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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Representation of the Muslim Brotherhood
in Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers**

**A Thesis Submitted to
Department of Applied Linguistics**

**In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts**

**By
Sara AbouelmaatyMogahed Youssef**

July/2013

To Ashraf and Omar

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Abstract

This is a qualitative exploratory study that examines the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in contemporary Egyptian newspapers. It aims to reveal the linguistic features that contribute to the construction of a positive or negative image of the MB in the data.

The study uses the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in analyzing its data. This approach mainly looks at representation strategies, in particular, nomination, predication and argumentation strategies, which are primarily manifested through lexical choices.

The data for the study consist of 18 articles from two Egyptian newspapers, Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala 'Freedom and Justice' and Al-Wattan 'The Homeland'. The former is the official newspaper of Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala party, the political arm of the MB. The latter is an independent newspaper that is generally known to take an opposing stand towards the MB.

With respect to the main nomination strategies, the analysis shows that in the data from Al-Wattan newspaper, members of the MB have been very frequently referred to by words and phrases that carry explicit or implicit negative evaluations, e.g. by referring to their complete obedience to MB leadership, MB secrecy, and accusations of violence and backwardness.

On the other hand, Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala newspaper refers to MB using words and phrases that very frequently carry explicit or implicit positive evaluations, e.g. by describing them as the legitimate ruling power and as a group that is deeply rooted in the Egyptian society.

Regarding the predication strategies, some of the most salient qualities attributed to the MB in Al-Wattan newspaper are failure and incapability, being a threat to Egypt, secrecy, and backwardness. In Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala, a number of predications that carry positive evaluations have been used to describe the MB, e.g. piety, success, having a glorious past and being loved by the people.

Finally, as for the argumentation strategies, in Al-Wattan, a number of claims are made against the MB, e.g. responsibility for polarization, using religion, ikhwanizing the state and privatizing the revolution for the interest of the group. Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala, on the other hand, used some counter arguments based on a set of topoi and fallacies, e.g. by claiming that there is a conspiracy against the MB and by blaming Mubarak's regime and the opposition for the MB economic failure and political mistakes.

By selecting these strategies, among other ones, both newspapers focus on arguments that best serve their purposes. For example, by referring to MB violence, Al-Wattan attempts to revive what people remember of the past of the MB and some other Islamic groups, hence portraying an image that scares people off the MB. Also, highlighting the failure of president Mursi and the MB government to meet people's essential daily needs is a claim that targets the majority of Egyptians, educated and none educated, since all Egyptians are affected by this failure.

On the other hand, Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala combined topoi of conspiracy and being under attack from the media as a scapegoat strategy to blame the mistakes of the government on a second party. This is also used as an answer to the claim of failure. If the country is destroyed and corruption is everywhere then it is not the responsibility of the MB government, rather it is the responsibility of the old regime and the opposition. Such scapegoat strategies are applied throughout the data and illustrate a typical pattern of argumentation.

The findings of this study could be used to help advanced Arabic language students be discerning readers and could provide a model for teaching that focuses on critical reading of media texts.

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I.Introduction

Rationale of the Study and Statement of the Problem

This study examines the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Contemporary Egyptian newspapers. The study aims at revealing linguistic features that contribute to the construction of a positive or negative image of the MB in Egyptian press. The study will further discuss the implications of its findings for Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language (TAFL).

Discourses are so influential, they can help to produce and reproduce unequal power relations between different ethnicities, social classes, genders, age, and professional (or political) groups (Baxter, 2010, p. 128). Examination of the language used in Egyptian newspapers would uncover features of the discourse that frames public opinion about this group.

The strategies used in constructing the image of the MB are likely generic and not text specific. Therefore, it is expected that identifying these strategies can help critically read similar texts and understand the communicative purposes texts convey.

Information about these strategies should be at the hands of Arabic teachers and Arabic material developers aiming at providing students (especially advanced students and Arabic Media students) with tools of analyzing texts critically and understanding more than the surface meaning.

In media texts language power manifests itself clearly. Whether it is spoken or printed, “the mass media have been found to be a good site for ideology and a very powerful tool for its dissemination through discourse (Billig, 1995; Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Chouliaraki, 1999; Madianou, 2005).

Talking about media, one should bear in mind that language does not only mean linguistic items. Graphics, fonts and colors can also be used to communicate certain message(s). A clear example would be the latest scandal of Al-Ahram, Egypt's official newspaper using Photoshop to show the toppled president Mubarak leading the US President, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas and King Abdullah II of Jordan down the red carpet at the White House, while in the original photo Mubarak was lagging behind the other leaders. This was immediately interpreted by some as "Fake Photo Makes Egypt Leader Of The Pack" and that shows that the intended message of the fake photo was communicated. When examining written texts, such features cannot be ignored just in the same way, pitch, tempo, intonation and other prosodic features cannot be ignored when examining spoken discourse. For this study, however, and because of time limits, the focus will be only on the linguistic features, analyzing textual representation of the group using the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA).

The DHA looks at representation strategies by looking mainly at nomination, predication and argumentation strategies which are primarily manifested through lexical choices.

It is worth mentioning that language has an array of lexical items at the disposal of its users to pick and choose from. The choice of one lexical item over another in referring to a certain phenomenon or a group of people reflects the stance of the user(s) toward this phenomenon or group of people. It is that choice that reflects how the users perceive the phenomenon or group they are referring to. The choice of certain lexis and their reoccurrence in referring to a group or an entity establish an image (positive or negative) that over time becomes an inseparable part of their identity in peoples' mind.

Van Dijk (1995) highlights the fact that lexical choices (or *lexicalization* in his terms) are not only evaluative judgments, but also reflect the ideological stance of the user, or the group that she or he represents. This might be done explicitly or implicitly by what is called “tokens”. Tokens can be lexical items - words or phrases - that on the surface seem to have a rather neutral or positive meaning but can in context communicate negative value judgments and specific ideological stances. Meanings of such words are only perceived through looking at the context in which they occur and by referring them to the social and cultural norms agreed upon among language users. Lexical choices then can reflect users’ ideological stances and the meanings hidden between the lines.

This study makes use of DHA in analyzing the representation of the MB in two sets of newspaper articles selected from two Egyptian newspapers, one of which supports the MB, i.e. Al-HurryawaAl-Adala ‘Freedom and Justice’ and the other that opposes them i.e. Al-Wattan ‘The Homeland’.

Research questions

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions related to the MB named and referred to linguistically in the two newspapers selected?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes related to the MB?
3. What claims are employed (explicit or implicit) in the two newspapers? And how do these claims contribute to the construction of a positive/negative image of the MB?

Through answering the three questions above, the study identifies how the two newspapers under consideration differ in their representation of the MB and how this reflects their different ideological background and political standpoints.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is one of the discourse analysis various approaches. It aims at exploring the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it is used. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in texts.

CDA may include, as Paltridge (2008) explains, a detailed textual analysis and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of this analysis. This may, Paltridge adds, include tracing underlying ideologies from the linguistic features of a text, unpacking particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying the text, and relating the text to other texts and to people's experiences and beliefs Paltridge(2008:179).

CDA attempts to pin both explicit and implicit forms of ideologies underlying any text and alerts the reader to them. CDA can be seen as composed of three stages:

Stage 1: description: provide detailed linguistic analysis

Stage 2: interpretation: link the findings to social context

Stage 3: explanation: link both linguistic and the social to the cultural level

The significance of using CDA as an approach sets in its concern with what and how language communicates when it is used purposefully in particular instances and contexts and how the phenomena we find in 'real language' can be explained with reference to the communicative purpose of the text or the interaction. CDA looks at 'language in use', i.e. language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real world context.

The next chapter reviews a number of studies on representations of self and other using DHA and other CDA frameworks. The data selection procedures of the study as well as the

model used in the analysis are discussed in chapter three. Chapter four presents the results of the data analysis and discusses them. Finally Chapter five concludes by discussing some pedagogical implications of the study, its limitations and delimitations as well as some ideas for further research.

III. Review of Literature

CDA and Media Discourse

CDA aims to show how “linguistic-discursive practices” are linked to the “socio-political structures of power and domination” (Kress, 1990: 85) by emphasizing “the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance” (Van Dijk, 1993: 249). CDA attempts mainly to uncover the socio-political inequalities, whether based on political, economic, cultural, religious, or gendered grounds that exist in a certain society. According to Fairclough (1995a: 132), CDA is the study of

often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Media is one of the areas (genres) where language power manifests itself. In the modern world, media, spoken and printed, has become the primary focus of attention as it has superseded other institutions in the cultural production of knowledge. Bell and Garrett (1998) give the following as good reasons to stimulate interest in studying and analyzing media discourse: first, media discourse is ready and accessible data that provides rich sources for research, studying and teaching. Second, media discourse not only represents speech communities’ use of attitudes towards language but also influences them. Third, the formation and expression of culture, politics, ideological beliefs and social life are not only reflected in the media but are also influenced and created by it. Fourth, because of what it represents, media discourse can reveal a great deal about social meaning and stereotypes embedded in and produced and reproduced throughout discourse and communication.

In examining media discourse from a CDA perspective, there is no one single approach rather a host of diverse approaches, all under the CDA umbrella. Since its beginnings, some CDA practitioners have used systemic-functional linguistics as a framework of analysis. However, categories and concepts have also been borrowed from other disciplines, such as discourse analysis, text linguistics, stylistics, social semiotics, social cognition, rhetoric, social psychology and conversation analysis. Though some practitioners of CDA welcome the diversity of methodology (Chouliaraki&Fairclough, 1999:17); others strive for a systematic and focused framework based, for instance, on concepts of genre and field and on the socio-semantic representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 1995).

Weiss and Wodak (2003:7) support what is sometimes called an ‘eclectic approach’ as they believe that it is useful to think of CDA as “a theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools.” They argue that a plurality of theory and method should not be considered unsystematic, suggesting instead that it can be understood as a specific strength of CDA that provides opportunities for “innovative and productive theory formation.”

One can define three main approaches working within CDA: the historical-discoursal of Wodak, the social-discoursal of Norman Fairclough, and the cognitive-discoursal of Van Dijk. Wodak’s approach to CDA is very relevant to the present study in that it emphasizes not only the contextualized nature of discourse within its present state of occurrence, but also explains the development of this discourse through a historical continuum. Her focus has centered on issues of anti-Semitism and has been adapted in different studies about self and other representations. According to Wodak (1996), it is not viable to decipher the discursive strategies adopted in any discourse without understanding the historical/social background against which they were created.

In studying media discourse, especially Arabic media discourse, DHA is a good tool in that it

exposes the implicit meaning in news discourse, making the implicit explicit by consideration of the relevant historical and socio-political environment in which the news story dialog takes place. Such considerations guide and illuminate further analytic processing, whether linguistics-based as in the analysis of semantic macrostructures or ideological-based as in the Ideological Square methodology (Al-Ali, 307).

The following review of literature reflects variation in the use of CDA different approaches to show how language is employed in the media to represent social events, groups of people, ideas, etc. and, simultaneously, how it constructs other social practices; and encodes ideologies. The significance of such studies is that they promote awareness of how newspapers' language can be manipulated and how readers can critically read between the lines in newspaper articles.

The seven works reviewed below look at different aspects of how media texts construct the image of a group of people, a social movement or an event, using different CDA models, including the DHA. Four among these seven works focus on the representation of groups of people, namely Fernandez and Lirola (2012), Pasha (2011), Debbagh(2012), KhosraviNik, Krzyz' anowski, and Wodak (2012).

A main concern for Fernandez and Lirola is the use of euphemistic lexical references in representing immigrants in Spanish press in multimodal texts. As for Pasha, the main interest is the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian newspapers. Debbagh examines how women are represented in Moroccan broadcast news, analyzing both the macrostructure and microstructures of the texts in his corpus. Finally, KhosraviNik, Krzyz' anowski, and Wodak study how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants (RASIM) are represented during two major

events: the Balkan conflict in 1999 and the British general election in 2005 as reflected in British newspapers.

The other three studies concentrate on the representation of ideas and events not people. First, Al-Ali (2011) studies the representation of the execution of Saddam Hussien using the DHA to show the Arabic and Western different depictions of the event. Second, Jaworska (2009) conducts an analysis of the media representation of feminism in British and German press, employing corpus linguistic methods and concentrating on the collocational profiles of the terms *feminism* and *Feminismus* in the data. Finally, Fang (2001) examines how two ideologically opposed Chinese newspapers differ in reporting the same events, focusing on the role of lexical choices and syntactic structure, e.g. how agents are downplayed or highlighted.

Using CDA and Visual Grammar as theoretical paradigms, Fernandez and Lirola (2012) study how images and euphemistic lexical references are employed to construct a positive/negative representation of immigrants in Spanish press. For this purpose, they examine a sample of eight multimodal texts from newspapers in Alicante, a province with a very high percentage of immigrants in Spain. The study focuses on the representation of immigrants in the headlines, subheadings, and captions of the pieces of news that constitute the corpus.

Their work shows that immigrants tend to be represented in three main ways in the multimodal texts analyzed: first, they are portrayed as a threat and a burden on society because they invade the Spanish citizens' territory, increase unemployment rates among Spanish citizens and reduce economic growth, among other "evils". In this case, readers are compelled to reject them; second, they are represented as poor people living in a dramatic situation, in which case the reader shows compassion towards them; and third, though to a lesser extent, they are

considered as workers who aim at earning their living and integrating into Spanish society. These ways of representation are transmitted through lexical and visual elements.

With regard to the role of lexical elements in particular, Fernandez and Lirola point out that as far as positive representations are concerned, there are some lexical elements that tend to benefit the image of immigrants. For instance, in some texts, the immigrants are represented as workers and, therefore, as active and productive citizens. The vocabulary found in these texts tends to reinforce this positive treatment on the part of the journalist. The illegal status of immigrants is disguised under the euphemistic labels *extranjeros* ‘foreign’ and *personas* ‘people’ and the fact that they are workers is stressed through the lexical labels *trabajadoresextranjeros* ‘foreign workers’ and *pescadores* ‘fishermen’. In the language of the captions, the idea of immigrants as workers is especially emphasized: immigrants are indeed referred to as *trabajadores* ‘workers’, *pescadores* ‘fishermen’, *trabajadoresinmigrantes* ‘immigrant workers’ and *trabajadoresextranjeros* ‘foreign workers’.

