

**REPRESENTATION OF THE "SELF" AND  
"OTHER" OF ARAB SPRING REPORTING IN  
CNN AND AJE 'S ONLINE NEWS ARTICLES**

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"OTHER" OF ARAB SPRING REPORTING IN  
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**by**

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## Dedication

To: My Country, Iraq (Mesopotamia).....

The cradle of civilization which I am proud to belong to .....

To: My father and Mother, the Source of endless love.....

Whom my success goes back to .....

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## **REPRESENTASI "DIRI" DAN "LAIN" DARIPADA KEBANGKITAN ARAB**

### **DALAM ARTICLE BERITA DALAM TALIAN CNN DAN AJE**

#### **ABSTRAK**

Kajian ini bermatlamat untuk meneroka kebangkitan dunia Arab (Arab spring) yang berlaku dalam dunia Arab selepas 2010-2011, dengan menganalisis artikel berita dalam talian yang dikeluarkan dalam tapak sesawang (website) pihak CNN dan AJE pada tahun 2013. Keprihatinan utama kajian ini adalah untuk mendedahkan ideologi tersembunyi pihak CNN dan AJE terhadap pergolakan yang wujud daripada kebangkitan Arab dan cara mereka memanipulasi wacana media tentang Tunisia, Mesir, Libya dan Syria untuk mengawal minda rakyat. Untuk mencapai matlamat ini, penyelidik menggunakan teori berikut: 1) Teori van Dijk's tentang Semantic Macrostructure (1980); untuk mengkaji struktur makro dan mikro daripada artikel berita dalam talian CNN dan AJE, 2) Teori van Dijk's tentang Ideological Square (1998c); untuk mengkaji ideologi tersembunyi pihak CNN dan AJE dalam artikel berita dalam talian mereka, dan 3) Wodak's Discourse- Historical Approach; untuk mengesahkan linguistik dan analisis ideologi daripada artikel berita dalam talian CNN dan AJE. Pendekatan 3 dimensi Fairclough digunakan untuk mengolah proses analisis bagi data kajian. Dalam analisis linguistik, struktur makro dan mikro daripada artikel berita dalam talian CNN dan AJE dianalisis. Pada tahap makro, mikrostruktur semantik daripada artikel berita dalam talian digaris untuk menentukan makna global. Pada tahap mikro, struktur sintaktik, leksikal dan retorik daripada artikel berita dalam talian dikaji untuk menentukan makna lokal. Dalam analisis ideologi, artikel berita dalam talian CNN dan AJE dianalisis untuk menentukan penyampaian ideologi positif "Diri" (dalam kumpulan) dan ideologi negatif "Lain" (luar kumpulan). Merujuk Soalan Penyelidikan 1; dapatan menunjukkan bahawa struktur makro semantik akhir CNN tentang kebangkitan dunia Arab digaris sebagai berikut: ".Di tengah-tengah kemelut Islam, warga Arab masih menderita akibat daripada kesulitan ekonomi, keperitan hidup dan penyalahgunaan kuasa". Merujuk Soalan

Penyelidikan 2; dapatan menunjukkan bahawa struktur makro semantik akhir AJE tentang kebangkitan dunia Arab digaris sebagai berikut: "Penentuan dalam kalangan Islamis untuk memperoleh hak mereka yang sah dalam kuasa, Arab menentang penindasan oleh kerajaan diktator yang berkuasa". Merujuk Soalan Penyelidikan 3, dapatan menunjukkan bahawa orientasi ideologi CNN dan AJE terhadap penyampaian positif "Diri" dan negatif "Lain" adalah berubah-ubah. Penyampaian yang sama bagi kedua-dua sumber berita ditemui dalam dua kajian kes berkaitan dengan peristiwa di Tunisia dan Syria, dengan positif "Diri" (dalam kumpulan) dan negatif "Lain" (luar kumpulan) yang sama. Justeru, ia menunjukkan bahawa Tunisia menjadi mangsa imolasi-diri, sementara rakyat Syria pula sebagai beridentiti positif. Di samping itu, ditunjukkan juga bahawa regim politik Tunisia dan Syria sebagai beridentiti negatif "Lain". Dari sudut yang lain, penyampaian ideologi yang berbeza bagi kedua-dua sumber berita ditemui dalam dua kajian kes yang berkaitan dengan peristiwa di Mesir dan Libya, yang menunjukkan, positif "Diri" (dalam kumpulan) dan negatif "Lain" (luar kumpulan) yang berbeza. Bagi CNN, pihak berkuasa berita Mesir dan kerajaan Libya dinyatakan sebagai positif "Diri" (dalam kumpulan), sedangkan Muslim Brotherhood dan Ansar al-Sharia dinyatakan sebagai negatif "Lain" (luar kumpulan). Dalam sudut yang berlawanan, AJE menyatakan atitud ideologi yang berbeza. Analisis mikro daripada artikel CNN dan AJE menunjukkan bahawa struktur mikro digunakan untuk mengesahkan penyampaian ideologi representasi positif "Diri" (dalam kumpulan), dan negatif "Lain" (luar kumpulan).

