



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG



Discursive Construction in Media

A critical discourse analysis of how BBC World vs. Al Jazeera English
Constructed Yemen's 2011 Uprising Coverage

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ABSTRACT

The way in which different media portrayed and constructed the notion of the Arab Spring has received a great deal of scholarly attention since the start of these revolutions in late 2010. However, the role of media in the news construction and framing of the Yemeni Uprising in particular has been less well-examined; that is perhaps attributed to the fact that Yemen's socio-political features are complex, and it is often an intimidating task to analyse the media's interrelation with the country's political developments. Hence, in tackling this gap, this thesis focuses on the first stage of Yemen's 2011 Uprising and how media portrayed it, by specifically displaying a comparative analysis between the BBC World and Al Jazeera English online-published articles during the first 100 days of the Yemeni uprising. These articles represent the initial portrayal that shaped the early understanding of the events in Yemen. This study uses the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach which provides an in-depth understanding on how language is used in its social, political and cultural contexts. The study's analysis is mainly focused on Fairclough's CDA three-dimensional framework to examine the texts on textual, discursive practices and social practices levels. Additionally, the thesis analyzes the data with different textual strategies stemming from CDA; examination of topicalization, lexicalization and predication, verbal process, intertextuality and framing. Thus, the thesis provides a comprehensive explanation of the media discourse adopted by these two media outlets during the early stage of Yemen's 2011 Uprising. Through the study, emerging themes suggest that the two media outlets go through two phases; the pre and post the 'Friday of Dignity' and the 'GCC deal initiative'. In the first phase, the two media networks have no differences in their coverage: they characterize the events as 'protests' and 'unrest', and their group polarization characteristics are similar: the ingroup for both BBC and AJE are the protesters and the outgroup are Saleh and his government. Then in the second phase the two media outlets slightly differ in their coverage in terms of the textual and discursive practice features. While both BBC and AJE similarly start to describe events in Yemen as an 'uprising', the BBC has more emphasis on the positive features of the ingroup (the protesters) more than AJE does. Moreover, AJE does more direct sourcing of voices from the GCC than the BBC in regard to the GCC deal initiative. In explaining that slight shift, the geopolitical factor is fundamentally relevant.

Key words: *Media, Critical Discourse Analysis, Hegemony, Framing, Yemen's 2011 Uprising, BBC World, Al Jazeera English.*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To write a thesis resembles building a house. One must be equipped with the right material and the required skills to do so. The house cannot be built overnight, so does a thesis. Block after block; a chapter after a chapter; with a heavy dose of diligence, dedication and determination; over time the house could be completed, so does a thesis.

Besides that, I realised that the process of writing is an intellectual work that requires concentration and peace of mind which I struggled to have. While I started to write the thesis, war erupted in my home country, Yemen on the 19th of March, 2015 and I lost my focus since I became extremely worried about my family and friends living under fire. It took me awhile to comprehend the shock of the war and all the stress coming along with. If it was not for all the support I got from my supervisor, Jenny Wiik I would not have made it eventually. She has always asserted that despite how difficult the time I was going through, completing writing the thesis was really within my reach. Thank you seem inadequate words, Jenny. I'm eternally grateful. Another thank you goes to my mother who has never ceased to show her loving and supportive spirit. Lastly, I thank my little sister, Amal whom has always been this amazing source of inspiration.

The topic I chose has taken a great part of my adolescent. I have been working as a journalist and blogger since 2008 and I cannot hide my obsession with media. Coming from the citizen journalism school primarily, as a blogger, my rival was international mainstream media. Their framing was always an issue for us, citizen journalists since it sometimes became detached from our reality. Hence, since late 2008 until today, I engage in this field not only because I enjoy it very much, but also because I want to emphasize the importance of the Yemeni media workers' agency in reporting on Yemen from their own original perspective and how that can counter mainstream media's misleading framing.

I would like also to express the honor and pride I have to having the chance to participate in Yemen's 2011 Uprising across its whole process through my blogging work. It was indeed a historical event and it is still as one of its consequences is the ongoing conflict. The war is a form of reconfiguration of Yemen's geopolitical and socioeconomic structures. Despite how costly the war is, I'm proud of the movement my young Yemeni fellows started in 2011. I know change does not happen overnight and it takes generations to achieve. Nonetheless the revolution officially ended, and we who believed in the Uprising in 2011, still preserve the revolution inside our hearts.

*"The end of rebellion is liberation, while the end of revolution is the foundation of freedom."
-Hannah Arendt, On Revolution*

INTRODUCTION

In times of protests and demonstrations, media participation is focal. Since “media continue to perform a critical role in defining, framing and dramatizing protests and demonstrations and, thereby, helping to publicly legitimize or delegitimize them for mass audiences and readerships” (Hansen and Cox, 2015, p. 102), it is galvanizing to understand the role of media in the recently witnessed movements in the Arab Spring. Cottle (2011) describes that media and communications have variously enabled and enacted, performed and propelled, represented and resisted the Arab uprisings of 2011. From one revolution to another which spontaneously spread across the Middle East and North of Africa throughout 2011, media played an important role in defining and constructing the frames¹ these movements came to be portrayed with for mass audiences. In these movements, what’s relevant for the media is its framing of the collective agency which manifests itself through a process of distinguishing the “we” and “they”; right then, media tends to construct specific messages that could either betray or uphold reality (Johnston and Klandermans, 1995). Johnston and Klandermans (1995) elucidate further that since there are many aspects to a collective identity, it is quite possible for media coverage to reinforce one part that a movement wishes to encourage at the same time that it contradicts or undercuts other parts; media framing of the movement, not the issue, that is relevant. Certainly, it is difficult for media to abstain from frames because they are an integral part of our sensibility; as noted by Carter (2013), “frames are embedded in culture, inside people’s minds, and within the agendas of the media. Frames are found in all types of media, from print to broadcast news, and they convey meaning through the interaction between the reader and the text.”

Consequently, with the beginning of the Arab Spring, media’s role in the construction of meanings and understanding of realities of these protests has received a great deal of scholarly attention. A numberless amount of scholarly studies have been published during and after the Arab Uprisings, examining the role of media in the overall movements; such as; ‘Online Mobilization in Times of Conflict: A Framing-Analysis Perspective’ (Ben Moussa. 2013) and ‘Mediating the Arab Uprisings’ (Iskandar and Haddad, 2013), or in a specific uprising as a case study; such as, ‘Towards the Egyptian Revolution: Activists’ Perceptions of Social Media for Mobilization’ (Sayed, 2012). However, there has been less scholarly attention paid to the media participation in the Yemeni Uprising as a solo case; that is perhaps attributed to the fact that

¹ Frames or framing’ is a concept widely used in media studies and social sciences, and it is has been defined in various ways. Throughout this thesis, framing is dependent on the thoughts of Entman, in which he defines to frame as, “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). I elaborate in discussing Framing in chapter 2.

Yemen is a complex country. In his review of Helen Lackner's latest book (*Why Yemen Matters*), Whitaker (2014) identifies Yemen as a baffling place – a wayward republic among the Arabian monarchies, a society that is still largely tribal (and heavily armed to boot), a place where millions while away their afternoons chewing qat and where establishing even the most basic facts about what is going on often proves a daunting task. Therefore, in addressing the lack of analysis on media's relation to the Yemeni Uprising as an individual case, this thesis focuses primarily on Yemen and showcases a comparative approach into understanding how media outlets understand and represent the initial stage of the Yemeni uprising in 2011.

This research has an outlook on the first protests of Yemen's 2011 Uprising as it was a critical stage in the definition and interpretation of the protests when, to some extent, ambiguity surrounded them and, hence, they were perceived as insignificant. Lynch (2012) explains how a couple of media outlets struggled to focus on Yemen as the protests started to appear unexpectedly and rapidly in the region during the beginning of 2011, noting that "the Guardian's Brian Whitaker quickly saw the importance of the moves in Yemen and turned his attention to follow the unfolding protests. Al-Jazeera noted the Yemeni developments as well, but it was difficult to keep attention on Yemen as the dramatic events unfolded in Tahrir square". The speedy pace of protests sweeping most of the Arab world simultaneously, starting from December, 2010 in Tunisia to protests in Egypt, Syria, Bahrain and other countries in the beginning of 2011 was indeed overwhelming.

Eventually, different media outlets began to focus on covering Yemen's 2011 Uprising. For this thesis, a couple of those media outlets has been a choice for examination, and they are the BBC World (BBC) and Al Jazeera English (AJE). I conduct a comparative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach on how the BBC and AJE's news websites constructed their coverage on Yemen's 2011 Uprising. The two media outlets are considered as the most opinion-forming outlets worldwide and they could potentially represent two different narratives based on their two different perspectives within the spectrum of media networks because "Al Jazeera and the BBC both originate in regions that are very different in terms of their political, social and economic paradigms" (Kinner, 2005, p. 3). In fact, this difference between BBC and AJE is one of the aspects examined with the assistance of CDA. Among the advantages of using CDA as an analytical tool are: 1) its "consideration of discursive practices, intertextual relations, and sociocultural factors" (Huckin, 2002, p.4), 2) its 'critical' element enables "not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective" (Wodak, 2007), 3) its ability in adequately analyzing "the relationships between discourse and social power" (van Dijk, 2008, p. 84). This study uses CDA as it "should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" (van Dijk, 2008, p. 84).

Many scholars have challenged mainstream (dominant) media organizations' assertion of following the rules of objectivity and described it to be unachievable, considering that "journalistic production processes cannot guarantee continuously equal treatment of competing frames when competitors' skill differs and relevant facts change frequently" (Entman, 2010, p. 392). That is, journalists may follow the rules of 'objective' reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text (Entman, 1993). The concept 'dominant' here is crucial. In a chapter titled 'Power and the News Media', van Dijk (1995) explains how he uses the term 'dominance' to refer to power abuse stating, "dominance usually involves processes of reproduction that involves strategies aimed at the continued preferential access to social resources and the legitimation of such inequality". That being so, even news media aiming to achieve objectivity still cannot avoid a dominant framing of news.

So how do BBC and AJE like to perceive their devotion to objectivity? In respect to Al Jazeera's (AJ) general performance that might problematize its framing of events, Samuel-Azran (2010) notes that AJ's effect lies in its ability to reverse the traditional global news flow by exporting Arab images and perspective into Western discourse; this perception of an information revolution created by AJ is able to influence politics in the West. In AJ's *Code of Ethics* (2014) published on its website, it states that it presents the diverse points of view and opinions without bias and partiality. That is not different at all to how BBC perceives its commitment to objectivity; the BBC's *editorial values* article published on their website states that impartiality lies at the core of the BBC's commitment to its audiences. Certainly, such statements by media networks need not to be taken uncritically. Media networks can aspire to stay objective, but framing is still inevitable. McCann (2010) explains that "frames will depend on political factors, public opinion, country of origin and differences in media systems; these ingrained influences make it nearly impossible to report just the facts—framing happens regardless of intention".

Thereupon, what is the clash between framing and objectivity? "Objectivity in journalism has usually been understood as the duty to avoid bias toward groups within one's own country" (Ward), and in other respect 'objectivity' is ought to stop journalists from make judgments about what messages to send (Lee, 2010). This judgment-making process is the process of framing, and questioning whether it's possible to frame with objectivity, (Youngkim's Blog, 2014) explains that "the media has a tendency to demonize, reducing complex events and people to "good guys" and "bad guys." Forcing facts to fit a preconceived frame is a huge threat to fairness and balance, and the media should take this into account by choosing their words more objectively". I discuss further the concept of 'Objectivity' and its new emerging concept, 'contextual objectivity' in chapter 2.

This study moves beyond analyzing the frames the two media networks portrayed the first period of Yemen's 2011 Uprising with to analyze how and why the protests and the political developments in that period were reported in the way they were. To do so, the thesis employs CDA approach along with employing a number of theoretical frameworks as a basis for analysis. Rather than only analyzing the data and its language use, the study aims to explore the relation between the language usage and the power exercised. Drawing on Fairclough's CDA framework, the study answers the research questions through addressing the textual analysis, the discursive practices and the social practices.

PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research focuses on understanding the way in which BBC and AJE defined and represented the protests of the Yemeni Uprising at its very initial stage; during its first 100 days in 2011 (part of the famously known as the Arab Spring). The research uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method because it can uncover themes (frames) in language use through its ability "to find a way of explaining the relationship between language, ideology and power" (Janks, 1998). The research uses in particular the Fairclough's CDA model of analysis which includes analyzing the textual, the discursive practice and social practice aspects. I conduct a comparative study examining 75 news articles published by the BBC and AJE between the 27th of January, 2011 and the 6th of May, 2011. In the initial phase of analysis, I examine what are the dominant frames recognized in BBC and AJE coverage of the protests in Yemen. Answering this question presents an analytical description about which frames BBC and AJE depended on in constituting their portrayal of the protests in Yemen. The question also allows for creating a number of preliminary categories describing prominent frames. In the second phase, I use textual analysis strategies derived from several CDA approaches to unmask several textual features found in the corpus. More about this is discussed in Chapter 2.

BACKGROUND

In this section I will present an overview on the subject-matter in order to facilitate understanding the role of BBC and AJE in framing Yemen's 2011 uprising. After discussing conditions of press freedom in Yemen prior to the uprising and the importance of the Yemeni journalist, Abdelelah Shaye's imprisonment case, I will give an account on the Western and Arab media scrutiny to the uprising and how the role of social media was played as a tool for Yemen's citizen journalists. Finally, I seek to explain the reasons behind choosing BBC and AJE as part of the subject-matter for this thesis.

YEMEN'S PRESS FREEDOM: BEFORE THE UPRISING

When the Arab Spring reached Yemen in 2011, there were numerous of challenges already on the Yemeni press' plate to deal with. In a glance, Yemen was categorized among, "the group of the world's most repressive countries towards journalists" (Reporters without Borders, 2010). By 2010, also, that repression imposed on press was described by the Committee to Protect Journalist organization (2010) as the country's worst press climate in two decades which came as an end result of the longstanding tactics of violent repression created by president's Saleh administration; which the uprising in 2011 aimed to topple.

The trajectory of that prevailing repressive system against press in Yemen has began ever since the establishment of *Press and Publications Law* in the constitution which was signed by former president Saleh in December 1990, following the unification between the north and south. As described by Whitaker (2009), "the law became as the legal parameters of press freedom in the country; in several respects it was an unsatisfactory piece of legislation, combining liberal and conservative ideas in roughly equal measure, seeking to guarantee freedom of expression on the one hand, and to maintain reserve powers which could be used to restrain the press if necessary, on the other. In essence, the Law's "116 articles provided ample opportunity for a crackdown on critical media; a fact confirmed by the repeated need for the former president to pardon journalists who have been prosecuted under the law by the Press and Publications Prosecutor" (Article19 organization, 2005, p.7). Accordingly, by law and regulation, newspapers and magazines became government-licensed, and their content was restricted (Library of Congress, 2008, p.20). Nonetheless, considering the widespread of literacy among the population rate estimated at %51 [HDR] 2005, Yemenis had no use of print media. What mattered the most, as the Freedom House (2006) observed, were television and radio which were under the government's monopoly.

Following the Law establishment, Freedom House (2011) reported that journalists also were among those who faced prosecution before the *Specialized Criminal Court* which was established in 1999 to try cases involving terrorism and piracy, but the authorities extended the court's jurisdiction in 2004 to include "crimes against state security and serious economic and social crimes," opening the way for prosecutions of journalists among others. In addition, the dangers endured by media workers manifested through many forms; frequently, there have been reports about violations against journalists and media workers. For instance, "from 2003 to 2005, Yemeni journalists faced numerous incidents involving violence, death threats, arbitrary arrest, and convictions under weak laws governing the freedom of the press" (Freedom House, 2006). Considerable names of journalists who faced prosecutions or even suffered intimidation during 2003 and 2005 include; journalist Abdul Karim Al-Khaiwani who was "sentenced to a year in jail for incitement, 'insulting' president Ali Abdullah Salih, publishing 'false news', and causing tribal and sectarian discrimination" (Middle East International, 2005), "opposition journalist Nabil Sabaie who was jostled and then stabbed by armed men, and editor Abdul Rahman Abdallah and reporter Abdul Rahma Saeed, were each fined 220 euros and were banned from being published for a year after a Sana'a court ordered the closure of the opposition newspaper Tagammu where the journalists worked with; for 'sectarianism' and 'attacking Islam's image'" (European Parliament, 2009). Amidst these dangers faced by journalists, a vibrant civil society and media people have been rising objections and criticism against the government's grip on press freedom. To illustrate one of these voices advocating for freer press, founder of the Media Faculty at Sana'a University, Dr. Raufa Hassan once advocated:-

'Emancipating the media starts by freeing the media from the state's hold of power. It should be prohibited for the government to owe any media house so we can ensure enhancing freedom and democratic transition; in that case, it would be sufficient to just form legislations and legal framework to monitor the course of media away from the state's control. (Hassan, 2007).

Three years following Hassan's statement, a new establishment of a court specialized on press marked a major setback for media freedom in the country; that is the establishment of the *Specialized Press and Publications Court* (SPPC) in 2009 by the Judicial Council of Yemen, which aimed to try cases related to the media. Additionally, "authorities continued to monitor and censor the press ... by prosecuting journalists for criticizing the government, blocking access to internet websites, and banning print media" (Freedom House, 2009). SPPC was widely condemned and many press freedom advocates were outraged at the government; most notable

of those press freedom advocates was journalist Tawakkol Karman who later would play a key role in the start of the Yemeni Uprising which endowed her with a share of the Nobel Peace Prize for 2011. The SPPC, seen as an institutionalised censorship and a banal form of repression of the press, has made international journalistic networks be vigilant. One of the best well-known scholars on Yemen, Carapico (2009) notes that in May 2009, the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information and 37 affiliated human rights and press freedom groups based in Cairo, Bahrain, Damascus, Sana'a, Ramallah, and elsewhere documented press intimidation and appealed to president Ali Abdullah Saleh to respect journalists' rights.

ABDELELAH SHAYE'S IMPRISONMENT

By 2010, Yemen's government suppressive system against journalists reached its peak when it imprisoned Yemeni journalist, Abdelelah Shaye whose work of reportings on al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) have been published in Yemen, Al Jazeera, the New York Times, the Washington Post and ABC news. What earmarked his work was his contacts with AQAP, as he was the first to prove that airstrikes on al-Qaeda targets in 2009 in south of Yemen were not the work of the Yemeni air force but of American drones. His reports disputed the official narrative that scores of militants were killed in those strikes. He published evidences that dozens of women and children were among the casualties, then he was accused of being a member of al-Qaeda and recruiting others into the movements. He ended up behind bars, convicted by SPPC. In the wake of the protests in Yemen, in early 2011, Yemen's government was preparing to release Shaye, to pardon him, then that government got a phone call from Washington, urging it to keep him in jail, which it did. That call neither came from unnamed American official nor from anonymous state department operative; it came from president Barack Obama himself (Jeremy Scahill , 2012).

The imprisonment of Shaye could be analyzed through three main dimensions. First dimension is the relation between the covert coverage of Global War on Terror (GWOT) and the challenges reporters face when they are working on such stories. To explain the reasons behind the difficulty in reporting about GWOT, one must consider that "the standard claim of government is that national security supersedes all other considerations, including freedom of the press" (Webel and Arnaldi, 2011, p. 157). The second dimension is what has Shaye's case revealed about the relationship between Yemen and the United States (US) which has been complex and heavily influenced with two factors; a. security concerns with a greater consideration to the US foreign policy interests, and b. the geopolitics variables in the region. This is well-characterized by J. E. Peterson, historian and political analyst on the contemporary Arabian Peninsula and Gulf:-

“Yemen has never figured in the front rank of US foreign policy interests, even within only the Middle East. Nevertheless, it has occupied a certain and often significant degree of Washington’s attention and concern at almost regular intervals across the last half-century. This has been even more true in the 2000s. Two constants over this entire period have been Washington’s twin focus on Yemen’s impact on Saudi Arabia and the stability of successive Yemeni regimes. All too often, Yemen has been a haven for ideological forces that have been antithetical to US interests” (Peterson, 2009, p. 502).

Last dimension is how Shaye’s case exposed the president Obama’s administration to its critics - Human rights group and press freedom groups organizations who said that the administration public support for freedom of press around the globe was hypocritical given what has happened in Yemen. In discussing Shaye’s jail, American journalist, Scahill (2013), who has been highly critical of Obama’s foreign policy and the US administration’s role in jailing Shaye, argued in an interview with Amy Goodman that “the White House was not on the side of press freedom around the world. They’re on the side of locking up journalists who have the audacity to actually be journalists.”

At the trial in the court, after Shaye heard the sentence of his 5-year imprisonment, he was struggling to speak to the audience while the court officers were pulling him to leave the cell, and still Shaye managed to shout to the crowd:-

“The day I revealed the remnants of Tomahawk cruise missiles and cluster bombs which were struck against camps of bedouins in Abyan, Shabwa, Arhab, at that day they decided to arrest me and you all have seen in the court how they transformed my journalistic work into accusations, all my connections with the international media network have been transformed into accusations. In Yemen, the good journalist is found guilty.....” (Oct 26, 2010)

Three years after his arrest, Shaye was released from prison; specifically in July, 2013, and became under house arrest to continue serving the remaining two years of his full sentence (Yemen Post, 2013). Shaye’s case could be regarded as the most recent problematic daunting acts against press freedom just right before the Uprising started in 2011. In a climate where critical journalism was not welcomed by the government of president Saleh, unquestionably the Uprising was hoped to have the prospect of reform and an end of restrictions against press, as the calls for more democracy within the protests were rising. However, in the wake of the uprising,

press freedom in Yemen has been experiencing a number of setbacks. More into these setbacks is discussed in chapter 7.