As for the negative representation, some lexical elements transmit a negative image of immigrants and contribute, therefore, to their social exclusion. For instance, whenever immigrants are represented as sick and in need of medical care, they are shown as weak and dependent on others; in such cases, the feeling of compassion the reader may experience simply confirms the gulf between the immigrant and the Spanish citizen, and ultimately justifies the passivity of the latter concerning the delicate issue of immigration. Indeed, evidence from the corpus suggests that a considerable number of lexical elements portray immigrants as individuals who do not match up to the standards of the host society, for some reason or another.

The analyst found out that euphemistic references to immigrants in the data do not necessarily transmit a positive image of immigrants. Euphemistic labels are sometimes examples

of politically correct (PC) language and are merely instruments at the journalists' disposal to hide the true intention behind the words: to transmit the idea that immigrants are in part responsible for unemployment in Spain and constitute a potential threat to social order as well as a burden on the economy of the country.

The authors point out that despite the non-positive representation of immigration in most of the texts analyzed, the portrayal of immigrants in the Spanish press is gradually improving. Earlier studies demonstrated that journalists in 2005 used to resort to pejorative terms like *ilegales* 'illegal immigrants' to refer to those immigrants lacking documents. Besides, this study demonstrates that the number of news items that offer a positive view of immigrants is not as low as it has traditionally been.

Looking at the discursive strategies used in a state-owned newspaper, Pasha (2011) attempts to examine the representation of the Muslim brotherhood in the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram. This study uses CDA to examine how the group is socially, discursively and linguistically represented. He makes use of Van Dijk's concept of *ideological square*, where the us/them dichotomy underlies the representation of people in a given ideology.

The corpus of this study is collected from front-page news reports published in al-Ahram during the years 2000 and 2005 when two significant parliamentary elections took place in which the MB performance outshone that of other political parties and the group appeared as a potential threat to the continuation of the National Democratic Party (NDP) in power.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that the Egyptian regime at that time practiced a constant and systematic strategy of exclusionary nature towards the MB. This exclusion was implemented through the use of sheer power (detention, prison, and military tribunals) and through soft power (media negative representation) as well. The texts presented the MB as the

“devil’s advocate” that wants to take over power from the NDP, and as the people’s nightmare causing and spilling over into violence, insecurity, bullying and treachery. Analysis of lexical choices has revealed that the negative image of the MB is actively at work on the lexical level.

Pashathen takes the analysis results as a point of departure and compares them to other texts to see whether that gives a similar or different result. In so doing, he attempts to reveal what was *silenced in the text* and reveals elements the omission of which mystifies the text.

The silence framework has been used to look at the results of the textual analysis. The analysis of silence has revealed aspects that the textual analysis was not able to uncover. In contrast to the textual analysis, it has laid down an opposite picture: the MB is an organization that carries on its shoulders service to the country and its people regardless of gender or religion, carrying out developmental and humanitarian projects, peacefully fighting to be admitted to work legally. “Moreover, the MB members professionally and successfully ran the bar, medical, and engineers’ syndicates until the government, with its exclusionary bylaws, took over these associations [...]The MB’s frequent success and rivalry-potential are the reasons that triggered the severe exclusionary policies practiced against them. In spite of all this success and of being the largest opposition group bloc, Islamists unjustifiably have never been quoted except negatively during news stories in 2000 and 2005” (Pasha, 2011:251).

The conclusions of both the textual and silence analyses were developed by the researcher into a proposed framework that is suitable for analyzing social exclusion. The framework can also be used to analyze other types of social exclusion. In this framework, exclusion can be realized either linguistically, where exclusionary features can be tracked on the level of clauses, or non-linguistically, where the text must be gone beyond to examine the absence of the essential components of the news story.

Another study that looks at different depictions of a group but in spoken media is Debbagh(2012).The study examines how women are presented in Moroccan broadcast news. Debbagh considers women's representations at a large scale (macrostructure) and at a smaller scale (microstructure).Macrostructure analysis concerns the higher level of description. It allows the analysis of larger texts such as paragraphs, sections, or chapters of discourse. It is a useful tool for identifying the organization of complete texts and how their components as a whole support some claim or claims of the analysts.Microstructure analysis, on the other hand,is concerned with how the use of specific linguistic devices affects the semantic relations between different linguistic items in the text (Debbagh, 2012).

From a CDA perspective, the analysis of the representation of women and their images in Moroccan media discourse, according to the analyst, offers a productive site for studying the connection between gender and its relationship to the cultural practices of the Moroccan society. The aim of the study was to determine the nature of women's images in Moroccan television news as well as to explore the value of discourse analysis as an approach for use in the analysis of Moroccan television news regarding the representations of women.

The corpus for this study consists of a sample of several hours of news that deal with women's issues or women-related topics from the two main Moroccan television channels: 2M and Al-Aoula from February through May 2010. The study mainly focused on the ideational and textual analysis of the language in television news as outlined by Fairclough (1995) and combined microanalysis with the global thematic analysis introduced by Van Dijk (1988).

The results of the study showed that the Moroccan television news programs in Arabic on both channels favor two specific discourse perspectives: the conservative perspective which

associates women with domesticity and traditional roles, and an alternative progressive perspective which associates women with modernity and economic development.

As Debbagh (2012) notes, the analysis of data from both microstructure and macrostructure perspectives shows that Moroccan television discourse about women has both empowering and disempowering elements. The representations of women as subordinate coexist with other representations where women are portrayed as active members that can take a more active role in society and development. This discourse of empowerment which is usually associated with development is mostly evident in the news genre.

The study leads to the conclusion that meanings and messages in the media are not simply 'transmitted', they are always produced 'through some medium with its own structural features and these structural features are already impregnated with social values which make up a potential perspective on (them)'.

KhosraviNik, Krzyżanowski, and Wodak (2012) investigate how refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants (RASIM) are represented during two major events: the Balkan conflict in 1999 and the British general election in 2005 as reflected in the British newspapers. The analysis also attempted to account for the differences and similarities in the qualities of discursive representations of these groups among a variety of newspapers, i.e. liberal/conservative and tabloids/broadsheets.

The study is part of a larger project on the representation of these groups of people between 1996 and 2006 in the British newspapers. The study makes use of Wodak's Discourse-Historical and Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive approaches. The analysis is based on the five-level analytical method proposed by the DHA, consisting of looking at Referential strategies (naming),

Predicational strategies (attribution), Argumentative strategies (topoi) and Perspectivization, Mitigation and Intensification strategies.

The corpus of this study consists of articles from three representative newspapers (along with their Sunday editions). The researcher selected the newspapers according to their formats and socio-political ideologies as follows:

- *The Guardian* and *The Observer*: liberal quality newspapers
- *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*: conservative quality newspapers
- *The Daily Mail* and *The Mail on Sunday*: ‘tabloid’ newspapers

For the qualitative analysis, the data were further restricted to the articles pertaining to the issues of RASIM in general and those which are linked to the events.

The study shows that while there are major similarities in the micro-linguistic categories used in the representations of these groups in these two periods, e.g. the metaphors, the overall communicated messages are not similar and the macro-structural contexts behind the processes of interpretation of these discourses play a determining role in transferring certain ‘meanings’.

The study reveals that while the newspapers have different strategies in their representations due to their political standpoints (e.g. *The Times* is more reliant on argumentation whilst the *Daily Mail* predominantly depends on referential and predicational strategies), in some important ways they all contribute to a similar construction of these people.

The analysis highlighted one main strategy used by the three newspapers, that is, the strategy of positive Self presentation by associating the in-group with moral values, (e.g. The *Daily Mail*'s article headlined ‘Immigration and the demonising of decency’ (11 April 2005) describes the in-group as a ‘beleaguered majority’ whose champion, Howard, stands against

lies and smears of political correctness) along with the negative presentation of the Other (as supporting ‘lies and smears’).

As the analysts note, positive self presentation through predicational strategies also includes Howard’s ‘defending his [our or in-group] grounds’ and ‘standing by his views’, along with negative other presentation through associating negative or unfair actions to the out-group social actor, e.g. the opponents are ‘conspirators’, ‘people who attack unfairly’, ‘question aggressively’, ‘their approach is hostile’, ‘they[presenter] press [Howard]’ and ‘the attack has been co-ordinated’. (The *Daily Mail*’s article headlined ‘Howard stands his ground on migrants during TV grilling’ (19 April 2005).

The qualities of ideological negative and positive representation of RASIM throughout these two periods in the British newspapers seem to be linked with the proximity of these groups of people to the UK (among other contextual differences), and with how ‘dramatic’ the events described are. These two elements are cumulatively present in period one (Kosovo refugees) during which there was a generally supportive, positive presentation of affected people in all the newspapers’ accounts.

In terms of differences between the conservative broadsheet, *The Times*, and the tabloid, the *Daily Mail*, the study demonstrated that the *Daily Mail* generally perpetuates the existing known stereotypes and thus reproduces negative attitudes (potentially) existing among its readership, whereas *The Times* is more creative and refrains from reproducing the stereotypes explicitly.

Conservative accounts of RASIM (both in *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*) hardly recognize these groups using their names or other qualities, unless they can be positioned inside or adjacent to one of the negative topoi available, e.g. violence. Liberal news reporters do make

more of an effort to recognize diversities and draw on topoi of human rights, ethics and human values.

The study also shows that the negative representation of RASIM in the British press in the events relevant to the UK (i.e. 2005 elections) mainly draws on a series of common topoi including numbers, threat (threat to cultural identity, threat to community values) and danger.

The study also showed that RASIM are systematically constructed as a homogeneous group, sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, motivations and economic status through processes of aggregation, collectivization and functionalization. Thus the topoi of numbers and large quantities or in fact (with some reservation) any other linguistic micro structures do not constitute 'negativity' by themselves. 'Negativity' is an aspect of the macro-structure of interpretation of a discourse, rather than being an inherent feature of microlinguistic categories. The study thus highlights the fact that 'meanings' reside within the society and social context, rather than the language itself.

Al-Ali (2011) further highlights this fact making use of a combination of CDA frameworks: Van Dijk's Socio-ideological Discourse Theory and the concept of the Ideological Square as well as Wodak's DHA to compare Arab and Western media coverage of Saddam's execution and whether they depicted Saddam as a hero or a terrorist. This combination of theoretical elements constitutes a basis for a comparative Arabic-English discourse analysis with a focus on socio-linguistic analysis of text and rhetoric.

According to Al-Ali, the importance of such a study lies in that comparative analysis of news reports can be illuminating and useful in the understanding of ideology and its effects upon perception and communication.

The study examined (a) the differences and the similarities in the macroproposition and global structure; (b) the differences and similarities in the local meanings, lexical style, and rhetoric; (c) how the national, political, cultural, religious, and socio-ideological views of the target audience affect news coverage; and (d) how the newspapers under consideration define terrorism and who the terrorists are.

The data of the study consist of news articles from prominent newspapers with national and international influence (Al-Gumhuryain Egypt, Tishreenin Syria, Al-Dustourin Jordan and Al-Jazirahin Saudi Arabia) that were published on 31 December 2006. The English language articles appeared in *The New York Times*.

The analyst saw a need to adopt the DHA in this study for a more objective analysis given the complex historical and socio-political factors such as religion, politics, nationalism, and ideology as well as the aftermath of the Iraq wars. The historical and socio-political context provided by DHA is, according to the analyst, particularly essential in the understanding of Arabic newspapers and Arabic media in general because they have been and continue to be more susceptible to political influences than is generally recognized by Western analysts.

The study showed that the majority of the Arabic newspapers considered in this study condemn the timing of Saddam's execution on the morning of one of the holiest days in the Islamic calendar.

When addressing American or Western audiences, Jordanian, Egyptian, and Saudi media generally portray themselves as allies of America and supporters of the war against terror. However, a different picture is evident upon examination of Arabic language news reports intended for local audiences published by the government-approved press outlets. This suggests

the need to expand Van Dijk's definition of in-group–out-group ideology to account for the intended target audience, in this case the 'national and international'.

The analysis shows that the message addressed to Arab-local people is completely different from the message addressed to the West. This double presentation ideology can be labeled as 'indoor-outdoor-presentation'.

The New York Times is the only newspaper in this study that gives a detailed account of the circumstances of Saddam's execution, including the apparent American concerns over strict adherence to Iraqi law.

Though the analyst did not focus on examining the main discursual strategies stipulated by the DHA, it made good use of it in her analysis in terms of relating her interpretation to the historical context of the texts examined. For example, the analyst mentioned that a Wodakian investigation into Jordanian historical context revealed the reason why *Al-Dustour*, the official Jordanian newspaper, gives the longest and most detailed coverage of Saddam's execution and why its macroproposition, local meanings, lexicalization, and structure all give a negative image of the sectarian Shiite government in Baghdad. It portrays Saddam as a hero who met his death with courage and dignity. The analysis of the historical context accounts for this and reveals that Palestinians in Jordan admire Saddam as a great Arab leader and supporter of their struggle against Israeli aggression in Palestine. Jordan remains indebted to Iraq for oil given to them freely by Saddam's regime.

The analysis also shows that all five newspapers present Saddam Hussein in the passive agent role. The tone of the Arabic newspapers' portrayal of the passive agent ranges from the restrained and factual to the hagiographic and mythical. *The New York Times* alone presents the passive agent negatively.

All five newspapers present Saddam's execution as the main action of the story. The Arabic newspaper presentations of the circumstances of his execution are quite negative. While the other newspapers considered in this study can be said to have a broadly anti-American and pro-nationalist ideology, the ideological emphasis in Al-Jazirah, the official Saudi Arabian newspaper, is along religious not nationalistic lines. The in-group/out-group division in Al-Jazirah is defined not by Arab nationalism, nor by the conflict between Islam and the West, but by the internal Islamic conflict between Saudi Wahhabi Sunni and Iraqi Shiite.

Jaworska (2009) gives more insight on how language can be used manipulatively to encode hidden ideologies. This study examines the discourse of feminism in a large corpus of German and British newspaper data. It does so by employing the tools of Corpus Linguistics. By investigating the collocation profiles of the search term *feminism*, it attempted to provide evidence of salient discourse patterns surrounding feminism in two different cultural contexts.