**REPRESENTATION OF THE "SELF" AND "OTHER" OF ARAB SPRING  
REPORTING IN CNN AND AJE 'S ONLINE NEWS ARTICLES**

**ABSTRACT**

This study aimed to explore the situation often referred to as the 'Arab spring' that prevailed in the Arab world after 2010-2011 by analyzing CNN and AJE's online news articles released in their websites 2013. The main concern of the study is to unveil the two well-known agencies' ideologies in relation to the Arab spring upheaval and to discover how their media discourse has been manipulated to control people's minds with respect to countries involved in the Arab spring, namely, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria. This goal was achieved by using a combination of the following theories: 1) van Dijk's theory of Semantic Macrostructure (1980) to examine macro and micro structures of CNN and AJE's online news articles, 2) van Dijk's theory of Ideological Square (1998c) to examine CNN and AJE's ideologies embedded within their online news articles and 3) Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach to endorse linguistic and ideological analysis of CNN and AJE's online news articles. In addition, Fairclough's three-dimensional Approach was utilized to organize the process of analysis of the study's data. The macro level of the linguistic analysis focused on the semantic macrostructures of the online news articles to determine their global meaning while the micro level of analysis examined the syntactic, lexical and rhetorical structures of the same online news articles to determine their local meaning. The ideological analysis was conducted to determine their ideological positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other" (out-group) presentations. Concerning Research Question 1, the findings revealed that the CNN's final semantic macrostructure about Arab spring was outlined as the following: "Amid complete failure of Islamists, Arab people still suffer from economical difficulties, life hardship and power abuse".



Concerning Research Question 2, the findings revealed that the AJE's final semantic macrostructure about Arab spring was outlined as the following: "Amid Islamists' determination to regain their legitimate right in power, Arabs reject oppression standing against old dictatorships being in power". Concerning Research Question 3, the findings revealed that CNN and AJE's ideological orientations towards their presentations of positive "Self" and negative "Other" were varied. Similar presentations for both news outlets were noticed in two case studies that concern with Tunisian and Syrian communicative events presenting the same positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other" (out-group). Thus, they presented the Tunisian poor victims of self-immolation and Syrian people as the positive identities while the Tunisian political regime(s) and Syrian political regime as the negative "Other" identities. On the other hand, different ideological presentations for both news outlets were noticed in two case studies that concern with Egyptian and Libyan communicative events, presenting different positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other" (out-group). For CNN, the Egyptian new authority and Libyan government were presented as the positive "Self" whereas the Muslim Brotherhood and Ansar al-Sharia were presented as the negative "Other". On the contrary, AJE expressed the opposite ideological attitude. The micro analysis of CNN and AJE's articles revealed that micro structures were utilized to endorse their ideological representations of positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other"(out-group).

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview

Media news representation cannot be regarded as a direct and easy reproduction of events as it involves a process of selecting, structuring and formulating such events via language (Fairclough, 1995b). Language is, then, the main tool to persuade people to accept certain representations of news events which must be organized logically and naturally for the sake of spreading the views of dominant people and then accepting them as common –sense knowledge providers (Fairclough, 1995b). In this sense, all news representations are reported from a particular angle due to the fact that all media institutions and organizations are politically, socially and financially situated (Fowler, 1991).

This embodies the dominance of media discourse of elite-powerful groups to enforce their views on the other groups to control their thoughts and minds through ideological means. This is called ideological power (Fairclough, 1989; 2001b) which is embedded in the discourse as a way of thinking, speaking and experiencing (Belsey, 1980).

Basically, language is connected with ideology and power due to the fact that it is not neutral. On the contrary, it is shaped by relations of power and it serves as a holder of ideology. As such, it is a powerful tool for social control. It can be more effective when it is used by media outlets and institutions as Cable News Network (CNN) and Al-Jazzerah English (AJE) which are, now, in a position whereby they

can affect a large number of media consumers, through their news coverage, mastering their minds and tendencies (van Dijk, 1998a; Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009; Barkho, 2009; Figenschou, 2010).

Thus, ideology is situated within the body of discourse which is ideologically motivated (Thornborrow, 1991). In this sense, news stories cannot be taken as a direct and objective reflection of events. On the contrary, they are overloaded with certain ideologies that a reader may not be aware of (Goatly, 2007). In fact, language is the main production of ideology (Thornborrow, 1991). This means that a single event can be represented in different ways, yielding different representations (Nossek, 2004; Gerhard and Schafer, 2013; Kasmani, 2014). Thus, neutral view of an event is something beyond reach in media discourse within which claims of objectivity and impartiality are not tenable as news organizations are constrained by dominant discourses (Schudson, 2003). This issue of ideology has been the basis of many studies (Brookes, 1995) which asserted the need to explain how one event can be presented and, then, interpreted, differently.

In building the two polarities of positive "Self" and negative "Other", the online news demonstrate the hegemonic and dominant ideologies of news outlets towards world realities. As a public discourse, online news have a control over the minds of people at large (van Dijk, 1998a). As such, the online news can be a suitable venue to investigate the notion of the "Self" and "Other" through news outlets as CNN and AJE.

The application of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) to analyze online news helps create and increase awareness and deep understanding of the linguistic strategies used to construct "Self" and "Other" ideological representations. Thus, in this study, it is considered as a viable approach to unearth the implicit

ideologies hidden in the CNN and AJE's online discourse. As such, the researcher of the present study intends to concentrate on the ideological use of language to build the "Self" and "Other" polarities in CNN and AJE's online news concerning Arab spring. To help achieve this aim, the researcher utilizes a CDA framework concentrating on the ideological representation of "Self" and "Other" manifested through linguistic choices within their media discourse that concerns with ideological orientations and attitudes towards post-Arab spring era in the Arab world.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Cable News Network (CNN) and Al-Jazeera English (AJE) are among the notable channels in the world of the media (Barkho, 2007); they draw a great attention of researchers who have so far contributed to various media studies. Whether comparatively or not, these studies can be classified into two groups with two different orientations based on the respective discipline. For the first group of studies, media and political perspective, researchers such as, Jaramillo (2006); al-Najjar (2008); Firdous (2009); Nickens (2010) Jallad (2011) ; Yehia (2011); Bruce (2012); Youmans (2012) and Duffy (2012) have investigated the two channels either jointly (for comparison purposes) or separately. However, these scholars did not examine the two channels linguistically.

