

NAMING STRATEGIES IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC ONLINE NEWS DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF AL-JAZEERA AND BBC COVERAGE ON THE 2011 TUNISIAN JASMINE REVOLUTION

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Abstract: *Before 2011, protests rarely being reported in Tunisia by international media. However, Tunisia was the first country hit by the so-called 'Arab Spring' which toppled many Arabian dictators including Ben Ali of Tunisia. This study aims to critically examine the naming strategies utilized by two prominent Arabic online news outlets: Al-Jazeera and BBC Arabic in their online news of 2011 Jasmine Revolution (JR). These two well-established news agencies were selected for their international wide coverage. In addition, Al-Jazeera which based in Qatar represents the Arab international media and the 'East', while BBC Arabic represents the 'Western' media. The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) particularly three-dimensional textual analysis framework Fairclough (1992) and Wodak (2001). The linguistics textual analysis will further enhance with a link to Laclau and Muoffe (1985) Discourse Theory of power struggles for hegemony, aims to reveal the power struggles between the 'in-group' (the government) and the 'out-group' (the antagonists) in discourse construction strategies. Thus, the analysis will compare the naming strategies utilized by Al-Jazeera and BBC Arabic which will disclose the hidden ideologies at the back of online news discourse construction approaches.*

Keywords: *Arab spring, Discourse Analysis, Arabic online news discourse.*

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INTRODUCTION

The revolutionary wave of demonstrations, protests and riots which hits many Arab nations in the Middle East is widely being labelled as 'Arab Spring' (الربيع العربي *al-Rabi' al-Araby*). This so-called 'Arab Spring' started on 18th of December 2010 in a small city of Tunisia, known as Sidi Bouzid. The Tunisian version of 'Arab Spring' is known with many names⁴ and one of

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⁴ Among other names: Dignity Revolution, People Revolution and Youth Revolution

them is the 'Jasmine Revolution' (JR). Although the Jasmine name is being chosen almost a year after the revolution, it was the most widely name used by the international media mainly because jasmine is the national flower of Tunisia. Hence, differentiated the wave 'Arab Spring' in Tunisia from other version of Arab Spring in other Arab countries like Egypt, Libya and Syria. Ultimately, the JR has brought down President Ben Ali after almost 23 years of autocratic rules in Tunisia. Since 18th of December 2010, the mass media internationally has pay a lot of attention to the so-called 'Arab Spring' events which began in a remote area of Tunisia. Arab Spring has become front-page headlines of most newspapers in the world. The 'domino effect' of JR then influenced people of other Arab nations to start their own wave of uprising against their governments. Thus, resulted in huge wave of protests, strike, chaos and clashes between people and the authority.

Arab Spring has resulted huge impact in the modern history of Arab countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa particularly in term of political and economic transformations. As a result, the wave of 'Arab Spring' severely affected Tunisia neighboring Arab countries namely Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, Morocco Iraq, Jordan, and Sudan. Even rich Arab countries in Arabian Gulf like Bahrain, Oman, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not exempted from at least minor protests by their own people calling for changes in political and social issues. Therefore, it is very important to study the discursive constructions around the so-called 'Arab Spring' particularly JR in modern standard Arabic news articles from prominent Arabic news institutions.

In relation to this, one of the discourse construction strategies is the naming strategy which focuses on the lexicalisation and the predication of news discourse. The mass media particularly the Arabic online news providers have reported every detailed about JR from different point of views since the beginning of this revolutionary wave. Thus, it is extremely interesting to linguistically examine the discourses of JR in the Arabic online news by using textual oriented Critical Discourse Analysis approach and reveal the hidden ideologies at the back of online news discourse construction approaches.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this study is based on two major theoretical approaches in discourse study: The Discourse Theory (DT) of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and the textual oriented Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, 2005) with special extension from Wodak's (2001) contributions on the original Fairclough discourse analysis framework. Wodak's contributions to the Fairclough's three-dimensional textual analysis is vital particularly in providing analytic tools for analyzing mass media texts. Firstly, the Discourse Theory (DT) of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) offers new concept of hegemony which been developed from Antonio Gramsci's (1971) ideas. This concept of hegemony is helpful in revealing the ideology from the discourse construction strategies utilised by the online news outlets. The Laclau and Mouffe's concepts of hegemony can be effectively beneficial by combining them with Fairclough's systematic textual oriented Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995: 17-25).