WESTERN, ARAB MEDIA SCRUTINY AND THE UPRISING

Throughout the following section I explain the Western and Arab media scrutiny to Yemen's 2011 uprising and I explain the factors influencing the international journalists' reporting on Yemen. I will also elaborate on how foreign journalists' proximity to Yemen affects the stories they report on.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS

As "international journalists who work in Yemen are essential for broadening the image and understanding of Yemen abroad" (CJR, 2014), former president Saleh's government understood that international reporters' reporting was indeed significant, therefore for the government to control the message travelling through these reporters, it needed to be watchful of them. What made international journalists even more significant was not only because there was a "lack of English-language coverage of the country by Yemenis" (Nasser, 2015) but also because "there is a lack of independent and objective media outlets in Yemen" (Al-Quari, 2013). Therefore, international journalists were filling a gap, becoming one of the main sources of information to the international media, shaping most of the foreign media scrutiny on Yemen.

Foreign media scrutiny on the protests in Yemen predominantly stemmed from two distinct categorizations; Western and Arab media. For the first, it was mostly influenced by the demands of Anglophone corporations which have been believed to be "the world's principal suppliers of news, the news agencies, and the main buyers of news" (de Burgh, 2000, p. 282), making the western reporters "strain to sell to their masters what their masters will perceive to be news" (de Burgh, 2000, p. 282). While for Arab media the; "political conditions that exist in individual countries still influence media behavior" (A. Rugh), so depending on which Arab country we are talking about, we can identify the relation of that country's media system to Yemen, with bearing in mind that "media organizations operate within a context that is shaped by economic and political forces at least partially beyond their control" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2014, p.119). This must emphasise as well that "in the context of the Middle East, geopolitical representations are rarely politically innocent" (Khatib, Dodds, 2009, p. 5).

PROXIMITY EFFECT

Another observation on the foreign media operating during protests was how the reporters' proximity to Yemen has inspired them to be the story. For instance, during the first 100 days of the Uprising, most foreign media outlets were locked out of the story by the authorities as the main salient obstacle facing the international journalists was that they were regularly facing problems with the journalist-sponsored visas and those discovered reporting on Arabic-language-student visas were expected to be expelled. British journalist based in Sana'a during the uprising, Craig (2011) explained how foreign reporters tried to dodge this hindrance noting, "in the complex and opaque Yemeni visa system, with constantly changing goal posts, the majority of resident Western freelancers are on student visas, sponsored by local Arabic schools". When the Yemeni government arrested and deported "four foreign journalists who had been covering government attacks on protesters" (the guardian, 2011), Craig (2011) wrote a blog post for the Frontline Club and explained that various excuses have been given for why they were expelled, from illegal entry, to not attending classes at the Arabic language schools who sponsor visas for students. She continued asserting that the reason given during their detention was that it was matter of "national security."

For Western media, understanding Yemen has always been a confusing task. For example, before the uprising, Yemen was perceived as a total unfamiliar, strange and mysterious place, and most probably with the beginning of Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) western media started to keep a close eye on Yemen. On the second oldest magazine in the United States, Harper's Magazine, contributing editor, Silverstein (2010) attempted to explain *what* was Yemen to his readers and encouraged the readers to focus on Yemen following the GWOT by stating, "face it, until recently many of you didn't know for sure if Yemen was a country or an erectile dysfunction medication. Now that Yemen has emerged as a major focus of the war on terror (or whatever it's called nowadays), you better study up." It is difficult to have a clear evidence that studying-up Yemen by western media became a priority following the GWOT but it is believed so, at least by a number of Yemeni writers who stress on the focused terror-related news about Yemen by the western media. Yemeni researcher, Al Wazir (2013) reflected on the lense western media looks Yemen through and wrote in an op-ed titled 'The Flawed Media Narrative on Yemen':

"The country with a long history that was once hailed as Arabia Felix, land of generosity, wisdom, coffee, the first skyscrapers, the land with many queens and great architecture, is now only about the hysteria of the decade: terrorism. This is not to say that terrorism is not a

problem, it is, but it is not the sole problem, and the way media reports on it with no analysis of impact of the war on terror, nor any depth, simply magnifies the problem.”

Studying-up Yemen within the western media framework, from that only perspective, is perhaps attributed to several factors but the most predominant ones are a. the “anglophone definitions of what constitute news” (Burgh, 2000, p. 282); in the case of Yemen that would be terrorism-related news, and b. the growing tendency within western media to associate terrorism with Muslim cultures. In the wake of the American and British assaults on Iraq in 1991, Burgh (2000) observed that the ethnocentric bias of the Western news media against Muslim cultures began to be fuelled, leading to the repeated association of Muslim culture with terrorism which encouraged a demonisation of Islamic cultures in the news media. That ethnocentric bias of the western news media in relation is examined within postcolonial theories—which I delve into in greater detail in Chapter 2.

When the uprising erupted, western media’s perception of Yemen slightly changed stemming from their overall changed outlook over the Arab Spring events, as they perceived the events “through the rose-tinted glasses of liberalism, democracy, and the new age of social media” (Held and Coates Ulrichsen, 2014).

Thus, international journalists’ reporting about Yemen tend to be influenced by several factors; such as the Anglophone media cooperations interest, geopolitical interests in Yemen and even journalists’ attachment to the dynamics in the country. However, the most predominant feature of these media scrutiny is that the foreign journalists had themselves become the story.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

Foreign media scrutiny on Yemen in the age of social media has changed how information is interacted between foreign journalists and Yemen’s citizen journalists. Social media had a slight influence on the foreign media production of news about the Yemeni uprising, or any uprising for that matter. Unlike before, and thanks to social media networks’ function of being “a great information equalizer” (McNab, 2009), foreign media people had an easy access to Yemen’s active netcitizens. That led to a sort of marriage between mainstream media and social media networks’ contents coming from Yemen following the hype of social media usage among a considerable portion of the Yemeni population. No question, this challenged the obstacles imposed by the state against international journalists. Though, an aspect about the hype of social media usage in Yemen must be clarified. The role of social media in the Yemeni Uprising must

be discussed within the context of the country's demographics. According to Harvey (2014), it was estimated that Yemen's internet penetration in 2011 range from 2 to 10 percent, but the country's extremely young population (according to the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, 42 percent of the country's population was aged 14 years or younger) reportedly factored into why social media contributed to the protests. So on reality that meant distinguished engagement by the youth on social media. Nonetheless, Yemeni researcher, Al Wazir (2011) stressed on the importance of the Yemeni youth's engagement in social media, observing that the youth started this revolution so they would feel a sense of ownership: they were reporting, videotaping, taking photographs, blogging, tweeting and doing a lot of things that journalists would do. This can be interpreted by understanding the phenomenon that, "in the 21st century, the revolution may not be televised – but it likely will be tweeted, blogged, texted and organized on Facebook," (O'Donnell, 2011), and naturally Yemen's guerrilla journalism acted as an alternative media body which has definitely affected the international news industry, as presently "non-journalists are acting as sources for a growing number of news organisations, either by volunteering information directly or by posting comments, pictures or video that can be picked up and republished" (Standage, 2011).

WHY BBC AND AJE

Generally, the press is regarded as the fourth estate which embodies a societal and political power, even though it is not officially acknowledged. However, it's been regarded as the fourth branch of any governance, ever since it was coined by British politician, Edmund Burke during a parliamentary debate in 1787 (Thompson, 2015). What is interesting with the press is its role in the democratization of societies. The multi-facets advantages of news media are eloquently summarised by Norris (2008) noting that "the news media is most effective in strengthening the process of democratization, good governance, and human development where journalists function as watchdog over the abuse of power (promoting accountability and transparency), as a civic forum for political debate (facilitating informed electoral choices), and as an agenda-setter for policymakers (strengthening government responsiveness to social problems)". Thus, the power of media is ample.

The reason behind selecting the BBC and AJE media networks for this study was based on relatively different criteria. My main motive was to conduct a critical discourse analysis on two different perspectives about Yemen's 2011 Uprising: the European and the Middle Eastern media perspectives. The UK-based broadcaster, BBC and the Doha-based broadcaster, al Jazeera – both could be regarded as samples from the European and Middle Eastern media institutions,

therefore the choice on BBC and al-Jazeera were made as a way to narrow down the research scope.

These two media broadcasters were chosen because of their popularity, and accordingly their ability to influence the masses. According to Media Newline, it's estimated that BBC is, “the largest broadcaster in the world by number of employees, with around 23,000 staff in total, and 16,672 in public sector broadcasting” (Media Newline, 2009). And according to InterBrand’s 2004 global survey, “Al Jazeera was ranked as the world’s most influential brand among all media networks and as the world’s fifth most influential brand (after Apple, Google, IKEA and Starbucks)” (al Jazeera, 2006). Al Jazeera as a source was selected mainly because of its sociopolitical relevance to Yemen, while BBC as a source on the other hand was chosen because of its wider and semi-international approach to Yemen – as a worldwide-trusted media medium explainer.

This thesis focuses primarily on the dominant themes (frames) that emerged through the examination of the BBC and AJE’s coverages on Yemen’s 2011 Uprising. While this possibly overlooks important minority perspectives and debates, the thesis expects that in offering an overview of the most frequently discussed frames the paper could provide an insightful look into those issues considered most important when Yemen is discussed in the media. Bearing this in mind, the following chapters draw out the main features of the discourse through the first 100 days of the Yemeni Uprising in 2011, and shed light on how the BBC and AJE as media outlets interpret and understand the various dynamics of Yemen’s 2011 Uprising.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter does not only outline key theoretical frameworks I draw my study on with the assistance of CDA method, but it also combines that along with a review on the relevant literature that sheds light on different aspects related to the subject matter. Combining the two segments is hoped to provide a plenteous overview or guid about the execution of the research study.

In the following I begin by introducing briefly discourse and CDA. Then, after explaining Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework for CDA that includes text analysis, discourse practice and sociocultural practice, and presenting Van Dijk's Ingroup-Outgroup distinction, I focus on a number of theories which I navigate with CDA; and they are: hegemony, framing, postcolonialism and contextual objectivity, and at this stage I present the literature review. This

does not mean that I am conducting the study exclusively on these theoretical frameworks. I regularly expand my analysis briefly on other CDA strategies proposed by CDA scholars whenever their strategies provide useful analytical explanation for the material as the thesis develops. The strategies includes van Dijk's cognitive approach, Wodak's historical approach and so on.

ON DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND CDA

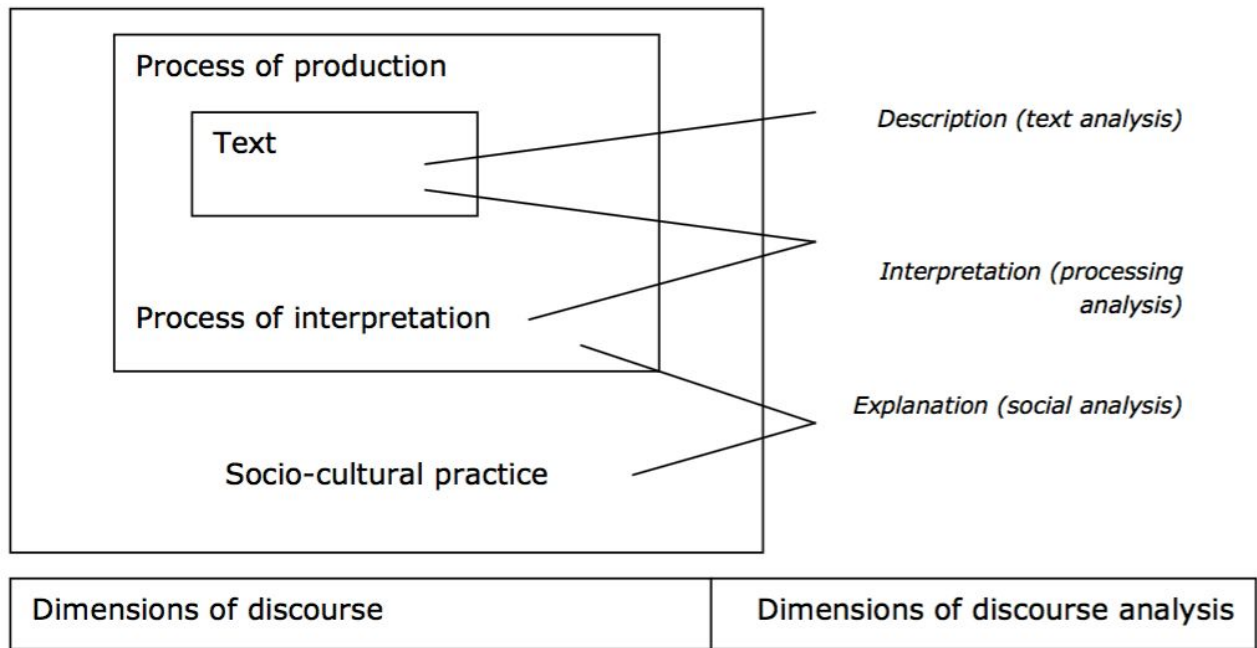
Discourse analysis in social sciences is often strongly influenced by the work of Foucault (Fairclough, 2003). But what is the definition of discourse analysis? Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton (2003) point out that, according to Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 1–3)'s collection of classic papers in discourse analysis, definitions on "discourse analysis" fall into the three main categories: (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and non specific instances of language. Thus, discourse analysis delves into specific worlds represented in specific discourses; "different discourses are different ways of representing aspects of the world" (Fairclough, 2003: 4).

However, what is it that the critical element add to discourse analysis that could be found in the realm of CDA? CDA's starting point falls under the umbrella of social theories which serves as frameworks that assist in examining social phenomena, accordingly "Critical discourse analysis can only make a significant and specific contribution to critical social or political analyses if it is able to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality" (Van Dijk, p. 279). That relationship between the use of language and the (re)production of power, or rather the construction of reality is closely connected, according to Elder-Vass (2012), to the views of radical linguistic constructionists as they think that it is language that shapes our understanding of the world, rather than the world that shapes the way we describe it using language.

FAIRCLOUGH'S FRAMEWORK

Fairclough's framework within CDA approach views discourse in a three-dimensional outlook. Distinctly, "in using the term 'discourse' to refer to the whole process of social interaction, he identified a discursive event as simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice" (Henderson, 2005, p. 6). Thus, the framework falls into a combination of approaches; the social-psychological and the social-cognitive ones. As

mentioned earlier, Fairclough’s CDA three-dimensional framework doesn’t only cut through textual features and considered the discursive practice of the discourse, in which it includes text analysis, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice offering a connection between social practices and texts. Fairclough (1995) stresses that “these levels and their interrelations must be studied when analyzing a specific discourse”. The following flowchart, (Figure 1), illustrate the three-dimensions of his approach:



Fairclough, 1995, p.98
(Flowchart-1)

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

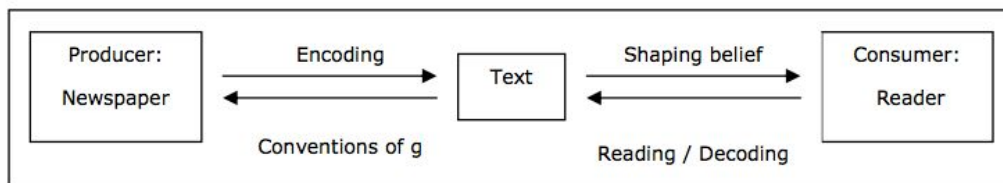
Textual analysis is represented as the first level in Fairclough’s CDA three-dimensional method. While in the traditional sense textual analysis “is the method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message” (Frey, Botan & Kreps, 1999), Fairclough specifies that “textual analysis involves the analysis of the way propositions are structured and the way propositions are combined and sequenced” (Richardson, 2007, p. 38), aiming to analyze text at multiple levels: grammar, vocabulary, semantics, cohesion, structure, etc. Nonetheless, Fairclough believe these multiple levels “must not be considered to be profound and of direct significance in themselves; rather it is the function that such elements serve in the moment of their use that is of interest” (Richardson, 2007, p. 38). Hence, the textual

analysis must be dealt with while considering the larger-scale of the discourse as it is a process of social interaction.

DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

The second level in Fairclough’s CDA three-dimensional method is the discursive practice which is, as Fairclough describes, a dimension on the communicative event involving various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption; some of these have a more institutional character whereas others are discourse processes in a narrower sense (Richardson, 2007, p. 39). This implies that there has to be a relevance between the social, cultural and political background and the way texts are written and read; “this would mean moving back and forth, in recursive cycles, from the micro-level analysis of texts to the macroanalysis of discursive and social practice, embedding them in each other and thus acknowledging the fundamental dialectic between the social and the language” (Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 44).

That being so, the dimension of discursive practice analysis transforms the analysis from textual analysis into discourse analysis since discursive practice relates to wider social, cultural and political conditions. In further details, discursive practice “refers to the process of text production, distribution and consumption in society. Looking at discourse in this way means paying attention to intertextuality, which links a text to other texts, and to its context and interdiscursivity, when texts are made up of heterogeneous elements or various discourse types, such as a mix of formal and informal language in newspaper articles” (Helm, 2012). How the discursive practice process functions in a newspaper can be illustrated in the following flowchart:



Richardson, 2007, p. 39

The diagram illustrates the dynamic relation between the production of texts and the consumption of texts, displaying the encoding and decoding process. Clearly, the discursive practices are a two-way process, but how this process is relevant in media production? de Graaf

(2005) explains how discursive practice process functions between authors and readers' relation functions within media scope, "authors encode meaning into text (the producer makes his choices), but the text also acts on the producer (text-genre like the journalist' five wh-questions). Similarly, the text may shape the reader's belief, but at the same time the consumer decodes the text. Decoding is not a simple straightforward process; readers have perspectives, background knowledge, agendas, etc. These elements can (and mostly do) differ from the producer's ideas and knowledge". Having said that, readers also have their opinion about the producer, which also influences the decoding process (Richardson, 2007, p. 41) – here contextual objectivity could have a great relevance, but I delve more into this later as this chapter proceeds.

SOCIAL PRACTICE

Last but not least, social practices is the third level in Fairclough's CDA three-dimensional method, in which discourse analysis is examined through a large outlook into social structures. Undoubtedly, this is doable through several dimensions but the focus here to position the discourse within "immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices or the wider frame of the society and the culture" (Richardson, 2007, p. 42). Essentially, this level embraces the previous levels' processes of analysis to provide explanation into "the socio-historical conditions which govern these processes" (Janks). Moreover, Fairclough (1992) defines the function of this level as an analytical tool that explores into the extent to which the text upholds, or reproduces, hegemonic discursive or social practices, and how it stands in relation to certain prevalent conditions.

In recognizing that definition about the level of social practices in this three-dimensional model, media people are enabled and their work is operated in light of the larger-scale of social structure with its historical, political, ideological and economical features. Social practices are not only shaped, constrained and maintained by the 'relative permanencies' of social structures, but they are also practices of production – with 'particular people in particular relationships using particular resources' – and therefore can play a part in the transformation of social structures (Henderson, 2005, p. 9).

For this thesis, understanding how media frames a situation is examined to be as a social practice. Drawing into this level of Fairclough's CDA three-dimensional method, I examine that understanding to delve into ideology as a social practice to refute the assumption that ideology is a form of social cognition, shared by the members of a group, class, or other social formation (van Dijk, 1989, p. 24). It is rather "ideological framework itself consists of socially relevant norms, values, goals, and principles, which are selected, combined, and applied in such a way

that they favor perception, interpretation, and action in social practices that are in the overall interest of the group” (van Dijk, 1989, p. 24). I propose more analysis into ideology in the sections on hegemony and framing later in this chapter.

INGROUP AND OUTGROUP

The ingroup-outgroup distinction drawn from Van Dijk’s (2001) CDA approach is crucial in analyzing this research's data. The ingroup-outgroup tackles the polarization system that manifests itself whenever there is social judgement-making process. Besides the appearance of polarization in opinions and thoughts, Van Dijk (1995) suggests that the ideological semantics underlying lexical selection follows a rather clear strategic pattern, viz., that in general ingroups and their members tend to be described in positive terms: friends, allies, or supporters, whereas outgroups, enemies or opponents are described in negative terms. Crucial in this case are the representations of social position, of ingroups and outgroups, and of their association with what is defined as good and bad—one way to exhibit these ideological structures in discourse is to identify certain structures and strategies that contain a positive self (ingroup) presentation and a negative other (outgroup) presentation (de Graaf, 2005). In defining the structures and strategies Van Dijk (1995) details a perceptive chart: Describing/attributing positive action:

Ingroup	Outgroup
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization	De-topicalization
-sentential (micro)	
-textual (macro)	
High, prominent position	Low, non-prominent position
Headlining, summarizing	Marginalization
Detailed description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality Explicit	Attribution to context Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No storytelling
Argumentative support	No argumentative support
Impression management	No impression management

Van Dijk (1995) points out further that the reverse will be true for the description and attribution of negative actions, which generally will tend to be de-emphasized for ingroups (e.g., by denial, euphemisms, implicitness and detopicalization), and emphasized for outgroups.

HEGEMONY THEORY AND CDA

CDA approach doesn't only draw from Social Theory and Linguistic Theory, but it also draws from the contributions of theorists; such as, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. These theorists among others; such as, Theo Van Leeuwen, Siegfried Jäger, Teun A. van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, and Hilary Janks have led CDA to entail a multi-functional role in investigating how power is exercised through language, but that was directly theorized by one of CDA's leading theorists, Fairclough (1989, p. 73). That is, CDA identifies the relationship between language and society as intertwined perceiving language as "a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1989). This distinguished aspect of CDA lies in its critical approach which offers two distinctive outlooks: its view into the relationship between language and society, and its view into the relationship between analysis and larger-scale practices.

To rephrase, as discussed earlier in this chapter, CDA as a method came to light from 'discourse analysis' and the critical aspect in CDA enables a sufficient, competent and relevant analysis into that concept of "power" exercised through a language, with a focus of an 'transdisciplinary' as a standpoint. Referring to CDA Fairclough (1989) points out, "methodologically, this approach entails working in a 'transdisciplinary' way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change", and for this fundamental reason CDA is hoped to be a beneficial approach for this research. That is, CDA goes beyond discipline-specific approach to tackle the definition of power foundation of a group or an organization: members of powerful social groups and institutions, and especially their leaders (the elites) that have more or less exclusive access to, and control over, one or more types of public discourse; for instance, journalists have control over media discourse (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 356).

