their previous editorial beliefs, the NI and AN have acknowledged that the hopes of the Arab Spring have been tampered by unusual developments and predicted uncertainties have dominantly prevailed in the post-uprising stage. For instance, the NI in one of its editorial, *Syria Burning*, accepts the failure of any Arab Spring taking place in Syria (*with 400,000 people already dead and the conflict spiraling beyond its boundaries*, NI, July 27, 2016). The NI also believes that the Arab Spring dissipated and the *winter* has come. The situation in Libya and Syria have been described as a civil war with acute disappointment for beleaguered Egyptians where the 'change' is portrayed as *not easy to come by* (NI, January 27, 2016). Similarly, a change is also seen in the stance of the AN in reporting the post-Arab Spring developments. The paper has accepted that an absolute 'change' in

Tunisia has not taken place, (*Tunisians worry more about unemployment, high living costs and the on-going marginalization of rural towns*, AN, 21 January, 2016) despite the country's shift to democracy. The paper has also confirmed that no change is taking place through the Arab Spring in Syria and instead the situation is portrayed as the worst. The Syrian regime is still blamed for committing atrocities in Syria (*Assad…media blackout to cover-up its brutal retaliation and deliberate targeting of civilians*, AN, 11 October, 2016).

Given such unexpected results, it is recommended that further studies should be conducted on full-scale media coverage of the post-Arab Spring developments to identify the factors responsible for failure of the Arab Spring.

7.3 Study Contributions

The study has revealed a number of insights by demonstrating how several discourse strategies have been employed to construct the Arab Spring message. From the theoretical perspective, this study contributes to the domain of CDA and the news media discourse research. By doing so, it advocates the role of the media discourse, the editorials in particular, in upholding the relations of power, dominance, ideologies and establishing group polarizations by endorsing some and negating others. It has utilized a blend of theoretical concepts: a combination of CDA model and classical modes of persuasion to analyse the media portrayal of the events in five Arab Spring countries. Specifically, it has examined the schematic categories of editorials, rhetorical devices, modes of persuasion and ideological beliefs of the Pakistani and Saudi newspapers. This study discloses the way the newspaper editors control the

readers' mind and freedom on conflicts like the Arab Spring. It also reveals the interplay of power dynamics and resistance among the parties involved.

Since this study provides insights into the discourse produced in the two countries where the Arab Spring did not happen, it contributes to the literature on how the editorials represent these conflicts. It has investigated how the main mainstream newspapers used language to promote their 'pro-change' stance and 'anti-regime' ideologies based on organisational and national agendas of their respective countries. As far as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are concerned, the previous research studies neglected the media portrayal of the Arab Spring in particular the editorials, a useful genre for analysis, which I have examined in this research.

The study has provided a larger picture of the Arab uprising as it focused on the editorial portrayal of the Arab Spring in five countries including Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Syria. It allowed me, as a researcher, to make sense of how the editorial board constructed the conflicts through their own sensemaking approach. The study hopes to enhance the critical awareness of language use among potential researchers, in particular, in analysing the use of various media discourses as the medium to present or rather share real-life events to the public.

Moreover, the Arab Spring portrayal by the editors of the NI and AN has demonstrated the editorial craftsmanship of employing rhetorical and persuasive strategies to build a 'convincing case' of the conflicts. Hopefully, in doing so, this

study can assist other researchers in making sense of how an 'opinion discourse' impacts on individuals.

7.4 Limitations of the Study

Admittedly, it would have been a fair contribution to include the views of the protesters and authorities, the two sides, involved in the Arab Spring. However, it was not possible to access these in person due to language barrier, travel restrictions, security hazards and chaotic situations in the countries of the Arab Spring. Therefore, the study does not analyse or compare the responses of the Arab Spring participants or actors.

In addition, bound by the time frame (January 2011 to December 2012), the study does not focus on the media coverage of the post-uprising transitions or after effects of the Arab Spring. Rather, it examines the opinions of the NI and AN editorials which mainly narrated the actions of the protesters and authorities during the uprising.

The study does not include face to face or in-depth interviews of the newspaper editors in two settings. Richer data will be obtained from face-to-face interviews as they allow for direct probing and clarification.

7.5 Recommendations and Implications

The Arab Spring can be further explored from different perspectives. For instance, editorial opinions of different newspapers from different media groups can be compared within the same country or cross-culturally to further probe the media

portrayal of the events. Future studies can also rely on in-depth interviews with respondents, in the countries where the uprising broke out, in order to draw a comparison between the public views of the protesters and the editorial representations. Such studies can be pursued in the realm of understanding mind-sets; that is, how a description of an event affects the very people who are directly involved in it. More research can also be conducted to examine the issues not necessarily from the editorial point of view but from the perspectives of newspaper headlines, op-eds and columns for exploring the personal opinions of journalists. Also, a separate analysis can be conducted by investigating the post-change narratives by choosing a different timeframe which will extend and reinforce the findings of this research.

From another angle, a comparison can also be drawn between the 'factual' news reports and the editorial 'opinion' to differentiate between what was described as a fact and what was portrayed as an opinion to readers. Likewise, the Arab Spring cases can be analysed by applying different theoretical underpinnings, for example, a research based on the media framing analysis and so on. Further, one can explore more about the representations of the Arab Spring in English language newspapers and the newspapers published in the national language (expectedly with more conservative approach), such as Urdu in the case of Pakistan or Arabic in the case of Saudi Arabia, to have different viewpoints on the accounts of the same conflict. Future research might also compare how official newspapers (state-owned) in the Arab Spring countries represent the events with independent newspapers outside these countries to gain a different media perception of the Arab Spring.