For the second group of studies, CDA perspective, some researchers have studied both channels. Most of the studies were comparative by nature either comparing between the two channels or comparing between both and other channels such as BBC via employing different models of CDA. Ross (2008) analyzed CNN and BBC online news' visual patterns (images) of the Iraq war 2003. Barkho (2008) conducted a textual analysis of CNN and BBC's online news making a comparison with AJE and Al-Jazeera Arabic (AJA) to show the ethnographic elements necessary

to unearth the discursive and social power of these channels' news discourse. Kalyango (2011) conducted a CDA study on the CNN's news gathering goals compared with public attitudes regarding selected African events in 2004 and 2008. Barkho (2011a) studied AJE and BBC together to compare between their discursive and social strategies and how they use language to transmit knowledge and convey communicative events. Barkho (2011b) made a comparison between AJE and BBC to elaborate their textual and ethnographic components for the sake of inferring their ideologies. Interviews with editors of both channels clarify that the internal guidelines and instructions within the two outlets sustain relations of power and dominance.

These researchers have recommended more media and CDA studies to be conducted. In this vein, Ross (2008) called for a deep discursal multi-model study of online media. Kalyango (2011) suggested conducting more CDA studies on the discourses of media institutions concerning news coverage.

Furthermore, Abdul-Samei (2010) called for conducting more comparative studies between differently oriented news channels. Jaramillo (2006), in a comparative study between CNN and FOX channels studying their news coverage of American invasion of Iraq in 2003, suggested making a comparison between TV networks to explore their news discourse. In other words, she called for analytic-discursal studies on news networks. With regard to media ethics and principles, Ben Ammar (2009), compared between CNN and Al-Jazeera -Arabic and he found out that there is a clear difference between the two channels in their news coverage of the two wars in Afghanistan in 2000 and in Iraq in 2003. Firdous (2009) has done a content media study by comparing between CNN and AJE's online news. Palmer (2009) made a comparison between CNN, AJE and BBC's online news. In fact, the

above-mentioned studies did not focus on linguistic analysis. Conducting a media comparison between CNN and Al-Jazeera Arabic channel, Al- Jenaibi (2010) asserted that there is a need for further studies on western and eastern media outlets. Based on the literature reviewed, it was noticed that CNN and AJE are the most notable examples of two opposite polarities of news media, the western and the eastern. In line with this call, Tantish (2012), by adopting Fairclough's (1995a) approach of CDA, conducted a study comparing between CNN and AJE to explore their intertextuality and its function in reproducing their underlying ideologies and power relations in their online news concerning the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This study concentrated, only, on showing how the two outlets' writers deal with the reported speeches, direct and indirect, seeking to clarify the ideological purposes behind without dealing with the linguistic features of the news texts selected for analysis.

In spite of the published articles and dissertations, the researcher has found that there is still a need to exert more efforts to study CNN and AJE from a linguistic perspective. To fill the gap, the researcher will conduct a CDA study to investigate the linguistic features of CNN and AJE's online news discursively and critically, in terms of micro and macro structures which have not been addressed, deeply, in the reviewed literature. This will coincide with van Dijk's (1998a,) call suggesting that news ought to be studied linguistically at both levels of micro and macro. Furthermore, van Dijk (1988a; 1988b) asserted that news stories can be analyzed linguistically and ideologically at both levels of macro (to find out themes) and micro (to find out linguistic syntactic, lexical and rhetorical structures). Similarly, Barkho (2011a, p. 26) has asserted that there is one essential gap in CDA studies in which "the lack of studies and evidence on how the micro-macro links in language as a

social phenomenon work. In other words, how links between the linguistics of the text and its extra-linguistic domains are established." Fowler (1991), on his part, called for more studies on media language to show how it functions ideologically.

The researcher of the current study is driven by scholars' calls for more analysis to examine the language and ideology of the two news agencies, CNN and AJE, intending to see how the notion of positive "Self" (in-group) and the negative "Other" (out-group) is presented through their use of language which, in turn, reflects their ideological orientations. Accordingly, CNN and AJE's online news texts will be analyzed by investigating their micro and macro structures to show how the manipulative language is invested for the purpose of persuading and controlling people's minds. In fact, manipulation of people minds can be regarded as the main reason behind certain strategies being followed by news agencies to embed certain ideologies within their coverage of world realities. Goatly (2000, p.123) affirms that news production is mainly "for ideological or manipulative purposes to smuggle in, as common sense, assumptions which are debatable, controversial or simply inapplicable ". This is the ideological nature of media discourse which roams to sustain unequal relations of power (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). The current study is based on the idea that media news are ideologically produced and manipulated. As such, news can be regarded as a powerful tool that may construct or deconstruct certain thoughts and ideas; positively and negatively, playing a massive role in controlling people's minds (Fowler, 1991). By analyzing their online news, the researcher attempts to uncover CNN and AJE's hidden ideologies to steer people examining their intended strategies to manipulate people's minds.