The concept "power" is crucial here and thanks to CDA we can deconstruct that power possessed by a group or an organization with power. To exemplify this, take the European Union— Teti (2012) conducted a study into the EU's first policy reassessment in light of the Arab uprisings

aiming to navigate “the discursive construction of the ‘Three Ds’ – democracy, development and delivery – in the European Commission and High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy’s A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity (PfDSP) using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) lens.

However, this thesis is interested in examining the power exercised in media discourse. The media has a tremendous role in representing one of the ways in which hegemonic power operates, together with institutions as education, religion and the church (Thompson, 1995). Despite that, Fairclough (1995) argues that hegemony is never performed with absolute or permanent force, it is an “unstable equilibrium”. Indeed, hegemony is challenged constantly by resistance, but before discussing that further, how did hegemony as a discipline come to light? and how does it correlate with CDA? CDA with its multidisciplinary approach, focuses on a range of issues; such as prejudice, power, dominance and, certainly, hegemony—a concept greatly expanded through the analysis work of the Marxist scholar, Antonio Gramsci. According to Downing et al (1995), Gramsci asserts that hegemony “is the ideological dominance of society, the position in which an ideology favorable to the dominant class is agreed upon by the society as a whole. The subordinate classes are persuaded to hold views and values which are consistent with the continued economic and social dominance of the ruling class.” On that account, a diverse society or culture can become dominated or ruled by one class or group not only by force but perhaps by the people’s consensus. Then, hegemony is considered as a form of leadership instead of a form of domination, making people have a tendency to internalize and embrace, willingly, ideologies that are controlling them. In his series of essays, ‘Prison Notebooks’, Gramsci (1950s) ponders on the relationship between intellectuals and societies; suggesting that not all members of a society enjoy the social function of intellectuals. Gramsci perceives intellectuals as instructors who generate hegemony through ideological mechanism such as education and the media.

Thus, within the frame of intellectuality, media practices come in. Media could be one of the mechanism where hegemony is manufactured and produced, and it manifests a form of power and hegemony, and “from a "Gramscian" perspective, the mass media have to be interpreted as an instrument to spread and reinforce the dominant hegemony” (Stillo, 1999). The Gramscian perspective also identifies language use as a form of hegemonic control, which CDA approach mainly reflects on. Gramsci “recognised language as being one such form of hegemonic control, arguing that the discursive processes used by those in power transcend society, influencing the way in which subordinated peoples perceive and act in the world” (Moreton, 2007). In exemplifying this into a real event, Lulu’s (2011) piece is a telling illustration. She analyzed, in the light of the Arab Spring, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia’s role in suppressing the revolution in its neighbouring country, Bahrain. Lulu tackled the issue from the hegemony theory perspective to explain how media was censored; international journalists were being detained for reportedly

failing to produce identification papers, and the only independent local newspaper was suspended and faced legal action for "unethical coverage" of recent events. She went on pointing, "Saudi hegemony, built with the greasy palms of petro-dollars and maintained by a ruthless regime—one that enjoys diplomatic support from the world's most powerful democracies...".

Going back to the Gramscian perspective, Gramsci's hegemony theory has largely left an impact on the development of CDA approach so it tends to tackle a range of issues. "CDA has been influenced by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (1985) reworking of Gramscian notions of hegemony in terms of a discourse approach, in which the hegemonic struggle is seen as a contention over particular visions of the world which are claimed to have a universal status (e.g. the neo-liberal version of globalisation, often termed 'globalism' in which this phenomenon is represented as inevitable, beneficial, without anyone in charge of it, about liberalization of economies and congruent with the spread of democracy and a war on terror)" (Strathclyde).

While these pressing issues could be regarded controversial and certainly represented and constructed discursively, they still need to be investigated, especially the way they influence our lives. In response to how "hegemonic power makes people act as if it were natural, normal, or simply a consensus" (Van Dijk, 1997), CDA unmasks what lies in disguise.

In respect to the literature focused on analyzing aspects of the hegemonic media discourse during the Arab Uprising through the CDA lens, studies have been falling down in understanding the framing of how certain events were portrayed and constructed based on ideological stances. One of the examples is the study conducted by Dağtaş (2013) questioning the construction of the Arab Uprising in the Turkish newspapers. She notes an important aspect of how media present and represent content examining "who speaks and how" to determine the news actors and their quotations. To pose that critical view on the news discourse, CDA serves as a dismantling tool in understanding what is taken for granted.

Moreover, the literature review also revealed a great interest among scholars to analyze the hegemony of Western media discourse. Quite often, Al Jazeera became the focus as an emerging media network that is not only a leading transnational network in the Arab world but also as a counter-media network to leading Western networks such as CNN or the BBC. In this scope, most frequent frames revolved around framing and agenda-setting, which I discuss further in the following sections in this chapter. As already mentioned in the introduction, there is an

insufficient academic study on Yemen's 2011 Uprising as an individual case study—therefore, this thesis aspires to fill the gap.

FRAMING THEORY AND CDA

Following the discussion on hegemony, discussing framing theory is seemingly most appropriate because “framing research needs to be linked to political and social questions regarding power central to the media hegemony thesis” (Carragee, 2004), and CDA functions as a means in which analysts utilize to dig into sentences, phrases and words; and unmask frames. But what is framing to begin with?

The concept of framing was first introduced by, Erving Goffman in 1974. Then, it was developed by Robert M. Entman (1993) in which he defines, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. Entman's framing theory suggests an explanation to the selection and assertion of particular aspects for the news media agenda: it is the fact of cutting and trimming news stories for the sake of filtering and presenting it as the sender wishes. This implies on one hand that an issue could be constructed based on a number of values or consideration, and on the other hand how people in turn receive a processed information transmitted into predetermined frames which could be described as the last element of framing: language, thought and forethought (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996). “Frames can be determined by analyzing language within and across a collection of discursive events” (Menashe and Siegel 1998).

The impact of frames can be found on these events for the purpose of, as observed by Tuchman (1978), organizing everyday reality. Then, reality is consisted of multi-facets political, social, cultural and economical backgrounds which to be arranged not only through framing analysis but also through taking into account the in-depth analysis CDA provides. Both van Dijk (1997) and Wodak (2001) define that by noting, “since critical discourse analysis examines discourses in or as close as possible to their original contexts, it is essential to employ an interpretive lens that preserves the frames' contextual ideology”. The cautiousness of CDA with examining frames is attributed to how frames function, that's in four major ways. According to Entman (1993) and Scheufele (2004) frames help interpret cues, define problems, prescribe solutions, and bring meaning. To explain that further, I detail how these major aspects assist news media characterize and assert certain issues or overlook them. These major aspects are as the following, as specified by Entman (1993):

- 1) Defining problems—determining what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits and is usually measured in terms of common cultural values.
- 2) Diagnosing causes—identifying the forces creating the problem.
- 3) Making moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their effects.
- 4) Suggesting remedies—offering and justifying treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects.

Locating these functions in the field of mass communication and journalism, media producers perform as key sources of information, who have the ability through their framing of messages to influence how an issue is understood and assessed by audiences. That process manifests itself through how “those who provide such information identify certain aspects of an issue and make them more salient, such that the message is refined in a way so audiences will subscribe to a set of generated frames” (Goffman, 1974). Of course that leaves a chance where information is de-emphasized and, thus, omitted.

While my framing analysis is focused on how BBC and AJE constructed the Yemeni Uprising, I also examine the presence and absence of particular topics and issues from the narrative. It takes a critical vision from audiences to mark the way issues are characterized with for them in the media. Lyombe (1999), Pan and Kosicki (1993), Reese (2001) and Gitlin (1980) note that audiences interpret events and issues in accordance to the way they are framed by their sources for information. Essentially, media framing frames is done to represent an idea or story in a meaningful way to their audiences. Nonetheless, framing theory would explain, “how “mainstream” news media represent or marginalize fanfiction subculture by identifying the narrative’s inconspicuous qualities: orders of discourse, communicative events, and the strategies and options which dictate the media’s production of meanings, symbols, and messages (Fairclough, 1995, Jager, 2001 and van Dijk, 1997). Additionally, framing analysis allows researchers to examine the roles of media in the development of social and political issues (Song, 2007). That is, the cross match point between framing and socio-political power in media is best examined through CDA lense. For instance, CDA does not only focus on how patterns of inclusion and exclusion enact and reproduce “social power abuse, dominance, and inequality” between socio-cultural groups (Van Dijk, 2003), but it also showcases “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (van Dijk 1995). Thus, the inquiry rising here; how do news media, as an institution of social control, work on emphasizing or/and marginalizing socio-cultural groups who for some reason or another are assigned to be so by these media institution. This thesis takes Yemen’s 2011 Uprising as a case study to showcase the answer to that inquiry. More importantly, the thesis sees a relevance of CDA in examining framing processes in the BBC and AJE’s coverages over the protests in Yemen because “control

of knowledge crucially shapes our interpretation of the world, as well as our discourse and other actions. Hence the relevance of a critical analysis of those forms of text and talk, e.g. in the media and education, that essentially aim to construct such knowledge” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). Consequently, CDA serves as an explainer of that construction of knowledge. “The core of critical discourse analysis: that is, a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 259).

Framing theory was applied in a number of research works related to the Arab Spring and a select of specific revolutions; such as, the Egyptian Revolution, the Tunisian Revolution and etc. News media such as CNN, AJE, Alhurra and al-Arabiya, among others were compared and contrasted in their ways of framing the events in the respective countries. Just to name few, one of the research works was conducted by Fornaciari (2011) in which she used the method of content analysis to analyze the framing process between the coverage of AJ and BBC over the Egyptian Revolution. With not much different focus, Yehia (2011) examined the Egyptian Revolution with a research titled, “The Framing of the Egyptian Revolution Portrayed through the Al Jazeera and CNN Media Outlets and How They Compare and Contrast.”

Overall, plentiful studies have focused on the events of the Arab Spring through the framing theory. Nonetheless, assessing the previous body of research that addresses the subject matter, Yemen and how it’s has been portrayed in the international media particularly during the first stage of the Arab Spring, is quiet often located in analysis focused on the Arab Spring in general and how these movements were framed in the media. As an example, Abu Hatab (2013) examined Arab Spring Presidential Speeches in a research titled, “Arab Spring Presidential Speeches and New Social Identities: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study”. In analyzing the speeches, Abu Hatab addresses Yemen, along with addressing Egypt, Libya and Syria. Another example is the research of Lynch, Freelon and Aday (2014) in which they tackle the question, “How did Syria’s conflict interact with the broader wave of regional protest known as the Arab Spring?” Yemen comes to be among the Arab countries analyzed.

With that said, the literature review suggest that the majority of scholarly work that has addressed the Arab Spring did not include Yemen as an individual study case. Nonetheless, media scholars have a strong research interest in the way in which the mass media use techniques to represent reality. There has been a great interest in the role of social media in framing, as well.

In essence, throughout this thesis I focus the framing of Yemen's 2011 Uprising in the coverage of BBC and AJE, while also examining other relevant theories— aspiring to contribute with an academic work that take Yemen's 2011 Uprising as a primary focus. Considering that “in the examination of language, one must suspend, not only the point of view of the 'signified' (we are used to this by now), but also that of the 'signifier', and so reveal the fact that, here and there, in relation to possible domains of objects and subjects, in relation to other possible formulations and re-uses” (Foucault, 1972, p.111), I follow van Dijk's (1983) suggestion that to focus on news discourse one requires a full analysis of its various levels, units, dimensions, modes, and social contexts. That's to deconstruct frames.

POSTCOLONIALISM

In this chapter I focus on how postcolonial theories are relevant to the media framing, which is revealed in the media discourse of BBC and AJE. In theory, Yemen has limited experience with colonialism (Adra, 2015). Nonetheless, by discussing several postcolonial perspectives, this section provides explanation to some aspects of the media power structure and its impact on the nature of media coverage of Yemen's 2011 Uprising.

Post-colonialism is a theory which revolves around examining both legacy and contemporary thought. It is considered to be founded from the old British Empire and the ancient colonial powers which had their peak of ruling of large parts of the world during the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th century. Thus, system of hierarchies and opposing poles were created in which superiority of the colonizers appeared. Despite the end of that era, there are still traces of that structural differences created during the colonial period. In today's terms, Colonialism as a concept is a historical form of imperialism (McLeod, 2000, p. 8).

When it comes to analyzing media through a post-colonialism perspective, it's widely regarded that Postcolonial Studies is “notoriously absent from electronic media practice, theory, and criticism” (Fernandez , 1999, p. 59). Accordingly, in compensating that deficiency, it would be useful to draw insights from the work of leading colonial and postcolonial theorists. I follow theories proposed by one of the most influential modern critics of colonialism; Edward Said—a writer of tireless dedication in examining the subject matter.

In our modern history, post-colonialism studies as a scope came into focus following the the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in the wake of the events of 9/11. Then, there was a rise of military imperialism, particularly coming from Western powers which had a major goal: imposing ‘democracy’ on Muslim countries. Even though Said’s Orientalism was written in 1979, “the political paradigm shift that occurred after 9/11, including various wars and political crises, highlight the continuing relevance of Said’s work” (Weixelbaum, 2011). In the Orientalism, Said (1978) contextualizes the superior European perception of the Orient as exotic, mysterious, erotic, different, and non-white or “other.” With that said, would the BBC, being the British media network it is, fall into that category? One example of study proves that BBC falls into an orientalist category. In a research study titled, ‘Orientalism in online news: BBC stories of Somali piracy’ C. S. Way (2013) takes Somalia piracy as a case study to examine the BBC’s Orientalist perspective. He comes to the conclusion that, “despite claims of objectivity and ‘informing the world about the world’, the international BBC website perpetuates a type of Orientalism that irritates an already volatile and dangerous situation to the disadvantage of Somalia and Somalians.” In this regard, this thesis inquires as well if both BBC and AJE perpetuates a type of power influence as they cover the protests in Yemen? the findings are discussed in chapter 5. But I can say here briefly, even though this theoretical perspective seem to be applying more appropriately on the BBC World’s coverage, it would still apply very well to Al-Jazeera English’s coverage, as AJE is funded by Qatar whose “emergence in the international limelight over the past few years signals its remarkable transformation from a sleepy Gulf peninsula to a regional superpower” (Kamrava, 2013) and, more importantly, Qatar “wants to increase its influence” (Khatib, 2014). While Yemen is ranked as the poorest Arab country which limits its influence or power, it lacks media institutions that can counter the orientalist, BBC or the regional super-powerful, Qatar.

The dynamics within the frame of post-colonialism is usually deals with power and knowledge–dichotomy manifests itself in the form of “the Others” meant inferior and the Europeans meant superior. Consequently, humans mobilize themselves in light of this mindset arranging things in binary oppositions and perceiving them from what they are not. This kind of understanding has led to the notion that “Arab populations are not ready for democracy” (Hasan, 2012) following the Arab Spring. In fact, Hasan (2012) argues that this idea predates the 2011 wave of protests and has received some prominence, in his view, thanks to the so-called democratic experiment in Iraq following US invasion. Hence, the Arab Spring represented a continuation of opportunities to exercise some Orientalist frameworks into events in the Middle East and North of Africa.

Going back to the relationship between postcolonial theory and media, postcolonial theory analyzes the ways colonial or imperialist notions are formed in media and literature. Certainly,

the victim here is the third world or the formerly colonized parts of the world. Said once emphasized that, “unfortunately, the standardized molds and culturally stereotyped images of the Orient still permeate the Western media, academia, and political circles, thus intensifying "the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of 'the mysterious Orient'" (Hamadi). In order to investigate imaginative demonology of 'the mysterious Orient', postcolonial theories make it possible to ‘recognize’ and read critically the cultural production generated in postcolonial contemporary media cultures. A good example that illustrates the orientalist perspective in the media is through its take into women’s role in the Arab Spring. Naber (2011) notes that there was “Orientalist approach to women’s role in the Egyptian revolution by the media while it often ignored how protests led by labor unions—many of them women-based labor unions in the manufacturing cities of Egypt—catalyzed the revolution. That is, the women were perceived as exotic members in the revolution while overlooking the importance of bringing into perspective women's long-time participatory efforts in leading the protests.

The significance of postcolonialism analysis into the media discourse of this thesis’ focus: the BBC and AJE’s coverage on Yemen’s 2011 Uprising is to expose the dichotomies which lay hidden power structures. It is unlikely to dismantle those structures but, like Eriksson, Baaz and Thörn (2002) note they must be destabilized in accordance to post-structural theory. The thesis hopes to contribute some insights into how to destabilize those structures.

CONTEXTUAL OBJECTIVITY AND CDA

Contextual objectivity is a concept first coined by Adel Iskandar and Mohammed El-Nawawy in response to the operations of news media organizations during times of movements or/and war (El-Nawawy, 2003). Iskandar and El-Nawawy focused the concept in their analysis of Al-Jazeera as a case study, suggesting that contextual objectivity reflects on how all sides in any story could be represented while still preserving the values, beliefs and sentiments of the target audience.

I propose this concept in this thesis because it is clearly connected to one of the understandings about the AJE network’s principle of objectivity. Nonetheless, objectivity or neutrality has been debated in western media broadcasting houses and the concept of contextual objectivity could perhaps challenge the predetermined notion of how objectivity is ought to be within western media networks; such as, BBC. In principle, Contextual objectivity is meant to retain objectivity

while taking into account the cultural and historic distinctions of the Arab and Islamic world (El-Nawawy and Iskandar, 2003).

Contextual objectivity investigates the relation between the standards of journalism and how audiences receive it. Iskandar explains further, “there is an inherent contradiction between the standards of journalism practice, the way it is conceptualised and how audiences judge what they deem to be appropriate or desirable. Audiences are not meant to be objective. They are by definition subjective. And they make up their minds based on that subjectivity – if they engage with something that they disagree with and they do it solely to combat it or to create a space of disagreement. And within that we start seeing the formula of contextual objectivity taking shape”.

Since the focus of the thesis is how and why BBC and AJE framed the early stage of Yemen’s 2011 Uprising in the way they did, contextual objectivity brings the role of audiences into focus as well. As the topic becomes multi-layered, the CDA approach: Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework serves as an insightful tool to explore critically the material in relation to the nature of the different audiences/cultures.

As explained earlier in this chapter, in principle, CDA cuts through three aspects presented in the three-dimensional model created by Fairclough (1989, p. 2), a model that consisted of three distinct yet overlapping structures of analysis: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice. In this way, contextual objectivity analysis would fall into the third level: discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice because the role of audiences depend on the nature of the sociocultural practice in the discourse.

The key issue in understanding contextual objectivity is how media networks adapt to what suits its audience while still remaining loyal to the principle of objectivity. It is a challenging task. Some regard that to be another form of bias. In response to that, el-Nawawy states that most networks aim to cover the news objectively, but they end up coloring it with a certain context or perspective that suits audience concerns. Away from critics of contextual objectivity, P. Carney (2006) fairly compares applying contextual objectivity as a theory into both AJ and western media, noting “it can be argued that Al Jazeera understands the cultural nature of its Arab and Muslim audience and presents news, in both content and context, which appeals to the Arab street that is not offered by western media outlets. Western media outlets can also be painted with the same brush, as most corporations select and broadcast programs based on accepted

perspectives in Western culture.” It can be also argued that it is unfair to compare an Arab media network to a western media network, regardless of their level of objectivity, because each has its own culturally-based specificity. Clearly, this aspect can be investigated further through the lens of the third process of analysis in Fairclough’s CDA three-dimensional model, that relates to the social analysis. While texts are instantiations of socially regulated discourses and the processes of production and reception are socially constrained (Janks, 1997), one must recognize that texts have historical and social determination.

In respect to how AJ coverage was during the Arab Spring in 2011, which includes their coverage on the Yemeni Uprising, many claim that AJ was the voice of the voiceless in many parts in the region; hinting that the Arab Spring was led by AJ. Responding to such claims, the channel’s director then, Wadah Khanfar, has strongly stressed that the Arab Spring was the people’s revolution (Abdelmoula, 2012), “the Arab spring is not Al Jazeera’s revolution as some would call it; it is “the people’s revolution”. It is true that the channel’s logos were displayed in protests all over the squares in Egypt, Libya and Yemen but, this is an indication that Al Jazeera is behind these protests. It reflects the protestors’ understanding of Al Jazeera’s strength and influence” (Abdelmoula, 2012, p. 299).

MODEL OF ANALYSIS

Throughout this study I focus on analyzing the texts from the linguistic analysis perspective. To begin with, discourse analysis serves as a research tool that has inspired scholars to create abundant different methods within the framework of discourse analysis in order to analyze texts, as it “covers a wide variety of different sociolinguistic approaches” (Rahangdalel and Agrawal, 2014). However, the analysis in this research is based on CDA with a major focus into Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework of CDA. I use several different textual strategies from CDA to analyze the corpus and the strategies are: (1) Topicalization as suggested by Van Dijk (1998), (2) Lexicalization as proposed by Richardson (2007) and Predication from the discourse-historical approach by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) (3) Verbal Processes as suggested by Halliday (2004) and da Silva and (4) Narrative: Intertextuality and Framing as proposed by Fairclough.

Drawing into these strategies, the analysis was conducted over nearly 70 articles from BBC and AJE. The articles were examined using these strategies to show interesting results which answered the research questions. The analysis and results is explained thoroughly in chapter 5. Below, the following features were addressed based on the textual strategies in details:-

TOPICS

In order to analyze the discursive practice, the tool of topic selection is used. Topics represent what is most relevant or important for the participants and they are crucial in the formation and accessibility of preferred ideological models, and, thus, indirectly in the formation or confirmation of ideologies (Van Dijk, 1998). Therefore, the significance of focusing into the selection of certain events and ignoring others in the media perpetuates a particular power structure which we look things through. Dunlevy (1998) notes that through that process the media help to legitimate the existing power structure and existing ways of seeing and doing things.

In the light of this explanation, I focus on analyzing different topics that are shown in the news reporting of BBC and AJE. To do so, I bear in mind the following topics as a general standpoint:

- Which topics are tackled ?

Possible categories:

Yemen's unrest vs. protests

Protesters

Yemen's Uprising

Yemen internal politics

Ali Abdulllah Saleh

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) initiative plan

AQAP

Yemen's economy

Human Rights issues

Friday of Dignity

Tribal leaders' role

Timeline of the protests' course

Women's role in the uprising

Tawakkol Karaman

What's next for Yemen?

