A Critical Analysis of Newspaper Editorial Discourse on the Portrayal of Uprising in Libya and Syria

Naeem Afzal[1], Minah Harun[2]

[1]Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences,
[2]School of Education and Modern Languages, College of Arts and Sciences,
Universiti Utara, MALAYSIA.

[1]s93633@student.uum.edu.my, [2]minn@uum.edu.my

ABSTRACT

This research paper critically analyzed the editorial discourse of uprising in Libya and Syria from two mainstream newspapers namely The News International of Pakistan and the Arab News of Saudi Arabia. We explored how the crises were represented in the two cultural settings, how the news editorials satisfied the readership through the ideological framing and how that impacted the public opinion. The editorial texts were published during January 2011 to December 2012 which was a peak time for media coverage of the events. The theoretical framework of this study was based on van Dijk's model of ideological square that served as a guiding principle for us to treat the editorial voices as in-group (Saudi Arabia) and out-group representations (Pakistan).We used the qualitative data analysis software package NVivo 10 to analyze the data. Findings of 12 editorial texts elucidated 'evaluative beliefs' of editors and their ideological constructions of authorities and protestors as social actors of the uprising. Drawing from the perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA), we identified editorial relationship with the uprising through making sense of the meaning constructed. The study revealed that the editorials portrayed the authorities and their actions as a threat to incoming change and the protectors as indicators of revolution and social change.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, ideological square model, newspaper editorial, media discourse, framing

INTRODUCTION

Media texts serve as advocate of social changes in one way or the other which enable them to be explored from different perspectives (Fairclough, 1995). Media discourse undoubtedly enacts as the leading contributor of public opinion (van Dijk, 2000). Newspaper editorials are one variety of such media discourse that pays attention to various elements including human social issues, problems, and opportunities (McCombs, 1997). Editorial coverage of conflicts and social issues indicates the sociopolitical significance which a particular newspaper assigns to such events (van Dijk, 1989). This tends to be reflected in the realm of international affairs given the heavy reliance on the media by the public and the editorials are seen as playing a greater role (Le, 2003). Editorial texts as persuasive, subjective and official representatives of public opinion attract readers and researchers by representing ideological opinions on controversial matters (Vaughan, 1994; Lee & Lin, 2006; Hornby, 2000). Editorial opinions are defined as beliefs that presuppose value and contain judgments about individuals. However, they are affected by ideological principles that govern social judgments and suggest how one-group members think of others as being right or wrong (van Dijk, 1998b). Editorial opinions are far away from personal bias. Rather, they are social and institutional and this is what actually makes them worth probing to know the orientation of a particular media group or organization at the time of conflicts.

_____

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Rationale for the Cultural Setting

We chose to examine the Pakistani and Saudi Arabia news editorials due to reasons which are partly personal and partly due to our awareness of how the media discourse (re)shapes public opinions. One of the authors is a Pakistani citizen and works in Saudi Arabia. Using his participant observation and insider's perspectives, we hope to reveal useful insights into the media portrayal of the conflicts in Libya and Syria. Moreover, echoing van Dijk (2006), this research paper would offer two versions: Pakistani version of the uprisings as out-group editorial representation (non-Arab editorial voice) and the Saudi version as in-group editorial representation (Arab editorial voice). We focused on the editorial coverage of the uprising in these two particular countries where the conflicts relatively prolonged. It gained more media attention as compared to other countries hit by the so-called Arab spring. As argued by Stigall (2014), the two countries were "profoundly impacted" by the uprising, experienced "institutional deficits" and even threatened the regional stability. We are also of the opinion that the study of media discourse is relevant to modern day-to day living given the fact that we engage in all types of consumption, in particular, news consumption. The editorial coverage of the *NI* and the *A* was examined with the purpose of exploring how the mainstream media in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia reacted to these rebellions.