To go deep further, news are not direct representation of events. Via language, news can be formulated for the sake of persuading people to accept certain

representations spreading dominant-powerful people's discourse and views (Fairclough, 1995b). This is what meant by ideological power (Fairclough, 1989) that can be more effective when it is utilized by media institutions (as CNN and AJE) where a single event can be differently represented linguistically and ideologically. This indicates that news are motivated and politicalized by their organizations to serve their goals of influencing and controlling people's minds. Thus, news production is not direct as one event can be presented differently having different purposes. Objectiveness in media discourse is impossible. This issue has been studied by many scholars (Brookes, 1995) who emphasized the need to know and explain the reasons behind different representation and, then, views and interpretations. Hence, CDA can be used as a useful method for research on the role of language behind such representations reflecting CNN and AJE's media discourse as far as the current study is concerned.

Finally, it is worthy to mention that, after a long search, the Arab spring phenomenon and its consequences have not been studied from CDA perspective intensively. Maalaj (2012), Dagtas (2013) and Soa Seo (2013) addressed individual cases of Arab spring in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya consequently. As such, there is notable lack in linguistic-qualitative research about Arab spring. This encourages the researcher to study many cases of Arab spring (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria) aiming to provide the readers with a comprehensive picture about Arab spring as a whole. As such, the researcher of the present study intends to conduct a CDA study about this phenomenon that swept the whole Arab world 2010-2011 to investigate CNN and AJE's hidden ideologies embedded within their online news articles. It is hoped that such an investigation bridge the gap in the previous studies.



### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The present study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- 1) To identify the semantic macro and micro structures of CNN's Arab spring online articles and their ideological representations of positive "Self" and negative "Other".
- 2) To identify the semantic macro and micro structures of AJE's Arab spring online articles and their ideological representations of positive "Self" and negative "Other".
- 3) To compare between CNN and AJE's Arab spring online articles revealing similarities and differences of their ideological representations of positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other" (out-group)

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study will be an attempt to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the semantic macro and micro structures of CNN's Arab spring online articles and their ideological representations of positive "Self" and negative "Other"?
- 2) What are the semantic macro and micro structures of AJE's Arab spring online articles and their ideological representations of positive "Self" and negative "Other"?
- 3) What does the comparison between CNN and AJE's Arab spring online articles reveal about similarities and differences of their ideological representations of positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other" (out-group)?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The present study has significance as it deals with the world of media which witnesses continuous activities that have no end, concerning visual, printed and electronic news services. The last form (online news) has a key role in circulating news about what happens, everywhere, around the world, immediately. Mautner (2005, 2009) pointed out that the online news websites services have its readers who

increase every day, adding that there have been relatively little CDA studies on online news media. Although this trend is currently changing, there is still a significant need to bridge the gap in this area as the online media has more complex characteristics than traditional print or even television media (Mautner, 2005, 2009). Furthermore, Cohen (2002) and Fredin (1997) believed that online news journalism operates in an environment in which news stories are produced and exchanged at a rapid pace, adding that internet news technology is changing rapidly and is spreading around the world; thereby new readers are formed on a daily basis.

The current study tackles two of the most prominent news outlets in the world CNN and AJE, which both have a great influence on the minds of their audiences and readers (Firdous, 2009). Both channels have their own fingerprints in the world of media. CNN is the pioneer internationally (Donohue, 2006; Ross, 2008; Akbulut, 2010; Powers, 2012) and AJE is the pioneer in the Arab and Middle East worlds (Jones, 2007; Figenschou, 2010; Pintak, 2011; Shuaib, 2012) and it became one of the world news channels after its launch in 2006. The importance of the study may reside at this point as it throws light on two of the prominent world news channels, analyzing their online news stories linguistically and ideologically. Both factors may be considered important by specialists in linguistics, political sciences, mass media and communication.

The researcher has selected four communicative events, reported by the CNN and AJE, at the same time. The chosen items have their own significance as they reflect the Arab political scenes after the Arab spring revolutions 2010- 2011 which is called by specialists in media and political sciences as "Arab winter" (Spencer, 2012). For this, the researcher selected some news articles that concern with events occurred in 2013 to manifest the Arab spring consequences focusing on the role of

language in reflecting this political phenomenon in the Arab homeland. It is manifested within media news articles released by CNN and AJE. As such, the selected news texts will be a fertile soil for CDA researching.

As readers of online news are interested in events of high importance, the researcher seeks to select the important ones that have a high influence on the regions they took place after Arab spring. Media plays a significant influential role in shaping receivers' views about communicative events; it is of high importance to understand how news outlets, such as CNN and AJE, present their positive "Self" (in-group) and negative "Other" (out-group) within a selected set of news stories. CDA approach is maintained in this study to show how both outlets work to influence their online readers, manipulating their minds and framing their attitudes towards certain events. In fact, Media outlets insist on doing this in conveying their messages to the recipients in order to be grasped and understood.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The present study will deal with (Four) case studies of *online* news stories produced by both CNN and AJE through their websites, concerning some selected Arab world realities in Arab spring era. In each case study, the researcher will analyze, linguistically and ideologically, the two versions of the same event released by CNN and AJE ending with making a comparison between them. In total, the analytical part of the study will cover the analysis of eight news texts; four for each news outlet. The current study focuses on *the positive "Self" and the negative "Other"* ideological representation to infer hidden ideologies and strategies being followed by CNN and AJE in their general political tendency towards certain communicative events in the Arab world political scene. The study will be, also, concerned with analyzing the *micro* and *macro* components of the online articles

being chosen for the analysis. This means that the analysis will cover all the linguistic aspects of CNN and AJE's news discourse, linguistically and ideologically. Finally, as the analysis will focus on the written texts only due to space constraints, *images* will be excluded. *Readers' comments and feedback* will not be taken into consideration for the constraints of the study.