Based on Van Dijk's (1998) topics textual strategy, I also inquire:

- Does the topic express information that is positive about the protests in Yemen?
- Does the topic express information that is negative about the protests in Yemen?
- Does the topic provide insightful information about Yemen?

The topics categories were created after having a quick review on all the articles. In my analysis, I do not keep the focus into these topics completely. Instead, I focus on the topic categorizations that stood out the most. More into this is explained in Chapter 5.

LEXICALIZATION AND PREDICATION

According to Richardson (2007), the first stage of discourse analysis is the analysis of words. Thus, the importance of words lies in their ability to convey meanings manifested in lexicalization which involves studying the denotations and connotations of lexical items.

Such understanding is important as Richardson (2007) describes that words convey the imprint of society and of value judgments in particular. As judgments-making is an integral part of people's system of expression about the way the world is organized, the typical example of such polarized judgments-making based on the interplay of lexicalization and ideology is the use of 'freedom fighter' vs. 'terrorist' (Kress, 1983). Fowler (1987) notes that vocabulary encodes ideology, systems of beliefs about the way the world is organized. "Words are commonly taken as neutral reflections of the real world. They may, however, be more accurately regarded as constructions of the real that reflect the interest of dominant groups" (de Graaf, p. 25).

Along with lexicalization analysis, I also focus into the predications that are linked to certain groups. Predication, as a process, embodies the different aspects of how people shape their understanding of other people, objects, ideas and so on. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), predication is the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events actions and social phenomena. Through predication, persons, things events and practices are specified and characterized with respect to quality, quantity, space, time

and so on. Reisigl and Wodak go on to detail that process of predication by noting, predications are mostly realized through specific forms of reference (based on explicit denotation, as well as on more or less implicit connotation), by attributes (in the form of, for example, adjectives, appositions, and prepositional phrases), by predicates or predicative nouns / adjectives / pronouns, by collocations or by explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures. To exemplify that, in my initial reading to the BBC and AJE's articles on Yemen's 2011 Uprising, I found out how Yemen is topicalized as a "haven" for al Qaeda, as if it is a definite fact, while AJE topicalizes Yemen to be having the "threat" of Al Qaeda. In this sense, in my analysis I take an account of the wordings and predications about the different groups involved in the texts.

When observing the lexicalization strategy, it's shown how it plays a significant role in displaying the ideological expression and persuasion between two, or more, polarized groups. For instance, Alhumaidi (2013) shows in his study on how the lexicalization played a role in the reporting of the Egyptian Revolution, noting that "Al-Ahram and Al Jazeera described opposing groups during the start of the revolution with different terms: Al-Ahram assigns negative predications to groups and movements leading the demonstrations and opposing President Mubarak's regime, casting doubts on their legitimacy and significance, while Al Jazeera did not use negative predications such as banned and illegal to describe opposing groups, who were presented either neutrally by referring to the names of the groups or positively by describing their members with positive words such as activists and supporters."

VERBAL PROCESSES

It takes two to establish a verbal process. According to da Silva (P. 346), "Verbal processes are those of saying. The main participants involved in these processes are the Sayer, the Receiver, the Target and the Verbiage. The Sayer is the entity that says something while the Receiver is the one at whom this saying is directed. The Target is the participant that is aimed at by the saying. The difference between the Receive and the Target lies on their different functions: while the Receiver is the addressee of the saying the Target is the one being 'acted verbally' by the Sayer."

Having said that, one must recognize that what's said during any given verbal process in the format of reported talk or saying or speech or quotation does not necessarily represent the Verbiage. This is a crucial issue in the media practice. There are six process types: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal and existential (Halliday, 2004). The multi-types of verbal

processes reflects its adaptation to the interchangeable exchange of meanings. Halliday (1985) explains the importance of verbal processes as it speaks to “any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning”.

So how can these meanings be understood? what can they mean to different people? Classifying verbal processes into certain threads makes it possible for people to perceive meanings through. Verbal processes come into three sub-types: positive, negative, and neutral (Chen, 2004, 2005). These types are extremely relevant to news media reporting. Chen (2004) explains further positive verbal processes include: pointed out, announced, explained, declared, indicated, and urged; negative verbal processes include: denied, claimed, admitted, insisted, and complained; and neutral verbal processes include: said, told, described, asked, and commented.

In that regard, the media discourse shows reporters using particular verbal processes to shed light or not into certain meanings. Thus, the notion of what is newsworthy for one media house might be not so for other house. In Chapter 5, I explore different verbal processes in relation to BBC and AJE’s coverage to Yemen’s 2011 Uprising. I analyze how reporters encoded meanings and how they expressed their attitudes toward different Sayers in the different sides of the protests; positively, negatively, or neutrally.

NEWS NARRATIVE: INTERTEXTUALITY AND FRAMING

Narrative impacts stories and news’ representations to a large extent. Fairclough (1988) observes that what we have in written factual narrative discourse is 'representation of speech' instead of a "transparent report of what was said or written [because] there is always a decision to interpret and represent. Be looking to news as a narrative discourse, news is, therefore, not an actual representation of events expressed orally or in written texts—news is a mere interpretation.

News narrative plays a role in including certain happenings and excluding others, and it, subsequently, sets these events in a particular relation to each other Fairclough (2003). The problem with news narrative is reporters’ selectivity. “The choice between the different modes and the way they are represented is not only an entrance point to stylistic difference, but also a clue to how events can be interpreted according to the point of view of who reports them. In the stage of selecting and processing what to report, writers reveal their own stance towards what is represented. Through the comparison of different texts, we can say that no speech representation is objective or simply neutral. And the power of the writer to distort the meaning of a 'saying' in actual texts can be really frightening” (Caldas-Coulthard, p. 80).

In that regard, reporters are in control of the selection process and, thus, the framing of events, voices, angles and so on. “Journalists are in the business of including some things which were said and excluding others (which often means excluding certain voices), selecting particular parts of what was said, and generally ordering what is often a cacophony of speech and writing into separate speech events” (Fairclough, 2003).

Below, Fairclough (2003) details four methods of reporting:

- Direct reporting

The actual words of the sayer; e.g. “They said, “they’ll continue protesting.”

- Indirect reporting

A summary of the saying with a reporting clause; e.g. “He said he’d continue protesting.”

- Free indirect reporting

A description stemming from between direct and indirect; e.g. “The protesters were chanting together.”

- Narrative report of speech act

Reporting the kind of speech act without reporting the actual content; e.g. “Yemen protesters show unity and determination.”

Direct reporting is obviously including voices saying the sayings, while the other three reporting ways summarize sayers’ sayings. This raises the question how reporters make decisions about which way of reporting they need use: direct or indirect? Regardless, in my examination, I focus on the visibility of some voices over other voices, which could explain aspects of the framing the protests in Yemen.

Speaking of framing, when media tends to concentrate on an aspect of a story, audiences have a story that’s reported in a disproportional way of coverage. That’s attributed to a framing process explained by Fairclough (2003) as the following, “when the voice of another is incorporated into a text, there are always choices about how to frame it, how to contextualize it”. It’s not only about the contextualizing of meanings but also about the ordering of voices (Fairclough, 2003); this is shown frequently in the antagonist-protagonist kind of frame. That is, in contrasting voices, media tend to frame a distinction between antagonist and protagonist: the good vs. the bad.

By understanding that media houses are similar to social institutions one must recognize that “social institutions are characterized by diverse and potentially competing ideological frames (what Fairclough calls ideological-discursive formations (IDF) associated with different groups within an institution” (Ehrlich, 2001, p. 65). Accordingly, the intertextuality and framing produced by these social institutions are in practice processes of creation and interpretation of meanings that extend beyond individual texts (Gordon, 2009, p. 189).

In analyzing the articles through the the intertextuality and framing strategies, and as I focus on how “texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (Fairclough, 1992, p.270)”, I created a list of criteria; some questions taken from Fairclough (2005) study on intertextuality, and the list is as the following:

- Which voices are excluded and which voices are included?
- Are there critical voices to the big story, if so, how are they critical?
- Are there enhanced voices in the wrap-up?
- How is the usage direct reporting, indirect reporting, free indirect reporting and narrative report of speech act? Is there a difference in their usage?

Having said that, framing plays a major role in the way stories are narrated; how voices are included or excluded indicates reporters’ attitudes towards sides in the story.) That is, “all texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings which text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation” (Thibault, 1994, p.1751).

Hence, taking into consideration the importance of intertextuality and framing in news narrative, this thesis provides be an insight into exposing the dominant ideology and framing in BBC and AJE towards Yemen’s 2011 Uprising.

RESEARCH QUESTION

In chapter 1, I already mentioned the research question, however, the repetition here is intended to specify the research questions further after discussing the model of analysis above and all those textual strategies of analysis. Similar to how it was referred in the introduction, the initial research questions are:

RQ1: What were the dominant themes recognized in BBC coverage of the protests in Yemen?

RQ2: What were the dominant themes recognized in AJE coverage of the protests in Yemen?

To find answers to those questions is the primary purpose of this research. To do so, I pose sub-questions, listed below, in light of the the textual strategies already discussed above. It's hoped that answering the sub-questions adds to reaching results that explain the main research questions. The sub-questions are:

1. What are the topics found in the news coverage of BBC?
2. What are the topics found in the news coverage of AJE?
3. What kind of lexicalization and predications can be recognized in the news coverage of BBC?
4. What kind of lexicalization and predications can be recognized in the news coverage of AJE?
5. What are the verbal processes that can be found in the news coverage of BBC?
6. What are the verbal processes that can be found in the news coverage of AJE?
7. What kind of intertextuality and framing can be seen in the news coverage of BBC?
8. What kind of intertextuality and framing can be seen in the news coverage of AJE?

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the methodology, explaining the used research design, the data, and the procedures I follow to conduct the research. The primary interest of the methodological structure the thesis has is to provide an analysis into the scope of social construction, thus, a qualitative approach is considered as it allow to investigate the *why* and *how* not just *what*, *where*, *when*, or *who*. Additionally, I discuss in this chapter several features that are relevant to the subject matter, that is: how AJE is different from the Arabic version, and the reason of choosing BBC to counter of AJE.

As the research questions investigate multi-facets of the construction of meanings, I find CDA approach to be a method that serves well in answering the questions with multi-dimensional analysis. Even though a content analysis technique seems to be able to do the job, CDA approach has the advantage of moving beyond the textual analysis to navigating the surrounding social context as well. Among the various CDA's frameworks, I focus on Fairclough's (1989) CDA three-dimensional framework to be the central theoretical framework of my analysis. Its significance lies in its ability to examine textual features and also consider the discursive social

practices of the discourse. In further details, Fairclough's (1989) CDA three-dimensional framework is consisted of three distinct yet overlapping structures of analysis:

1. Analysis of (spoken or written) language texts
2. Analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption)
3. Analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice

Besides analysing the textual features, these three levels of analysis assist in examining the the discursive interpretive patterns the BBC and AJE adopt to produce its framing, ideology, value system, and interpretation of events during Yemen's 2011 Uprising. Thus, it's crucial to emphasise the fundamental advantage of CDA, which enabling the researcher to move from a focus on specific texts to a focus on the social context of the texts, i.e. engaging with social theoretical issues (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, a number of social theories are applied along with CDA approach in analyzing the articles; the theories are Hegemony Theory, Framing Theory, Postcolonialism Theory and Contextual Objectivity Theory.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is driven by the theoretical lines of CDA approach and the eventual objective is to arrive to conclusions that are based on a type of inductive analysis. Moreover, the research procedures seek to explore the material at the latent level, to move beyond what the material actually says in order to identify underlying ideologies or ideas that govern what the BBC and AJE'S coverages say. Thus, as the research uses a number of textual analysis strategies, it aims to achieve depth instead of a mere breadth. How is that achievable? The research design seeks to explain the structure of the research and the empirical work. The research procedures are consisted of six steps and they are:-

1. Collecting the data: I map up numberless articles published online by the BBC and AJE media networks, on their website through corpus-based keyword technique, searching with terms; such as, Yemen, Protests in Yemen, Yemen's Uprising, Yemen's Revolution and, Yemen and the Arab Spring. I identify nearly 100 articles. (See Table 1 in the appendix)

2. Selecting based on certain criteria: The collected news articles are reduced after going through a filtering process based on two criteria: 1) that they were not solely descriptive news articles. 2) that they were of sufficient length to provide a reasonable amount of data.
3. Then, the dataset is refined according to whether the articles made reference to construct or frame a direct or indirect aspect of Yemen's 2011 Uprising.
4. The dataset is categorized into themes for the purpose of applying the theoretical frameworks; such as, aspects related to hegemony theory, framing theory and contextual objectivity.
5. The theme-based categorized material is read repeatedly with a process of textual analysis with the textual strategies; such as, lexicalization and intertextuality.
6. Finally, the results were gathered and presented.

DATA

Articles published in both BBC and AJE websites during the first 100 days (between January 27th and May 6th) of the protests in 2011 are selected as the initial material for this research. The research focuses on the articles of these media networks, which fundamentally covered the development of the protests in Yemen. After conducting the research procedures mentioned above, the final dataset is analyzed to specify relevant analytical features revolving around the BBC and AJE's news media framing of the situation in Yemen's 2011 Uprising. Major frames; such as, the protests and the former president, Ali Abdullah Saleh were sub-study cases to display the framing of Yemen's 2011 Uprising.

Articles were chosen through the google search engine on the internet and the respective media networks' websites, using the terms; such as, Yemen, Protests in Yemen, Yemen's Uprising. After conducting the six steps of the research procedures, I finally obtained 75 articles. (See Table 2 below).

AJE IS NOT AJ ARABIC

One of the most well-known remarks given about al Jazeera's significant reporting was expressed by Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton when she, as NPR (2011) reports, singled out the Al Jazeera TV news network for its work in covering the uprisings throughout the Middle East. "You've got a global — a set of global networks — that Al Jazeera has been the leader in, that are literally changing people's minds and attitudes," Clinton was quoted saying, "in fact, viewership of Aljazeera is going up in the U.S. because it's real news."

Little did she know that the Al Jazeera is a media house which has extremely two different messages sent through its Arabic and English versions; different coverages and stances on events. Perhaps the difference was nuance for her, nonetheless, it would have been more appropriate if she aimed to be precise and name AJE not simply AJ. Simply put, AJE is separate from its Arabic stablemate, with different management, different editorial lines, even physically separate buildings in Doha (the guardian, 2014).

To illustrate that different editorial outlook between AJE and AJA, here is a recent event that took place in Yemen and how these media outlets' differed in their coverage. On April the first, 2015, Yemen dairy factory was attacked in the course of the war between a Saudi-led coalition and the coalition of Yemen's rebel group, the Houthis and former president Saleh's forces. AJE reported on the story with the title: "blame exchanged over Yemen dairy factory attack", while AJA reported on the story with the title: "الحوثيون يستهدفون مصنع الألبان في الحديدة" translated as, "Houthis attack Yemen dairy factory in Hodeidah".

For the sake of this study and many other reasons AJE must be differentiated from its Arabic counterpart. As Pollock (2011) notes, while the Arabic website reflects Qatar's regional interests, the English site has a greater internationalist bent to its reporting; AJE reports favorably on many issues that are largely absent from the Arabic site, including low wages, poor working conditions, class conflict, and feminist and other minority groups throughout the Middle East. These editorial topics could be reversed and applied into the topics AJA usually reports on. Fundamentally, AJA has much less freedom to report on regional developments -- including in Qatar (Pollock, 2011). Having said that, one must recognize that AJE is not AJA, and vice versa. "Sue Turton, a Doha-based AJE correspondent and presenter once stated about AJE, "it's accurate, balanced, fair. We are a different channel," (the guardian, 2014).

In explaining the reason behind that difference, it should be done through recognizing what are Qatar's intentions with having two different editorial lines to speak to its two kind of audiences:

the Arab world and the non-Arab world. Mainly, AJ's most important function, as conceived of by its sponsor, Sheikh al-Thani, is to raise Qatar's profile in the world by differentiating Qatar from its neighbors, establishing it as a regional player to be reckoned (Williams, xx); meaning that, on one hand, for the Arab world AJ could, "establish a wide and loyal following" (Williams,) and, on the other hand, for the international audience "Al-Jazeera English has an international agenda that eclipses Qatar's domestic issues" (Ayaad, 2006, p 30). Certainly, these sides of AJ question the media network's journalistic integrity.

AJ seems not satisfied to have the two versions; its AJA and AJE, Al Jazeera, America (AJAM), thus, was established. With the belief AJ has that there is a market void in journalism, Starkman (2014) writes about what Ehab Al Shihabi, AJAM's CEO, has to say about what the network aims to be distinguished with: "The network would distinguish itself through one thing: its reporting. Let Fox, MSNBC and other wannabes have their opinions. Al Jazeera America would stick to the journalism, the real stuff."

Since AJE is not AJA, it would not be difficult to imagine that AJAM not being neither AJE and nor AJA. This has been a topic discussed by a number of scholars in the recent time after the establishment of AJAM in August, 2013.

WHY BBC

Apart from that the BBC is one of the most popular media broadcasting houses in the world, if not the only top famous one, the reason of having BBC as part of the case study in this thesis lies in the fact that it considered as one of the most impartial media houses that covered the Arab Spring rigorously. Sheffield (2012) sums that up noting, "the global weekly audience of the BBC across all platforms (TV, radio, online) has gone up 14 million to 239 million in 2012, an increase of 6 percent over last year. The BBC credits the increase to a demand for "impartial" news and information during the Arab Spring (the corporation's political impartiality is another requirement of its constitutional charter)." Moreover, BBC and AJE has always had a type of dubious relation. As Beard (2009) humorously marks, "the joke is that if you close your eyes and just listen to Al-Jazeera, you'd think it was the BBC. A good station attracts good journalists. And many of them are British, with the kind of plummy British accents that – under pressure of regionalization and democratization – the BBC would now shy away from". Indeed, "it was BBC Arabic Television, which broadcast for two years from Qatar, that laid the foundations for a new, controversial, and rigorously independent Arab news service named Al Jazeera in 1996" (Sheffield, 2012).

The relatively great work of BBC in covering the uprisings during 2011 was reported in a report (2012) issued by the BBC Trust, the governing body of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), in which they assigned Edward Mortimer, then Senior Vice President of the Salzburg Global Seminar, former UN Director of Communications and expert in Middle East affairs to review and assess the BBC's overall performance in covering the Arab Spring in 2011. With the title, "A BBC Trust report on the impartiality and accuracy of the BBC's coverage of the events known as the "Arab Spring"", the report concluded that the BBC's coverage of the Arab Spring was remarkable given the challenges involved and was generally impartial (Mortimer, 2012).

Indeed these statements' credibility could be questioned since they come from the BBC about the BBC - a matter that leaves BBC critics to scream with objections. In 2012, , a piece was published at the telegraph written by Hodges where he argues how BBC's popularity is only a matter of delusion. He (2012) argues, "the BBC believes it is the best. But it isn't, and it hasn't been for years...the BBC is too pedestrian, its analysis too conservative and the scope of its coverage too shallow. The BBC simply has not been able to adapt to the changing face of news coverage ushered in by the CNN revolution. It's been living on its reputation, rather than building upon it." Here Hodge compares BBC to CNN, and it's a classical situation in comparing the BBC to other media houses. While, as once Theodore Roosevelt was quoted saying, "Comparison is the thief of joy", in comparison arguments are strengthened. There are dozens of studies and columns comparing the BBC to other media outlets including AJE; which could be a hint that BBC is the standard of what is good journalism. This raises critique to other media outlets that they don't live up to the BBC's standards of journalism. For instance, Korski (2011) analyzes AJ and concludes with urging the audience to watch al-Jazeera but not see it as a champion of democracy; it is not a new BBC World Service."

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter presents the analysis and results in parallel because it makes it easier for the reader to follow the examination and the findings with the hope there would be more transparency.

ANALYSIS OF TOPICS

Topics, “defined as semantic macrostructures, they represent what speakers find most important, they regulate overall coherence of discourse, how discourse is planned and globally controlled and understood, and what is best remembered by the recipients” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 90). In this thesis, I consider topics are the most relevant information BBC and AJE find in their reporting about Yemen. I question if they were open of narrow-minded towards certain topics over another. For the BBC, It’s regarded, as Mortimer (2012) expressed that he was particularly struck by the openness and willingness of BBC News journalists at all levels to look critically at their approach to covering stories and to identify ways in which it might be improved, throughout the BBC coverage of the Arab Spring. He adds, “But there is a tendency to focus resources on one story at a time, leading to a lack of coverage of other countries within the region.”

In the following section I detail my analysis on the topics that stood out the most categorizing them into the following; 1. The Protest, 2. ‘President’ Ali Abdullah Saleh, 3. Woman's Role in the Protests. But first I would like to mention that in the coming analysis I would often display numbers of occurrences of certain topics / words to show differences between the network stations. The fact that the final corpus is consisted of more articles by BBC (with 43 articles) than AJE (with only 32 articles) is taken into consideration—because this study is based on qualitative approach, the quantitative seems not making a big difference in the final result of the analysis. Nonetheless, it’s unavoidable to find a sense of quantitative nature throughout the analysis and results, which is hoped to be regarded as degrees of differences, rather than as statistics outcomes.

THE PROTESTS

While the BBC’s focus was more into topics related to Yemenis’ grievances and demands; as the real causes of the protests, AJE’s focus on such topics were similar to the BBC’s but with an

extra focus on the larger background of the grievances and demands. For example, AJE's first story on the protests focused on the motivations behind the protests and pointing out, Saleh was re-elected in September 2006 for a seven-year mandate and he was working on a constitutional amendment that would qualify him to run as a president for life. This aspect was never mentioned in the BBC's coverage.

The BBC was cautious in its focus on the protests and it was understood that it had doubts about the events in Yemen. For instance; an article by the BBC was titled with "Tens of thousands call on president to leave" instead of calling the people as protesters. This implies that BBC has a sense of carefulness in its initial reporting. However, the BBC reported on the protests describing them as an event occurring within the frame of protests sweeping Egypt and Tunisia. That's similar to how AJE reported, topicalizing the events in Yemen to be inspired by Tunisia and Egypt.

