The copyright © of this thesis belongs to its rightful author and/or other copyright owner. Copies can be accessed and downloaded for non-commercial or learning purposes without any charge and permission. The thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted as a whole without the permission from its rightful owner. No alteration or changes in format is allowed without permission from its rightful owner.
THE MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF ARAB SPRING IN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS: THE CASE OF PAKISTANI THE NEWS INTERNATIONAL AND SAUDI ARABIAN ARAB NEWS

NAEEM AFZAL

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA 2017
Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that the University Library may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for the copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose may be granted by my supervisor(s) or, in their absence, by the Dean of Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of materials in this thesis, in whole or in part, should be addressed to:

Dean of Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
UUM College of Arts and Sciences
Universiti Utara Malaysia
06010 UUM Sintok
Abstrak


Kata kunci: Penggambaran media, Wacana akhbar, Rencana, Kebangkitan Arab, Analisis wacana kritik
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 forty-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
Acknowledgements

I am wholeheartedly grateful to Almighty Allah for His countless Blessings and Compassionate Help. All praises be to Him. He bestowed on me the ability and determination without which I would not have been able to complete this PhD dissertation. He is the Most Knowledgeable and the All Knowing.

I would like to express my heartiest gratitude to my esteemed supervisor Datin Dr. Minah Harun for her valuable comments, corrections and professional guidance in completing this research. I really appreciate her patience, motivational and inspiring approach, which facilitated me to graduate, as my mentor.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Mohamed Khairie Ahmad who guided me in using NVivo software. I am also thankful to my university colleagues especially Dr. Mohamad Abdulhady, Dr. Mohammad Ilyas and Mr. Tayyab Nawaz who offered me their assistance in completing the research. I really benefited from their knowledge and experience.

Finally, I am very thankful to my family members for their prayers, constant support and motivation. They really facilitated me with an amiable and working environment to pursue this research.

I beseech the Almighty Allah to bestow comfort on all those who supported me in conducting the research.
Table of Contents

Permission to Use ................................................................. i
Abstrak ....................................................................................... ii
Abstract ......................................................................................... iii
Acknowledgements ........................................................................ iv
Table of Contents .......................................................................... v
List of Tables .................................................................................. ix
List of Figures .................................................................................. x
List of Abbreviations ....................................................................... xi
List of Appendices .......................................................................... xii

CHAPTER ONE  INTRODUCTION ............................................................. 1
  1.1 Background of the Study .............................................................. 1
    1.1.1 Newspaper Discourse and Rhetoric ........................................ 4
    1.1.2 Editorial as the Medium ......................................................... 7
    1.1.3 The Research Setting: The Origins of the Two Newspapers ........ 11
    1.1.4 Rationale for the Two Newspaper Editorials .......................... 19
    1.1.5 Arab Spring: The Breakout ..................................................... 21
  1.2 The Problem Statement .............................................................. 26
  1.3 Research Objectives ................................................................. 32
  1.4 Research Questions ................................................................. 32
  1.5 The Significance of the Study ..................................................... 33
  1.6 The Scope of the Study ............................................................. 36
  1.7 Definitions of Relevant Terms ................................................... 37
  1.8 Organisation of the Thesis ......................................................... 39

CHAPTER TWO  LITERATURE REVIEW ......................................................... 43
  2.1 Introduction .............................................................................. 43
  2.2 Theoretical Framework ............................................................ 43
    2.2.1 Newsmaking and Newsgathering .......................................... 47
    2.2.2 Discourse: Clarifying the Concept ........................................ 53
    2.2.3 Discourse Analysis as an Approach ....................................... 55
    2.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis Framework ............................... 56
2.2.5 van Dijk’s Theories .......................................................................................61
  2.2.5.1 Schematic Categories ...........................................................................66
  2.2.5.2 Ideological Square ............................................................................71
  2.2.5.3 Rhetorical Devices ..........................................................................75
2.2.6 Modes of Persuasion ...............................................................................77
  2.2.6.1 Classical and Contemporary Rhetoric .............................................80
  2.2.6.2 Ethos, Pathos and Logos ................................................................82
  2.2.6.3 Classical Rhetoric and CDA: Bridging the Relation .......................85
2.3 Review of the Related Studies .......................................................................88
  2.3.1 Media Discourse Studies ......................................................................88
  2.3.2 Media Discourse Studies on Arab Spring ............................................97
  2.3.3 Media Discourse Studies in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia .....................107
2.4 Summary ......................................................................................................110