## **1.7 Organization of the Study**

This study comprises five chapters. Chapter One presents an introduction to the study, outlining the statement of the problem, the objectives, the Research Questions, the significance and scope, limitation, background and Definitions of key terms of the study. Chapter Two provides an explication of the theoretical framework of this study. Past literature on media discourse, CDA and ideology will be reviewed. Chapter Three describes, in detail, the methodology adopted to carry out the analytical part of this study. Chapter Four deals with the analysis and comparison of CNN and AJE's news articles selected for the study. Chapter five discusses the findings with reference to the Research Questions of the study. Contributions and implications of the study will be presented. Recommendations and suggestions for further studies will be included.

## **1.8 Situating CNN,AJE and Arab Spring**

### **1.8.1 CNN and AJE in the World of Media**

The two data sources of this study, CNN and AJE, are two of the most influential media corporations in the world with global reach; a long expertise and history with producing online media (Firdous, 2009). The current study concerns with showing how the gigantic media outlets present their "Self" and "Other" within some selected communicative events, shaping receptors' views towards them (Barkho,2009) as they are regarded as global media players. The present study, in fact, is not about CNN and AJE but about their ideologies, policies and strategies in

shaping their presentations of positive "Self" and negative "Other" concerning some selected news texts about the Arab spring wave that swept the Arab world. It concerns with their discourse and how it is produced and reproduced to reflect the social and discursive worlds of the event they present.

The 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' of both giants should not be taken for granted as any news outlet's task and mission is underlined with power and ideology due to the fact that news institutions are always controlled by dominating groups (Ben Ammar, 2009). CNN and AJE are not free of this basic fact as they are loaded with their ideological messages to be conveyed to their recipients through their discourses. Van Dijk (1998c) indicated that ideologies are connected with discourse as they are expressed, reflected, and reproduced in society. They are the basic foundation of the social representations and practices of group members, discourse is among.

#### **1.8.1.1 Why CNN?**

CNN is an American based cable and satellite channel. It is the first channel to provide 24-hour news coverage for its viewers in U.S.A. and the world (Shrikhande, 2001). It is founded in 1980 by American media tycoon Ted Turner (Whittemore, 1990; CNN, 2007). It is regarded as the world's most trusted news source as gaining the audience's respect and trust. The main goal behind its creation is "to fill a gap in the market for news consumption that catered to a growing number of influential business and political elites (Powers, 2012). CNN, in 1991, "dominated the global news flow" (el-Nawawy and powers, 2010, p.63) controlling the whole image and international view about the first gulf war conflict. This means that there is no other view but that one of CNN which mainly supports the American-led military operations (el-Nawawy and powers, 2010). It has emerged as a global player in international relations, inspiring other networks to follow the same in broadcasting

globally. CNN reaches more than two billion people, maintaining a privileged status as the most famous prominent international news outlet (McChensney, 2001). The latest studies confirmed that it reaches more than 7 billion people (Morris, 2005; Cramer, 2005).

#### **1.8.1.1.1 The Role of "CNN Effect"**

By the end of the 1980s, a question was raised about what extent media affect government and policy makers, forcing them to respond on media-focused issues. (Beschloss, 1993; Hoge, 1994). Media-government relation is one that provokes controversial debates of communication studies (Akbulut, 2010). Some studies claim that media reflects and peruses the political elites' interests. Furthermore, News media echo the government's discourse (Herman and Chomsky, 1988 and 2002; Dickson, 1995). Briefly, most studies emphasized the interactive relation between the two, media and the powerful elite (Entman, 2003). Each side affects the decision of the other as both are affected by the same political environment. Here, the phrase of "CNN effect" was born to stand for the influence of news media institutions on the governments, affecting their policies (Livingston, 1997) by provoking audiences and global powerful elites towards global events (Robinson, 1999). According to Livingston, "the impact of the new global real-time media are substantial, if not profound" (1997, p.1) asserting the fact that the relationship between media and government is still a subject of controversy.

Robinson (1999, p.301) asserted that the phrase "CNN effect" involves the fact that "real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events". Thinking about the relation between media and powerful elite, one should consider that media does not create policy but rather that news media is mobilized and manipulated even" into

supporting government policy" (p.301). With this idea, the incompatibility between the "CNN effect" and consent manufacturing theory is noticed and acknowledged.

"CNN effect" phenomenon can be traced, then, to the 1980s of the past century when American policy makers learned about the Iraqi- Iranian war conflict by watching CNN more than what they have learned from their own intelligence agencies which, also, depended on it. Zapotoczny (2008, p.1) stated that "while the CNN coverage was a logistics wonder, some, at the same time, suggested that it is hardly the way modern wars should be fought and named this phenomenon the "CNN effect". Belknap (2001, p.1) defines this phenomenon as "a theory in political science and media studies that postulate that the development of the popular 24-hour international television news channel known as Cable News Network or CNN had a major impact on the conduct of states' foreign policy in the late cold war period and that CNN and its subsequent industry competitors have had a similar impact in the post-cold war era" (cited in Zapotoczny, 2008 p.1). Proponents of the "CNN effect" argued that new global media's speed, depth and extent led to creating a new force on governments and policy makers, different, significantly, from that of past wars. As such, analysts stated that "CNN effect" phenomenon will have its own impact on the future wars.