The Arab Uprising Context

The uprising in Libya and Syrian was part of a series of movements that were once commonly entitled as 'Arab Spring' by the world media. These anti-regime demonstrations climaxed in Tunisia on December 17, 2010 and later engulfed other countries (Lynch, 2013; Achcar, 2013).

The uprisings in Syrian broke out in February 2011 when, according to Ismail (2011), young activists inspired by Tunisian and Egyptian evolutions called for a 'day of anger' using Facebook. These young opponents shook up the Asad regime and demanded an end to the rule of security forces. It further sparked in the city of Dar when school children were arrested for drawing graffiti on their school wall calling the end of the Syrian regime. Following the brutal treatment meted out to the children by the security forces, residents protested by taking to streets. Government machinery used violent tactics including imprisonments, arrests and tortures to crush these countrywide demonstrations but faced sever resistance. As a result, hundreds died, thousands became homeless and millions took refuge in neighboring countries. Landis (2012) stated that the Syrian regime survived despite claims and expectations of its fall made by foreign and opposition leaders. The obvious reasons were a weak and divided Syrian opposition council and involvement of foreign powers which supported the Asad regime. Moreover, ordinary Syrians doubted the capabilities of opposition groups as a better alternative to the still existing regime.

The revolution fires which ignited in Tunisia reached the 'Libyan Arab Jamahiriya' in February 2011. Also, influenced by transitions in Tunisia and Egypt, Libyans held peaceful protests against 42 year old rule of the Libyan leader Qaddafi. The Libyan authorities used unlawful tactics such as the use of aircrafts and militarily weapons which killed hundreds of civilian protestors. Soon, the whole country turned into a battle field and as result Libya was declared a no-fly zone by the UN Security Council. Later, international air strikes backed by the UN were launched to protect Libyans from the atrocities of the regime forces. Thus, Libya got trapped in rebellions, revolutions and civil war (Christian, 2011). The Libyan situation was contrary to other countries of the uprising as it witnessed a complete break down with the emergence of rebel leaderships. The regime forces killed rebels, civilians

armed themselves and army units defected. Ultimately, the regime collapsed in October 2011 and National Transition Council stepped in but it failed to establish itself as a real governing body and was targeted by the revolutionary forces. As a result, the country is still ruled by the two different rival governments (Lacher, 2012).

The News International

The newspaper was launched in Pakistan in 1991 and it belongs to the mainstream branch of the country's print media setup and is published in English language. Having obtained an elite status of readership, the newspaper has a circulation of 140,000 copies per day. It publishes editorials on daily basis which cover various issues of national and international concern by an established board of editorial staff (Newspaper Readership Survey: Aftab Associates for M. Consulting, 2008).

Arab News

The newspaper was established in Saudi Arabia in 1975. It was the first newspaper that provided the country's stance in English language on various global and regional issues. It belongs to the mainstream branch of print media discourse, too. The newspaper has a daily circulation of 110,000 copies (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2006). Editorial texts of the newspaper are regularly published on Fridays and occasionally on other days of the week. Editorial board of the newspaper takes into account all current issues of international affairs.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purpose of this study, we employed the critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework posited by van Dijk namely the ideological square model (van Dijk 1998a, 1998b). The binary schema of "us" (associated with the value 'good') and "them" (associated with the value 'bad') in this model acted as guiding principle for us. We identified the concealed attitudinal stances of the newspaper editors and analyzed how certain aspects of the uprisings were emphasized and others were de-emphasized through the functional moves of this model (van Dijk, 1989). This model also enabled us to categorize positive and negative representations of the protestors and the authorities. We studied how the so-called "complementary strategies" the positive representation of one group and the negative representation of the other (van Dijk, 1993) are portrayed in the editorial excerpts. This model helped the researchers to detect such structures with its evaluative principles or functional moves (van Dijk, 1998b, 2004) illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Ideological Square Model of the Uprising (Adapted from van Dijk, 1998b, 2004)