Two corpora of articles that appeared from 1990 to 2009 in major national newspapers of Germany and Great Britain were compiled. Both corpora were searched. The search terms used were *feminism* in the British corpus and *Feminismus* in the German corpus.

Two large general corpora of English and German were consulted in order to find out how the search terms *feminism* and *Feminismus* are framed, in which types of text, and the associations they have. For English, Jaworska consulted the Bank of English, which is a corpus created at Birmingham University by COBUILD. For German, the corpus stored at the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS) in Mannheim was used.

The study makes use of CDA and focuses on collocates which were categorized into semantic groups in order to identify recurrent discourse patterns that surround the search term *feminism* in Anglophone and German-speaking contexts.

An analysis of the search term *feminism/Feminismus* in the British and German press corpora revealed that there is a strong tendency to portray the movement in negative terms. In both corpora, there is a general association of feminism with the past. The movement is often framed as outdated, and no longer relevant. This is evidenced by the high frequency of collocates such as *dead* and *post-*. At the same time, the study did not find many references implying radicalism, demonism or charged circumstances that were, for example, evident in the analysis of the two reference corpora. Moreover, the relevance of feminism in the form of *new feminism* is either questioned or treated with a touch of irony. Another common feature of the representation of feminism in both corpora is its association with countries of the Western world.

The analysis has also pointed to some differences in the portrayal of the movement in the two different cultural contexts. While in the BPC (British Press Corpora) more references to sexuality, particularly homosexuality, are found, in GPC (German Press Corpora) there are more associations with academic fields of inquiry and with the arts, suggesting that feminism is seen in the German context as an intellectual rather than a socio-political endeavor. The German press also focuses on new types of feminism, with particular prominence given to the recently emerged ‘conservative feminism’, which can in fact be viewed as a mechanism for dismantling many of the feminist ideals.

The study provides further empirical evidence in support of some of the claims put forward in previous research. There is also a noticeable ‘willingness’ on the part of the press to report the demise of feminism, or to treat it with a degree of irony, *trivialization*. Moreover, feminism is not seen as a movement having wide social support, but is increasingly re-located to the domain of academia, literature and the arts, which are; essentially, spheres open to only a small number of middle-class women.

Jaworska notes that a qualitative analysis of two sample articles has subsequently pointed to the use of the polarization strategy when depicting the movement, and in doing so, provided further evidence for the rather negative discourse prosody surrounding the depiction of feminism in the media.

Fang (2001) examines the discourse strategies of several Chinese language news reports in two ideologically opposed newspapers, namely mainland china's official mouthpiece People's Daily and Taiwan's KMT (Nationalist Party) newspaper Central Daily News on two separate controversial events: the civil unrest in South Africa (22-8 March 1985) and in Argentina (31 May- June 1989).

The aim is to critically analyze how various textual elements might be employed for justificatory purposes. The study investigates discourse features such as lexical choices, grammatical elements, headlines and thematic structures focusing on how they can be varied or manipulated in the construction or representation of a version of political reality written for the two different readerships.

A corpus of 153 news articles about international civil unrest between (1980 to 1991) was collected and included the news reports of two events in South Africa and in Argentina for the case studies. The most important reason for choosing these two events was that they were reported in both newspapers. With regard to the events in South Africa, five news articles from the people's Daily and three from the Central Daily News are analyzed in detail. For the events in Argentina, two news articles were included from each newspaper.

The study makes use of Van Dijk's approach in examining the textual and contextual components of the discourse events. This approach provides a systematic and critical strategy for

analyzing and describing the linguistic units in a text while taking into account the context in which the text is created.

The study also focuses on the thematic analysis of texts for the explication or assessment of social, cultural and political dimensions of news media, including the ideological orientation of journalists or newspapers. Within this analytical framework, texts are analyzed with regard to their headlines and their topics or themes.

The comparison of use of lexical choices, headlines and topics of the People's Daily and Central Daily News in each of the two case studies showed that there were vast differences in the portrayal of the events in South Africa, but a greater degree of convergence in the depiction of the situation in Argentina.

The qualitative analyses in this study have revealed that the official newspapers employed various linguistic devices to present images of overseas events in a manner congruent with the respective diplomatic policies of each regime. Analyzing lexical choices and syntactic options, with a special focus on how agents downplayed or highlighted, it was clear from the data that the events were framed differently with agents downplayed or highlighted. This was further reinforced by the fact that topics which are incongruent with the newspaper's perspective were downplayed or omitted. For example the People's Daily ignored the topics of vengeance killings of black officials by the blacks, while the Central Daily News downplayed the topics which suggest the South African police had opened fire on a group of unarmed marchers.

The comparisons suggest that each newspaper's coverage of the events in South Africa is motivated by ideological and political opportunism as well as the obligation to justify the policies adopted by the government. Overall, it is argued that the discourse strategies utilized to frame the events serve to legitimize and defend the policies formulated by the regimes in power.

The above review of literature offers an insight on the importance of using CDA's different approaches in approaching media discourse and uncovering ways in which newspaper writers construct positive or negative representations. A deep understanding of the hidden meaning and the ideologically-based representation of people, entities and events necessitates that readers go beyond what is explicitly stated in the text, highlighting the rule of studying the various strategies of language manipulation.

One of these strategies is the selection of lexical items which writers may use to implicitly pass their own judgments upon people or events. For instance, Fernandez and Lirola (2012) showed how even euphemistic lexical references are employed to negatively represent immigrants in Spanish press. In this case, PC language was used as a means of avoiding responsibility for what is said and for the idea hidden behind the words. Euphemism was a tool at the journalist's disposal to implicitly transmit an idea without departing too far from the appearance of objectivity and — what is more important — without damaging their own public image.

The historical background has been also highlighted as an essential component in a critical reading of media text as in KhosraviNik, Krzyz'anowski, and Wodak (2012) and Al-Ali (2011). Strategies highlighted by the DHA, including nomination, predication and argumentation strategies, are only made meaningful by looking at the historical context of the texts under investigation.

Though many studies examined the different representations of self and other in media texts in other languages using different approaches of CDA including the DHA, there is a scarcity of this research on Arabic, e.g. Pasha's study which looked only at one side of the representation

of the MB in the state-owned newspaper Al-Ahram. The present study is a step in filling this gap by examining the different representations of the MB in two Egyptian newspapers.

Muslim Brotherhood: Autobiography¹

It is essential before analyzing media texts on MB group or Jamaa'at Al-IkhwaanAl-Muslimiin to first give a contextualization of this analysis, to orient reader with the background against which this analysis has taken place (as a main component of the DH analysis).

The MB is Egypt's oldest and largest Islamist organization. Founded by Hassan Al-Banna in 1928, the group has influenced Islamist movements around the world with its model of political activism combined with Islamic charity work. The movement initially aimed simply to spread Islamic morals and good works, but soon became involved in politics, particularly the fight to rid Egypt of British colonial control and cleanse it of all Western influence. For this purpose, "clubs were formed, hospitals and industries were created, and a military wing was even developed" (Laub, 2011; Aly&Wenner, 1982, cited in Shabbir, 2012)

After Al-Banna launched the MB in 1928, branches were set up throughout the country - each running a mosque, a school and a sporting club - and its membership grew rapidly. By the late 1940s, the group was believed to have had as many as two million followers in Egypt, and its ideas had spread across the Arab world.

The Egyptian government dissolved the group in late 1948 for attacking British and Jewish interests. Soon afterwards, the group was accused of assassinating Prime Minister Mahmoud al-Nuqrashi.

¹ This autobiography is adapted from BBC (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12313405>) and Shabbir (2012).

After a failed attempt to assassinate President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1954, the Ikhwan were blamed, banned, and thousands of members imprisoned and tortured. The group continued, however, to grow underground.

This clash with the authorities prompted an important shift in the ideology of the Ikhwan, evident in the writings of one prominent member, SayyidQutb. Qutb's work advocated the use of jihad (struggle) against jaahili (ignorant) societies, both Western and so-called Islamic ones, which he argued were in need of a radical transformation. In 1965, the government again cracked down on the Ikhwan, executing SayyidQutb in 1966 and making him a martyr throughout the region.

During the 1980s the Ikhwan attempted to re-join the political mainstream. Successive leaders formed alliances with Al-Wafd party in 1984 and with the Labour and Liberal parties in 1987, becoming the main opposition force in Egypt.

In the reign of Mubarak, though officially banned and subject to frequent repression, the Ikhwan led the public opposition to the ruling National Democratic Party of President Mubarak, who came to power in 1981. While the Ikhwan say that they support democratic principles, one of their stated aims is to create a state ruled by Islamic law, or Sharia. Their most famous slogan, used worldwide, is الإسلام هو الحل 'Islam is the solution.'

In 2000, the Ikhwan won 17 seats in the People's Assembly. Five years later, the group achieved its best election results at that time, with independent candidates allied to it winning 20% of the seats. The result shocked President Mubarak. The government subsequently launched a crackdown on the Ikhwan, detaining hundreds of members, and instituted a number of legal "reforms" to counter their revival.

The constitution was rewritten to stipulate that "political activity or political parties shall not be based on any religious background or foundation"; independent candidates were banned from running for president; and anti-terrorism legislation was introduced that gave the security forces sweeping powers to detain suspects and restrict public gatherings. Leaders of President Mubarak's ruling National Democratic Party also worked hard to reduce the likelihood of further opposition gains in the November 2010 parliamentary elections.

But their efforts backfired; the failure of candidates allied to the Ikhwan to win a single seat in the first round was accompanied by allegations of widespread fraud. The MB and other opposition parties boycotted the second round of the November 2010 elections and the NDP was left in the embarrassing situation of taking more than 80% of the seats in the People's Assembly.

The continued repression of the opposition was one of the main triggers for the mass anti-government protests by thousands of Egyptians in 25th January 2011, which saw the NDP's headquarters in Cairo set on fire.

But as the protests grew and the government began to offer concessions, including a promise by Mubarak not to seek re-election in September 2011, Egypt's largest opposition force took a more assertive role.

At the beginning of February 2011, the Ikhwan's leadership issued a statement saying: "We demand that this regime is overthrown, and we demand the formation of a national unity government for all the factions."

They also attended an unprecedented meeting between the government and opposition. The invitation was an implicit recognition of their wide support and importance to the protest movement.

2011 witnessed drastic changes in the history of Egypt and the history of the MB. The success of the 25th January revolution has empowered the MB and gave them the opening to become a dominant political force in Egypt. The forced retirement of President Mubarak and authority being relinquished to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) was followed by the MB forming Al-Hurriyya Al-Adala party and winning 48 percent of the vote in the 2011 parliamentary elections. Despite initial promises that the movement would not put forward any of its candidate in the presidential election of 2012, and that instead it wanted the opposition to nominate a consensus candidate, it was clear, however, that the Ikhwan's leaders were committed to increasing their political role in Egypt. The MB put forward two of its biggest figures forward for the presidential elections and in July 2012 Dr. Mohammad Mursi won the elections with a 52% over Ahmed Shafiq who was considered by many Egyptians as part of Mubarak's regime.

The whole Year of Mursi's rule has witnessed a number of tensions, starting from the heated debate over the new constitution and ended with masses of people gathering in Tahrir Square and elsewhere calling for the step down of Mursi and demanding early presidential elections.

On July 3, 2013, President Mursi was forced to step down under the pressure of the huge protests in the streets backed by the SCAF. As this research being finalized the turbulent situation in Egypt is still going on with a number of Egyptians calling for the return of Mursi and refusing the interference of the SCAF and an even larger number of Egyptians in Tahrir Square supporting the decision of the SCAF and looking forward to the coming presidential elections.

III-Methodology

CDA has been used to examine the representation of the MB in two contemporary Egyptian newspapers to reveal main linguistic features that characterize how the image of this group is drawn in Egyptian press.

Data and Sampling

The data for this study consist of articles that were published in two newspapers, i.e. Al-Hurriyya Al-Adala 'Freedom and Justice' and Al-Wattan 'The Homeland' in the nine-month period from July 2012 (when Muhammad Mursi became in power) until present (March 2013), selecting the first issue from each month in the period specified.

In order to identify the articles to be examined in this study, (1) a total number of 18 issues has been gathered. (2) All the articles in these issues have been skimmed in order to identify articles that bear explicit or implicit reference to the MB. (3) Finally, one article has been selected randomly from the articles identified in each issue. Thus, the total number of articles that constitute the data for this study is 18.

Al-Hurriyya Al-Adala is the official newspaper of Al-Hurriyya Al-Adala party, the political arm and the mouthpiece of the MB, hence it is assumed that the MB image in this newspaper will be generally positive. Al-Wattan is an independent newspaper that is generally known to take an opposing stand towards the MB. It is expected that these two newspapers will show diverse ways of representation of the MB. Moreover it will uncover ways in which ideological basis and political standpoints influence the newspapers' representation of the group.

The significance of the period selected lies in that it covers the time during which an MB member, Muhammad Mursi, has become a president. Also during this period some major events in the history of the MB and Egypt took place, e.g. the approval of the new constitution with the

accompanying heated discussion that took place in different newspapers about the MB and their intentions.

Data have been retrieved from the official websites of the two newspapers. Both corpora have been analyzed and then compared.

In comparison to reported news, political analyses articles basically use a lot of language features that frame opinions, therefore the analysis has focused mainly on this type of articles. This is a qualitative exploratory study that aims to answer the question 'how' in its data rather than the question 'how often'.

Theoretical Framework

Wodak's DHA to Discourse analysis provides several analytical categories useful for the analysis of self and other representation. The five-level analytical method proposed by the DHA, consisting of looking at Referential strategies (naming), Predicational strategies (attribution), argumentative strategies (topoi/fallacies), Perspectivization, Mitigation and Intensification strategies, is relevant to the aims and scope of the present study. Therefore, the representations of MB in the two newspapers selected are accounted for using this approach.

These discursive strategies are mainly devised to account for five main questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?

5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or mitigated? (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 13).

This study focuses on the three strategic aspects of self-presentation and other-presentation, i.e. the referential strategies, predicational strategies and – non-fallacious as well as fallacious – argumentation strategies, as “they all play an important role in the discursive discrimination of persons and – at least also partly – in discursively proceeding against social discrimination and exclusion” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 81).