As time passed, both BBC and AJE started to have a new point of view on the theme they focused on. The first time BBC called the events in Yemen as an uprising was along the way of framing the whole events in the Middle East and North of Africa in 2011 as uprisings. In an article, the BBC made a story with a tiny text and more than 2 minutes video report titled "Political uprising sweeping across the Middle East". Then in another article, BBC wrote, referring to the protests in Yemen, "this uprising has already cost more than 100 lives. Even on a quiet day, the field hospital set up in the mosque in the middle of Sanaa's tent city is overwhelmed." For AJE, they took a clear standpoint and emphasized that they protests in Yemen was one of the uprisings of the Arab Spring. In an article, AJE republished a transcript of two clips, what its senior political analyst, Marwan Bishara said while being featured on Democracy Now along with Noam Chomsky discussing different topics about the Arab Spring which included Yemen. They both topicalized the protests across the region as uprisings. Bishara clearly stated, "now, some people, some cynics, would like to see it as a temporary uprising and everything will go back as it were. I don't think so."

Another important topic focused on by BBC and AJE in the light of the protests was the government's crackdown on protesters. The topics analysis shows how the two media networks had the plight of protesters as a key topic, whenever they were attacked. Several articles published by BBC focused on the crackdown against the protesters. For instance, in an article BBC reported on how "rights group has accused the government of colluding with thugs - armed with sticks, clubs, axes and daggers - to suppress the protests." On AJE's part, it did not only focus on the crackdown against the protesters, but it also concentrated on the topic of several Yemeni leaders resigning in protest against the violence and the killing against the protesters.

The rise of violence against the protesters, made BBC in particular topicalize the events in Yemen as an unrest. In a number of articles, BBC reported on the protests in Yemen, the crackdown against the protesters and how Yemen was witnessing an unrest. At this point, the Friday of Dignity massacre and the propose of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) deal plan came into focus and, BBC and AJE started to have a slightly different concentration on what was important to the audiences to know about the situation in Yemen. This period represents a turning point not only in the course of protests but also in the way the BBC and AJE topicalized the following events in Yemen. Friday of dignity on the 18th of March, was covered by BBC in an article with an analysis piece of a great length (807 words) examining the significance of that day. Whereas, AJE, in various articles focused on the larger context: the repercussions of the day, how other key political players in Yemen reacted and how tribal Yemeni men saw that day. The following articles started to focus on the significance of the GCC deal, with a greater competence in AJE's reporting than BBC, while both media networks remained focused on balancing the topics in relation to the protests; reporting on the pro and anti Saleh protests.

In a nutshell, news articles on this topic, the protest, were a combination of follow-up stories and individual stories reporting the latest developments during the first 100 days the uprising. The coverage can be divided into two stages based on the events emphasized: pre and post the GCC deal initiative.

'PRESIDENT' ALI ABDULLAH SALEH

Former president Saleh has been frequently topicalized as the main focus, the big story and the main driver of the events, by both BBC and AJE's reportings. The way he was topicalized, though, did not follow one line of topicalization, but rather in two divergent ways as time passed. The Friday of Dignity massacre and the GCC deal plan represented a point of divergence in the BBC and AJE's coverages. Next, I explain how was that.

From the beginning, both BBC and AJE topicalized stories about Saleh in a way that implied how his removal would mean enhancing democracy in Yemen. For instance, BBC and AJE did not ignore reporting on Saleh's intentions prior of the protests to pass the rein of power to his eldest son, Ahmed—hinting how that was against democracy. AJE focused on a fundamental aspect of reasons behind the demands to remove Saleh; that is he was soon to remain in office for life as a draft amendment of the constitution was under discussion in parliament as the opposition protests were filling the streets.

Saleh's attitude towards his removal or remaining in the office was topicalized by both BBC and AJE with the same level of interest. Referring to Saleh announced intention about not running for office again in the wake of the protests, BBC had to quote Saleh when he announced at an assembly at Yemen's parliament the following: "no extension, no inheritance, no resetting the clock," and AJE topicalized Saleh when he pledged to hold referendum on new constitution within a year, with an aim of pleasing protesters about a promising democracy in the country. With tongue in cheek, BBC topicalized Saleh to be a man of not his words, reporting in an article that, "Saleh is known for not being a man of his words." In another article published by BBC in reference to Saleh, BBC wrote, "he made a similar promise to stand down before the 2006 presidential election, but eventually reversed this position."

In regard to the momentum of the pro and anti-Saleh protests, both BBC and AJE topicalized the pro and anti-Saleh protests to a large extent, however, AJE observed that in comparison to other Arab leaders facing anti-government protest, Saleh had a different approach; he had been effective in getting his own supporters onto the streets. As the protests grew, Saleh started to go into public speeches warning about coup or a civil war, which BBC and AJE did not miss to topicalize in their reportings about Saleh. BBC and AJE had an emphasis on Saleh's warning which could be highly recognized today as a civil war is raging in Yemen at present. AJE quoted Saleh in an article saying, "those who want to climb up to power through coups should know that this is out of the question. The homeland will not be stable, there will be a civil war, a bloody war. They should carefully consider this." At this stage, the Friday of Dignity massacre followed by the proposal of the GCC deal plan occurred. BBC started to topicalize Saleh in a form of individual stories while AJE started to do so in a form of follow-up stories. BBC reported that Saleh refused to leave and yet he seemed to be losing noting, "several influential tribal and religious leaders switched sides, weakening the president further". Whereas, AJE topicalized Saleh in a chain of stories in the light of the developments of the GCC plan. AJE focused on Saleh declaring a state of emergency following the Friday of Dignity massacre on the 18th of March, and in another article, AJE followed Saleh's rejection to the GCC plan. Then, AJE topicalized Saleh with the GCC deal again. Thus, ever since, AJE seemed topicalizing Saleh and the GCC deal more than how the BBC did, as the BBC focused in having the take of artists, tribal leaders, Yemeni politicians, etc on Saleh.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE PROTESTS

In the broad sense, women's role in the protests has been extensively covered by the BBC and AJE during the first 100 days of the uprising. However, BBC was topicalizing females' participation more than AJE did and using more clips where the women were featured and spoke

for themselves. BBC's emphasis on having clips could be understood that the media network needed to topicalize the women visually, not only wordly.

In comparing the number of stories written by BBC and AJE about the women's participation, BBC had the biggest share. Nonetheless, AJE was putting focus on women once there was a big story; such as, when Saleh slandered female protesters. But before discussing this, here is a brief review on how BBC topicalized women's role through focusing on individual female protesters, individual women's stories. The most featured and wrote woman protester was journalist and activist, Tawakul Karman. "Fearless and hungry for change, 31-year-old Tawakul Karman sits behind her desk in her house in Yemen's capital, Sanaa, watching the latest posts on Facebook," wrote BBC about Karaman in an article, and they added, "like many Yemenis, she is fed up with what she considers to be a corrupt government."

Other women individual stories were in focus as well. In an article published on the BBC, a Yemeni mother was featured speaking about her relation to the protests and what the protests meant to her. BBC featured Alia who became a female activist speaking out for her husband who was behind bars. The article topicalized how Alia was empowered by the protests, saying "all my life I knew that President Saleh was bad, but I knew not to say anything, but now, after Waleed's arrest, we've started being more open and saying what we think. It has made us speak without fearing." Additionally, BBC had a spotlight on three women in an extensive piece, by allowing them to narrate the whole piece giving their opinion the political change in the country. BBC introduced the story by stating, "as the political turmoil brews in Yemen, ordinary women are worrying about running their homes and caring for their families. Here, three women tell their stories. All names have been changed to protect their identity."

Unquestionably, women's participation was of a great prominence to the BBC and AJE. However, again, BBC seemed more interested in this aspect than AJE. To showcase that, the BBC and AJE's different topicalization of topics during the International women's day in 2011 and the turnout of women protesters in Sana'a, Yemen speaks of that difference in the coverage. On the 9th of March 2011, BBC reflected on Yemeni women's protests in the previous day as they marked the international women's day and protesting demanding the removal of Saleh. BBC run a piece with a text and video about how women in Yemen spent the day at the protests, while AJE did not mention anything related to the women's action on the day.

As time passed, former president Saleh even topicalized women's role in these protests, particularly the ones against him. He went on a public speech slandering women's participation in the protests. Equally, BBC and AJE found that a topic to be focused on in their articles. BBC reported Saleh saying, "the mingling of men and women at protests in the capital was against

Islamic law.” AJE topicalized the same subject in an article with a text and video, reporting, “thousands of women have protested in Sanaa, the Yemeni capital, and other cities against remarks by Ali Abdullah Saleh, the president, that it is un-Islamic for women to join men in the demonstrations against his rule.

Overall, the topicalization analysis shows a remarkable focus from the BBC on women’s role in the protests and how the media network linked it to the general political movement. The explanation for that might be well-summarized by what BBC stated in an article, “the unexpected level of women's participation shows, many believe, the depth of public discontent with the three-decade-long rule of President Ali Abdullah Saleh.”

ANALYSIS OF LEXICALIZATION AND PREDICATION

Throughout this chapter I seek to examine and compare the usage of words and predications seen in the reportings of BBC and AJE’s media networks. Words are not only containers of ideas but they are also a tool for constructing a vision to perceive the world through. That is, I see to analyze how the BBC and AJE’s usage of lexicalization and predication played a role in the way the stories were narrated. As the research questions include: What type of lexicalization and predications were used in the news coverage of BBC and AJE? I delve into finding answers in the following section and I also aim to unmask the missing voices in the reporting. After examining how was the wording used by BBC and AJE about the events in Yemen, in the segment titled “Unrest or Uprising, or Revolution?, I explore the ‘Missing’ voices in the BBC and AJE’s reportings; and I finally analyze the lexicalization and predication in the stories about the Women’s Role in the Protests. In lexicalization and predication not only which vocabularies were used matters, but it also matters which ones were not used, for that can elucidate the media networks ideological and framing choices, as well. BBC, for instance, advises its journalists in its guide as the following, “to avoid using terminology favoured by one side or another in any dispute” (BBC, 2013) and AJ, as well, states that it has an objective approach to the use of terminology. But, for Haschke (2013) AJ indeed had a problematic usage of terminology over the events in Bahrain in 2011. Haschke (2013) observes that AJ refused to report the Bahraini uprising as a popular revolution, even though every mobilization happening in the Arab world in 2011 had been labeled as such; instead Al Jazeera resorted to the terminology of interreligious conflict between Shiites (abhorred in the Gulf for dogmatic and political reasons) and Sunnis (the religious confession of the region’s ruling families).

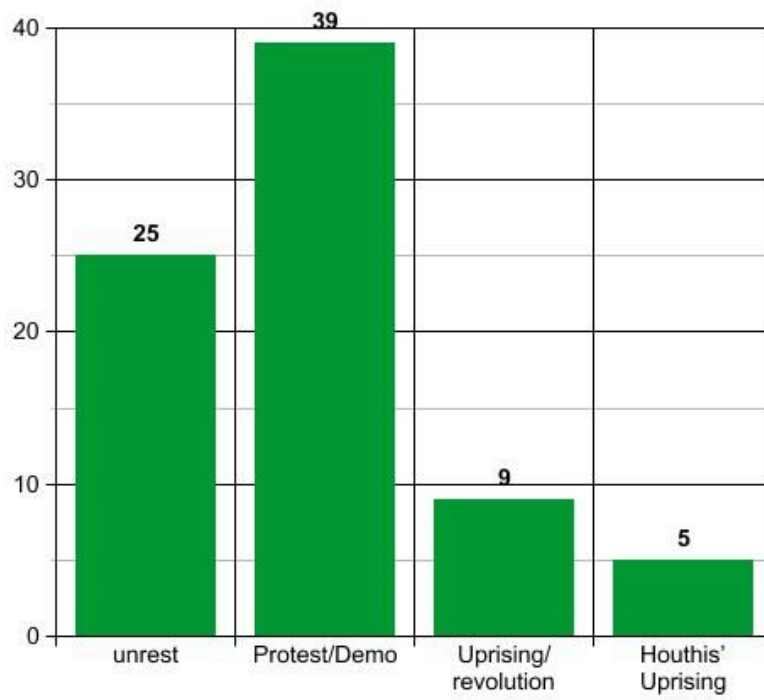
UNREST, UPRISING, OR REVOLUTION?

The usage of terms in the texts has been briefly addressed in the section titled “protests” in chapter 5 part of the analysis of topicalization. However, here I discuss that further with more analysis from the lexicalization and predication strategies of analysis.

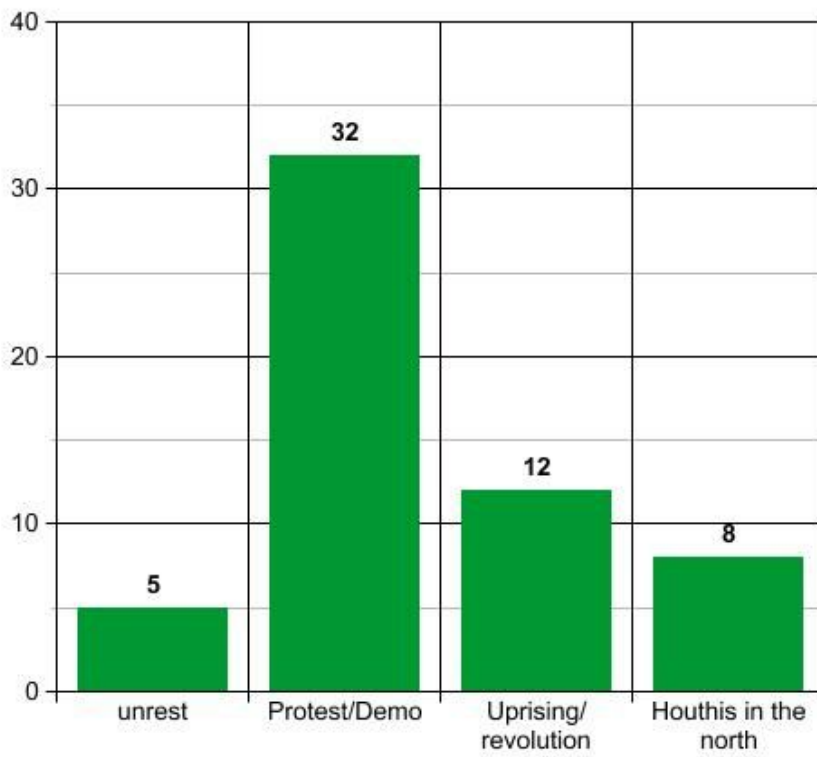
The BBC and AJE was careful, slow and took time in using the term a “revolution” or an “uprising” in their reporting about the protests in Yemen, unlike how it was the case with other revolutions taking place in the MENA region; for instance, how AJ was quick in describing the events in Egypt in early 2011, as early as Jan. 28, as a Revolution (Alhumaidi, 2013, p. 91). But first, it would be useful to define the meaning of a “revolution”. According to the Hegelian, it is irresistible change—a manifestation of the world spirit in an unceasing quest for its own fulfillment (Midlarsky and Tanter, p. 264). Thus, Yemen was indeed witnessing a change, however, that was interpreted by BBC and AJE with different terms and often in interchangeably terms. They both employed terms; such as, unrest, protests, demonstrations, rallies, gatherings and then towards the end of the first 100 days of the protests, both BBC and AJE started to describe the events as an “uprising” and a “revolution. For instance, the BBC used the term “gatherings” to describe the protests in Yemen with and wrote, “the gatherings are the largest in two weeks of protests inspired by the popular uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt,” and in another article by the BBC called the entire situation in the Middle East as an unrest.

To illustrate that further, the following graph explains the frequency of the words’ occurrence in the stories:-

BBC: Frequency of the words' occurrence.



AJE: Frequency of the words' occurrence.



From the graph, it is obvious that BBC tended to use the term “unrest” more frequently than AJE to describe the protests in Yemen with. In an article published by the BBC, the protests in Yemen are described as “unrest” with the predication “popular”, and in another article, BBC employed the term “unrest” as well but the BBC tended to use the term “unrest” whenever there was a crackdown against the protesters. For AJE, however, the case is different. AJE described the protests in Yemen while reporting on a crackdown incident with the term “uprising”, noting, “Wednesday's campaign is the latest in Yemen's uprising that started in early February, inspired by revolts across the Arab world.” To explain this difference, according to Mortimer’s assessment report on the BBC coverage of the Arab Spring, BBC is criticized to have used the word “regime” to describe various governments that faced Arab Uprisings (the guardian, 2012), including Yemen and thus, that brushed its use of terms; such as, ‘unrest’ quite often, as if the protests were mere unrest in the face of a regime.

Another observation on the lexicalization analysis, both BBC and AJE had similar association of the events in Yemen to the larger event in the other Arab countries witnessing revolutions; such as in Egypt and Tunisia. That can be understood that BBC and AJE aimed to frame the events in Yemen as a revolution as well but they did not state clearly that it was a revolution until the mid of the first 100 days of the uprising. For instance, the BBC first employed the term “uprising” towards the mid of their reportings, reporting, “Political uprising sweeping across the Middle East” locating Yemen within that description. AJE expressed in article, “Tens of thousands of people, inspired by events in Tunisia, protest in Sanaa to demand President Saleh's resignation.” The media network also reported, “Yemen has been swept up in protests inspired by the recent uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia.” In regard to the predication use, one phrasing used to describe Yemen, which was found only on AJE’s reporting, noting, “Yemen, the Arabian Peninsula state neighbouring oil giant Saudi Arabia, has been hit by weeks of protests set in motion by uprisings in North Africa that toppled long-serving leaders in Tunisia and Egypt and spread to the Gulf states of Bahrain, Oman and Saudi Arabia.” This predication appeared to be more relevant to the Qatar-based, AJE than to the BBC.

Despite positioning Yemen’s 2011 Uprising in a larger context that is described with terms; such as, “uprisings” and “revolutions”, there was a great sense of doubt about Yemen’s protests becoming an uprising; especially more by the BBC than AJE.

The BBC wrote:

“*But analysts say the anti-government protests in Yemen are unlikely to become a mass uprising as seen in Egypt and Tunisia. Ibrahim Sharqieh, of the Brookings Centre in Doha, told the*

Reuters news agency: "The Yemeni model of uprising does not have the potential to topple the regime, but it has the potential to destabilise the country." However, he conceded, instability "could at one point result in the government or president resigning"."

On the contrary, AJE presented itself as siding with the uprising in the MENA region, including Yemen. It did not directly state so but it expressed a hint through its senior political analyst's stance. In an article by AJE, its senior political analyst, Marwan Bishara was discussing the situation in the MENA region along with Noam Chomsky. Bishara was clear about his stance, accordingly, AJE's stance as the interview asked about his and AJE's approach to the Arab Spring. Bishara stated:

"Al Jazeera is a transparent, open forum for Arabs to come and speak, and they have been for the last decade and a half. ...some people, some cynics, would like to see it (the Arab Spring) as a temporary uprising and everything will go back as it were. I don't think so. I think change is coming to the Middle East, to the Arab world, in general. And in a sense, we know that the way back is not the way forward."

As I mentioned earlier, towards the mid of the BBC and AJE's reportings the protests in Yemen became described as a revolution or an uprising. In an article by the BBC, it clearly employed the term "revolution"; it wrote, "this revolution-in-the-making...". While, an article by AJE was clearly titled, 'Timeline: Yemen's uprising' and AJE described the event in Yemen as an uprising with the predication "popular"; AJE wrote, "president Saleh fired his entire cabinet, which came after a month-long popular uprising calling for political reform and his resignation." In the last article in BBC, it had a caption noting, "Young protesters rapping for a democratic revolution in Yemen".

Before I end the discussion about the lexicalization and predication, I have one brief note in regard to the BBC and AJE's lexicalization analysis involving the Houthis group in Yemen. AJE and BBC had different terms in describing the group. AJE referred to the Houthis' group with a number of terms; such as, Zaidi Shia' rebels, Houthis' insurgency, while the BBC described the group with only one term, that is, "an uprising of Shia Houthi rebels in the north."

'MISSING' VOICES

The verbal process analysis involving the absence of certain voices in texts reveals the seize of representation of voices whenever they are reported on. The verbal process could be used

positively, negatively or neutrally, which can be manifested in the lexicalization format. More importantly, concentrating on one voice over the other is motivated by the ideological and political intensives of reporters or the media network. In the following section, I seek to examine the absent voices in the BBC and AJE's coverage of Yemen's 2011 Uprising.

Yemen's multi-layered politics, which in theory is regarded to be a democracy, its tribal politics and geopolitics in particular make it highly fragmented allowing a space for the emergence of different actors: state and non-state actors across the political landscape. Essentially, the non-state actors are uninstitutionalized entities, and thus, their titles don't follow a certain frame and they are up to be worked on by whoever. Interestingly, this situation gives the media the chance and ability to describe them in the way the media network decides to. For the BBC and AJE these non-state actors had disparate descriptions, a sign that could speak about the media outlets' ideological and hegemonic stances towards the events in Yemen. Additionally, while recognizing the non-state actors' relevance to the removal of Saleh and the protests in general, the BBC and AJE did not allow a space where these actors voice their say. Mainly, the non-state actors are the Houthi group, al-Qaeda group and the southern separatist movement (Hirak).

Through my analysis, I found that the BBC and AJE referred to the Houthi group in a number of stories. For the BBC, the Houthi group in Yemen was described as an uprising that's been in the making since its establishment in 2002, while for AJE the Houthis were described with several terminologies; such as, Zaidi Shia rebels, insurgency, insurrection, rebellion and Shia Muslim fighters in the north. That could be attributed to the different ideological and geopolitical aspects between BBC and AJE. In an article by BBC, it was written in reference to the Houthis, "an uprising of Shia Houthi rebels in the north," while for AJE, it stated, "a sporadic rebellion by Zaidi Shia rebels in the north." Additionally, AJE referred to the Houthis but with a kind of personal and judgmental tone. AJE wrote:

"It is hard to imagine the Houthis, who have fought an on-again, off-again civil war with Sanaa since 2004, playing any role in any "unity government" sponsored by Saleh."