_____

LITERATURE REVIEW

Newspapers are widely read type of discourse(Hawes & Thomas, 1995) with the editorials a type of discourse as such. Editorial at a particular reflect the media construction of socio-cultural environment and their positioning in it (Le, 2010). For instance, the editorials of the two Pakistani English newspapers *DailyDawn* and the *Daily Nation* became the focus of the researchers, Tabassum, Shah and Bilal (2013), for their construction of the Left and Right wing ideologies. The researchers examined syntactic structure, lexicon, global and local semantics and rhetorical structures in the editorial portrayals of Osama Bin Laden's death and attack on PNS Mehran base. The study concluded that newspaper editorials cannot be considered as the objective opinion specimens. Rather, they are representatives of dominant newspaper ideologies.

Ahmadian and Farahani (2014) investigated how the power of language influences and formulates the public opinion. The researchers focused on the editorials of *The Los Angeles Times* and *Tehran Times* and examined ideological differences manifested in in the portrayal of Iran's nuclear program. Through the application of van Dijk's framework of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, the study found how the two selected newspapers represented the same issue differently. The analysis focused on certain discursive strategies such as lexicalization, presupposition and others.

Another study which examined the representation of Iran's nuclear program in the editorials published by British news companies included the research of Atai and Mozaheb (2013). The analysis through the application of van Dijk's model of CDA covered editorial texts, headlines and the linguistic features of lexical choices, nominalization, passivization, over completeness, and voice. The researchers found the media bias in the editorial representations of Iran's nuclear program constructed through the ideological circles of "us" (the West) and "them" (Iran).

Tahir (2013) also analyzed representation of Muslims in one of the articles published in the *Washington Post* which covered protests carried out by Muslims against the publications of the blasphemous cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The researcher through van Dijk's analytical framework of "us-and-them ideologies" explored the underlying beliefs of the text related to in-group and out-group presentations. Through the study of lexical portrayals and other discursive strategies, the researcher concluded that the article described Muslims and their actions negatively by treating them as "others".

Among other studies which focused on the construction of ideologies in media discourse, Costelloe (2014) examined portrayal of urban violence in 2005 in French newspaper. The researcher focused on the scenes of violent rioting which prompted media discussions related to French national identity. The study found that national identity and expression of nationalism were depicted in an exclusionary way. It also argued that a discourse of sameness constructed symbolic boundaries between "us" and "them". The print news media adopted strategies which represented immigrant minorities as "others".

In a similar manner, Poorebrahim and Reza (2012) established the relationship between language and ideology by probing the representation of Islam and Muslims in the western discourse. The researchers concentrated on the print media headlines in the *Independent*, the *New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, and *The Times*. The study relied on van Dijk's notions of ideological square that consisted of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The analysis of linguistic choices demonstrated that Islam was frequently stereotyped with negative representation of Muslims.

Youssefi, Kanani and Shojaei (2013) investigated the western press coverage of Iranian sanctions. The study explored heads and leads to demonstrate how the press made arguments. It focused on ideologically biased discursive patterns such as lexical and grammatical choices and the binary opposition of "us" versus "them". Findings suggested a strong ideological orientation in the western newspapers' reports of the events.

In another study on the reports of online websites Egypt Independent and Ikhwanweb, Eissa (2014) investigated ideological structures of a polarized discourse. The researcher through CDA focused on the interrelated events such as the issuing of a constitutional declaration by the Egyptian President, the aftermath clashes outside the presidential palace and the issuing of constitutional draft. The study found that both the websites established a dichotomy of "we" versus "them" in their ideological portrayals of the events.

All these studies reiterated that media discourse has always portrayed the conflicts through "us" and "them" dichotomy.

METHODOLOGY

We adopted qualitative research design to explore how the newspapers constructed the engagement of the uprising actors: protestors vs. authorities. The qualitative method suited the purpose and objective of this research paper for two reasons. First, we employed van Dijk's model of CDA to examine the ideological orientations embedded in the editorial texts without making any efforts to quantify their impact. Second, since we wanted to uncover the use of language as a form of social practice, it was necessary to execute a qualitative content analysis only.