#### **1.8.1.2 Why AJE?**

AJE is first Middle-East 24-hour English language news channel headquartered in Doha, the capital of the Gulf microstate of Qatar (Firdous, 2009). It broadcasts news, news analysis and features, live debates and programs, documentaries, sports and others. It is alternative to the dominant news western outlets, motivated by the goal of meeting the rising demand for Middle East news and other parts of the world to be delivered for English speaking recipients. Furthermore, it was launched to

bridge the gap between the south and the north in the western media, which speaks mostly in English and is under the control of certain cultures and communities (Powers, 2012). On his part, Figenschou (2010) stated that AJE is regarded as the first global English-language satellite news channel broadcasting globally from the Middle East, aiming "to redress the balance of news flow" (p.85). It can be regarded as a non-western outlet that represents "the concept of news contra-flows" (p.87). Last not the least, Painter (2008) characterized AJE as the first news channel that looks at what happens from a different view.

Ben Ammar (2009, p.36) stated that "it is a known fact that big western news agencies and media outlets, such as CNN, boast the widest news coverage in the world". To challenge this, Al-Jazeera network (AJ), based in Qatar and sponsored financially by Qatari ruling family and government to deepen its role in the Arab and international worlds, launched its English branch, Al-Jazeera English (AJE) to reflect its media messages. Ben Ammar (2009) stated that the main goal of AJE is "to provide both a regional voice and a global perspective to a potential world audience of over one billion English speakers, without an Anglo-American worldview" (p.36). Thus, AJE works to encounter the existing Anglo –American news outlets, informing the world from a different perspective.

AJE was launched in 2006 as there was, after 11 September 2000 and the American invasion of Afghanistan, a growing need, thus, demand, for an accurate reporting from the Middle East and non-western world, which usually, historically unreported by western news agencies and networks. Hence, its main aim for launching is to report news from the news- neglected areas in the world as the Middle East, Afghanistan and other areas in English to let the whole world know what goes on there (Power, 2012).



Figenschou (2010) stated that AJE is regarded as the first global English-language satellite news channel broadcasting globally from the Middle East, aiming "to redress the balance of news flow" (p.85). It emerged from its eldest sister Al-Jazeera Arabic (AJA) which has been considered as a challenge for the western news outlets, having "an alternative contra-flow in global news" (p.85). It can be regarded as a non-western outlet that represents "the concept of news contra-flows" (p.87).

#### **1.8.1.2.1 The Role of "AJE Effect"**

Seib (2008) described Al- Jazeera as a symbol of news institution's power that affects global politics and culture in the surrounding media- centric world. While CNN has its effect on American and international policies in the 1980s in a phenomenon called "CNN Effect", Al-Jazeera, today, has its own effect on foreign policies, being described as "Al-Jazeera Effect". Hence, "just as 'the CNN effect ' was not about CNN alone, likewise 'the Al-Jazeera effect' is not about Al-Jazeera alone, but about news media as instruments of education and policy in every aspect of global affairs" (Seib,2008, p.17).

Some scholars discussed "Al-Jazeera Effect", showing that its style of journalism has shaped public discourse in the Arab region and, in turn, influenced public opinion in the Arab-Islamic world (Johnson and Fahmy, 2010). Furthermore, during 1991 gulf war, CNN succeeded in showing factual truths that attract audiences everywhere and provoke angry criticism and debates. Al- Jazeera TV, like CNN in the first Gulf war, succeeded to be a part of Afghanistan war 2000 (Seib, 2008). Iskander (2002, p.27) reported Christiana Amanpour, senior CNN anchor and reporter, saying that "the way the Gulf war gave CNN its worldwide fame is happening again, but, this time, the news agency to gain media celebrity is Al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera is, in a way, the CNN of the war in Afghanistan". Thus, Al-

Jazeera TV, reporting from Afghanistan, is to be regarded as the turning point in achieving its internalization, bringing it to the spotlight as an alternative source of news.

Furthermore, its role deepened during the Iraq war 2003 as it corrected news released by US officials and the western news outlets and media (Figenschou, 2006). In fact, Al-Jazeera TV succeeded in establishing itself a major player in the media field and emerging "as the network of the moment" (Firdous, 2009, p.23). Bahry (2001, p.91) stated that "Today, al-Jazeera rivals CNN as a recognized international source of information. It is quoted by the international media, which appear to accept it as a valid and a reliable source".

Thus, AJE's mission is "to target an international audience and fill a gap in international news in order to meet growing demand for news from around the world that is not filtered through the lens of the west" (quoting Nigel Parsons, one of the main AJE's officials, in Powers , 2012, p.19). Moreover, it "is arguably the closest thing to borderless journalism in the world today" (Pintak, 2011, p.26). Put another way, it speaks to the whole world.

AJE, the world's first global English language news channel to be headquartered in the Middle East, is described as 'the voice of the south', symbolically, denoting the voiceless people in general. It promises "to provide new and productive fora for cross-cultural communications" (el-Nawawy and Powers, 2010, p.71). According to its proponents, AJE gives a wonderful chance for a new tendency of global news flow discourse, promising to be "the voice of the voiceless" (el-Nawawy and Powers, 2010, p.71). In fact, it represents "a new style of media structure and content", doing the news differently with more deep analysis of the untold stories (el-Nawawy and

Powers, 2010, p.71). It is meant to be a counterpart network to stand and challenge Western media organizations.