From the perspective of socio-cultural implications, this study in the context of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia has witnessed that the newspaper editorials belong to the class of the media discourse with its 'unique' societal functions such as providing readers with the 'views of what happens' and (re)shaping their minds about it. They guide readers toward a particular standpoint on issues, as they unfold, such as directing them to oppose the autocratic authorities and supporting the elements of 'change'. It is, therefore, suggested that scholarly research on editorials can be conducted to explore the role adopted by the newspaper editorials in different societies of different cultures and backgrounds and the way in which the editorials form narratives to (re)strengthen the relationship amongst different sectors, the readers (ourselves included), newspaper institutions and those among the readers whose lives might have been affected.

From the perspective of pedagogical implications, this research implied that editorial texts can 'supplement' classroom activities from different angles due to their diverse content. For instance, persuasive editorial texts as the news genre can be exposed to English learners given the varied yet structured ways of framing different communicative events in the society (Afzal & Harun, 2013). This genre should be an effective pedagogical tool for not only content analysis but for vocabulary enhancement as demonstrated in the editorial portrayal of the Arab Spring. Much can be learned from both the event and the language use in newspaper editorials.

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Appendix A

The News International Editorials on the Arab Spring Portrayal

Name	In Folder	NVivo References	Date of Publication
A faint hope	Internals\\The News International	16	NI, November 14, 2012
A year in Syria	Internals\\The News International	24	NI, March 16, 2012
Anger in Egypt	Internals\\The News International	23	NI, November 23, 2011
Cairo intrigue	Internals\\The News International	14	NI, August 15, 2012
Clinging on	Internals\\The News International	27	NI, February 24, 2011
Egypt – next steps	Internals\\The News International	20	NI, January 27, 2012
Horror in Syria	Internals\\The News International	27	NI, May 27, 2012
Libya after Qaddafi	Internals\\The News International	23	NI, October 22, 2011
Mubarak sentenced	Internals\\The News International	20	NI, June 04, 2012
No-fly in Libya	Internals\\The News International	19	NI, March 19, 2011
Observing Syria	Internals\\The News International	19	NI, December 30, 2011
Qdaffi totters	Internals\\The News International	27	NI, August 23, 2011
Ripples or waves	Internals\\The News International	31	NI, January 28, 2011
Saving Syria	Internals\\The News International	28	NI, July 15, 2012
Syria unravels	Internals\\The News International	20	NI, July 22, 2012
Syria's friends	Internals\\The News International	18	NI, February 27, 2012
Syria's summer of blood	Internals\\The News International	27	NI, August 02, 2011
Talk of revolution	Internals\\The News International	20	NI, February 01, 2011
The 'new' Egypt	Internals\\The News International	14	NI, November 25, 2012
The Arab Springs	Internals\\The News International	21	NI, May 06, 2011
The game begins	Internals\\The News International	21	NI, February 13, 2011
The OIC and Syria	Internals\\The News International	10	NI, August 17, 2012
Towards an exit	Internals\\The News International	26	NI, February 06, 2011
Tunisia	Internals\\The News International	24	NI, January 16, 2012
		519	

Appendix B

Arab News **Editorials on the Arab Spring Portrayal**

	Editorial	In Folder	NVivo References	Date of Publication
	A momentous year	Internals\\Arab News	23	AN, January 20, 2012
	Arab monitors pressed for time in Syria	Internals\\Arab News	18	AN, December 30, 2011
	Assad regim's barbaric acts	Internals\\Arab News	26	AN, March 30, 2012
	Assad thriving on divided opposition	Internals\\Arab News	20	AN, May 18, 2012
	Back the Libyans	Internals\\Arab News	21	AN, February 25, 2011
	Bloodshed in Cairo	Internals\\Arab News	20	AN, October 11, 2011
	Danger in Tunisia	Internals\\Arab News	18	AN, January 19, 2011
	Decision time	Internals\\Arab News	20	AN, October 24, 2011
	Don't fail Libya	Internals\\Arab News	32	AN, February 28, 2011
	Egypt's presidential elections	Internals\\Arab News	17	AN, May 24, 2012
	End of nightmare	Internals\\Arab News	25	AN, August 23, 2011
	From castle to cage	Internals\\Arab News	18	AN, August 4, 2011
	Justice in Egypt	Internals\\Arab News	18	AN, April 15,2011
	Last chance	Internals\\Arab News	18	AN, April 12, 2011
	Lessons from Libya	Internals\\Arab News	23	AN, August 24,2011
	Liby UN move	Internals\\Arab News	20	AN, March 20, 2011
	No easy answer	Internals\\Arab News	18	AN, March 25,2011
	No license to kill	Internals\\Arab News	17	AN, March 22, 2011
	Russia's unfair support	Internals\\Arab News	15	AN, March 16, 2012
	Silence kills in Syria	Internals\\Arab News	30	AN, October 19,2011
	The Russian endgame	Internals\\Arab News	27	AN, June 20, 2012
	Time to play hardball with Russia	Internals\\Arab News	23	AN, June 1, 2012
	Tunisia success	Internals\\Arab News	19	AN, October 31, 2011
	Whirlwind in Libya	Internals\\Arab News	24	AN, February 22, 2011
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