After the absence of Houthis' direct voices, Al Qaeda's members' voices were missing from the narrative. However, both BBC and AJE referred to them in a number of stories as one of the key security issues Yemen is facing. For the the BBC Yemen is referred as a "haven" for al Qaeda, as if it is a definite fact, while AJE referred Yemen to be having the "threat" of Al Qaeda.

BBC wrote:

"There are fears that Yemen is becoming a leading al-Qaeda haven, with the high numbers of unemployed youths seen as potential recruits for Islamist militant groups."

While AJE wrote:

“Yemen, one of the poorest countries in the Arab world, faces a growing al-Qaeda threat.”

Lastly, members in the separatist movement in south of Yemen (Hirak) were hardly featured, interviewed or quoted by the BBC and AJE, even though the movement represents a long history of opposition to former president Saleh. Nonetheless, the Hirak was referred to in few stories by the BBC and AJE. BBC wrote:

“A separatist movement in the south.”

“Secessionist movement in the south”

“The president also faces a separatist movement in the south, a branch of al-Qaeda, and a periodic conflict with Shia tribes in the north.”

And AJE wrote:

“A separatist movement in the south.”

“A secessionist group in the south.”

Overall, the BBC aimed to compensate the absence of certain voices by providing fact boxes where text were enclosed at in separate section from the main text to provided detailed explanations about the basic facts about Yemen. For AJE, the tried to bring information about the missing voices through publishing a guide of who’s who in Yemen opposition.

WOMEN’S ROLE IN THE PROTESTS

Lexical analysis is one of the most useful tools to understand whether a news story is ideologically biased or not (Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini, 2013, p. 861). When a media network makes the choice of using words in a particular manner, it reveals the network’s ideological stance in the event. In utilizing lexical analysis tool, I found that the word ‘woman’, ‘women’ and ‘females’ were not mentioned in every story in the reportings of BBC and AJE, and the occurrence of the using the words in reference to women were very few, thus, the gender perspective was not a priority in the media networks’ agenda. However, whenever the BBC and AJE used words like women or females, it was in a similar way. In both networks’ articles the words “women protesters” was used assigning the predication “protesters” to describe the women with as a portion of the overall protesters. In this way, it can also be said that BBC and AJE was asserting that some of the the protesters were “women” if it’s seen as a predication. The

other used words and predications were ‘female protester’, ‘female activist’ and/or ‘women activist.’

Mainly, women were referred to in three main frames in the BBC and AJE’s reportings: 1. during the women protesters’ demonstration during the international women’s day on the 8th of March, 2011; 2. in featuring individual women protesters and mainly highlighting the role of journalist and activist, Tawakkol Karman who later became one of the three Nobel Peace Prize laureates of 2011, and 3. in the light of Saleh argument that women protesters mixing with men protesters was un-islamic (16 Apr 2011).

In respect to the international women’s day, the BBC used the word women in connection to the IWD and the country’s demands for political changes:

“Thousands of women gathered in Sanaa on Tuesday, marking International Women's Day and demanding changes from the government.”

In contrast, AJE did neither mention women nor the IWD, instead, AJE wrote on the same day of the IWD about “Inmates riot at Yemen prison”.

When the topic was about Saleh slandering Yemeni women, both BBC and AJE referred to the incident. AJE wrote:

“Thousands of women have protested in Sanaa, the Yemeni capital, and other cities against remarks by Ali Abdullah Saleh, the president, that it is un-Islamic for women to join men in the demonstrations against his rule.”

While BBC, took it two days to refer to the incident and to women, stating:

*“Yemeni women insist: 'We will not remain silent
In Yemen thousands of women have taken part in anti-government demonstrations - a day after President Ali Abdullah Saleh said the mingling of men and women at protests in the capital was against Islamic law. Our correspondent in Yemen, who we are not naming for security purposes, reports on the strength of feeling that has brought women onto the streets in protest.”*

Featuring women activists and protesters was one of the ways BBC and AJE referred to women with. Tawakkol Karaman has been frequently referred to in articles that paid attention to women. BBC described:

“Fearless and hungry for change, 31-year-old Tawakul Karman sits behind her desk in her house in Yemen's capital, Sanaa, watching the latest posts on Facebook.”

BBC also had a made sure to link the protests to women's participation. It wrote:

“Yemen protests: Women take centre stage” interviewing Tawakkol Karaman.

On the other hand, AJE features Karman and wrote:

“On the opposition side, the key departure from the norm is that its most prominent activist is a mother of three, an inspiring figure in a country not known for progressive attitudes towards women. But for Tawakkol Karman it is political change for all that matters right now.”

I found more focus on Karman by AJE than BBC, since the political affiliation of Karman goes in line with Qatar.

The emphasis and reference BBC had on women stems from what Naber (2011) argues for, “there is long-standing European Orientalist images of hyper-oppressed shrouded Arab and Muslim women who need to be saved. (*Naber, 2011*)”. This reflects also the orientalist look BBC had about Yemeni women, more than AJE. Thus, for BBC women mattered but for AJE it was as if the event had to force bringing the gender perspective. Over all, Yemen's scholar, Adra (2015) writes, “The demonstrations of 2011 showed the extent to which tribal principles of cooperation, egalitarianism, due process and respect for women have permeated all levels of Yemeni society. Women were highly visible leaders and participants, as protesters from diverse groups and parties worked together”.

ANALYSIS OF INTERTEXTUALITY

In the scope of news values, newsworthiness is a problematic aspect in any media network's editorial choice-making in which voices to include and which ones to exclude. This filtering process moves through an intertextuality process that, “refers to how texts are produced from already existing texts” (de Graaf, 2005). Through my intertextuality analysis in this research, I examined how BBC and AEJ referred to voices and sources, and through which style of reporting they did so. I found out even though the BBC and AJE similarly give voices to different groups and sources, some voices were excluded in both media networks and some voices were heard more in AJE than BBC, particularly after president Saleh began to discuss leaving power and the proposition of the GCC deal plan. Mainly Saleh was put as the big story

several times. Nonetheless, pro and anti-government protests were taking place, both media outlets' sources appear were equally balanced, and the reporting strategies were consistent.

INCLUDING AND EXCLUDING VOICES

The two media outlets, the BBC and AJE tended to similarly include and exclude voices representing different sides of the uprising depending on how the events proceeded and the changing power balance during the protests. In the first part of the uprising, the protesters and the authorities' reaction to the events had great inclusion in the BBC and AJE's coverage. In the second and last part of the corpus, BBC and AJE's coverage gave more voice to former president Saleh as he started negotiating the possibility to step down through the GCC's deal plan.

First, while BBC and AJE give equal voices to the different sides in the protests, during the first days of the protests, the two media outlets completely excluded the anti-government voices of the Houthi-group in the north and the HIRAK movement in the south. The government and the anti-government group were reported mainly in direct and indirect way of reporting (quoting actual voices or summarising their sayings), while the Houthi and the HIRAK were merely referred to in a mere lexical way.

Secondly, the governmental voices were represented equally by BBC and AJE through reporting and quoting the direct voices of government representatives and government officials. Additionally, BBC and AJE frequently represented the governmental voices through other sources; such as, another media, AFP or Reuters, or a statement. This indicates that the BBC and AJE did not have direct access to government officials but, in the hope to achieve objectivity, they still aimed to include their voices in the stories by referring to other sources.

Thirdly, oppositional groups of the government, such as oppositional political parties' representatives, anti-government protesters and pro-democracy activists were represented mainly through both direct and indirect way of reporting: quoting the actual words of these voices. That's seen in a great number of articles by both the BBC and AJE. For instance, in reference to mentioning the 'revolution', BBC writes, "demonstrators attempted to march to the presidential palace in Sanaa on Sunday, chanting: "A Yemeni revolution after the Egyptian revolution." AJE reports, "they want to terrorise us, they want to drag us into a cycle of violence to make the revolution meaningless," said Jamal Anaam, an anti-government protester." In regard to the indirect way of reporting, AJE, for example, refers to the events in Sana'a as an 'uprising' according to a tribal men's statement and writes, "the two tribes announced they would support the popular uprising against Saleh".

Fourthly, neutral voices that did not belong to any side of the protests were included similarly by the BBC and AJE. The voices were:-

- 1) media sources; such as, BBC and AJE's correspondents, Reuters and AFP
- 2) international official sources such as U.S. President Barack Obama, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, US State department and the European Union
- 3) international organizations such as Amnesty International Organization
- 4) unidentified sources; such as, eyewitnesses and media reports.

Finally, a voice that had a great representation was the voice of Saleh whose public speeches were difficult to ignore. Both BBC and AJE gave him a voice which was framed in a way that made him look as a witty, sharp, defint leaders, yet both BBC and AJE's language was objective and focused on Saleh's perseverance as a leader. Once the GCC deal plan came into the pictures, AJE did better job in referring to Saleh and the GCC deal. For example, AJE represents Saleh's voice indirectly and directly and writes, "addressing a large rally of his own supporters in a speech carried on state TV earlier on Friday, Saleh said he was ready to meet with protesters," AJE continues:

"Saleh said the gathered crowds before him came "under no orders from any political party or any leader, you came of your own free will, based on your patriotic responsibility, from all corners of the country, on this great day – the Friday of peace, stability and security".

He continued: "Yes to stability and security, no to chaos and vandalism, no to creating chaos, no to pillage and assault on government institutions. No to pillage of the country's riches. To those who are protesting – you did not contribute to the country's achievements"."

BBC, as well, represents Saleh's voice and reports directly and indirectly:

"Mr Saleh, who has faced more than two months of protests, said the crowds gave him legitimacy..... Mr Saleh used Friday's rally to call for the opposition to enter into talks with him, portraying himself as the legitimate leader of Yemen.

"We call on the opposition to consult their consciences and come to dialogue and reach an agreement for security and stability of the country," Mr Saleh said.

"These crowds are a clear message to those inside and outside the country... on constitutional legitimacy," Reuters news agency reported him as saying." (April, 15, 2011)

In regard to how AJE did better than BBC, AJE write:

“Diplomatic sources said Saleh has dragged his heels for weeks over US attempts to get him to agree to step down and end protests crippling the country.” (April, 11, 2015)

In reference to the GCC deal plan, AJE writes:

“Sheikh Hamad bin Jassem al-Thani, Qatar's prime minister, said on Thursday that members of the Gulf Cooperation Council "hope to reach a deal with the Yemeni president to step down.” (April, 8, 2011)

AJE performed better than BBC in including relevant voices to the last development in the protests; that’s negotiation about Saleh’s resignation and the GCC deal plan proposal because the deal was proposed by the GCC that “comprises Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar - countries that operate with close political, economic and military ties,” (AJE, 2015). Thus, the Qatari-funded, AJE is likely to have better access to GCC diplomats than any other non-Gulf media network.

CRITICS OF THE UPRISING

In the previous section, I mentioned that in the including and excluding analysis some voices are omitted. And at the intertextuality and framing, I proposed the question if there were critical voices given a space in the BBC and AJE’s coverage and were included to pose a critical outlook to the protests and the change in Yemen. The intertextuality analysis shows that not many critical voices both BBC and AJE had to criticize the protests with during the first 100 days of the uprising. In the following I showcase the critical voices both BBC and AJE had.

In questioning the anti-Saleh protesters’ demands, BBC uses *analyst Abdul Ghani al-Iryani as a source that explains that*. BBC writes:

“But political analyst Abdul Ghani al-Iryani believes the comparison between Yemen, Egypt and Tunisia is not accurate. “The public expression of protests in Yemen has been in the form of rallies rather than street demonstrations,” he says. Mr Iryani believes that the protesters want dialogue aimed at finding a new settlement, rather than overthrowing the regime.” (2 February, 2011)

Also, BBC writes:

“Mr Saleh may not be going anywhere yet, but he has already lost his once absolute monopoly on power.” (11 February 2011)

While AJE runs a piece authored by Murad Alazzany, a professor in the department of English Studies at Sana'a University where he addresses the dilemma of the events in Yemen and writes:

“While the protesters share similar motivations to those who dislodged presidents elsewhere, it is still far from clear whether Yemeni demonstrators will attain the same level of success. But what is certain is that Yemen's political landscape is becoming as complicated as the country itself.”
(01 Mar 2011)

Additionally, BBC gives more voice to those who are pro-Saleh and anti-uprising than AJE does.

FRAMING VOICES

Framing voices refers to when the news media has a “role not just in amplifying issues, but also in defining issues for the public, thereby expanding agenda setting from merely drawing attention to a topic to actually articulating points of view regarding that topic,” (Weaver, 2007). In such process, the articulation of voices into a text depends on how the editorial team chooses to frame them. In this section, I examine the BBC and AJE’s articles with the framing analysis to find out how each media network’s frames assist in interpret and defining problems, prescribing solutions, and bringing meaning of the context. These aspects are integral parts of news media’s editorial choices, categorization and emphasis on certain issues or marginalization of other issues.

Firstly, the framing of voices of BBC and AJE have been gone through two phases; the pre and post the Friday of Dignity and the GCC initiative. In the first phase, the framing analysis shows that BBC frames voices in a manner that its interpretations to the events is more reflective on distinguishing the two sides of the protests; the antagonist and protagonist and the BBC frequently provides solutions to the problem through its analysts’ sayings, while AJE has similar framing voices of the BBC but it also frames voice in a manner that its interpretations to the events is more reflective on the larger and historical picture presenting itself as an expert in the problem and yet offering a coverage that does not provide solutions to the problem. In the second phase, the post-GCC deal, BBC and AJE have framing voices style diverges. That is, BBC remains in the same way of framing voices and events, while AJE articulates more than BBC voices from the GGC and the plan with a coverage that is understood to be in favor of the change in Yemen.

To showcase these findings, I display in the following examples of framing voices in the two media networks in relation to several aspects. In the first phase, what I call as the *'Pre Friday of Dignity and the GCC Deal'* phase, BBC describes protests with focus on drawing a distinguish between the two sides (the antagonist and protagonist) in the events. BBC writes:

"Time for change'

Protesters gathered in several locations of the city on Thursday morning, chanting that it was "time for change", and referring to the popular uprising in Tunisia that ousted President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali earlier this month Counter-protests have also been staged by the party of President Saleh, the General People's Congress. Government supporter Saleh al-Mrani said the dissident protesters were a threat to the country's stability.... "We are against whoever wants to trouble the country's interests. All Yemeni people are against that, and we will prevent any kind of disturbance," he said." (27 January 2011)

AJE as well frames voices by displaying distinguish between the two sides in the protests and it also describes relevant elements from the past asserting its familiarity with the problem. AJE writes:

"Tens of thousands of people in Yemen have taken to the streets in the country's capital, calling for an end to the government of Ali Abdullah Saleh, the president. Inspired by recent events in Tunisia and Egypt, opposition members and youth activists rallied at four different locations in Sanaa on Thursday, chanting for Saleh, who has been in power for 32 years, to step down. "Enough being in power for [over] 30 years," protesters shouted during the demonstrations... "No to extending [presidential tenure]. No to bequeathing [the presidency]," they chanted..... Meanwhile, Saleh's ruling General People's Congress held counter marches attended by thousands of the government's backers. "No to toppling democracy and the constitution," the president's supporters said in their banners... Saleh was re-elected in September 2006 for a seven-year mandate. A draft amendment of the constitution, under discussion in parliament despite opposition protests, could allow him - if passed - to remain in office for life. Saleh is also accused of wanting to pass the reins of power in the impoverished Arabian Peninsula state to his eldest son Ahmed, who heads the elite Presidential Guard." (27 Jan 2011)

As the protests continue, my findings show that both BBC and AJE's coverage similarly operate in a frame revolving about the protests, what I call *'Protests-Frame'* as an organizing construct roughly until mid of the protests, at the 50th day of the protests, and that's when both BBC and

AJE start to frame voices within a frame of an ‘uprising’ and ‘revolution’. AJE, however, exhibits more consistent reporting under the ‘uprising’ frame onward than BBC does. The Protests-Frame has been the organizing construct which both BBC and AJE adhere to predominantly over their coverage; and which by different actions, agents, elements and identities are understood.

In the second phase, the ‘*Post Friday of Dignity and the GCC Deal*’ phase, an explicit divergence in the BBC and AJE’s way of framing voices appears. A slightly different concentration in the voices between the BBC and AJE is shown as the two media networks start to cover the GCC deal. That is, AJE frames voices from the GCC more than BBC does and AJE’s adherence to the pro-change becomes salient. In regard to the GCC deal, AJE writes:

“Sheikh Hamad bin Jassem al-Thani, Qatar's prime minister, said on Thursday that members of the Gulf Cooperation Council "hope to reach a deal with the Yemeni president to step down.”
(08 Apr 2011)

And here AJE shows favorable to the ingroup ideology in this kind of positioning and contextualizing of the critics against Saleh and the GCC deal—a matter which is never seen in the BBC’s coverage. AJE writes:

“The mediation proposal calls on Saleh to transfer power to his deputy, but gives no specific timeframe for him to leave office. It also includes immunity from prosecution for Saleh and his family. "The initiative does not clearly mention the immediate departure of the head of the regime and it did not touch on the fate of his relatives who are at the top military and security agencies that continue killing the peaceful protesters," the anti-government Civil Alliance of the Youth Revolution said in a statement.” (13 Apr 2011)

“Sources told Al Jazeera on Wednesday that the deal - brokered by the six-member Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) - was close to being agreed on, and that an envoy was shortly to be sent to Yemen.” (20 Apr 2011)

Whereas the BBC reports in its usual way of reporting but in comparison to AJE at this point, BBC is lacking direct inside-sources from the GCC and is quoting sources through other news agency. BBC writes:

“Members of a regional grouping, the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), have offered to host talks between Mr Saleh and opposition groups.....A spokesman for a leading opposition group, Mohammed Qahtan, told the AFP news agency that they welcomed the GCC proposals but

required Mr Saleh to agree to leave office immediately before opening talks on reconciliation.” (5 April 2011)

“Tariq Shami, a spokesman for Yemen's ruling party, told Reuters the party had informed the Gulf Cooperation Council "of their acceptance of the Gulf initiative in full".” (23 April 2011)

Another observation on the framing voices is that despite that the two media networks concentrate on the attribution of responsibility in the division of the protests through the different frames in their coverage, BBC and AJE similarly exhibit disproportional overview on certain frames/voices that were members of the anti-government and overlook certain voices and they are: members of the Houthi-group and and the Southern separatist movement.

Overall, given to the fact that AJE is funded by Qatar which “has risen in less than two decades to become one of the leading regional actors in the international relations of the Middle East” (Khatib, 2013, p. 417) it is not a surprise that the media network has more direct sources from the GCC than BBC in covering the protests following the initiation of the GCC deal for Yemen. The geopolitical element plays a central role in how and why AJE’s framing voices is in that way. Khatib (2013) explains that despite that the key feature of Qatar’s foreign policy has been its role as a mediator and negotiator in a number of conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere, following the Arab Spring, the country has been taking sides not as a departure from the country’s preferred path but rather as an example of its political pragmatism and adaptation of methods to suit the political context.

INGROUP AND OUTGROUP

Throughout this chapter, the intertextuality and framing analysis has examined how the two media networks have similar preferences in the manner they give voices to the different sides in the protests. BBC and AJE seem give equal voices to sources from both the government (and its supporters) and the anti-government protesters. Plus, neutral voices are represented by BBC and AJE. In essence, in analyzing the BBC and AJE’s ingrouping and outgrouping approach to the voices, it’s seen that both BBC and AJE’s reporting had an ingroup approach towards the protesters and the outgroup approach was towards the Yemeni government. Specific different textual and discursive practice features, however, are more apparent between BBC and AJE after the GCC deal initiative was proposed in early April, 2011 which is considered as a turning point in the two outlets' reporting of the event.

To elucidate that further, van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square gives an explanation to how the dynamics are between the two media network's coverage and their making of the ingroup and outgroup. The Ideological Square refers to an aspect seen in a text and talk in which there is an emphasis of positive features and de-emphasis of the negative ones for the ingroup and, on the other hand, there is a de-emphasis of positive features and emphasis of the positive ones for the outgroup. In this regard, Van Dijk's classifications of the outgroup and ingroup show that both BBC and AJE categorize the protesters as the ingroup and the Yemeni government along with former president Saleh as the outgroup. Even though both media network's coverage was balanced focusing in the two sides of the protests, BBC shows a way of emphasis on the positive features of the ingroup (the protesters) more than AJE does. For instance, BBC refers to the protests as peaceful through an indirect reporting and writes:

“ “As for our plan for a rally tomorrow, the plan stands and it will be organised and orderly,” Mohammed al-Saadi, under-secretary of the Islamist Islah party said, according to Reuters. “This is a peaceful struggle through which the people can make their voices heard and express their aspirations,” he added.” (2 February 2011)

Also, Natalia Antelava writes an analysis piece on Yemen on BBC noting:

“The demonstration, although the biggest in Yemen's recent history, was peaceful and brief.” (11 February 2011)

Despite AJE's lack of clear outlook in structuring the ingroup, it never marginalizes the protesters which does not make them an outgroup. Both networks' coverage contextualize the polarization (antagonist-protagonist structure) seen in the protests and they still give prominent position to the protesters, especially when the crackdown against them is high. While the different voices appear in a combination way of reporting by the BBC and AJE, that is; individual and follow-up stories, the voice of the protesters from different opposition political groups such as the Houthi and the Hiraki are marginalized in both media networks' coverage.

DISCURSIVE PRACTICE ANALYSIS

Practice is the construction and reflection of social realities through actions that invoke identity, ideology, belief, and power (LLRC, 2009). Within discursive practices, institutions are claimed to possess specific routines for processing texts, linked to achieving hegemony and power, through the dissemination of ideology (Joseph and Roberts, 2004, p. 47). Having said that, Fairclough's framework in analyzing discursive events does indeed cut through core elements of discursive practices so one can understand the construction of meaning through these discursive

practices. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) suggest that to understand how ideologies are produced, it is not enough to analyse texts; the discursive practice (how the texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have) must also be considered. In this sense, “discursive practice involves the production and the consumption and interpretation of texts.” (de Graaf, 2005, p. 69). In relevance to how BBC and AJE’s articles have been produced, consumed and interpreted, in this section I present a review on BBC and AJE from the discursive practice perspective. This chapter revolves around presenting reviews on how BBC and AJE have been received and interpreted (criticized or praised) by its audiences and reflecting on how BBC and AJE relate to each other in terms of ideology and power they perpetuate.