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY .................................................................111
3.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................111
3.2 Qualitative Research Method ........................................................................111
3.3 Research Procedure ......................................................................................113
  3.3.1 Data Collection Method ......................................................................114
    3.3.1.1 The News International ................................................................114
    3.3.1.2 Arab News ..................................................................................116
    3.3.1.3 The NI and AN Newspaper Editorials ......................................117
  3.3.2 Data Analysis Method ..........................................................................121
    3.3.3 Content Analysis ...............................................................................124
      3.3.3.1 Coding ....................................................................................125
3.4 Ethical Considerations ..................................................................................128
3.5 Summary ......................................................................................................129

CHAPTER FOUR THE PORTRAYAL OF ARAB SPRING IN THE NEWS
INTERNATIONAL EDITORIALS .......................................................................130
4.1 Introduction ..................................................................................................130
4.2 Themes of Arab Spring ...............................................................................130
4.3 Schematic Categories of Editorials .............................................................137
  4.3.1 Definition ............................................................................................137
CHAPTER FIVE  THE PORTRAYAL OF ARAB SPRING IN ARAB NEWS
EDITORIALS ................................................................. 176
5.1 Introduction ................................................................. 176
5.2 Themes of Arab Spring ...................................................... 176
5.3 Schematic Categories of Editorials ........................................ 182
  5.3.1 Definition ................................................................. 183
  5.3.2 Evaluation ................................................................. 184
  5.3.3 Conclusion/Recommendation/Advice/Warning ......................... 186
5.4 Ideological Square ........................................................... 190
  5.4.1 The Protesters ............................................................. 192
  5.4.2 The Authorities ............................................................. 199
5.5 Rhetorical Devices ............................................................ 203
5.6 Modes of Persuasion .......................................................... 213
  5.6.1 Ethos ............................................................................. 213
  5.6.2 Pathos ........................................................................... 215
  5.6.3 Logos ............................................................................. 218
5.7 Summary ........................................................................... 222
CHAPTER SIX  DISCUSSION ............................................ 223
6.1 Introduction ........................................................................ 223
6.2 Pro-Arab Spring Discourse: An Overview ................................. 223
6.3 Thematic Revelations: From Protests to Regime Changeovers ........... 226
List of Tables

Table 1.1 An Overview of Newspaper Groups in Pakistan......................................... 13
Table 1.2 An Overview of Newspaper Groups in Saudi Arabia.................................. 16
Table 2.1 van Dijk’s Ideological Square...................................................................... 72
Table 3.1 Data Sets of the NI and AN Newspapers.................................................... 122
Table 4.1 Analysis of Themes of Arab Spring in the NI Editorials........................... 131
Table 4.2 Analysis of Schematic Categories of the NI Editorials ............................... 142
Table 4.3 Ideological Square in Arab Spring: Actor Labelling in the NI.................. 150
Table 4.4 Analysis of Rhetorical Devices in the NI Editorials ................................. 164
Table 4.5 Analysis of Modes of Persuasion in the NI Editorials ............................... 173
Table 5.1 Analysis of Themes of Arab Spring in the AN Editorials ......................... 177
Table 5.2 Analysis of Schematic Categories of the AN Editorials ............................ 188
Table 5.3 Ideological Square in Arab Spring: Actor Labelling in the AN................. 196
Table 5.4 Analysis of Rhetorical Devices in the AN Editorials ................................. 211
Table 5.5 Analysis of Modes of Persuasion in the AN Editorials .............................. 220
List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Timeline of Arab Spring................................................................. 23
Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework of the study................................................. 44
Figure 2.2: News values determining the production of news............................... 50
Figure 3.1: Flow chart of the research procedure................................................ 113
Figure 3.2: Sample of the editorial page of The News International...................... 115
Figure 3.3: Sample of the editorial page of Arab News....................................... 117
Figure 3.4: Editorial displaying keywords used in sampling.................................. 119
Figure 3.5: Sample of NVivo screenshot for coding............................................. 128
Figure 4.1: Types of Arab Spring actors portrayed by The News International....... 145
Figure 5.1: Types of Arab Spring actors portrayed by Arab News......................... 191
List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Arab News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>The News International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organization of Islamic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Democratic Constitutional Rally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Appendices

Appendix A *The News International* Editorials on the Arab Spring Portrayal
........................................................................................................................................... 309

Appendix B *Arab News* Editorials on the Arab Spring Portrayal
............................................................................................................................................... 310
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).
The contents of the thesis is for internal user only
REFERENCES