Hence, we analyzed the linguistic choices of the newspaper editors which enabled us to understand how the discourse mechanism works in the media. We followed the deductive approach of analysis to study the portrayal of the uprising through the predetermined categories of: "portrayal of protestors" (us-sentiment) and "portrayal of authorities" (them-sentiment) supported by the notion of positive self-representation and negative other-representation.

For this analysis, we used the latest available version of qualitative research software NVivo 10 for analyzing and managing the data. Figure 2 demonstrated how the data units were analyzed through NVivo 10 by creating nodes.
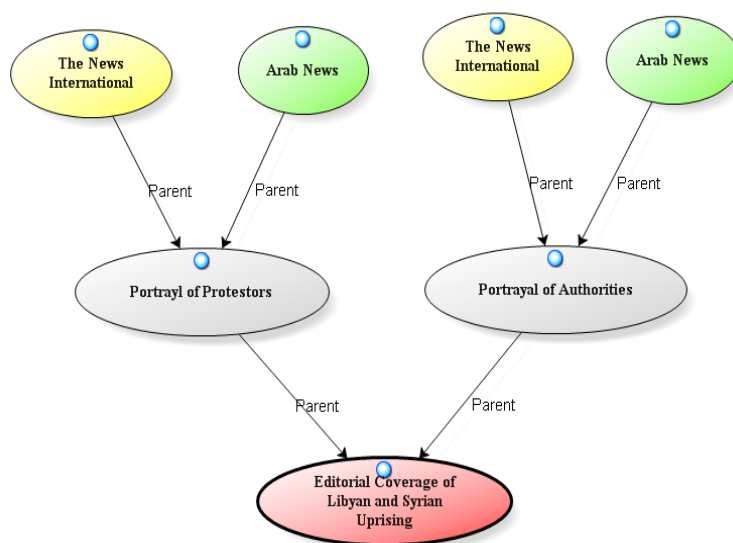

Figure 2. Analysis of the Uprising through NVivo Nodes

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

For our study, we posed the following research questions.

1. How were the Libyan and Syrian authorities portrayed by *The News International* and *Arab News*?
2. How were the protestors of both the nations portrayed by the two newspapers?

RESULTS

Our findings of the editorial texts (see Appendix) indicated that both the newspapers negatively portrayed the authorities in Libya and Syria. As revealed by the analysis, they remained adamant to the demands of the protestors and thus incurred the editorial wrath of the *NI* and the *AN*. It was also discovered that both the newspapers reacted vehemently to the inhuman treatment that was meted out to the protesters by the authorities. The editorial texts revealed that if the Libyan regime and its leader Qaddafi used force to curb the voices of the people, the Syrian leader Assad used deceit to cheat his people and betrayed their faith. The newspapers also uncovered that though the uprisings proved a path-breaking event in the whole region, the protestors were comparatively portrayed weak who simply held demonstrations against social injustices caused by the dominant ruling elite.

During this study, we also witnessed that the editorial staff of the newspapers posed several ideological arguments (through positive self-representation / negative other-representations of social actors) which suggested how the authorities maneuvered various tactics to hold power and how the protestors struggled to bring about change. In order to understand these portrayals in their true sense, we categorized the linguistic choices of the editors as "us-sentiment" which represented the protestors and "them-sentiment" which represented the authorities.

These results and the following discussion are based on our analysis of the editorials chosen for this study. Table 1 represented such textual images from the editorial texts of the *NI* and Table 2 represented the portrayals of the *AN*.