In order to discern topoi from fallacies, we look at “the correct reference to the previous discourse by the antagonist, the obligation to “matter-of-factness,” the correct reference to implicit premises, the respect of shared starting points, the use of plausible arguments and schemes of argumentation, logical validity” among others (Wodak, 2009: 110).

In this study references are made to several topoi which are discussed in the literature, but also some new names for topoi and fallacies have been suggested to suit its specific data. DHA works by incorporating the historical context into the interpretation of texts under study, although there is no defined way of doing this.

Validity within DHA

DHA suggests triangulation procedures to ensure validity, as it takes into account four levels of analysis:

1. The immediate language, or text-internal, co-text
2. The inter-textual and inter-discursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses
3. The extra-linguistic (social) level, which is called the ‘the context of situation’
4. and the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts

Evaluating the findings from these different perspectives should ensure validity and minimize the possibility of being biased (Wodak, 2009: 31).

Wodak, however, argues that “a rigorous ‘objectivity’ cannot be reached by means of discourse analysis”, because analysts’ beliefs, ideologies and preconceptions will always be embedded within the interpretation of data analyzed no matter how the analyst tried to distance herself/himself from the data(2009:31).

Sample Analysis

The following is a qualitative pilot analysis of two articles. The first article is from Al-Wattan newspaper, and the second is from Al-Hurryyawa Al-adala newspaper. Both articles were issued March 1st, 2013.

(1) Al-Wattan: منحبكية مرسي

Questions	Discursive strategies	Purposes/Devices
How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions related to the MB named and referred to linguistically?	Nomination strategies	Discursive strategies of social actors: Mursi lovers منحبكية مرسي Faction فصيل his group members أعضاء جماعته أتباع تيارات الإسلام السياسي followers of political Islam movements أتباع جماعة الإخوان المسلمين Followers of the MB group Discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events: Concrete:

		<p>البلد) المنكوب(stricken country)</p> <p>Abstract:</p> <p>أوضاعsituations</p> <p>أجندتهم(their)agenda</p> <p>موقفstand</p> <p>Discursive construction of processes and actions:</p> <p>(بواصل الدفاع) عن رئيس يبدو مصرا على خطف بلاده وإصابتها باستقطاب تاريخي حاد</p> <p>Continue to defend a president who seems to insist on kidnapping his country and afflicting it with acute polarization</p> <p>إخفاق الرئيس في القيام بمهامه الأساسية</p> <p>The president's failure to carry out his basic responsibilities</p> <p>(الرئيس)أخذ الشعب الى شفا العصيان وأسلمه إلى شبح الإفلاس</p> <p>The president led the people to the verge of revolt and to bankruptcy</p> <p>انهيار شرعية الرئيس الأخلاقية</p> <p>The collapse of the president's moral legitimacy</p>
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		<p>ثبوت عدم التزامه بوعوده</p> <p>The confirmation of his not fulfilling his promises</p> <p>تراجعه عن مواقفه وتصريحاته</p> <p>Returning in his stands and declarations</p> <p>عجزه عن حفظ هيبه الرئاسة و مقامها</p> <p>His failure to keep the prestige and status of the presidency</p> <p>الإخوان ... تنفيذ أجندتهم الغائمة و الملوغومة</p> <p>The brothers... carrying out their cloudy and mined agenda</p>
<p>What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?</p>	<p>Predication strategies</p>	<p>Discursive characterization/qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events processes and actions(positive or negative):</p> <p>الحالة التعيسة</p> <p>The miserable state</p> <p>البلاد المنكوب</p> <p>The stricken country</p> <p>فصيل واضح المعالم في مصر</p> <p>A faction that is clearly defined in Egypt</p> <p>استقطاب تاريخي حاد</p>

		<p>An acute historical polarization أسس طائفية أو مذهبية</p> <p>Sectarian or doctrinal basis نهم شره</p> <p>Voracious appetite الإسلام السياسي</p> <p>Political Islam انحياز أيديولوجي</p> <p>Ideological inclination الهوة العميقة deep gap (المهام الأساسية) المفترضة</p> <p>The supposed (principal responsibilities) المحبين (لمرسي) المخلصين المقيمين على الولاء والقائضين على الإخلاص</p> <p>The faithful, loyal and devoted lovers (Mursi followers) فرصة غالية تكاد تكون الأخيرة</p> <p>A precious opportunity that is probably the final أجندة غائمة وملغومة</p> <p>Mined and cloudy agenda</p>
<p>What arguments are employed in the discourse</p>	<p>Argumentation strategies</p>	<p>Persuading addressees of the truth and normative rightness of claims</p>

<p>in question?</p>		<p>استمرار مرسي في موقعه لن يجلب علينا سوى المزيد من الكوارث ولن يفضي بنا سوى إلى المزيد من الأزمات والفشل.</p> <p>Mursi's continuation in his position will bring us nothing but more disasters and will lead to nothing but more crises and failure.</p>
<p>From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?</p>	<p>Perspectivization strategies</p>	<p>Positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance</p> <p>إننا (inclusive 'we')</p> <p>يمكننا</p> <p>We can</p> <p>علينا</p> <p>We must</p> <p>يفضينا إلى</p> <p>Lead us to...</p> <p>Distance:</p> <p>ما لا يمكن تفهمه</p> <p>What can not be understood</p>
<p>Are the respective utterances articulated</p>	<p>Mitigation and intensification strategies</p>	<p>Modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect of their epistemic</p>

overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?		or deontic status: -epistemic/ deontic It seems that we... يبدو أننا لن يجلب علينا سوى المزيد من الكوارث Will bring us nothing but more disasters
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The most important social actor(s) mentioned in the article are the MB members who are discursively constructed as أتباع, أتباع تيارات الإسلام السياسي, أعضاء جماعته (مرسي), فصيل, منحكجية (مرسي) and the most salient predications attributed to these actors are only negative predications. MB members are portrayed as *followers* of الإسلام السياسي and as having authority to the extent that it blinds them to what disasters president Mursi is leading Egypt to. In addition, their "ideological bias" انحياز إيديولوجي makes them support Mursi in whatever he does because he is a member of their group and share same ideologies. President Mursi himself mentioned in a TV interview that though he will leave MB, part of him will remain MB-oriented.

The addressee-inclusive pronoun in يفضيينا, علينا, يمكننا, إننا is a mark of the writer's involvement. The writer continued the same negative image of the MB with the claim he made about *their* president, the one that they share ideologies with and to whom they give support blindly, namely president Mursi. The writer claims that if president Mursi continues in his position he will bring us (The Egyptians) nothing but more disasters, more failure and crises, a negative topos that the writer intensified by framing it in what is called in Arabic grammar أسلوب الحصر meaning that "nothing" will be brought up by president Mursi "but" disasters.

(2)Al-Hurriyyawa Al-Adala: الثورة المضادة تعاقب الميدان

Questions	Discursive strategies	Purposes/Devices
<p>How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions related to MB named and referred to linguistically?</p>	<p>Nomination strategies</p>	<p>Discursive strategies of social actors:</p> <p>المتثورون</p> <p>the feigned revolutionists</p> <p>عناصر الثورة المضادة</p> <p>the anti-revolution elements</p> <p>Islamists</p> <p>الإسلاميون</p> <p>Discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events:</p> <p>Concrete/Abstract:</p> <p>النظام البائد</p> <p>the old/defunct regime</p> <p>Discursive construction of processes and actions:</p> <p>الثورة المضادة تعاقب الميدان</p> <p>The anti-revolution punishes the square.</p> <p>(الجبهة) لا يحرص مؤيدوها على حماية(الميدان)</p> <p>(TheFront)its supporters are not protecting the square</p> <p>(لم يصدروا)بيانات شجب و إدانة لتلويث الميدان من قبل محتليه</p> <p>Did not issue declarations to</p>

		<p>denounceandcondemn the square occupiers polluting it.</p> <p>لسان حالها يكاد ينطق "عدو عدوي صديقي"</p> <p>As if they say “the enemy of my enemy is my friend”</p> <p>(الجبهة)لنصمت علما تفعله عناصر الثورة المضادة</p> <p>Let’s keep silent on what the anti-revolution elements do</p> <p>لنتغاضى عن جرائم (أولاد الشوارع وتجار المخدرات)</p> <p>and turn a blind eye on their crimes</p> <p>يثيرون الناس ويؤلبونهم على الإسلاميين</p> <p>They arouse people and incite them against Islamists</p>
<p>What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?</p>	<p>Predication strategies</p>	<p>Discursive characterization/qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events processes and actions(positive or negative):</p> <p>متشورون</p> <p>feigned revolutionists</p> <p>ما تسمى زورا(جبهة الإنقاذ)</p> <p>What is by forgery called (the Salvation Front)</p> <p>غير المتظاهرين المحترمين</p>

		Not from the respectable protesters
What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?	Argumentation strategies	<p>Persuading addressees of the truth and normative rightness of claims.</p> <p>الحفاظ على ميدان التحرير مسؤولية جبهة الإنقاذ</p> <p>Protecting Tahrir square is the responsibility of The Salvation Front</p> <p>(المتثورون) غير قادرين على حشد مليونيات</p> <p>The feigned revolutionists are not able to gather mass protests.</p>
From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?	Perspectivization strategies	<p>Positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance:</p> <p>The writer is addressing the anti-revolutionists directly as in:</p> <p>it is enough كفاكم</p> <p>be ashamed استحو</p> <p>Distance:</p> <p>الناظر للميدان يشعر بالأسى</p> <p>everyone looking at the square would feel sad</p>
Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they	Mitigation and intensification strategies	Modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect of their epistemic or deontic status:

intensified or mitigated?		يكاد ينطق seems to say لم نرحتى اليوم we didn't see up till today
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The most important social actors mentioned in the article are the Islamists, the anti-revolutionists, and members of “National Salvation Front”. The Islamists, used as an umbrella term for MB, are seen as being under attacks from the anti-revolutionists. Members of “National Salvation Front” are seen as conspiring and colluding with anti-revolutionists. They keep silent and turn a blind eye to their criminal acts because they share mutual interest “they are enemies of their enemy” so they must be their friends.

The writer makes a fallacious claim that the “National Salvation Front” is not taking its responsibility for protecting Tahrir square from drug addicts and smugglers who invade the square. This claim is ruled out simply because the protection and security of the square is mainly the responsibility of the government. In so doing, the writer uses the strategy of scapegoating and blames the mistakes of the government on a second party.

Another fallacious claim that the writer makes is that street children, smugglers, drug addicts are threatening the MB. The writer draws a negative image of MB enemies. In so doing, he aims at representing a ‘self’-positive image of the MB by contrasting them to the ‘other’-negative images of their enemies, i.e. if our enemies are bad then we are good.

IV-ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the major phenomena observed in the data are presented. The chapter is organized in accordance with the categories proposed by DHA as outlined above.

1. Nomination strategies

In the context of this study, nomination strategies are concerned with how persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions related to the MB are named and referred to linguistically.

1.1 Reference to Social Actors (Persons)

In the data from Al-Wattan newspaper, (members of) MB have/has been often referred to by words and phrases that very frequently carry explicit or implicit negative evaluations. These can be grouped under the following categories:

- References that indicate complete obedience to MB leadership, e.g.

أتباع التيار الإسلامي

followers of Islamic movement

صبيان الإخوان

MB boys (this indicates a look-down at them)

منحكجية

This is a term that is borrowed from the context of the Syrian revolution. It means ‘blindly following and loving’. Originally, it refers to those who love and support Al-Asad. This is considered extremely negative given Al-Asad’s responsibility for the massacre in his country.

- References that allude to MB secrecy and accusations of violence

ميلشيات الإخوان

MB militants

- References that indicate their ideological background (ideological anthroponomy)

الجماعة

‘the group’

إخوان

ikhwan

التيار الإسلامي

Islamist movement

- References that indicate their backwardness

أهل وعشيرة

‘MB family and clan/tribe’ terms from the past, especially used by those who live under tribal rules. A primitivization reference that carries in itself a negative connotation without any further predications.

- References that indicate underestimation

Mursi used without the title *president* when criticizing his actions

محمد مرسي

Muhammad Mursi

مرسي جماعته

(Mursi and his group ‘unnamed’)

- Reference to them as a political group (professional anthroponomy)

فصيل سياسي

الجماعة و الحزب

This is often used in contexts where the writer states that no single political group can solve all Egypt’s problems or criticizes the claimed attempts of the MB to take over the state.

- References to Mursi as a representative of MB

مرشح حزب الحرية والعدالة

Al-HurryyawaAl-Adala candidate

(مرسي)عضو قيادي أساسي في الجماعة

a principal leading member in the group(the MB)

إخوانيا ورئيسا في آن واحد

MBian and president at the same time

In the data from Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adalanewspaper, (members of) MB have/has been often referred to by words and phrases that are very frequently carry explicit or implicit positive evaluations. These can be grouped under the following categories:

- References that indicate MB ideological background (ideological anthroponomy)

Islamistsالإسلاميين

الإخوان

theMB

الجماعة

the group

الرئيس الإخواني

ikhwani president

جماعة الإخوان المسلمين

the MB group

رجال الإخوان

the Brothers' men

- References that indicate their legitimacy as a ruling power:

حزب الأغلبية

the majority party

النظام الشرعي في مصر

the legitimate regime in Egypt

فئة مختارة من الشعب

a group selected by the people

منتخبين

elected

اختيار الشعب للإخوان جاء بإرادة حرة ونزيهة

MB are elected by peoples' free will

الرئيس المنتخب

the elected president

النظام الرسمي

the official regime

النظام الشرعي المصري

the Egyptian legitimate regime

أول رئيس مدني منتخب

first civilian to be elected as president

جاءت به ثورة 25 يناير

empowered by January revolution

(مرسي والإخوان) الإرادة الشعبية

(Mursi and the MB) the public will

إرادة الشعب

the will of the people

(مرسي)رئيسنا المنتخب

our elected president

غالبية الشعب مع الرئيس و قراراته والواقع الشعبي يؤكد ذلك

most of the people are with the president and his decisions and the public reality confirms this.

(الإخوان المسلمون) أتوا إلى الحكم بانتخابات شرعية

(the MB)came to power through legal elections.