THE DATA

Throughout my literature review, I found that since the Arab Spring there has been a great deal of reviews comparing and contrasting BBC to AJE more predominantly than other outlets. The reviews focus on assessing the two media networks’ coverage of the events, which also includes following the political events in Yemen. I present below a list of reviews which provide analysis, reflection and commentary on the BBC and AJE. I also expand my analysis in the coming two sections, titled ‘Juxtaposition of BBC and AJE’ and ‘Dialectics of BBC and AJE as Discourses’ based on the following reviews:-

1. Why I Love Al Jazeera

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/10/why-i-love-al-jazeera/307665/>

2. The Al Jazeera Effect

<http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=5077>

3. Give me Al-Jazeera English - not BBC World News

http://timesonline.typepad.com/dons_life/2009/01/give-me-al-jaze.html

4. *BBC's "Arab Spring" coverage remarkable and generally impartial, but could have benefited from more breadth and context, Trust review concludes*

http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/news/press_releases/2012/arab_spring.html

5. *BBC Arab spring coverage to be examined for impartiality*

<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2011/oct/26/bbc-arab-spring-coverage-impartiality>

6. *BBC to review role of Middle East Editor Jeremy Bowen after official report criticises Arab Spring coverage*
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tv-radio/bbc-to-review-role-of-middle-east-editor-jeremy-bowen-after-official-report-criticises-arab-spring-coverage-7881082.html>
7. *BBC failed to give warnings on source of Arab Spring phone footage, says report*
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/bbc/9354265/BBC-failed-to-give-warning-s-on-source-of-Arab-Spring-phone-footage-says-report.html>
8. A media revolution amid an Arab Spring
<http://www.dc4mf.org/en/content/media-revolution-amid-arab-spring>
9. 12. Qatar and the Recalibration of Power in the Gulf
<http://carnegie-mec.org/2014/09/11/qatar-and-recalibration-of-power-in-gulf/hvh6#>
10. Qatar to launch Al Jazeera counterweight
<http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/qatar-to-launch-al-jazeera-counterweight>
11. The Two Faces of Al Jazeera
<http://www.crethiplethi.com/the-two-faces-of-al-jazeera/antisemitism/2012/>
12. Why BBC Arabic is booming
<http://www.spectator.co.uk/arts/radio/9432062/why-bbc-arabic-is-booming/>
13. BBC rocked by new bias scandal – as TWO-THIRDS of debate audience are left-wing:
<http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/573918/BBC-left-wing-bias-Ukip-leaders-debate-audience>
14. Suliman: 'Al Jazeera plays the piper, but Qatar calls the tune'
<http://www.dw.com/en/suliman-al-jazeera-plays-the-piper-but-qatar-calls-the-tune/a-16477490>
15. -Qatar's foreign policy: the limits of pragmatism, Lina Khatib, 2013
http://fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/INTA89_2_10_Khatib.pdf

JUXTAPOSITION OF BBC AND AJE

In juxtapositioning the BBC and AJE, what one should make? a number of reviews focusing on the BBC and AJE's impact during the Arab Spring have been one of the voices that on one hand praised the networks and on the other hand posed some serious critique. More importantly, the reviews show the importance and competence the BBC and AJE exhibit.

The Arab Spring has created another chance where the two media networks, the BBC and AJ are compared frequently, after being compared over the past about their coverages on big events in our modern history; such as, the Palestinian intifada in 2000 and the war in Afghanistan (2001-present). Since "AJE and the BBC are fiercely competing for audience, both in the Middle East and around the world" (Satti, 2015, p.39), it is not a surprise that a great number of reviews tend to compare them. The interesting reviews are these written by western critics who tend to favor Al Jazeera over BBC. For instance, Beard (2009) humorously notes on the Times Literary Supplement, "the joke is that if you close your eyes and just listen to Al-Jazeera, you'd think it was the BBC." In Beard's article titled 'Give me Al-Jazeera English - not BBC World News' the positive features of AJ's journalistic work are highlighted: "True, Al-Jazeera is fairly Middle East focussed (but someone's got to be for heaven's sake), and you could hardly mistake it for being pro-Israel (but someone has got to give the Israeli spokesmen a hard time). More important though is that it actually brings fresh news and intelligent comment, with a minimum of repetition."

This fascination about AJE is not necessarily an absolute for D. Kaplan as he admires AJE's work but still retains a reservation about the media network in which he finds AJE's moral rectitude to be disturbing. D. Kaplan (2009) explains in his article titled 'Why I Love Al Jazeera', "because its cause is that of the weak and the oppressed, it sees itself as always in the right, regardless of the complexity of the issues, and therein lies its power of oppression."

The perception about AJE has been upgraded in the wake of their coverage of the Arab Spring as, "While other news organizations scrambled to book flights, Al Jazeera's crews were in the thick of the Arab world uprising" (Ricchiardi, 2011). This has led not only to the term "the Al Jazeera effect" (Ricchiardi, 2011), but it also led to questioning the media network's impartiality. Before discussing AJE's impartiality, it's useful to discuss BBC's as it's been frequently defined by its impartiality. Apart from its reputation of being impartial, in the light of its coverage of the Arab Spring BBC has been under a tremendous focus. The BBC's coverage of the "Arab Spring" was remarkable, given the challenges involved, and was generally impartial (Mortimer, 2012), one of its Middle East editors, however, Jeremy Bowen was accused of spending too much time

in the region and not enough helping with major strategic decisions on how the BBC covers the sensitive story (The independent, 2012). This was one of the findings of Mortimer's evaluation report on the BBC's performance over reporting on the Arab Spring. Another outcome concluded in the report states, "the BBC did not fully appreciate or report on the importance of the Arab Spring in the first months of the uprisings across the Middle East and North Africa. It was broadly positive but criticised gaps and failings in the Corporation's coverage, including delays in covering human rights abuses by Libyan rebels, sporadic coverage of the situation in Bahrain and only limited reporting on Saudi Arabia," (The Telegraph, 2012). My thesis as well suggests that many media networks did not focus their coverage on Yemen in the early stage of the Yemeni Uprising as the wave of protests started rapidly to appear in the region.

As for AJE's impartiality, in the beginning of the Arab Spring it used to be praised over its coverage, Fisher (2011) writes on the Doha Center for Media Freedom referring to Cottle's remark on AJE's coverage, "the coverage of channels such as Al Jazeera English helped inform the views taken of the protest by other news organisations and agencies on how significant the protests were, leading to a "more independent and sympathetic" view." Nevertheless, AJ's coverage on the Bahraini revolution has been a turning point in how AJ's impartiality was viewed. Khatib summarises the downfall of AJ's popularity following its take on the Bahraini uprising and what change AJ has gone through in light of this turning point:

"While Al Jazeera fully embraced the Libyan uprising as a legitimate rebellion, its lukewarm stance towards the Bahraini case appeared contradictory to its image as a supposed champion of Arab freedom. It also revealed the limits of the channel's self-promoted 'independence' from the Qatari state. This situation was exacerbated with the resignation of the Director-General of Al Jazeera, Waddah Khanfar, in September 2011, and his replacement with a Qatari from the royal family, Sheikh Ahmed bin Jassim bin Mohammed Al Thani." (Khatib, 2013p. 428)

Thus, not only the BBC was questioned over its Arab Spring coverage, but also AJE. To some extent, some found discrepancy between the two media networks' coverage and the impartiality they preach of. The challenge that poses itself before these media networks is how to go forward and take lessons from their performance during the Arab Spring. In the meantime, Qatar already is expanding its efforts for wider public diplomacy channeled by the Al Jazeera network and now by Al-Araby al-Jadeed. Khatib explains:

"Following the departure of Hamad, differences have emerged between Tamim and his mother Mozah bint Nasser al-Missned regarding her influence on Qatari external relations. There are

also tensions between Tamim and the director of the media network Al Jazeera, who is related to Tamim on both his mother's and father's sides. Coupled with Al Jazeera's association with the Muslim Brotherhood and its reputation as a mouthpiece for the Syrian revolution, which have hurt its credibility, those tensions led Tamim to launch a new media conglomerate under the name Al-Araby al-Jadeed, headed by the emir's closest adviser, Azmi Bishara. Al-Araby al-Jadeed is meant to become a rival to Al Jazeera and the major outlet for the Qatari state's views. In blessing the launch of this new outlet, Tamim is seeking to establish a voice that is independent from that of his parents." (SEPTEMBER 11, 2014)

The National.ea attributes the establishment of Al-Araby al-Jadeed to the growing concern that "the network has become too supportive of the Muslim Brotherhood." (May 5, 2014)

DIALECTICS OF BBC AND AJE AS DISCOURSES

The overview given above presents an insight into how BBC and AJE are perceived from different readers' angles and their standpoint of consuming the media networks' news coverage. Nonetheless, the analysis could present more insight based on a outlook into the discursive practices.

At the heart of the analysis of discursive practices, language is seen as a social practice, and that is the reason why I find that each of BBC and AJE's coverage in terms of their use of language to be a specific discourse of its own. In respect to the dialectics of discourses, Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) argue that "social practice" is that it allows an oscillation between the perspective of social structure and the perspective of social action and agency", in which "every practice is an articulation of diverse social elements" (Fairclough, 2013) and these elements are dialectically related (Harvey 1996). Drawing from the dialectical relation of social practices' elements, the media discourse of BBC and AJE is deduced to be interrelated in two main dimensions: 1. their approach to (contextual) objectivity and understanding of their target audience. 2. the incentives motivating their discourses.

Seemingly, addressing the two dimensions revolves in the same realm, which is the case if the discussion is broadly done over media discourse. On the first issue, by considering the way production and consumption of news occurs, an analysis of the discursive practices inevitably takes place. This is crucial in understanding the interaction between media production and the

media network's relation to its target group. As de Graaf (2005) observes, "news is produced with an assumed audience in mind – class, education attainment, values and preferences and so on are all relevant; in turn, news is read (consumed) with the producer in mind – the "brand" of the paper, its politically partisan commitments, its (news) values and so on." This is reflected in the challenge ahead of BBC and AJE. Apart from that they have announced their commitment to objectivity, there has been an intense competition between the two media networks in the way that the BBC seeks to extend its service to the Arab world through its Arabic language service and similarly, Al Jazeera English has sought to make a name for itself among older and more established media outlets (Satti, 2015, p.39). The challenge is how to adapt that 'objectivity' to the changing circumstances of our time. As for AJ, it is considered one of the media networks that adopted and transformed its objectivity standard into a contextual objectivity. Suellentrop (2003) notes that during the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, AJ did better than American media through its "contextual objectivity" standard (Suellentrop, 2003).

On the second issues, what motives the BBC and AJ's media discourse is a combination of supply and demand, ideological and political motives. Each media network's background is brushed with specific factors that shape its approach to its work; for BBC, the Britain legacy of colonialism locates itself in the frame of postcolonial media theories. While AJE is highly influenced by its geopolitical importance and undoubtedly by the fact that it is owned by the Qatari government. The reviewers in the previous section have managed to question and examine AJ's values and roles from the ideological and dominance perspective; however, that was not the case with examining the BBC. The reviews on the BBC were mostly revolved around its functionality and general performance. The different perspectives of analyzing the two media broadcasters lies in understanding how these two media networks are perceived to be located in the media power hierarchy. It appears BBC still dominates higher status and dominance than AJE does, which makes it less questioned for its ideological and political motives, in comparison to how AJE was investigated.

CONCLUSION

Following the massive protests sweeping different parts in the Middle East and North of Africa during 2011; what is known as the Arab Spring, protests started to unfold in Yemen as well. The media coverage played a crucial role in the way these protests were framed and understood by audiences. These protests were the seed of what later was called, Yemen's 2011 uprising. In this research I analyzed how the BBC and AJE's news articles constructed their coverage on the initial stage of Yemen's 2011 Uprising. The analysis was done through a comparative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach and it focused on examining the articles related to the events in Yemen that were published in both BBC and AJE's websites during the first 100 days (between January 27th and May 6th) of the protests in Yemen in 2011. After a filtration process, the select articles were reduced to nearly 75 articles. The research aimed to assess how Yemen's 2011 Uprising was framed in the BBC and AJE's articles. The investigation was based primarily on Fairclough's model for CDA which is consisted of three levels of analysis: (textual analysis, discursive practice analysis and social practice analysis) along with a number of theoretical frameworks which included: hegemony theory, framing theory, post-colonialism theories and contextual objectivity theory. While these theories were not exhaustive, their overlap provided an in-depth analysis in regard of different perspectives to the media coverage on Yemen and the political aspect of the events in the country.

As the research and analysis were conducted, several findings appeared. The first and the most fundamental finding was that the study pointed out that the media networks' coverage on Yemen's 2011 uprising went through two key phases and they were:

- 1) It was seen in the first half of the 100 days of both BBC and AJE's coverage on Yemen that they had similar media coverage, similarly struggling to refer to the events in Yemen as an 'uprising' or a 'revolution'; instead, they made a choice to characterize it as 'protests', 'demonstrations' and 'unrest'. Also, BBC and AJE had similar way of ingroup and outgroup framing.
- 2) After almost two months of protests, which was the second half of the 100 days, the two media networks started to adapt slightly different coverage of Yemen's 2011 uprising. The difference manifested in the following aspects:-
 - a. Following the Friday of Dignity massacre and the Gulf Cooperation Council's (GCC) deal initiative, BBC and AJE networks started to have a slightly different select and

concentration in the voices they included in the light of their coverage of the GCC deal. That is, AJE included more direct voices from the GGC than BBC did.

- b. BBC had more emphasis on the positive features of the ingroup (the protesters) more than AJE did.
- c. While BBC and AJE started similarly to refer to the protests in Yemen more frequently as an ‘uprising’ and a ‘revolution’; AJE exhibited more consistent reporting under the ‘uprising’ frame onward than BBC did. Thus, AJE’s adherence to the pro-change became more salient than BBC.
- d. The analysis specified how BBC and AJE’s similar coverage in presenting the protests, the protesters, and the Yemeni government differed slightly .

Overall, the results also suggested that both media networks’ coverage was balanced focusing on all sides of the protests, with an extensive coverage on former president, Saleh. With using an objective language, both BBC and AJE similarly framed Saleh in a way that made him look as a witty, sharp, defiant leader.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In doing the study, I encountered several observations that represent limitations for understanding the subject matter, and ideas for future research. The observations are:

1. The study used the CDA as an approach for analysis and I found the approach to be useful, however, not as critical as it preaches to be. To some extent, the approach provides a great deal of information that I expected to conclude.
2. Due to limiting time, I ruled out analyzing the aesthetics in the representation of the news, even though this has a great significance in understanding the construction of news coverages through images and visual aspects.
3. One important limitation is, the two media broadcast come from different ownership positions; Al Jazeera is owned by the government of Qatar and BBC is a public-service

broadcaster. Hence, there will be an element of dissimilarity between the two media outlets. Thus, the findings do not necessarily reflect a fair comparison.

4. The findings are limited by a time frame as the analyzed corpus focused the initial period of the protests during the period between the 27th of January, 2011 and the 6th of May 2011 only. Thus, the findings are not generalizable to other events related to Yemen happening before or after this time frame.
5. This research contributes to the CDA approach literature in relation to researches about the media coverage of revolutions in the Arab Spring. In the context of the Yemeni Uprising, there is a lack of academic study on the media framing of the events in Yemen. Consequently, this study is hoped to open the door for other scholarly investigation work on Yemen's Uprising in 2011.
6. In respect to ideas for further research; I would propose to study readers' responsibility in influencing such media networks' editorial rooms to produce articles that conform what the audience is always looking for. Meaning, would a reader's choice in clicking on certain headlines influences these media outlets to produce the same kind of frames? Certainly, a further research can find out the answer.

DISCUSSION

After concluding the main results of this research, in this chapter I seek to present a number of aspects which are relevant to the findings but were underexposed. Throughout carrying out this research, several points raised to my analysis which I perceive need more investigation. Hence, the following sections include comments on the research's findings and a discussion on how the conditions for the press in Yemen seems to be under the current circumstance, the ongoing war (March, 2015 - Present).

ON THE THESIS

When the Tunisian Revolution started in late 2010, a wave of uprisings swept many parts of the Middle East and North of Africa (MENA) to form what it is defined today as the Arab Spring.

As the protests unfolded, the story of the Arab Spring dominated the coverage of many international mainstream media. That includes covering Yemen.

From early on, media tended to characterize the Yemeni Uprising as ‘protests’, ‘demonstrations’ and ‘unrest’. This study shows how BBC and AJE in particular framed their narrative on the events in Yemen during the first 100 days of Yemen’s 2011 Uprising. While these two media outlets tended to concentrate in framing the protests with a ‘Protests-Frame’ as an organizing construct, the slightly different style of coverage of the BBC and AJE over the second half of the corpus says more about the political agenda of the news outlet on doing the reporting than it does about the story itself. Given the lack of press freedom in Yemen and the lack of strong, reliable and independent media institutions in Yemen that can act as a local informer about the country to the world, international reporting on Yemen extremely does matter. Even more importantly, the lack of academic examination of such media networks’ coverage of Yemen’s 2011 Uprising is alarming. News media stories on Yemen’s 2011 Uprising need to be contextualized, its analogies analyzed, its numbers examined and its premises exposed.

Throughout this study, I have been absorbed with a number of theories but the one that was most relevant to me is the postcolonial theories which includes Orientalism. In examining the corpus I found a number of western authors providing their analysis on the political developments in Yemen. These authors were relatively given the same space in both BBC and AJE. AJE, however, had a slightly more Yemeni and Arab authors analyzing the events in Yemen. This leads me to wonder: where is the agency of Yemenis to speak for their own issues on these media outlets? The answer seems to be whether the BBC and AJE are reluctant to allow Yemenis write with them about their country or rather Yemeni authors are not reaching out to the media networks. Or, perhaps, it’s a combination of the two scenarios. In an ideal situation, if Yemeni authors are heard in these popular international media networks, imagine the original discussion it would appear about Yemen! In this regards, social media role has been crucial. As someone who runs a famous blog on the Human Rights issues and the political affairs in Yemen, I was struck when I realized how if it was not for social media and the readership the blog has been receiving, it would have been extremely difficult to challenge big anglophone media corporations’ portrayal of Yemen.

This thesis hopes to raise the flag that there is a lack of academic study on Yemen’s 2011 uprising and the role of media in that period. Anyone from the BBC, AJE or even anyone interested in Yemen would find this thesis useful in understanding the use of language in exercising power—manifested in how the BBC and AJE’s coverage shaped our understanding of

how the protests in Yemen were. The comparative analysis and the chosen theoretical framework aims to provide in-depth explanations on the discursive practice and social practice of these media networks.

YEMEN AT WAR: PRESS UNDER FIRE

In light of the ongoing war in Yemen, I would like to shed light on how it affected the press in the country. The year 2014, in particular has been a chaotic and harsh year for the press in Yemen and it continues to be so as the ongoing multi-facets conflicts are taking place in the country. Yemeni journalists are facing mounting dangers in practicing their job and facing grave threats to their own lives in the light of the ongoing violence and the authoritarian style of leadership shown by the new ruling power now at the hands of the Houthi' militia group, who came to power, or still fighting to have full power, since their coup against president Hadi and his government carried in September, 2014. Generally speaking, before the coup, press in Yemen could be described as partisan press: journalism outlets usually worked along with political party lines. Today, the press is heavily used as a tool for propaganda and instigation of animosity and hatred). Having said that, clearly, the war's implications would also have a grave impact on how the press' future would look like.

In the wider view over the current condition for media in Yemen: it is important to note that following Yemen's Uprising in 2011, there was a relatively boom in the field of media in the country. Despite widespread illiteracy, by 2013, Yemen had around 90 newspapers published weekly or more often and the state's monopoly on broadcasting had been broken; there were several privately-owned Yemeni TV channels (some of them based outside the country) and a number of radio stations. As elsewhere, there had also been a rapid increase in citizen journalism, including often well-made videos posted on YouTube (al-bab, 2014). And investigative journalists –represented as watchdogs of democracy– were doing courageous reporting where they were becoming as whistleblowers of corruption cases linked to powerful governmental institutions and exposing powerful governmental and non-governmental figures.

Now going back to the harsh condition of media in Yemen starting since 2014, as I mentioned earlier, and how it'll continue to be so as it got affected by the ongoing war. I perceive that there are two major events that took place since September, 2014 that are gravely affecting press in Yemen:

1) On the 21st of September, 2014, the coup d'état carried out by the Houthi militias, headed by Abdelmalek al Houthi represented a major setback to the overall security and political stability, and any democratic process for that matter in the country. Citizen's rights and freedom of information in particular have been awfully violated. Many journalists have been the targets of threats, physical attacks or abduction by Houthi rebels. Rebels have also stormed many media outlets. Most importantly, following the coup, The rebels have been controlling official buildings, including the state radio and TV.

2) The second major event is the current war that erupted on the 19th of March, causing damage and destruction; and the war's casualties include killing dozens of civilians, among them children and also media workers. The impact of the violence has left a great death toll. Nearly four thousand people have been killed, thousands have been injured, more than 1 million people are newly displaced people and millions of people are affected by the war. In addition, there has been destruction of civilians' houses, cities' infrastructure and buildings; which includes a number of media houses.

Since the start of the war, State-owned Yemennet, the largest internet service provider in the country, has continued to block websites over their coverage of the Saudi-led war against Houthi rebels. A number of local search news sites were blocked in late March, websites of the regional news networks Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya were also blocked for sometime (the Yemen Times, 2015). Few newspapers stopped publishing due to the lack of services like electricity and fuel. Also for sometime, the access to twitter via the web was blocked (people only managed to access twitter via mobile apps). So this is all happening while the rebels are now in control of the capital Sana'a and its government offices, including the ministry of communications and information.

The threats posed on media is only the edge of the restrictions made by Al Houthis. The real problem is that dozens of political activists, political figures, civil society activists, NGOs members, have been restricted by al Houthis' censorship and aggression. There has summoning of media figures for interrogation by al Houthis' men and a number of journalists have been detained by the Houthi group since they came to power. Essentially, Houthis want to prevent the flow of information so their ideas only can dominate.