Table 1. Portrayal of the Uprising in *The News International*

Us-Sentiment(Protestors)	*Them-Sentiment (Authorities)*
the rebels to the east are not well-equipped	pro-Assad militia and government forces
Libyans play out their destinies	would meet protest with destructive force
the status quo … is gone	snipers being used by the government
a quite remarkable uniformity and agreement	Col Qaddafi, well-armed and with the air force
youth …wants jobs and a curb on corruption	prolonged, and perhaps bloody, conflict
more than 200 villagers were slain	deluded than the Serbian leader
this is a time of unprecedented change	autocratic regimes, political disenfranchisement
dozens more were killed across the country	Libya had few if any friends
the massacre at Tremseh	Colonel Qaddafi is a man no… rightness
over 100 people are now dead	repressive regimes than they have ever been
hunger for popular revolt,	showing no sign of an early climb-down
dozens die by the day	successive episodes of ever-escalating violence
the tides have yet to reach their peak	Ban Ki-Moon has lambasted the Syrian regime
agents of change	its huge stockpile of chemical weapons
ultimately, there will be change	use of artillery, tanks and helicopters
in their hands the tools to bring about change	to stop the use of heavy weapons…or face sanctions.
the populations that for decades have suffered	last-ditch stand is the way to go and fight to the bitter end
we are in a time of change	the Alawite minority

Spring tides tend to rise high	his response has been a brutal and increasingly bloody
leading activists, and women and children dead	the options for Assad are now few
Libya of last week is not the Libya of tomorrow	violation of the Syrian government's obligations
cost lives, bloodless revolutions are rare	spent 40 years at the helm
eventually to encircle … Qaddafi's birthplace subjects of repression	the end of dynastic or single-leader domination, still in shaky power
when they have toppled whichever demagogue	will use repressive means at their disposal
their lives a misery	international efforts … have been largely fruitless

Table 2. Portrayal of the Uprising in *Arab News*

Us-Sentiment(Protestors)	*Them-Sentiment (Authorities)*
people of Libya will be in danger	his tanks, ships, armored patrol vehicles and snipers
protecting Libyan civilians	it would not be surprising if Qaddafi were lying
genuine test of the public will	announced a cease-fire only to break it instantly
security forces stepped up their assaults	continuing bloody onslaught
the attacks on Zawiyah and Misrata	sound of Syrian Army shells and air force bombs
the main victims of Qaddafi's onslaught	cynical maneuver of a desperate regime
people are being killed	the regime's total lack of good faith
hundreds of thousands of people have fled	A referendum in this short time frame is unthinkable
10,000 lives have already been lost	he is a major part of the problem
the unprecedented people's revolt	killing its own people
Libyan jets and forces from targeting civilian	to rid the country of its brutal regime
the death toll in Syria rises daily.	invite any country to help it fight Qaddafi's forces
compared to this mounting toll on human lives	a mute spectator to the madness of Qaddafi
what the attacks show is the level of sheer nastiness	using all the deadly firepower at his disposal
Free Syrian Army	the crafty colonel goes to absurd lengths
Syria's grave diggers will be kept busy	have broken his own stellar record of lunacy
large parts of the country are still under attack	the Libyan dictator
Arabs are being killed by a brutal regime	to annihilate the very same people
tormented and terrorized people	Qaddafi's desperation and utter ruthlessness
help Libya in this critical hour	tyrant goes amok hunting and killing
care for the sufferings of the Syrian people	Syrian government orchestrated Saturday's attacks
more than 20,000 new graves filled	President Bashar Assad must go
stopped the Syrian people from expressing their opinion	it has used proxies to attack its opponents
can no more crush the uprising	whose troops and ruthless militias
protection for Libyan civilians	the old instruments of suppression
	carry out their usual carnage
	Assad may have deluded himself into believing
	their weaponry is likely to be wearing out
	the blood-thirsty militias
	he will end up like Libya's Muammar Qaddafi
	Syria complicit in attacks on embassy

249
ISSN: 2223-9944, eISSN: 2223-9553
www.journals.savap.org.pk

DISCUSSION

Portrayal of the Authorities as "Them"