- References that indicate that they are part of the Egyptian people:

فئة من نسيج هذا الوطن

a group of the Egyptian texture

الإخوان متجذرون في المجتمع

MB are deeply rooted in the society

النظام المصري

the Egyptian regime

الرئيس المصري

the Egyptian president

The strategy of nomination (or referential strategy) has been used extensively by both newspapers with the objective of constructing in-groups and out-groups. Al-HurryyawaAl-Adala depicted the MB as part of the Egyptian people whose existence in presidency is also a decision of the majority of Egyptians,thus highlighting the in-group positive image and excluding opponents.

Al-Wattan highlighted the image of MB out-group through focusing on the ideological background of the group separating them from the rest of the Egyptians as a backward primitive group that follows their own tribal rules and traditions and have secret plans.

1.2 Reference to Objects Considered Related to MB

One of the most important objects that have been linked to MB in Al-Wattan articles is the new Egyptian Constitution which has been frequently described as 'الدستور الإخواني' 'the MB Constitution.' This emphasizes the claim that the President is working only for the interest of his group (see below).

A number of objects/ideas have been mentioned in relation to the MB, e.g. 'مخطط جماعة الإخوان المسلمين' 'the MB plot,' which again emphasizes the idea of a secret group that has a plot, and a reference to Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala party as 'حزبهم (الإخوان)' 'their party.' In the data from Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala newspaper, the main discursive object was the MB regime which is referred to as the only legitimate regime in Egypt.

- Reference to the legitimacy of Mursi regime:

النظام الشرعي المصري الذي اختاره الشعب

The Egyptian legitimate regime elected by the people

النظام الشرعي في مصر

The legitimate regime in Egypt

Al-Wattan used the nomination strategy to exclude the MB and this is further highlighted in their reference to objects and ideas related to the MB, Al-Hurryyawa Al-adala on the other hand described the MB regime as legitimate and called it the Egyptian regime again highlighting the in-group idea.

1.3 References to MB Actions

In Al-Wattan newspaper, generally negative actions have been attributed to the MB as can be seen in the following main categories:

-References that indicate their incapacity:

قرارات عشوائية

unplanned decisions

أداء متخبط

perplexed performance

يطلع علينا رئيس الجمهورية بقرارات

the president suddenly comes out with decisions

- References that indicate their violence:

ارتكاب العنف

committing violence

تهديد باستخدام العنف

threatening to use violence

- References that indicate their hostility to Media and Law:

تشكيك في القضاء

questioning judicial authority

عدم الالتزام بأحكامه

not abiding by the law

حديث عن عدم حيادية الإعلام

accusing media of being biased against MB

يحاولون السيطرة على الإعلام و توظيفهم لصالحهم

they attempt to control media and use it for their own interest

تعيين رؤساء تحرير مواليين

appointing editors in chief who are pro-MB

إغلاق قناة تليفزيونية

closing a TV channel

تحويل صحفيين للقضاء

suing journalists

عدوان على حرية الصحافة وكرامة الصحفيين

aggression on the freedom of journalism and the dignity of journalists

هجوم ممنهج على الإعلام

a planned attack on media

تكميم الأفواه

silencing mouths (people)

- Reference to anti-democratic actions:

they have a desire to control and take over رغبة في الاستحواذ و السيطرة

the president issued the constitutional declaration alone أصدر (الرئيس) الإعلان الدستوري بمفرده

إقصاء المعارضين

excluding the opposition

المصادرة للآراء

confiscating opinions

عدوان على حرية الرأي و التعبير

aggression on freedom of opinion and expression

On the other hand, in Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala newspaper, generally positive actions have been attributed to the MB as can be seen in:

- References that indicate MB reaching Egypt rule:

وصول التيار الإسلامي إلى الحكم

the Islamists rose to power

(الرئيس) استحوذ على السلطة التشريعية من المجلس العسكري

(The president) took over the legislation authority from the military council

- References that indicate that Mursi is working for the interest of the country

ماض في مسيرته ومصمم على الانتقال بمصر إلى الأفضل، سيقاوم و يرفض كل محاولات تعويق (ثورتك العظيمة)

Going in his way and insisting to transfer Egypt to a better state, will refuse and resist all attempts to hinder the great revolution

يسعى إلى تحقيق استقلال إرادتنا و استعادة قرارنا

The Egyptian president works for achieving the independence of our will and restoring our decision.

(Mursi) protector of the revolution (مُرسي) حاميا لثورة

- Reference to the MB suffering (victimization)

(مُرسي) عانى من الاستبداد والظلم ما لم يعان منه معظمهم (المعارضة)

(Mursi) suffered from injustice and autocracy what most of them (opposition) didnot suffer from

تحمل الرجل (مُرسي) ومحبوه ما لا يحتمل حتى مرت الانتخابات و فاز بالمنصب

(Mursi) and his followers bear what is unbearable till the elections passed and he won the position.

Al-Wattan used labels that generally convey a negative meaning on their own, as they connotatively convey disparaging, insulting meanings, without any other attributive

qualification, identifying the MB linguistically by naming them derogatorily, debasingly or vituperatively (as in ميلشيات , صبيان, منحبكجية). Some of the referential strategies used in both newspapers can generally be considered to be specific forms of predicational strategies, because they very often involved a denotatively as well as connotatively labeling of the social actors.

2. Predication Strategies

Predication strategies are concerned with the characteristics, qualities and features attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes related to MB in the data. The following are some of the most salient qualities attributed to the MB in the data from Al-Wattan newspaper:

- Failure and Incapability

استمرار مرسي في موقعه لن يجلب علينا سوى المزيد من الكوارث ولن يفضي بنا سوى إلى المزيد من الأزمات والفشل.

The continuation of Mursi in his position will bring us nothing but more disasters and will not lead us to anything but to more crises and failure

The claim, though might be justified by the current situation of Egypt and the bad economy under president Mursi's rule, is not following logic and is exaggerated. The writer made this as a general claim against Mursi himself not against his policies. A more logical, less biased claim would be 'if Mursi continues with his present policies, we will have more crises'.

مسئولية الإخوان عن تدهور الأوضاع

MB's responsibility for the deterioration of the situation in Egypt.

The president is seen as incapable and his actions are portrayed as not decisive. Even his call for a dialogue with opposition is described as hindering and blocking a democratic dialogue with other parties, e.g.

إخفاق الرئيس في القيام بمهامه الأساسية

failure of the president in performing his basic responsibilities.

أخذ الشعب إلى شفا العصيان و أسلمه إلى شبيح الإفلاس

he led his people to rebellion and bankruptcy

عجز عن التواصل مع الفئات المحتجة

failed to communicate with opposing parties

No economic vision لا رؤية اقتصادية

With MB no place for science or competence لا وجود للعلم والكفاءة مع الإخوان

failure of Mursi\the MB

فشلمرسي/الإخوان

- The failure of MB media

ما يعرف بالصحف و القنوات الإسلامية حققت فشلا واضحا

ولم تنجح أيضا القناة الإخبارية الوحيدة التي أطلقها الإخوان بعد الثورة

- They are a Threat:

Egypt needs who rescues it from MB مصر تحتاج إلى من ينفذها من الإخوان

- Well-organized:

They are well-organized أفضل تنظيما

have the ability to control their followers- Secrecy قدرة معقولة للسيطرة على جماهيرهم

تنظيم له أهداف سرية

an organization with secret goals

العمل السري الطويل(للجماعة)

- Backwardness

إعادة عجلة التاريخ بالخلف

Turn the wheel of history backwards

- Obedience to leadership

listening and obeying

- Resembling the old regime:

أفكار (الإخوان) تنتمي إلى عصور الاستبداد

the MB's ideas belong to the eras of autocracy

- They are divine (sarcastic)

ليست محظورة هذه المرة ولكن معصومة

not banned this time but infallible

- Threat to media and democracy:

خطاب الإسلام السياسي تاريخيا معاد لمعظم ما يقدمه الإعلام

The discourse of the political Islam is historically against media

العلاقة بين الإخوان والإعلام معقدة وملتبسة

The relationship between the MB and media is confused and complicated

الإعلام الإسلامي لا يمت للإعلام كعلم أو مهنة احترافية بصفة، يؤسس لتمييز مرفوض بين إعلام إسلامي وآخر غير إسلامي

In Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala, a number of predications that carry positive evaluations have been used to describe the MB, MB members, and president Mursi, e.g.

- Piety

مرسي الرجل الذي يبكي عندما يسمع آيات القرآن الكريم

Mursi, the man who cries when he listens to the Quran

his eyes shed tears out of fear of the responsibility on his shoulder

وئذرف عيناه الدموع خشية ورهبة من المسؤولية الملقاة على عاتقه

the group in which he was raised and which taught him good morals

الجماعة التي تربي فيها وعلمته الخلق القويم

- Success

a successful government

- Their past glories

متطوعين في حرب فلسطين

volunteers in Palestine war

- Not fearing/loved by people

يمشي وسط أهله ولا يخاف

(Mursi) he walks among his people not afraid

لأول مرة رئيسا في مصر يمشي وسط أهله ولا يخاف

For the first time a president in Egypt walks among his people not afraid

-Loved by the Egyptians:

الرئيسين المحبوبين من الشعب (إشارة إلى مرسي ونجيب)

The two presidents loved by the people (i.e. Mursi and Nagib)

- MB and Mursi have good morals

الطيبة المفرطة من جانب الإخوان والتسامح

excessive kindness and tolerance on the part of the MB

المثالية و حسن النية اللذان تعامل بهما الإخوان و الرئيس مع المشهد السياسي

The idealism and good intentions of the MB and the president in dealing with the political scene

(مرسي) ببساطة و عفوية ابن البلد الأصيل

(Mursi) the simplicity and spontaneousness of a real Egyptian

صبر وحلم النظام الرسمي على عدم مواجهة هذه العصابة .

The patience and endurance of the official regime not confronting this gang

The failure of the regime in confronting riots is described as endurance and patience.

The following table shows a number of positive and negative qualities that appeared in the data and some neutral qualities that were used as negative.

Table 4.1: Qualities attributed to the MB in the data

Positive	Negative	Neutral/ negative
Patience	Threat	Well-organization
Endurance	Backwardness	Control
Idealism	Secrecy	Resembling the old regime
Spontaneousness	Failure	Obedience to leadership
Simplicity	Incapability	Divinity
Piety	Fear	
Having good morals		
Having past glories		
Success		
Loved and chosen by the people		
No fear		

Looking at this table, a number of predications have been used by Al-Wattan that are on the surface seem neutral but, by looking at the context, one can see that they carry very negative evaluations. For example, obedience to leadership might seem as a good attribution but in this context, it refers to someone who listens without working his or her mind and blindly obeys leaders.

Analysis of the nomination and predication strategies showed that the MB group, the MB members and Mursi are the most prominent social actors discursively constructed in the data of Al-Wattan and the most salient predications relating to these actors are secrecy, untruthfulness, incapability, and well-organization, which shows that Al-Wattan constructed the image of the MB by means of mostly negative predications. This was also highlighted by reference to their actions such as violence, threatening, attacking, failing to do, and plotting.

Both newspapers have linguistically described the MB group, the MB party, and MB members including president Mursi with a number of predications. These predications have usually been stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits (implicit or explicit predicates).

These strategies work with the nomination strategies in labeling these social actors positively or negatively. Both nomination and predication strategies are linked to and form the basis for the argumentation schemes.

3. Argumentation strategies

In the context of this study, this term refers to arguments employed in the discourse about the MB, i.e. in making claims for or against the MB. As mentioned in chapter two, argumentation schemes are reasonable or fallacious. When the claim is supported by a logical argument, it is called a topos (pl. topoi), and when the argumentation is illogical, it is referred to as a fallacy.

In the data from Al-Wattan, a number of claims were made against the MB. The following are the most salient ones.

- Responsibility for Polarization:

The MB are accused of being responsible for polarization and for dividing the country, e.g.

تقسيم الوطن

dividing the nation

استقطاب

polarizing

الرئيس وتأجيج الصراعات والاستقطاب

the president .. enticing conflicts and polarization

سبب عدم الاستقرار

the reason behind instability

- Topos of using religion

تجار دين

traders of religion

تخدير الناس بشعارات دينية

'Anaesthetizing' people using religious slogans

الاغتيال المعنوي للمعارضين من خلال اتهامهم في دينهم

moral assassination of opposition by questioning their faith

This goes in line with another recurrent claim, that is, they consider that whoever against them is against religion and should be cast away from Egypt

نجحت جماعة الإخوان المسلمين في تزييف وعي الجماهير العريضة بإضفاء معان دينية على قول "نعم" للانتخابات أو لا على

أساس أن هؤلاء سيدخلون الجنة إن شاء الله!

The MB succeeded in forging mass peoples' awareness by casting religious meanings on the vote 'yes' for elections first, on the basis that those who say 'yes' will go to paradise, God willing!

حين جاءت لحظة الانتخابات أطلقوا عليها "غزوة الصناديق" وكان الاحتشاد لاختيار مرشحي الإخوان المسلمين جهاداً في

سبيل الله

One of Al-Wattan writers gave justification to this claim, saying joints.تمكين فصليبعينه من مفاصل الدولة بدأت that the process of ikhwanizing the state has already begun and two decisions reveal this بدأت First, the reformulation of the higher council of press, عملية أخونة الدولة وكشف عن ذلكقراران appointing members of the MB that have no relation 'experience' to press or media إعادة الأولى Second, تشكيل المجلس الأعلى للصحافة، عين فيه أشخاص لا علاقة لهم لا بالصحافة ولا بالإعلام من أعضاء الجماعة الثاني: إعادة تشكيل المجلس القومي لحقوق الإنسان الذي دفع فيه the reformulation of the national council for human rights, appointing a number of MB members who have no history in defending human rights فيه بعدد من أعضاء الجماعة ممن ليس لهم ماض في الدفاع عن حقوق الإنسان.

Another writer warned against the danger of ikhwanizing the state saying that أخونة الدولة إذا امتدت على المؤسسات الرئيسية فإن ذلك يعد عدوانا صارخا ضد تقاليد الدولة المدنية المصرية، إن هذا الاتجاه يؤدي إلى تغيير طبيعة الدولة المصرية، وهو مضاد للديموقراطية نظرية و ممارسة. this process will lead to a change in the nature of Egypt, the state and it sets against democracy both as a theory and in practice.