### **1.8.2 Arab Spring in the Arab world**

Arab Spring is a wave of protests and demonstrations that prevailed in Arab homeland at the end of 2010 and beginning of 2011, and this is known as "the Arab spring" (Ashley, 2011) or called as "the Arab awakening" (Aljazeera, 2011). It started, in Tunisia, with Mohammad Bouazizi's self-immolation on 18 December 2010 to reject corruption of the powerful elite and their violation of human rights, and ill-treatment of people (Fahim, 2011), shaking the Arab dictatorships in whole Arab region as in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and others. It has started with public unrest and ended with bringing down regimes in some Arab countries, sparking violence in some others (Manfreda, 2011; BBC, 2013). In fact, the Arab world, still, faces its consequences. Four presidents were forced to step down, in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. Civil uprisings have erupted in Bahrain and Syria. Protests have broken out in Iraq, Algeria, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Sudan (Al-Jazeera, 2011; Peterson, 2011; Spenser, 2011; Bakri, 2011). This wave can be described as civil resistance against dictatorships in campaigns of strikes, marches and rallies with the utmost use of social media in all of its forms.

Many protests have been faced with violent and bloody responses by the dictatorships; their authorities, governmental militia and their supporters. A major slogan of these protests was "Ash-sha'b yurid isqat an-nizam [the people want to bring down the regime]" (Abulof, 2011). Some analysts made a comparison between the Arab spring wave with the anti-Communist Revolution of 1989, known as the Autumn of Nations that swept through Eastern Europe and the communist world (Cook, 2011; Lander, 2011; Sullivan, 2011). The Arab spring led to overthrow

presidents with their governments in four Arab countries. Tunisian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia on 14 January 2011 after heavy protests that demanded his resignation. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak resigned on 11 February 2011 after 18 days of massive protests in the al-Tahrir square in the Egyptian capital, Cairo, putting an end to his 30-year regime. Libyan president Muammar al- Gaddafi was toppled on 23 August 2011 when the National Transitional Council (NTC) controlled Bab al Azizia, the presidency palace in the Libyan capital, Tripoli. He was on the run and then, caught and killed on 20 October 2011 in his hometown of Sirte, ending 40 years in power.

The Arab spring has been caused by many factors including dictatorships in power for decades, human rights violation, corruption, unemployment, poverty, economic decline and some of the structural demographic factors as a large percentage of educated but unemployed and dissatisfied youths. Specifically , the reasons for the eruption of protest include the concentration of wealth in the hands of those in power for many decades, the corruption and insufficient transparency of wealth redistribution, the refusal of the young people to accept the status quo, food shortage and high prices (Breisinger, Ecker and Al-Riffai, 2011).

Due to space constraints, the researcher will analyze CNN and AJE's news texts that reflect the consequences of the Arab spring in 2013 in four Arab states (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria), only, within four case CDA studies. Background information about each case are needed to endorse the analysis in Chapter Four. This will be the core of next section.

### **1.8.2.1 Tunisia**

In December 2010, a local vendor, Mohammed Bouazizi, set himself on fire protesting against injustice he suffered from at the hands of a local policewoman

(DuPont and Passy,2011; Sghaier,2012; Breuer, Landman and Farquhar, 2014). In fact, the vendor's self-immolation led to mass demonstrations to reject the economic hardship, the autocratic rule which shadowed over Tunisia for decades, and corruption (Mabrouk, 2011). With his self-immolation, wide protests have been sparked in Tunisia and then spread to all Arab countries. As such, Tunisia became the birthplace of the Arab spring. In general, the main goal was to expose the widespread corruption in the whole country. It was not the only reason as the protests were preceded by high rates of unemployment, economic inflation, governmental corruption, lack of freedom of speech and other forms of political freedom and deteriorated living conditions (Ayebe, 2011; Joffe, 2011; Sghaier, 2012). Protests continued and the security forces used live arms against the protesters leading to many deaths and injuries. About 300 people were shot dead during the subsequent unrest which put President Zain al-Abiddin Ben Ali in a bad situation (Mabrouk, 2011; BBC, 2013).

As the Army Forces refused to interfere to end the protests, President Ben Ali was forced to flee Tunisia on January 2011 to Saudi Arabia (Manfreda, 2011; Sghaier, 2012; BBC, 2013) after 23 years in power (DuPont and Passy, 2011; Hess, 2013). He was sentenced to life in prison in absentia. After Ben Ali's downfall, a state of emergency was declared in the whole country and caretaker coalition government was formed including representatives from Ben Ali's party, the Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD) and the opposition parties. As a result of daily demonstrations, the prime minister, Mohammad Ghannouchi reshuffled the government, removing all the RCD members from the government (Al-Jazeera, 2011). On 6 February, the former ruling party (RCD) was suspended and then dissolved on 9 March. Following further public protests, Ghannouchi, himself,

resigned on 27 February, and Beji el Sebsi became the new Prime Minister (Al-Jazeera, 2011).

### **1.8.2.2 Egypt**

The Arab spring began in Tunisia but its decisive moment that changed the whole region, forever, was the Egyptian President Mohammad Hosni Mubarak's downfall (Manfreda, 2011; Joya, 2011). Since Arab spring eruption, Egypt has toppled two presidents. Inspired by Tunisia uprising, Egyptians took to the streets to demand Mubarak's resignation and it was in February 2011, after being in power for three decades despite that he is the west's key Arab ally since 1980 when he came to power (El-Tantawy and Wiest, 2011; Hess, 2013). 18 days of mass demonstrations forced him to quit. The military forces refused to support him in front of the masses in the al-Tahrir square in Cairo. Then, he stood in court, convicted for his role in killing 846 people during the uprising. But the verdict was overturned on appeal.