Nonetheless, the role of social media in the course of this war has been nothing but interesting. I have experienced living a war during Yemen's civil war in 1994, I was nine at that time but I remember how it was difficult to have an access to information, news and reports about what was happening. Internet did not exist at that time and we depended heavily on international radio channels as local ones were shut down for some reason or another and still those international radio channels were poorly aired. But, the role of social media in this war has been extremely impressive. The war is indeed tweeted and facebooked and youtubed and even instagrammed.

There is a significant rise of citizen journalism that goes back to during the Yemen’s Uprising in 2011. I myself was among those Yemenis who turned towards the cyberspace as an alternative means to inform and be informed. Citizen journalism was indeed part of the re-making of media not only in Yemen but in most of the Arab Spring’s countries. We, Yemeni citizen journalists at the beginning of 2011 were a handful of people but today the number seems to be increased, even though there is no specific statistics on how many social media users are in Yemen. That is attributed to the increase in the internet usage among Yemen’s 26 population over the past four years.

This has both negative and positive aspects; since the internet is like a double-edged sword that has benefit and liability. Apart from social media playing a useful role among citizen journalists, it is also used to a great extent as a channel to spread hatred, to dehumanize the ‘other’ and to mislead. That makes the necessity of verification and affirming the credibility of the content being spread a very important issue.

In essence, press freedom today in Yemen suffers from a counter-revolution era following the uprising in 2011. The new leadership is increasingly trying to control as much as media as they can and even to control the digitalized media on the web. It is not clear how all those developments are going to shape the press future. Nonetheless it is a difficult period for Yemen’s media, there is so much more opportunity the digital media can offer to produce a lot more of free information.

APPENDIX

Table 1: BBC World and Al Jazeera English Data Sources:

	January,2011- 27 to 29	February, 2011	March, 2011	April, 2011	May, 6, 2011	Total
BBC World	2	10	14	15	2	43
Al Jazeera English	2	5	17	7	1	32

Table 2: Articles - Research's Material

BBC WORLD NEWS:

January: two articles

1-Yemen: Tens of thousands call on president to leave --- 27 January 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12295864>

words: 612 - by unknown author

2-What next in Yemen? By Ginny HillChatham House - - - - 29 January 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12309909>

words: 757 by British By Ginny Hill

Unrest in Yemen, from Tunisia to Yemen --- 29 January 2011

Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jl3T-b2s9LA>

February: 10 articles

3-Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh to quit in 2013 ----- 2 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12343166>

Words: 592

4-Yemen activists breaking new ground(Tawakkol Karaman) ---- 2 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12344487>

words: 805

5-Yemen protests: 20,000 call for President Saleh to go ----- 3 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12353479>

words: 652

6-Hacktivists target Egypt and Yemen regimes ----- 4 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-12364654>

words: 221

7-Anti-government protests broken up in Yemen and Algeria ----- 12 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12441180>

words: 486

8-Shaken not stirred: How Yemen president stays in power, By Natalia Antelava BBC News, Sanaa ----- 11 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12414147>

words: 885 By Natalia Antelava

9-Yemen rocked by third day of protests ----- 13 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-1244346302>

words: 416

10-Street battles hit Yemeni capital in latest protest ----- 14 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12454983>

words: 502

11-Hague condemns violence in Libya, Bahrain and Yemen -----19 February 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-12514696>

words: 608

12-Middle East unrest as it happened ----- 16 February 2011

(minute-by-minute coverage of all the latest events across the Middle East and North Africa)

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/9399009.stm>

words: 6413

MARCH: 14 articles

13-Yemen: President Saleh announces 'parliamentary system' ----- 10 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12697077>

words: 647

14-Yemen security forces open fire at Sanaa protest ----- 9 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12683863>

words: 570

15-Yemen: Foreign Office travel advice tightened ----- 5 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-12656438>

words: 273

16-Thousands of women protest for change in Yemen ----- 9 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12685344>

words: 89 with a clip segment

17-Yemen unrest: 'Dozens killed' as gunmen target rally -----18 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12783585>

words: 807

18-Yemen unrest: Marib governor stabbed amid protests ----- 14 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12734228>

words: 398

19-Why is US backing force in Libya but not Bahrain, Yemen? By Andrew North BBC News, Washington ----- 19 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-12792637>

words: 650

20-Yemen: Beginning of the end? By Ginny Hill, Chatham House -----21 March 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12809568>

words: 774 by *Ginny Hill*

21-Top Yemeni general, Ali Mohsen, backs opposition -----21 March 2011
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12804552>

words: 767

22-Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh warns of coup -----22 March 2011
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12819003>

words: 504

23-Yemeni mother on what draws her to protests -----30 March 2011
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12914465>

words: 82 with a clip

24-Yemen's Hamid al-Ahmar urges President Saleh to leave -----31 March 11
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12917670>

words: 67 with video interview

25-Yemen weapons factory hit by deadly explosions ----- 28 March 2011
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12881240>

words: 501

26-Yemen: Security and the collapsing state -----28 March 2011
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-11482963>

words: 654 by Ginny Hill

April: 15 article

27-Yemen protests: Learning to speak without fearing ----- 2 april
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/9443731.stm

words: 895 By Genevieve Bicknell

28-Yemen unrest: Troops fire on Taiz protesters ----- 4 April 2011
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12956262>

Words: 693

29-Yemen unrest: Police open fire on protesters in Taiz ----- 4 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12951786>

words: 504

30-Yemen unrest: Three die in Sanaa clashes ----- 5 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12976208>

words: 594

31-Political uprising sweeping across the Middle East -----10 april (finally yemen was placed as an uprising today, but among a collection of reviews on several arab countries, syria, libya, egypt)

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13031020>

words: 94 with a clip

32-Yemeni women: 'All we can do is wait and pray' ----- 12 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13053161>

words: 930

33-Yemen protesters show unity and determination ----- 14 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13081172>

words: 746

34-Yemen: President Ali Abdullah Saleh defiant in Sanaa -----15 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13098338>

words: 334 with a clip

35-Yemeni women insist: 'We will not remain silent' ----- 17 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13107553>

words: 79 with a clip

36-Yemen: Three killed at Sanaa and Taiz protests ----- 19 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13130330>

words: 582

37-Tawakul Karman : Yemen protests: Women take centre stage -----21 april

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13140438>

words: 866 By Natalia Antelava

38-Yemen leader Saleh agrees to step down under Gulf plan ----- 23 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13178887>

words: 709

39-Yemen: Opposition backs GCC plan for Saleh resignation ----- 25 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13190305>

words: 530

40-Yemen: Two shot dead at protests in Ibb and al-Baida ----- 25 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13185699>

words: 564

41-Yemen unrest: Protesters 'shot dead' in Sanaa ----- 27 April 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13214470>

words: 389

May: 2 articles

42-May 2 Death of Osama bin Laden

Bin Laden death: Effect on al-Qaeda in Middle East?

“In Yemen, pro-democracy protesters have asked their followers not to wave pictures of Bin Laden at rallies, ostensibly because it would give President Saleh a pretext to crack down harder and tighten his grip on power.”

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13260545>

43-Yemen: Artists urge President Saleh to go --4 May 2011

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13273488>

words: 569 By Lina Sinjab BBC News, Damascus

Al Jazeera English:

January: 2 articles

1-New protests erupt in Yemen ----- 29 January

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011129112626339573.html>

words: 426

2-Anti-government rallies hit Yemen ----- 27 January

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011127100660857.html>

words: 481 with a clip

February: 5 articles

3-Opposing protesters rally in Yemen

Anti-government demonstrators reiterate calls for president to stand down while his supporters stage a counter rally -----**03 Feb 2011**

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/201123105140512715.html>

words: 560

4-Yemen protests enter fifth day -----15 Feb 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/2011215101053354193.html>

words: 449

5-Country Profile: Yemen

Background on the politics, economy and foreign relations of Yemen ----- **28 Feb 2011**

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/yemen/2011/02/20112286187300800.html>

words: 823

6-Major Yemen tribes join protesters ----- 26 Feb 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/2011226121359764591.html>

words: 641

7-Via Democracy Now: 'The genie is out of the bottle'

Assessing a changing Arab world with Noam Chomsky and Al Jazeera's Marwan Bishara.

21 Feb 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/empire/2011/02/20112211027266463.html>

words: 3974 that's transcript of the two clips.

March: 17 articles

8-Yemen: A revolution in waiting? ----- 01 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/03/201131103232929994.html>

words: 1136

9-The Yemeni president's playbook

Ali Abdullah Saleh hasn't been able to co-opt, mollify or pay off Yemen's opposition, so one of his last tactics seems to be fear: stark warnings of division and unrest. --- 1 Mar 2011 15:20

<http://blogs.aljazeera.com/blog/middle-east/yemeni-presidents-playbook>

Words: 524

10-Who's who in Yemen's opposition?

As protests against Ali Abdullah Saleh continue, opposition remains fractured, riven with differences. ----- 10 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/yemen/2011/02/2011228141453986337.html>

words: 934

11-'New constitution for Yemen'

President Saleh pledges to hold referendum on new constitution within a year but protesters say offer comes "too late". -----10 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/201131073622898186.html>

words: 428

12-Yemen MPs quit ruling party

Several members of General People's Congress resign in protest against violence used against anti-government protesters. -----05 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/20113514455840795.html>

words: 445

13-Inmates riot at Yemen prison ----- 8 march

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/2011386028510475.html>

words: 529

14-Riot erupts in Yemeni prison

Police clash with prisoners in the capital's central jail calling for the overthrow of the government ----- 07 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/201137183115534617.html>

words: 226

15-Yemen declares 'state of emergency'

President announces state of emergency after dozens are killed in a crackdown on anti-government protests. ----- 18 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/2011318115434957754.html>

words: 1144 with a clip

16-Yemen: A tale of two protests

As demonstrations advance across Yemen, People & Power follows activist Tawakkol Karman.

-----17 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2011/03/201131683916701492.html>

words: 194 with a clip

17-Yemen: 'Chaos by design'

Abdulghani al-Iryani, a Yemeni political researcher and analyst, talks about the challenges facing his country. ----- 17 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2011/03/201131612514814636.html>

words: 2867 which is a transcript of the interview in clip

18-Yemen's UN envoy resigns over killings

Diplomat quits in protest against the killing of 52 demonstrators, while president Saleh's tribe urges him to step down. -----20 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/2011320123433298971.html>

words: 592

19-Yemen's president warns of civil war

Opposition reject Saleh's offer to quit by the end of the year as embattled Yemeni president warns of civil war. -----22 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/2011321164113728994.html>

words: 802 with a clip

20-Timeline: Yemen's uprising

A chronicle of countrywide protests against president Saleh, who has been in power over three decades. -----21 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/2011321104457102860.html>

words: 222

21-Fear of the future in Yemen ----- 23 march

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2011/03/2011323101423254390.html>

words: 1221 by Jacqueline Head

22-Thousands in Yemen march against Saleh ----- 25 March

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/201132511732578174.html>

words: 925 with a clip

23-Top army commanders defect in Yemen

Troops and tanks deployed in Sanaa to protect anti-government protesters as senior military officials back uprising. ----- 21 Mar 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/2011320180579476.html>

words: 1141 with a clip

24-Scores killed in Yemen arms factory blasts ----- 28 march

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/201132810029276777.html>

words: 381 with a clip

April: 7 articles

25-Defiant Saleh rejects Gulf mediation offer

Embattled president denounces "blatant interference" in Yemeni affairs in speech to supporters amid protests in Sanaa. -----08 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/20114811731250712.html>

words: 256

26-Yemeni women protest over Saleh criticism

Thousands reject president's view that it is un-Islamic for women to join men in demonstrations against his rule. -----16 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/2011416162256587141.html>

words: 571 w/ a clip

27-Yemen violence claims more lives

Five people killed in Sanaa and two more in the southern city of Aden as protesters push for president's ouster. -----13 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/20114138440541592.html>

words: 297

28-Fresh violence breaks out in Yemen

One protester and a policeman reported killed in separate incidents a day after UN called for restraint and dialogue. -----20 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/20114207414454329.html>

words: 603

29-Gulf deal 'close' on Yemen crisis

Details emerge of GCC-brokered settlement that could see Saleh step down as president in bid to end political turmoil. -----20 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/201142017275344133.html>

words: 577 w/ a clip

30-Yemen opposition rejects Gulf initiative

President "welcomes" GCC's efforts to end his country's political crisis. ----- 11 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/2011411113334453950.html>

words: 729 w/ a clip

31-Protesters killed in Yemen shooting

Deaths come as president's opponents launch campaign against a plan giving him one-month window to resign. ----- 27 Apr 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/2011427165543907230.html>

words: 330

MAY: articles

32-Hueys over Yemen: How to arm a dictator

Is US aid suppressing another struggle for freedom in the Middle East? ----- 01 May 2011

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/04/2011429181644559572.html>

words: 2061

The articles can also be found on the websites of the network stations:

BBC: <http://www.bbc.com/>

AJE: <http://www.aljazeera.com/>

Table 3: SOURCES, VOICES

Article#	BBC's article	Article#	AJE's article
1.	Saleh	1.	Tawakel Karman, a female activist
2.	none	2.	protesters + An opposition activist + the president's supporters + medical officials + Motahar Rashad al-Masri, the Yemeni interior minister + Philip Crowley, the US state department spokesman + Saleh
3.	Saleh + Mohammed al-Saadi, under-secretary of the Islamist Islah party	3.	Analysts + the AFP news agency + Saleh + Mohammed al-Sabri of the Common Forum
4.	activists + the Will of Youth's Husein Khalil al-Kubati + Taha Muthanna, from the Eyoun Shabbah group + Mohamad al-Mutawakel, of the Common Forum opposition alliance + political analyst Abdul Ghani al-Iryani +	4.	correspondent + US officials + AFP news agency + witnesses + Al Jazeera's Ahelbarra
5.	BBC's Lina Sinjab in Sanaa.	5.	None
6.	Graham Cluley, a senior technology consultant for security firm Sophos.	6.	Al Jazeera's Hashem Ahelbarra + Philip Luther, Amnesty International's deputy director for the Middle East and North Africa + Saleh + state news agency Saba
7.	Analysts	7.	Noam Chomsky and Al Jazeera's Marwan Bishara.
8.	piece authored By Natalia Antelava + Sanaa-based political commentator Abdul Ghani al-Iriyani + Yassine Naman, the leader of Yemen's opposition socialist party + Hala, a 23-year-old student I met in an internet cafe in Sanaa + Abdul-Bari Taher, a well-known Yemeni writer and a journalist who spent much of his life in opposition to the president.	8.	piece authored by Murad Alazzany
9.	Yemen's State media + Mr Saleh's office + Witnesses + Sarah Leah Whitson, of Human Rights Watch (HRW) + One of the protesters, Muhamad	9.	piece authored by Gregg Carlstrom is a reporter based in Tel Aviv. with many references but no direct source.
10.	eyewitnesses + BBC correspondent	10.	Abdul Ghani al-Iryani, a prominent Yemeni political analyst + Saleh
		11.	Hashem Ahelbarra, Al Jazeera's correspondent + protesters + Saleh + Saleh's spokesman, Mohammed Qahtan + An alliance of parliamentary opposition groups

	Abdullah Gorab + AFP news agency + Reuters news agency	12.	Yemen's opposition's rotating president, Mohammed al-Mutawakil
11.	Foreign Secretary William Hague	13.	Al Jazeera's Hashem Ahelbarra + prisoners + Sharif Mobley, an inmate, told Al Jazeera via phone from within the prison
12.	tweets from locals + tweets from BBC's correspondents	14.	Al Jazeera's Hashem Ahelbarra
13.	opposition groups + opposition spokesman Mohamed Qahtan + Saleh	15.	Reuters news agency + The opposition + Saleh + Hashem Ahelbarra, Al Jazeera's Yemen correspondent + Barack Obama, the US president + Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state
14.	medics + Opposition spokesman Muhammad Qahtan + A prison official told AP + Associated Press	16.	None
15.	The Foreign Office is warning Britons + yemeni Demonstrators + rebels	17.	Interview w/ Abdulghani al-Iryani, a Yemeni political researcher and analyst
16.	None	18.	a Yemeni foreign ministry official + a group of influential clerics + Huda al-Baan, Yemen's human-rights minister + Witnesses
17.	Yassin Noman + Reuters news agency + BBC's Abdullah Ghorab + Abdul Malek Al-Yussefi, a doctor in the field hospital + Saleh	19.	Yemen's ambassador to France + Saleh + Mohammed al-Sabry, a spokesman for the main umbrella opposition group + The Arab League's representative + Robert Gates, the US defence secretary + Abdel-Wahhab Tawaf, Yemen's ambassador to Syria + Abdullah Alsaïdi, Yemen's ambassador to the UN + Alain Juppe, the French foreign minister
18.	Reports + Saleh	20.	none
19.	Marina Ottaway, director of the Middle East programme at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington	21.	Piece by Jacqueline Head + Gregory Johnsen, a Yemen expert at Princeton University + Justin Crump, CEO of Sibylline, an international security risk and intelligence consultancy + Michael Binyon, foreign affairs expert at The London Times newspaper + Abdulalem Alshamery, editor of the Yemen Voice, a British-based publication
20.	Authored by Ginny Hill	22.	Saleh + Al Jazeera's special
21.	Saleh + BBC security correspondent Frank Gardner + Yemen's state news agency + Gen Ahmar + al-Jazeera television + Reuters news agency		
22.	Saleh + Hugues Mingarelli, of the European External Action Service's Middle East office + General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar + US Defence Secretary Robert Gates		
23.	None		
24.	iNTERVIEW: Yemen's most influential political figures, Hamid al-Ahmar		
25.	officials + WITNESS + Doctors + The authorities + Opposition leader Yassin Noman		
26.	Piece by Ginny Hill: AQAP, jihadi organisation + anonymous Yemeni official		
27.	By Genevieve Bicknell: Alia is here to visit Waleed, her husband, who was		

<p>28. taken by security forces a year and a half ago + Waleed's sister, Mawadha BBC's reporters + medical sources + analysts + witnesses + Officials</p> <p>29. residents + doctors + Saleh + One activist, Bushra al-Maqtari + witnesses</p> <p>30. BBC correspondent in Sanaa, in Taiz + analysts + reports + AP news agency, citing security sources + EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton + spokesman for a leading opposition group, Mohammed Qahtan, told the AFP + The European Union</p> <p>31. None</p> <p>32. three women tell their stories</p> <p>33. Alaa, Student protester + sceptics + the opposition + a youth leader, Tawakul Karman + Salah, a young photographer + young people</p> <p>34. BBC correspondent + Reuters news agency + One cleric</p> <p>35. Saleh</p> <p>36. witnesses and medics + protesters + Saleh + Unicef spokesperson Marixie Mercado + Germany's permanent representative to the UN, Peter Wittig</p> <p>37. Tawakul Karman, a young woman activist + Sara, a British Yemeni filmmaker + one protester + Hameed al-Ahmar, one of Yemen's most powerful men + analysts + Nadwa al-Dawsari, executive director for the Yemen branch of Partners for Democratic Change</p> <p>38. Yassin Noman was quoted by Reuters news agency + Members of the</p>	<p>23. correspondent + General Ali Mohsen + Yassin Noman, head of Yemen's opposition coalition + opposition spokesman Mohammed al-Sabry Saleh + Major General Ali Mohsen Saleh + Yemen's defence minister, Mohammad Nasser Ali + Huda al-Baan, Yemen's human rights minister + Hakim Al Masmari, editor-in-chief of Yemen Post + Gabool al Mutawakil, a youth activist + Witnesses</p> <p>24. witnesses + a doctor at the state-run hospital + doctors + One resident + a security official + Salem Mansour, a local member of the Yemeni parliament</p> <p>25. Saleh + Sheikh Hamad bin Jassem al-Thani, Qatar's prime minister + Abu Bakr al-Kurbi, Yemen's foreign minister</p> <p>26. The women, many clad in black dress with full face veils + Samia al-Aghbari, a leader in the protest movement + one protester, who gave her name only as Majda + local officials + medical sources</p> <p>27. Al Jazeera's correspondents + the anti-government Civil Alliance of the Youth Revolution</p> <p>28. witnesses + AFP news agency + Susan Rice, the US ambassador to the United Nations + Witnesses + Tariq Numan, a doctor working at a field hospital outside Sanaa university + Marixie Mercado, a UNICEF spokeswoman + a UN diplomat speaking on condition of anonymity</p> <p>29. Kristen Saloomey, Al Jazeera's correspondent at the United Nations in New York + Ahmed bin Dagher, the spokesman of the Yemeni delegation at the meeting + witnesses + Arafat Makki, a member of the protest</p>
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<p>39. opposition coalition + state department spokesman Mark Toner Yemeni opposition sources + the GCC initiative + Analysts + witnesses and medical sources + One report + spokesman for the opposition Common Front, Mohammed Qahtan</p> <p>40. medical sources and witnesses</p> <p>41. witnesses and doctors + bbc's correspondents</p> <p>42. piece By Jim Muir + non citation of sources or other voices</p> <p>43. One musician, Muhammad Nasser al-Adroei + Ahmad Seif, who heads the Sheba centre for strategic studies + Mohammed al-Qaid +</p>	<p>30. organising committee + AFP news agency + Medics + diplomats activists + Mahjoob Zweiri, a professor of Middle Eastern history at Qatar University + Mohammed al-Sabry, an opposition spokesman + Diplomatic sources + Al Jazeera's correspondent in Sanaa + Najib Ghaniem, a senior member of the opposition Islah party + Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim + witnesses + Gulf diplomatic sources</p> <p>31. analysts + a doctor at the scene + witnesses</p> <p>32. Brandon Denecke of the Defence Security Cooperation Agency, the branch of the Pentagon that coordinates sales and transfers of military equipment to allies + US Secretary of Defence Robert Gates + White House Press Secretary Jay Carney + Tawakul Karman, a Yemeni human rights activist and anti-government protest leader + Hamza Alkamaly, another prominent youth leader</p>
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