- Islamizing the society

Another claim that was made in relation to the MB is that they mix religion and politics and attempt to Islamize the Egyptian society, e.g.

خلط الدين بالسياسة

mixing religion and politics

بدأت مرحلة أسلمة المجتمع من خلال مشاريع قوانين خائبة ناقشها مجلس الشعب المنحل

The phase of Islamizing the society began by failing laws that were discussed by the dissolved Peoples' Assembly.

حرصت الجماعة على أن تهيمن على وضع دستور مصبوغ بتوجهاتها الدينية المرفوضة من قبل الجهة الليبرالية.

The group was keen to put a constitution that is colored by their religious ideas that are refused by the liberal side.

- Silencing/attacking media

Another claim that is made against the MB is that they try to silence media using their security power (e.g. a number of media reporters and TV program presenters have been accused of crimes such as Religion blasphemy and president humiliation such as Mahmoud Saad and Basem Youssef), as in

يتعرض الإعلام المصري لهجمات شرسة من جانب سلطات الدولة وبعض رموز جماعة الإخوان المسلمين وحزب الحرية والعدالة

Egyptian media is subject to a fierce attack from the state authority, some of the MB figures and Freedom and Justice Party.

Silencing media by using the power of law تكميم أمني لأفواه الإعلام

Aggression against freedom of media عدوان على حرية الإعلام

The MB are portrayed as being in fear of media, but at the same time this does not stop them from trying to control it and use it for their own interest. But their trial is difficult and will fail because it ignores the other and does not respect variation in media and, more importantly, does not understand the technology of communication and the new media.

They are using practices that imprison the freedom of media such as

تعيين رؤساء تحرير موالين

appointing editors in chief that are pro-MB

إغلاق قناة تليفزيونية

closing a TV channel

تحويل صحفيين للقضاء في تهمة تعرضهم للحبس

Suing reporters and refer them to judiciary in accusations that subject them to imprisonment.

التفكير في فرض رقابة سابقة على القنوات الخاصة

consider imposing prior monitoring on private channels.

But they will not succeed, one of Al-Wattan writers claimed, because the private channels can work from outside Egypt and reporters and bloggers can work through the internet.

- The MB, not Mursi, rule Egypt

A claim is made that Mursi is not the real president but just a figurehead, and that the MB leadership is the real ruler of the state through Mursi and for the interest of the group, e.g.

أزعم كذلك أن الرجل كان يحترم قياداته خاصة المرشد العام ويحرص على إنفاذ تعليماته

I would also claim that the man (Mursi) used to respect his leaders, especially Al-Morshid, and is so keen to carry out his instructions.

His Morshid rules حكم مرشده

لا ولن ينفك عن مكتب الإرشاد وعن الجماعة

He (Mursi) will never separate from the group or Irshad office

- The relationship between Mursi and the group is questioned

ما حقيقة العلاقة بين السيد رئيس الجمهورية وجماعة الإخوان المسلمين؟

What is real relationship between the president and the MB group?

Also, some writers claim that there is no difference between presidency, MB and Al-HurryyawaAladala and a separation between “presidency” and the group is called for and the danger of this mix is highlighted.

- Acting as the old regime

The MB rule is compared to Mubarak’s regime with all its negatives, they act as the old regime, سيتكون الحكم بنفس طريقة مبارك, they will leave the rule just as Mubarak نفس نهج النظام السابق

and they conspire with international powers *تواطؤ مع قوى الهيمنة العالمية* just as Mubarak did, and have a deal with Zionists and Americans to take over authority *صفقة مع الصهاينة والأمريكان للاستيلاء* على السلطة. Their attack on media is seen as aggression against freedom of opinion and expression and a reproduction of the old regime

(الهجوم على الإعلام) يعد عدوانا على حرية الرأي والتعبير وإعادة إنتاج للنظام القديم

- Topos of untruthfulness

انهيار شرعية الرئيس الأخلاقية

Collapse of the president's moral legitimacy

عدم التزامه بوعدده

Not keeping his promises

لحس وعود

(Mursi) licks his promises

“licking promises” shows a use of metaphoric language to intensify the meaning (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic).

تراجعته عن مواقفه و تصريحاته

not keeping his word, changing his stands and declarations

- Has an agenda:

Another claim that was made by Al-Wattan writers against MB is that they have an agenda. The term *agenda* is used in this context with its negative connotation, e.g.

تنفيذ أجندتهم الغائمة والملغومة

- Topos of contradicting oneself

The MB members are described as inconsistent. They used to attack injustice of the old regime and at the same time they accept injustice of their regime. One of Al-Wattan writers made a claim that if MB are to remember how they struggled during Mubarak time to ensure fair elections, if they apply these measures now we will surely have fair elections (an indication that they donot do that now). The writer then poses a question to readers, how can the MB who suffered from Mubarak injustice now repeat what Mubarak was doing in elections?

الإخوان عانوا من نظام مبارك ... وهم الآن يكررون ما فعله مبارك بعد وصولهم للحكم

MB suffered from Mubarak regime ... and now they act as Mubarak

دائما الشعار غير الممارسة ... التناقض بين الشكل والمضمون ... بين القول والفعل هو ما أفقدهما المشروعية والشرعية وأفقدتهم المصداقية تماما

always their practices do not reflect their slogans ... contradiction between the form and the content, between what they say and what they do, this is what made them lose legitimacy and legality, and made them totally lose credibility.

- Topos of fear of accountability

The president is shown as afraid of the accountability of his presidency period and this made him pre-set the dialogue agenda. The president is afraid to open the door for questions about evaluations of his actions as a president since Jun 30th and to talk about measures taken to insure fair elections.

خاف من أن يفتح على نفسه الباب

Mursi was afraid to open the door

خاف من أن يؤدي ذلك إلى فتح مسألة الدوائر الانتخابية

He feared that this might lead to open the issue of election constituencies

- Working for the interest of the group

A claim is made that Mursi is working for the interest of the group, he appoints members of the MB who have no qualifications as officials.

يجب أن يتم انتقاء المسؤولين بعيدا عن العشائرية والعلاقات العائلية والمنافع الشخصية

Officials must be selected away from family and clan relationships and personal interests.

أن يخرجوا من عصبية الجماعة إلى رحابة الدولة ومن واجبات الأسرة إلى مسؤوليات الأمة

The MB should come out of the fanaticism of the group to the vastness of the state, and of family duties to the responsibilities of the nation.

- Not accepting the other

لابد أن يتربى الإخوان و يتعلموا قبول الآخر واستيعاب الناس على ما هم عليه

The MB must be raised and learn to accept the other and accept people as they are.

فالآخر غير موجود ولا ينبغي له أن يوجد!

The other doesn't exist, and must not exist!

- They think themselves divine:

على الإخوان أن يدركوا أنهم بشر يخطئون كما يخطيء الناس

The MB have to realize that they are humans who make mistakes as other people do

ليست محظورة هذه المرة ولكن معصومة

Not "banned" this time, but "sinless" may never err

المهم أن تتأكد قدسية الجماعة "المعصومة" الآن في الصحافة المصرية!

What is important is that the divinity of the "sinless" group is confirmed in the Egyptian press.

Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala, on the other hand, used some counter arguments based on a set of topoi and fallacies.

- Scapegoating strategy

This is a strategy used by Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala through claiming responsibility on a second party which could eventually be used to legitimize and explain political mistakes of the president. For instance, a fallacious claim is made that the “National Salvation Front” is not taking its responsibility for protecting TahrirSquare from drug addicts and smugglers who invade the square. This claim is ruled out simply because the protection and security of the square is mainly the responsibility of the government. In so doing, the writer uses the strategy of scapegoating to blame the mistakes of the government on the opposition, e.g.

لا يحرص مؤيدوها على حماية (الميدان)؟

They are not keen to protect TahrirSquare

لم يصدروا بيانات شجب وإدانة لتلويث الميدان من قبل محتليه؟

They did not renounce or condemn the act of polluting the square by its occupiers.

- Attacked by media:

A claim is made that Egyptian satellite channels especially in their talk shows are anti-Mursi regime and pro-Mubarak’s regime. They are aiming at destroying the Egyptian people’s life. They make up crises and they are responsible for distorting Egypt’s image, distorting the revolution and increasing troubles.

كأنها تدعو إلى عودة النظام البائد

(as if) they are calling for the return of the old regime

لا تهتم بأراء الشعب

They donot care about peoples’ opinion

(الفضائيات) تشوه و تخرب

satellite channels distort and destroy

شوهت مصرنا

satellite channels distorted our Egypt

شوهت ممارستنا الديمقراطية

satellite channels distorted our democratic practices

تصنع الأزمات

they make up crises

حملة إعلامية ضخمة تحرض لثورة شعبية على النظام الشرعي

A huge media campaign that calls for a revolution against the legitimate regime

سيرك إعلامي منصوب حاليا في مصر للإخوان والرئيس

a media circus made now in Egypt for the MB and the president

السيرك الإعلامي الصهيوني لديه من السطوة والنفوذ والحيل والألاعيب والعقول الشيطانية

The Zionist media circus has power and authority, tricks and games, and devilish minds.

زاد القصف الإعلامي المركز على جماعته وحزبه

The media assaults against his (Mursi) group and party have increased

- Blaming Mubarak's regime

This is also considered part of the scapegoat strategy used by Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala writers to legitimize the MB and their actions. Egypt is described as a place full of corruption caused by the old regime, which makes it hard for anyone – not just the MB and the president – to fix, e.g.

جاء الرئيس مرسي ومؤسسته ليعملوا في ظروف صعبة عقب نظام ظل موجودا ينخر في عظم المجتمع ويهدم قيمه وأعرافه

عبر سنتين عام

The president and his institution came to work in difficult conditions, after a regime that destroyed the society, its values and its traditions during 60 years

بيد أن هذا النظام الفاسد لا يزال منتشرًا في مؤسسات الدولة انتشار السرطان في خلايا البدن ، بحيث تصعب معالجته والتعامل معه

This corrupt regime is still spread in the country institutions as cancer inbody cells, in a way that makes it hard to cure or deal with.

المعارضة تحمل مؤسسة الرئاسة مسؤولية أي آثار سلبية ... وهي حصاد فساد و استبداد ستين عاما.

The opposition puts responsibility upon the presidency for any problems ... while these are the harvest of 60years of corruption and autocracy

- Criticizing high expectations of the Egyptians

البعض يريد أن تتحول البلد من عزب الصفيح وساكني قبور إلى قصور في يوم و ليلة

Some people want the country to change from slums into a paradise overnight.

إن بيننا وبين الإصلاح الحق مئات الأميال

To reach the real reformation we need to cross hundreds of miles.

- Mursi and the MB represent the revolution/Attacked by Revolution enemies:

The president is portrayed as representing the revolution and attacked by its enemies, e.g.

(أعداء الثورة) بدءوا في تصويب سهامهم مباشرة إلى الرئيس

Revolution enemies directly attack the president

(أعداء الثورة) يثيرون الناس و يؤلبونهم على الإسلاميين

Revolution enemies arouse and entice people against Islamists

Also, the claim that revolution enemies try to prevent president Mursi from achieving the revolution aspirations could be used as a justification for his failure. Enemies of the revolution use 'أحقر الأساليب', 'dirty means', violence and sabotage to stop the wheel of production. The claim of wheel of production is fallacious because it can simply be ruled out by statistics showing that the Egyptian economy is going back not that the wheel of production is running.

أعداء الثورة يحاولون الوقيعة بين الرئيس والقوات المسلحة

Enemies of the revolution try to spoil the relationship between the president and the armed forces

Another fallacious claim that one of the writers makes is that street children, smugglers, drug addicts are threatening Mursi. This claim is not justified, because if street children have power to threaten Mursi, then he must be in a position weaker than that of those unfortunate kids.

الهجوم على عدد من مراكز الشرطة ومؤسسات الدولة و مقار الإخوان وحزب الأغلبية في محاولة لكسر هيبة النظام
attacking a number of police stations, headquarters of the MB and the majority party in an attempt to break the regime awe.

- Attacked by old regime members/supporters

مصر تعيش ليلا ثقيلافي حرب ضروس مع ذراعي بقايا النظام القضائية والإعلامية

In a fierce war with old regime remains, i.e. media and judicial systems

Media is portrayed as having a secret plan to turn down Mursi and the regime, as in

محاولة إسقاط النظام

attempt to turn down the regime

تشكيك في شرعية الرئيس

put doubts around legitimacy of the president

لا تهتم بلواء الشعبولا ديموقراطيتهاولا صناديق انتخابه

Not caring for people's opinion, people's democracy or their polls

- Attacks from outside

The president is even threatened by America and Israel, e.g.

إن معسكر أعداء الخارج(إسرائيل وأمريكا وأوروبا)لن يترك النظام المصري الجديد يعمل في هدوء وتركيز و إنه لن يتوقف

عن وضع العراقيل والفخاخ والكمائن لإحباط جهود إنهاض مصر

The camp of external enemies (Israel, America and Europe) will not leave the new Egyptian regime work quietly and concentrate and will not stop putting hindrances and traps to abort the efforts made for Egypt renaissance .

- Attacked by opposition

تحول هجوم خصومه إلى بذاءات غير مسبوقة

Attacks from his opponents turned into unprecedented rudeness

وتتمادى المجرمون فرتبوا لاستهداف أشخاص الإخوان ومقارهم ووصل الأمر إلى حد اختطاف شخصيات من أعضاء الحرية والعدالة

They even arranged for targeting the MB members and their headquarters, to the extent that they kidnapped some figures from Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala.

- Religious appeal

Another strategy used by Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adalato sketch a positive image of the MB and their memberpresident Mursi is through addressing “similar conceptions and perceptual schemata, [...] similar emotional dispositions and [...] similar behavioral conventions” (Wodak et al. 1999: 4).In so doing they speak to the emotions of the majority of Egyptians, as in

المؤمنون إخوة وليسوا أعداء أو متنافسين

Believers are brothers and not enemies or rivals

التربص بالإسلام كفكرة وعقيدة ودولة

conspiracy against Islam as an idea, creed, and state

الفكرة الإسلامية علمتنا

the Islamic idea taught us

جعل (البناء)متانة الخلق من الصفات العشر التي يعمل على تحققها في الفرد المسلم.

Al-Banna made good morals one of the ten qualities that have to be realized in any Muslim member.