The supreme council of the Egyptian Armed Forces assumed presidential powers after Mubarak's resignation (Joya, 2011; Sarihan, 2012). The Islamic Muslim Brotherhood won the parliamentary elections in 2011 overwhelmingly and their relations with the secular parties soured. The Islamist Dr. Mohammad Morsi, was elected as a president of Egypt in June 2012. He rejected a military decree that limited his powers, dissolved the House of Representatives and appointed Gen. Abdul-Fattah al- Sisi as Chief of Staff and defense minister.

But public opposition to President Morsi began to rise in November 2012 when he granted himself far-reaching powers after the ratification of the new draft constitution. As a result, Morsi was deposed by his defense minister, el-Sisi, in June 2013 after millions of protesters took to the streets to express anger against Muslim Brotherhood. An interim government was formulated. Security forces launched a

heavy crackdown on the Muslim brotherhood members and centers, killing about 1,000 people during two pro-Morsi's sit-ins in Cairo. In December 2013, a constituent assembly finished drafting a new constitution replacing the 2012 charter.

During 2013, Egypt was polarized between supporters of the interim government and military, on one hand, and supporters of the Islamists and Muslim Brotherhood, on the other. Fears had been escalated as Egypt may return back to the state of police which Arab spring revolution aimed to put an end to. Protests and demonstrations for deeper political changes continued. Egyptian military remained the most powerful political player. Furthermore, the old regime remained in place and the economy had been in freefall since the start of the Arab spring revolt.

In 2014, a referendum was held on the redrafted constitution, followed by parliamentary and presidential elections in which General Al-Sisi will be the main presidential candidate (BBC, 2014). He won with clear majority amid an escalation of violence and mass killing campaign against Muslim Brothers forcing the American president, Barak Obama, to stop military and financial aid to Egypt. In 2015, the situation in the bilateral relations between Egypt and USA developed for the best for both sides as fighting terrorism should be shared by both of them, especially, after the rise up of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) 's role in Egypt (CNN, 2015).

### **1.8.2.3 Libya**

By the time of the Egyptian president Mubarak's resignation, many Arab countries were already in turmoil, Libya was the first. Protests against President Muammar al-Gaddafi escalated into what was called the first civil war caused by the Arab spring (Manfreda, 2011; Paoletti, 2011; Sawani, 2012). Libya's Arab uprising started in February 2011 after the security forces in Benghazi, east of Libya, opened

fire on a protest. This led to mass anti- government demonstrations in many Libyan cities, seeking to topple President al-Gaddafi in Tripoli (Zoubir and Rozsa, 2012). UN Security Council authorizes NATO taking "all necessary measures" to protect civilians. NATO forces in March 2011 launched air strikes on governmental targets aiming to impose no- fly zone. After six months and with the help of the west and some Arab states, Tripoli fell down in the hands of NATO forces. After being in power for four decades, Al-Gaddafi fled in August 2011. He was captured outside his hometown Sirte and killed in October 2011 (Brahimi, 2011).

The National Transitional Council (NTC), which led the revolt, declared Libya's liberation officially promising to build a democratic-pluralist state. NTC, in July 2012, organized a general election to choose an interim parliament. The General Congress, in which liberal, secular and independent candidates beat the Muslim Brotherhood, aligned with Justice and Construction party (Lynch, 2012).

Instability was the main feature of Libya after Al-Gaddafi's overthrow with some 300 revolutionary militias clashing with each other, defying orders to be disarmed (van Genugten, 2011; Sawani,2012). Complaints of lack of government transparency and regional development with the inflation and unemployment were spread out among Libyans in the whole country (Gaub, 2014). In September 2013, governmental plans were announced for electing a constituent assembly to write a new constitution amid political and religious violence that still spread and endemic. In 2014, factional violence has escalated into civil war. Nevertheless, a new council of deputies (CoD) was elected replacing the old one; the general national congress (GNC). But, some members of the old GNC elected Omar Al-Hasi as PM leaving Libya with two regional governments; one proclaimed by CoD in Tobruk and the other proclaimed by GNC in Tripoli (CNN, 2015). Civil fighting continued and



Libya continued to struggle for good future till the time of writing the present research.

#### **1.8.2.4 Syria**

With the spread of the Arab spring all over the Arab world, Syria became the main spot of attention. It is multi-religious country allied to Iran, ruled by a republican repressive regime. It plays a pivotal geopolitical role among Arab countries (Manfreda, 2011; BBC, 2013). In fact, it has witnessed the Arab spring wave that swept the Arab world late. It began as a peaceful popular uprising but ended in a brutal and sectarian armed conflict (Philips, 2012).

In March 2011, the southern city Dera'a witnessed protests to demand a wider range of freedom and an end to governmental corruption (Chatel, 2014). Security forces opened fire on the demonstrators and this, in turn, encouraged more demonstrators to go to the streets. By July 2011, thousands of Syrian protesters demanded President Bashar Al-Assad's resignation. In spite of the ruthless efforts to crush the demonstrations, the mass protests continued unabated (Sarihan, 2012). Opposition supporters inclined to use force and arms to defend themselves and to kick the security forces out of their residential areas. Thus, the regime's brutality provoked an armed response from the opposition and in mid of 2011, army defectors began organizing the Free Syrian Army (BBC, 2013). By the end of 2011, Syria faced a civil war in which Alawite religious minority siding with President Al-Assad whereas the Sunni majority supporting the rebels (Philips, 2012). Both camps have their backers; Russia supported the regime while Saudi Arabia and Qatar supported the rebels (Hokayem, 2014).

In February 2012, a referendum was held to approve the new constitution with dropping an article that gives the ruling Ba'ath party unique status as the leader of