In our first research question, we laid out the objective to find out how were the Libyan and Syrian authorities portrayed in the two newspapers. The *NI* as we established in Table 1, apparently encouraged the rise of such movements (uprising) and seemed more concerned about how the Libyan and Syrian authorities responded to the uprising. The newspaper critically evaluated the Libyan situation and even relied on several derogatory connotations to depict a negative image of the Libyan leader Qaddafi. He was defined as more "deluded than the Serbian leader" and portrayed as a desperate leader who acted for his survival to remain at the helm of affairs by any means. It advocated that the Libyan regime was absolutely intolerant to consider the demands of their own citizens (protestor) and silenced their voices by force. Similarly, the Syrian authorities could not win the editorial sympathies of the *NI* as well. They were negatively portrayed as equally intolerant, stubborn, "brutal" and "increasingly bloody". The editorial choice of lexis labeled Assad as a "death machine" which symbolized his cruelty and destructive tactics in treating the Syrian mobs. Editorial point of view also depicted "pro-Assad militia" as killer of its own countrymen and the Syrian government as a non-serious regime which failed to handle the crises due to its negative attitude.

The *AN* (see, table 2) also rebuked the authorities in Libya and Syria through its editorial portrayals. The newspaper portrayed Qaddafi as a liar who often broke peace commitments, and even used "snipers" to kill people as a "brutal regime". The Libyan administration was depicted as "madness of Qaddafi" that had only "murderous force" and "deadly firepower" to annihilate the protestors. Other critical interpretations of the authorities included "crafty colonel" who killed people like "animals" and crossed all level of "lunacy". Such derogatory remarks and severe condemnations clarified the stance of the newspaper which absolutely disassociated itself from the actions of Qaddafi.Similarly, actions of the Syrian authorities were described as "cynical maneuver" that included bombing and shelling of Syrians. President Assad was portrayed as an unreliable person who deceived his people with a "total lack of faith". The newspaper also depicted that Assad violently attacked anti-regime processions and committed "unusual carnage". It portrayed the Syrian government as a "desperate regime" that used "old instruments of suppression". Some other lexical connotations which that constructed a negative image of the Syrian authorities contained "the blood-thirsty militias", "butchery for free" and others. Thus, both the newspapers unanimously criticized the authorities in Libya and Syria.

Portrayal of the Protestors as "Us"

The objective of our second research question was to know how the protestors of both the nations were portrayed by the newspapers. As shown in Table 1, the *NI* portrayed that the Libyan protestors were "not well-equipped" but they revolted and were just struggled to bring about change. The newspaper welcomed the protests through the labels such as "unprecedented change" that worked against the "status quo". It defended the protesting people of Libya as it was their right to secure "jobs" and seek an end to corruption. The newspaper also adored the Libyan protestors as "agents of change" who resisted to stay the subjects of autocratic repressions anymore. The *NI* also represented the Syrian protestors as victims inhumanely punished and attacked by the security forces. Such portrayals included the carnage of "200 villagers", massacre of "dozens", killing of "at least 108" people, thousands had to flee their homes and so on. As discussed, the newspaper endorsed demonstrators' struggle against the rigid regime despite so many causalities by commenting that "ultimately, there will be change". It consented to such rebellions as "spring tides" which

were bent to soar high.

The *AN* editorials, as shown in Table 2, also portrayed that the demonstrators were really abused by the authorities. The newspaper represented how Syrians were ruthlessly killed by the regime forces such as "the death toll" raising daily, the Syrian "grave diggers will be kept busy" and so on. It posed that Syrians were always denied of genuine rights and their "will" was hardly respected. The *AN* communicated the distress of the Syrian people and reiterated that the security forces must stop assaulting demonstrators. In a similar way, the *AN* narrated the Libyan uprising as "the unprecedented people's revolt". It advocated that the protestors were working for a sacred cause of bringing change. The newspaper quite bluntly voiced its association with the Libyan public by welcoming no-fly zone as "protection for Libyan civilians". It represented them as "tormented and terrorized" people who raised their concern for change and argued that they "will be in danger" if Qaddafi stayed in power. As we observed through the editorial portrayals, both the newspapers remained more concerned about the way protesters were mishandled by the authorities.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we demonstrated how the editorial discourse in two cross-cultural settings (in-group and out-group representations) portrayed the prolonged uprisings in Libya and Syria. We investigated how the ideologies were constructed in the written form of discourse as newspaper editorial within the framework of CDA. This study concludes that the authorities were portrayed as hurdles in the way of changes demanded by the ordinary folk. We also observe that the *AN* has treated the uprising authorities with more severity and depth than the *NI*. Overall, the two newspapers despite varied sociocultural, geographical and institutional orientation openly criticized the authorities, supported the change through the self-representation of events and openly negated the resistance from the authorities through negative-other representation.