Good morals are seen as a condition for victory, a must for any project to be accomplished, any army to be victorious, and any nation to rise. All these good morals were attributed to the ten recommendations of Al-Banna, the founder of the MB.

- Topoi of number

The MB are portrayed as the majority أغلبية, and the opposition as minority أقلية.

- Islamizing not ikhwanizing the state

The MB, as represented in their newspaper, reject the claim that they attempt to ikhwanize the state and see this as a refusal from seculars to Islamize the state.

وكما أن العلمانيين يتهربون من مصطلح العلمانية سئ السمعة، فإنهم يتهربون من إعلان رفض "الأسلمة" حتى لا يثيروا حفيظة المصريين، فيعلنون رفضهم للأخونة للتغطية على رفض "الأسلمة"

Seculars who escape from the term *secularism* which has a bad reputation, in the same way, escape from refusing Islamization in order not to entice Egyptians against them, hence they announce that they refuse ikhwanization to cover their refusal of Islamization.

This again goes in line with the strategy of showing the opponents as bad and doubting their faith.

- They are bad we are good (The good self and bad other)

The writers of Al-Hurriyya wa Al-Adala draw a negative image of MB enemies. In so doing, they aim at depicting a positive image of the MB by contrasting them to a negative image of their enemies, i.e. if our enemies are bad then we are good. For example, the opponents are portrayed as lacking fairness in their judgments, double-faced, and contradictory.

منهم من ينادي بضرورة اتخاذ قرارات ثورية وعندما يتخذها الرئيس نجده هو ذاته يرفضها

Among them who calls for revolutionary decisions and when the president makes such decisions, he stands against them

بعضهم يتلاعب بالمعايير حسب هواه ووفق مصلحته فهو عندما يحشد عددا كبيرا في الميادين يقول هذا هو الشعب و تلك هي الإرادة الشعبية وعندما يحشد غيره يقول جمعة قندهار ويسوقون أفرادهم وفق مفهوم السمع والطاعة.

Some of them play with the standards according to their desire and interest, when they gather a large number of people in the squares, they say: “this is the people and that is the people’s will”, and when others gather a large number he says: “Qandahar Friday and they (the MB) gather people through the listen and obey rule”.

النخبة التي تسكن في الفضائيات والقاعات المكيفة

the elite that lives in satellite TV channels and air-conditioned halls

تتاجر بمستقبل الوطن والمواطن

They trade with the future of the country and the citizen

لا يسعون لمصلحة الوطن العليا ولكنهم يسعون من أجل مصلحتهم الخاصة

They do not work for the country’s interest but for their own interest.

يغامرون بمستقبل الوطن وبمصالحه من أجل مصلحتهم

They put the country’s future and interest at risk for their own interest.

- Topos of a conspiracy

For example, the frequent electricity cuts, car thefts, problems with the subway, and lack of security on the streets are considered a conspiracy against Mursi, e.g.

مسرؤولو مترو الأنفاق بالقاهرة أكدوا أن سرقة كابلات كهرباء الخط الثاني عمل تخريبي متعمد ... هل يفعلها الخونة ويخربون البلد

... لمجرد أن الإخوان أتوا إلى الحكم بانتخابات شرعية

Officials in Cairo Metro confirmed that the theft of the second line's electricity cables is an act of vandalism ... would the traitors do it and destroy the country just because the MB came to power through legal elections.

These claims, although might justify all the troubles Egypt face during Mursi's presidency and lay the blame away from him, portray an image of a president who is incapable and not fit for the job, as they indirectly show him weak and helpless in front of his enemies.

- Topos of MB are the makers of the revolution

ثورات الربيع العربي جميعا وقودها الأبطال الإسلاميون

Arab spring revolutions are all empowered by the Islamist heroes

The following table summarizes the major topoi in the data. By means of these topoi, the social and political exclusion/inclusion, the discrimination or preferential treatment, the negative other/positive self-representations of the MB are justified.

Table 4.2: Major topoi in the data

Major topoi/fallacies	
Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala	Al-Wattan
Topos of number	Topos of number
Religious appeal	Trading/using religion
Under threat/threatened	Is a threat/threatening
Attacked by media	Attacking media
Attacked by old regime	Resembling the old regime
Contradiction of opponents	Contradiction of the MB
Working for the interest of the people	Working for the interest of the group

People's expectations are too high	Failure/not meeting people's expectations
Topos of a conspiracy	Destroying the culture(ikhwanizing and Islamizing the society)
Topos of MB are the makers of the revolution	Responsible for polarization

It was interesting to see how the two newspapers used similar argumentations in their constructing an in/out group and how they supported their claims by a number of topoi/fallacies that seem to be counter argumentative.

In Al-Wattan, the topos of having an agenda combines with the topoi of working for the interest of the group and ikhwanizing the state to make a claim that is very common, that is, the MB stole the revolution are plotting to take over. This idea is further extended through the topos of being a threat and responsibility for polarization which show the negative consequences of the MB remaining in power. The Egyptian culture is also threatened by the MB rule, since they are trying to Islamize the state.

Egypt is unique in that it encompasses a variety of cultures. The MB, it is claimed, aim at Islamizing the state and rule by Islam as they understand it. This topos is not clearly supported in the data from Al-Wattan. Yet, inter-textual analysis shows the MB themselves support this claim. In Al-Hurriyya Al-Adala, a claim is made that the intention of the MB is not to ikhwanize the state, but rather to Islamize it, as if the state does not already take Islam as its main source of legislation. Seculars, as one of Al-Hurriyya Al-Adala writers puts it, who are not able to denounce Islamization because of fear from Egyptians, call Islamization ikhwanization. This may suggest that MB see themselves, even implicitly, as representatives of Islam and the other as seculars who are even coward to show their hostility to Islam and cover it by showing hostility to the MB.

It is worth mentioning that some Egyptians fear the MB and have a feeling they want to rule by strict Islamic rules. Egyptian Christians in particular fear this. Though some of them selected the MB member as president (some have announced this in TV programs), many would feel skeptic about the MB intentions in turning Egypt into a strict Islamic country.

The topos of responsibility for polarization highlights the threat of the MB on the country but it was not justified by a logical argument. Some social actors involved in the process of polarization have been backgrounded, such as the remains of the old regime and some businessmen who have been suspected of some major riots in Egypt. These social actors are foregrounded in the data from *Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala*, while they are silenced in *Al-Wattan* data.

The major topoi used in *Al-Wattan* highlight the negative –other image (the MB). Their justification for these claims was built on several facts but some were fallacious. In referring to MB violence, *Al-Wattan* bases the claim on the MB history, attempting to revive what people remember of their past and of the past of some other Islamist groups, in so doing, it portrays an image that scares people off the MB.

Another claim made by *Al-Wattan* is that the MB resembles the old regime. Egyptian people still remember Mubarak autocracy and they still suffer the consequences of his 30-year autocratic regime. Attacking MB with the same accusations of Mubarak recalls in the minds of the readers what Mubarak did and makes people link MB actions to Mubarak's actions and imagine the negative consequences of the MB remaining in power.

Egyptian people are generally religious. They believe and trust who speaks by religion. Therefore, the religious appeal is one of the main strategies used in argumentation for and against the MB. While the MB used religious appeal to portray a positive image of the group and its members playing on the sentiment of the majority Muslim Egyptians. *Al-Wattan*, on the other

hand, used it to draw a negative image of the MB and its members as traders and abusers of religion and of Mursi as a dishonest person who does not keep his promises and uses religion as a cover to hide his bad intentions.

Two topoi seem to work together in portraying an image of anti-democracy MB, the topoi of attacking media and topoi of not accepting the other. These two topoi enhance the other negative image.

Failure of the president and the MB government to meet people's essential daily needs is a claim that targets the majority of Egyptians, educated and none educated. All Egyptians are affected by this failure. It concerns their essential living needs and tackles their daily problems. Not all Egyptians will care about freedom of speech with the high percentage of poverty and illiteracy. Thus, in this topoi the target is not educated people, scholars and politicians but the public, in fact all Egyptians. If the MB failure is the reason behind problems such as lack of fuel, water and electricity, then they should not rule the country, a claim that is used by حركة التمرد 'rebellion movement' that calls for early presidential elections to choose another president, likely not an MB member.

Another claim that is used by Al-Wattan to reinforce the negative image of the MB is the claim of taking over which works in combination with the topoi of ikhwanization. Egyptians, especially the youth after the revolution, restore hope in a better future that ensures equal opportunities for all Egyptians who aspire to higher positions in the state. Al-Wattan, by focusing on this argument, shows that the criterion for this is being an MB member, which causes disappointment in the MB government and makes readers disapprove this policy.

The MB members are also portrayed as full of contradictions which goes in line with a predication of untruthfulness that is attributed to them in the data. This argument seems to target

another part of the Egyptian society, i.e. those who still put hope in the MB as a successful government, and asks them to work their minds and think about MB actions and how untruthful this group is. Many Egyptians are not members of any political party or group. They just look for someone who can fulfill their basic life needs and for those this claim might make them rethink before electing the MB again.

Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala combined the topoi of conspiracy and the MB being under attack and under threat from media. It also blamed the mistakes of the government on the opposition and old regime remains as a scapegoat strategy. Many of the problems in Egypt under the rule of the MB are simply projected on the opposition and they are made guilty for problems which do not concern them, e.g. blaming “The national Salvation front” for the terrible condition and insecurity of TahrirSquare.

It is also used as an answer to the claim of failure. If the country is destroyed and corruption is everywhere, then it is not the responsibility of the MB government, rather it is the responsibility of the old regime. Yet, until when will this claim be valid? Where is the role of the government? Such scapegoat strategies are applied throughout the data and illustrate typical patterns of argumentation.

Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala also used the religious appeal strategy to gain support of the majority of Egyptians through claiming that we ‘the inclusive reader we’ are all Muslims and should be one unit against those who try to steal the revolution. Again this highlights the positive in-group strategy of Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala. We are Muslims and whoever against us is against Islam or is not part of the group/out-group. This fallacious claim is ruled out by logic, that is, anyone who is apparently religious is not necessarily competent to do the job. But the newspaper

seems to play on the religious sentiment of religious Egyptians to draw a positive image of the MB.

Al-HurryyawaAl-Adala also used the topoi of being under threat and attacked to victimize the MB through recalling their suffering during Mubarak's regime and playing on the Egyptians' human sentiment to make them sympathize with the MB.

The topos of number is very common in the literature and is interpreted differently according to context. In the current study, the topos of number has been used by both newspapers with different realizations. In Al-Wattan, the MB are portrayed as few, thus separating them from the rest of the Egyptians and causing the reader to fear the group. They have their own way of thinking and their goals are different, which highlights the other and out-group image of the MB, and excludes them from the rest of Egyptians.

On the other hand, Al-HurryyawaAl-Adala used the topos of number to show the MB as the majority, they belong to the group, they are selected by the majority of the Egyptians, and the rest are out the group, an answer to attempts to exclude them.

The study provides further evidence in support of the claim put forward in previous research about the role that media can play in the sociopolitical life and in shaping peoples' opinions using media 'soft power'.

Though many studies in media discourse have focused on the role of the state-owned media (e.g. Pasha showing how the MB have been discriminated against using what he called the soft power or media negative representation in the state-owned newspaper Al-Ahram), there is a growing interest in studying coverage of different private media portals. Although subject to restrictions and in some cases at risk of being shut at any time, it seems that in some cases the

privately-owned media platforms have become more influential than the state-owned media portals.

In Egypt, in particular, people have lost confidence in the state-owned media portals after their failure to present the real situation during the 25th revolution and have resorted instead to private media portals. The new media portals that appeared after the revolution played a very crucial role in framing people's opinions and in the political battle between the MB and their opponents. Both sides have realized the power of media and used it as a weapon in their battle for survival in the political scene. In an article published July 30, 2013 in Los Angeles Times, Gamal Soltan, a political science professor at the American University in Cairo, commented on the unrest in Egypt saying that "Egyptian media are all about mobilization [...]. They are a highly politicized media, and they try to encourage supporters of the side they are on".

Indeed the coverage of the recent clashes that took place in Egypt between the MB and the SCAF showed that media have become a weapon of the warring sides and provided evidence of the power of media as a tool in political battles, thus, making media discourse in general and private media discourse in particular worthy of investigation.

V. Conclusion

The data analysis gives insight into the use of the discourse strategies that are identified by the proponents of DHA and which are common within media discourse. Al-Hurriyya wa Al-Adala depicts a very positive image of the MB and the MB member president Mursi against a very negative image of their opponents, using strategies of construction and perpetuation, in particular with the aid of topoi of threat and contradiction and by appealing to religious and human sentiments, supported by quotations from the Quran and Islamic literature. The good self and bad other was very clear in the data from Al-Hurriyya wa Al-Adala. The image created of the MB is of a victim whose enemies are portrayed as envious, untruthful, and dishonorable aggressors.

Al-Wattan, on the other hand, concentrated on showing a negative image of the MB more than on showing a good self. Al-Wattan focused on showing the MB as a separate group, depicting them as not representative of Egyptians, a special group that has its own traditions and rules which do not necessarily suit all Egyptians.

The most predominant theme was the revolution which was used in the two newspapers to give authority and draw a positive image of self and a negative image of other.

The study reveals each newspaper's ideology by comparing and contrasting images of the self and the other, often by referring to the negative characteristics of the other first in order to highlight the positive qualities of the self. The study thus gives insight on how newspaper writers use language purposefully and encode certain stances and ideologies as well as it provides

tools on how readers can critically read newspapers and understand the hidden meanings communicated.

Moreover, this research sheds light on the terminology used in this context at this particular point in time (the MB rule in Egypt starting from July 2012 to March 2013). Record of these terminologies is important as they might not be included in dictionaries, thus they may disappear or acquire different meanings. In other words, some lexical items and expressions may appear and disappear without being documented in dictionaries. A study like this one helps in documenting language and tracking changes in the use of such expressions and strategies. Other researchers who wish to build on this research in a contrastive analysis study could use it as a starting point.

Also, it would be interesting to see diachronically how the MB has been represented at different points in time, i.e. when they were chased as an illegal group and when they were ruling Egypt for one year and afterwards. Such a study would focus attention on how language mirrors the sociopolitical position and how it shapes the world as well as being shaped by it.

The present study can also help language students be discerning readers and could provide a model for a CDA based teaching that focuses on critical reading of media texts.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This section provides a brief on CDA and teaching and a sample CDA-based lesson aiming at raising students' critical awareness and enhancing their pragmatic competence.

CDA and Teaching

For many advanced Arabic learners, the ultimate goal is to be able to understand texts (or oral discourse) as native speakers do, i.e. to go beyond the literal meaning of the text to the wider perspective of the communicative purpose of the text. CDA approach to teaching can provide

learners with the analytical tools that enable them to interpret language not just on the literal meaning level but to reach the communicative purpose the writer aims at. This has often been neglected in our language programs.

The idea is not to change to a new teaching technique or method but to use the same techniques and methods with a CDA perspective, i.e. to look at language as reflecting both social and ideological processes. Questions such as what is the attitude of the author? what is the hidden message? how the author succeeded in portraying a negative/positive image of a certain group or entity? what are the lexical choices that the author used made for this purpose? what are the effects these representations may have on the audience? and the like can help promote the critical competence (awareness) of the learners and their capacity to discerningly read texts. Teachers should take into consideration questions like these when designing teaching materials and activities from a CDA perspective.

Cots (2006) cites Van Lier (1996:91) discussing a set of lifelong learning skills as goals of education. This set includes learners' ability to (a) deal with the unexpected, (b) make informed choices, (c) develop sharp observational skills, (d) construct useful knowledge in one's interaction with the world, (e) and be guided by internal values, convictions, and reasons. Many of these skills can be included within the definition of critical as "a critical approach to something involves examining and judging it carefully" (Sinclair, 1987).

Cots (2006) suggests that, by following Fairclough's analytical framework, teachers could design activities that take into account the three levels of analysis. In the phase of social practice, Cots suggests that learners should focus on how the textual representation is shaped by the ideological position of its producer(s) and how it contributes to reinforcing or changing the ideological position of its readers. In the discourse practice phase, learners may focus on the type

or genre that the text can be classified into. And, in the textual phase, learners reflect on salient formal and semantic features of text construction that contribute to a global interpretation of the text and they may answer questions that focus on connectors and vocabulary choices.

One of the goals of this study is to provide teachers with a model of analysis that they could use in helping their students critically analyze texts and develop analytical competence by which they can interpret texts and reveal hidden ideologies communicated between the lines.

A CDA-based approach to teaching provides learners with a real presentation of language in use and helps them develop communicative competence that enables them to read texts critically. It is also essential for educators aiming to give their students a better understanding of the workings of the language.

Old approaches to foreign and second language learning focus on grammatical development. Modern approaches, however, highlight the importance of pragmatic competence. Pragmatic competence comprises the sociolinguistic competence, which entails the ability to use language appropriately according to context (Bachman's model, 1990:87).

For advanced Arabic learners who already have grammatical competence, and who need to be able to perform like native speakers in their professional roles, CDA offers an opportunity to explore what language is and how it is used to achieve communicative goals in different contexts. CDA can help create a second language learning environment that reflects more accurately how language is used and encourages learners toward their goal of proficiency in the target language.

Lesson Plan

The following is a sample lesson plan that aims at raising students' critical awareness.

The purpose of this lesson is to enable students to critically read newspaper articles in Arabic by recognizing various modes of coverage and detecting bias.

- Pre-Task (15-20ms)

Teacher involves students in a discussion about the current events that take place in the country, trying to elicit what the students already know about the topic. Teacher then introduces the topic and elicits essential vocabulary related to it.

- Task: (50ms)

Teacher introduces the two articles below and students read and answer questions

- Activity#1

Compare the two articles below from two different media sources:

فتنة المائة يوم!	المائة يوم يا سيادة الرئيس
المائة يوم مرت مر السحاب، والخاصة و العامة بين متشائم و متربص و متفائل، بين ناظم و شامت و حامد. بداية أقول إن البعض ممن ينتمون للشعوب العربية وقف تفكيرها من زمن بعيد عند مستوى كي جي وان، فالقول أمست رهينة الجمود المقيت، فأضحت ذات استعصاء على الفهم والتطور والتفسير والتحليل، والأسباب لا تحصى عدا، فالاستبداد لا تحصى مخرجاته العفنة ومن أعظم مخرجاته ذلك الإنسان الضامر فكريا، المتناقل حركيا المتأكل سلوكيا، المتوحش أخلاقيا، فالسواد الأعظم يريد تغييرا دراماتيكيًا سحريا في بضعة أشهر، يريد مع كر الغداة أن تتحول البلد من عزب الصفيح وساكني القبور إلى قصور تجري من تحتها الإنهار.	لم يجبر أحد الرئيس محمد مرسى كي يعطى وعدا بالقضاء على عدد من المشكلات الرئيسية التي تخنق المصريين في المائة يوم الأولى من حكمه، مثل المرور والوقود والنظافة، قال مرسى ذلك في سخونة الدعاية الانتخابية كسبيل لاجتذاب الأصوات الانتخابية له، وبالتالي فمن حق المصريين أن يحاسبوه على ذلك، ومن حقهم أن يقولوا له: «أنت وعدت، فأين وعدك؟» أمامنا تقرير لمجلس الوزراء يقيم هذه الفترة، ونتائجه تقول: «إجراءات المائة يوم لم تؤت بثمارها بشكل ملموس، والصعيد هو الأقل رضاء عن أدائه»، ولنلاحظ أن كتلة أصوات الصعيد، هي التي حسمت المعركة الانتخابية لصالح الدكتور محمد مرسى.
الإشكالية هنا أن الرئيس وعد فأين الوفاء والإلزام؟ أولا: لقد تحقق كثير من الوعود في فترة زمنية جد قصيرة، وأنا لا أبرر ولا أهادم فهذا ما لمسنا كثير من المنصفين، لقد برزت مفردات جديدة في الشارع لا ينكرها إلا جاحد أو معاند.	التقرير فيه حقائق كثيرة ويأتي من جهة رسمية، وبدونه يمكن لكل مواطن أن يحكم على ما يدور حوله، فلا النظافة تم القضاء عليها، أو حتى هناك بدايات لعلاجها، فالأزمة كما هي، وأصبحت حملة «وطن نظيف» التي بدأها الرئيس بعد أيام من حكمه وبمساعدة حزب الحرية والعدالة، دلالة قاطعة في الضحك على الناس.
ثانيا: إن أية حكومة ناجحة تحتاج إلى شعب نبيل المعدن، يعين في الإنتاج، يشكر في السراء، وصبر على الضراء، تحتاج	أما قضية الطاقة بمشتقاتها من البنزين والسولار وأسطوانة

<p>إلى كل العقول لتفكر، وكل الأيدي لتعمل، كما قال مالك بن نبي في مشكلات الحضارة. وحين التأمل أجد شعوبنا مخدرة العقل مقيدة الأيدي لا تجيد إلا الصراخ، فنحن لا نحسن صنع شيء، إن السذاجة تعرقل النمو المعرفي، فطالما كنا معاقين في الذكاء فلسوف نظل كما نحن.</p> <p>ثالثاً: الأدوات التي تعمل بها الحكومة أمست أحياناً جزءاً من المشكلة، فمثلاً كثير من أمناء الشرطة يريدون مطالبهم الفئوية ويتناقلون عن أداء الواجب، والأهالي يقطعون الطريق على عباد الله، لأن الكهرباء قطعت عدة ساعات، قل مثل ذلك عن كثير من شرائح المجتمع، أفي مثل هذا الجو يتطور المجتمع ويطلق قدراته وتنهض قطاعاته؟</p> <p>بعد الحرب العالمية كان الألمان يعملون حتى المتقاعدين منهم في مختلف القطاعات عملاً مكثفاً من أول طلوع الشمس حتى غروبها لإعادة بناء ألمانيا. عشر ساعات لنفسه وساعتين لأجل ألمانيا. أما المواطن المصري حسب الإحصاءات فيعمل عملاً حقيقياً بضعا وعشرين دقيقة في اليوم.</p> <p>العمل إذن في مجمله غير منجز، نحن نرى زحمة في المواصلات، ونرمق الملايين مشائين في الطرقات، هذه المظاهر تشبه الحمل الكاذب، الظاهر نشاط وإنجاز، والباطن كسل وتهرب ولا مبالاة.</p> <p>إن أول درجات الأخلاق العمل خوفاً من العقاب. وثاني الدرجات العمل انتظاراً للمكافأة، وثالث الدرجات العمل أنفة، أما الرابعة فهي العمل لأكون صالحاً مصلحاً لمجتمع صالح. أليست الأولى فجوراً والثانية رشوة والثالثة حمية أما الرابع فإنما تمثل الشرف في أعلى درجاته، وندره تلك الحالة في مجتمعنا كندرة الكبريت الأحمر.</p> <p>المشكلة أجل خطراً مما نتصور، نحن نعيش من زمن بعيد في بيئة فاسدة فالعقول مخدرة والحواس مبعثرة والأيدي مشلولة والأخلاق معلولة، وما من مجال من مجالات حياتنا إلا وفيه بلايا كثيرة.</p> <p>إن بيننا وبين الصلاح الحق مئات الأميال، وإن لم نقطع تلك المراحل – جيلاً وراء جيل – فلسوف نظل منهزمين، فلن يبلغ المجتمع عافيته إلا إذا عرف ما له وما عليه، إلا إذا عرف الحق فاصطفاه وعمل له دون تقصير فيه. هذه استحقاقات سوف ندركها وتدركنا طال الأمد أو قصر.</p> <p>Adapted from Al-Hurryyawa Al-Adala, Oct. 2013-Osama Hamoud</p>	<p>الغاز، فلا جديد فيها، الأزمة كما هي والطوابير علامة على العجز في علاجها الجذري لها، ولما شمردت الحكومة عن ساعدها لحلها، تحدثت عن رفع الأسعار وإجراءات أخرى لا تختلف عما كان يتبعه النظام السابق، ولا يختلف الأمر كثيراً في أزمة المرور باختناقاته داخل القاهرة، فالأوضاع كما هي، اختناق هنا، وسيولة هناك، لكنك لا تأمن يوماً لأحواله.</p> <p>التحسن الأمني هو الجانب الأبرز في برنامج المائة يوم الأولى لكنه يفتقد طموح التغيير الشامل في بناء جهاز الشرطة، وتغيير ثقافته في التعامل مع المواطنين، ولنلاحظ اختفاء الحديث عن ذلك، بعد أن كان حديث المجتمع المصري بكل فئاته بعد ثورة 25 يناير.</p> <p>في المائة يوم الأولى لم نر أسساً واضحة تنبئ عن علاج جذري في قضية العدالة الاجتماعية، ولم نر علاجاً للبطالة، ولا توجهاً صريحاً نحو دولة صناعية ناهضة، ولم نر سبباً لضبط الأسعار التي تلتهم دخل الأسر البسيطة، نرى فقط قروضاً ترفع من قيمة ديوننا للخارج، وصوتاً زاعقاً بلا عقل يقول: «إن الرئيس مرسي أنجز في مائة يوم ما عجز عن تحقيقه رؤساء مصر في مائة عام».</p> <p>(Adapted from Al-Yawm Al-Sabai') سعيد الشحات الأربعة، 3 أكتوبر 2012 -</p>
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- Nomination strategies

بشكل أساسي، عن أي شخص/مجموعة من الأشخاص يتحدث النص الأول؟

بشكل أساسي، عن أي شخص/مجموعة من الأشخاص يتحدث الثاني؟

- Actions

ما هي الأفعال المنسوبة لهؤلاء الأشخاص أو المجموعات في كل نص؟ وكيف وصفت هذه الأفعال؟

- Predications

كيف وُصِفَ الرئيس مرسي في النصين؟ هل هي صفات إيجابية أم سلبية؟ كيف تفسر استخدام الكاتب لهذه الأوصاف؟ وما تأثير ذلك عليك كقارئ؟

كيف وُصِفَ الشعب المصري في النصين؟ هل هي صفات إيجابية أم سلبية؟ كيف تفسر استخدام الكاتب لهذه الأوصاف؟ وما تأثير ذلك عليك كقارئ؟

- Claims

هل نجح الرئيس في تحقيق ما وعد به من وجهة نظر الكاتب الأول والكاتب الثاني؟

ما السبب في المشكلات التي تفاقمت في البلاد من وجهة نظر الكاتبين؟

ما وجه المقارنة بين المواطن المصري والعامل في ألمانيا؟ ما مدلول هذا التشبيه؟ وما غرض الكاتب في النص الثاني منه في رأيك؟ وعلام استند الكاتب؟

وضع الكاتب في النص الثاني شرطا للإصلاح الحق للبلد، ما هو هذا الشرط؟ وكيف تربط ذلك بموضوع النص الاساسي؟

- Inter-textuality

ما أوجه الاختلاف بين ما جاء في المقال الأول وما جاء في المقال الثاني؟ على أي شيء يدل ذلك؟ كيف يفيد ذلك في معرفة توجه كل كاتب؟

ضع عنوانا للفقرة الأولي النص الأول؟

في رأيك ما هو موقف الكاتب من الرئيس في النص الأول؟

في رأيك ما هو موقف الكاتب من الرئيس في النص الثاني؟

Choose a suitable picture to go with each article:



- **Post task:** Teacher asks students to find a third source on the same topic and fill in the information gap below

	Article #1	Article #2	Article #3
Main idea			
Main actors (subjects)			
Actions			
Adjectives to describe main actors			
Claims	1- 2- 3-	1- 2- 3-	1- 2- 3-

Limitations and Delimitations

Time limits did not allow me to conduct an extensive analysis of a larger set of data. The sample was small and only one level of analysis was conducted, thus it is hard to generalize the findings. The study has looked at only 18 articles from two newspapers at the two extremes. Looking at larger data sets and other newspapers that are known to be neutral may highlight the differences between the two newspapers and shed light on other strategies.

I consider this work more as a probe for further research. It would be interesting, for example, to do research that concentrates on the coming period in order to see if the views on the MB are different and how this is reflected in language choices. Also, the coming elections may result in a set of shifts and changes that will likely affect the MB group and its members. It is expected that these changes will be reflected in texts.

Finally, the study looks at one type of media discourse, namely written texts. Oral media may exhibit similar and/or different strategies of representation that are worth studying.

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