We recommend that CDA should be employed as an "in-depth tool" to expose implied ideological stances in the portrayals of conflicts embedded with ideological insights. We hope that the findings of this study will contribute to the understanding of how language is used as a form of social discourse and how it can be investigated for its various discursive functions as ideological constructions of events being one of them. Perhaps, the news editorial discourse community should be probed more rigorously for our critical understanding and conscious awareness of how portrayals of conflicts assist to (re)shape public opinion.

REFERENCES

[1]   Achcar, G. (2013). *People want: A radical exploration of the Arab uprising*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

[2]   Ahmadian, M., & Farahani, E. (2014). A critical discourse analysis of *The Los Angeles Times* and *Tehran Times* on the representation of Iran's nuclear program. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *4*(10), 2114-2122.

[3]   Atai, M. R., & Mozaheb, M. A. (2013). The representation of Iran's nuclear program in British newspaper editorials: A critical discourse analytic perspective. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, *1*(2), 15-33.

[4]   British Broadcasting Corporation. (2006, December 13). The press in Saudi Arabia. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6176791.stm

[5]   Costelloe, L. (2014). Discourses of sameness: Expressions of nationalism in newspaper discourse on French urban violence in 2005. *Discourse & Society*, *25*(3), 315-340.

[6]   Christian, P. (2011). The 2011 Libyan uprising, foreign military intervention, and international law. *Juridikum: Zeitschrift für Kritik–Recht–Gesellschaft*, *2*, 159 – 169.

[7]   Eissa, M. M. (2014). Polarized discourse in the news. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *134*, 70-91.

[8]   Fairclough, N. (1995): *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold

[9]   Hawes, T., & Thomas, S. (1995). Theme choice and lateral verbs in newspaper editorials. *Hong Kong Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching, 18,*103-113.

[10]   Hornby, A. S. (2000). *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English* (6th ed.). S. Wehmeier & M. Ashby (Eds.).Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[11]   Ismail, S. (2011). The Syrian uprising: Imagining and performing the nation. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *11*(3), 538–549.

[12]   Lacher, W. (2012). The Libyan revolution and the rise of local power centres. Retrieved April 11, 2015 from http://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxius-adjunts/anuari/med.2012/lacher_en.pdf

[13]   Landis, J. (2012). The Syrian Uprising of 2011: Why the Asad Regime is Likely to Survive to 2013. *Middle East Policy*, *19*(1), 72-84.

[14]   Le, E. (2003). Information sources as a persuasive strategy in editorials *Le Monde* and the *New York Times*. *Written Communication*, *20*(4), 478-510.

[15]   Le, E. (2010). *Editorials and the power of media: Interweaving of socio-cultural identities*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

[16]   Lee, F. L. F., & Lin, A.M.Y. (2006). Newspaper editorial discourse and the politics of self-censorship in Hong Kong. *Discourse and Society 17*(2), 331-358. doi: 10.1177/0957926506062371

[17]   Lynch, M. (2013). *The Arab uprising: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.

[18]   McCombs, M. (1997). Building consensus: The news media's agenda-setting roles. *Political Communication, 14,* 433–443. doi:10.1080/ 105846097199236

[19]   Newspapers Readerships Survey: Aftab Associates for M. Consultancy. (2008). *The News International*. Retrieved 18 April, 2015 from http://superbrands.com.pk/company-profiles/The%20 News. pdf

[20] Poorebrahim, F., & Reza Zarei, G. (2012). How is Islam portrayed in western media? A critical discourse analysis perspective. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, *1*(2), 45-62.

[21] Stigall, D. E. (2014). The civil codes of Libya and Syria: Hybridity, durability, and post-revolution viability in the aftermath of the Arab spring. *Emory International Law Review*, *28*(1).

[22] Tabassum, M., Shah, S. K., & Bilal, M. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of the left and right wing ideologies in Pakistani English newspaper editorials. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *4*(13), 72-78.

[23] Tahir, M. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of religious othering of Muslims in the *Washington Post*. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, *14*(6), 744-753.

[24] van Dijk, T. A. (1989). Race, riots and the press: An analysis of editorials in the British press about the 1985 disorders. *International Communication Gazette, 43*, 229-253.

[25] van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *4*(2), 249-283.

[26] van Dijk, T. A. (1998a). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage Publications.

[27] van Dijk, T. A. (1998b). Opinions and ideologies in the press. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*, (pp. 21-63). Oxford,UK: Blackwell.

[28] van Dijk, T. A. (2000). New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In Cottle, S. (Ed.), *Ethnic minorities and the media*. (pp. 33-49). Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

[29] van Dijk, T. A. (2004). Politics, ideology and discourse. In K. Brown (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Vol.9, pp. 728-740). Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

[30] van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies, 11*(2), 115-140.

[31] Vaughan, C. H. (1994). *A comparative discourse analysis of editorials on an international crisis.* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Thesis database. (UMI No.9432599)

[32] Youssefi, K., Kanani, A. B., & Shojaei, A. (2013). Ideological or international move? A critical discourse analysis toward the representation of Iran sanctions in western printed media. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, *4*(6), 1343-1350.
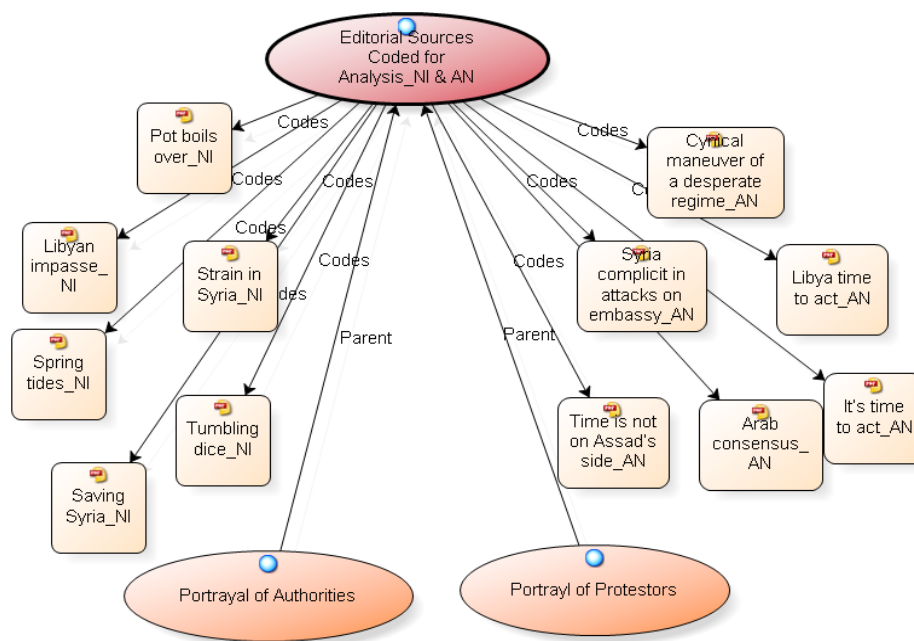
APPENDIX

Figure 3. NVivo Coding of Editorial Texts of The News International and Arab News