Fairclough's framework connects micro-analysis of texts with the macro-level of discourses through his three dimensions' textual analysis of text, discursive practice and social practice. This three-dimensional analysis furthermore is being accomplished with the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity which link between text and discourse. The integration of available knowledge about the historical sources and background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded minimizes the risk of critical bias. Wodak suggests number of discursive strategies, which among other include referential and predicational strategies, aimed to construct social actors, either positively or negatively (Wodak, 2001: 35).

The analysis of lexicalisation involves studying the denotations and connotations of lexical items. Naming strategy is one of the lexicalisation strategies used in media discourse. It refers to the ways in which social actors are referred to which "can signal the type of relationship between the namer and the named" (Richardson, 2007:49). Such analysis is significant because "words convey the imprint of society and of value judgments in particular" (Richardson, 2007: 47). Reisigl and Wodak (2001) explain that naming strategies establish an identification of ingroups and outgroups through membership categorisation devices. Thus, the ingroup is described in detail, while the outgroup is marginalised by providing little or no detail in their description. Members of the ingroup are also sometimes referred to using terms of politeness that "indexes a particular social status" (Blommaert, 2005: 11).

RESULT ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to critically examine the naming strategies utilized by two prominent modern standard Arabic online news outlets namely Al-Jazeera of Qatar (AJA) and BBC Arabic of the United Kingdom (BBA) in their news coverage of 2011 JR. These two well-established news agencies were selected because of their international wide coverage in contrast to local Tunisian news outlets or any Arabic printed newspapers agencies. In addition, AJA which based in Qatar represents the Arab international media and the 'East', while BBA represents the 'Western' media. To make the analysis more focus and become more specific adhering with the limitation of the paperwork size, the analysis in this study will focus only on the Arabic online news from AJA and BBA dated from 18/12/2010 until 10/3/2011 (both dates are inclusive) which will be referred as 'the time of crisis in Jasmine Revolution'.

This time frame was selected because it represents the most crucial time during the JR, as at least six major historical events happened namely:

- a) Tariq el-Tayyib Mohamed Bouazizi set fire on himself on 17/12/2010.
- b) The next day (18/12/2010) the first protests by the residents of Sidi Bouzid was held to show their supports for Bouazizi.
- c) President Ben Ali left Tunisia for Jeddah of Saudi Arabia on 14/1/2011 and leads toward the formation of transition and unity government in Tunisia
- d) 15/1/2011 - March 2011, the protests continue as many of Ben Ali's associates particularly, Mohamed Ghanouchi (Ben Ali's prime minister since 1999) was still in power.
- e) Up until mid of March 2011, Ben Ali's associates including his family members have either stepped down from their key government positions or have been arrested.

- f) Ultimately in 10/3/2011, the Democratic Constitution Assembly party (DCA), was dissolved which marked the complete fall of Ben Ali's regime in Tunisia.

Thus, the corpus data consisted of Arabic online news text of AJA and BBA during 'the time of crisis in Jasmine Revolution' has been compiled for the purpose of this study. The detail on this mini corpus is stated in table below:

No.	Institution	Number of Articles	Total Words	Articles %
1	Al-Jazeera (AJA)	37	19,559	55.22
2	BBC Arabic (BBA)	30	10,420	44.78
	TOTAL	67	29,979	100

Table 1: The Description of Online News Texts Corpus Data.

The Table 1 shows, the composition of corpus data for this study which indicates that Al-Jazeera has slightly more news articles compared to BBC Arabic. The Al-Jazeera's online news texts also have slightly higher number of word compared to BBC Arabic, hence the outlet online news article carries the bigger proportion in the corpus data at 55% compare to almost 45% for BBC Arabic. Despite, these differences, it is safe to say that the corpus data contains quite balance proportion of online news texts which can minimise any biased analysis towards each of online news outlet.

From the online news textual analysis, it is revealed that each of AJA and BBA has utilised the naming strategies differently which reflected the differences in ideology of each online news outlet. These differences also been reflected by their choice in taking side with one of the two sides (between the Tunisian government and the antagonists) of the power conflict in Tunisia. Thus, the following section will highlight the comparison between the naming strategy used by AJA and BBA in details:

1) Ben Ali vs the Antagonists

The 2011 Jasmine Revolution (JR) has revealed the clash between two Tunisian main political forces, particularly when the Tunisian oppositions started to utilise the uprising to launch their attacks against Ben Ali and other CDA party leaders. Thus, the two Arabic online news outlets of AJA and BBA have chosen their side between these two forces which can be revealed from analysing the naming strategies used by both online news outlets. AJA tends to highlight on the banned Tunisian oppositions by associating their party or movement names with the word 'banned' المحظورة. In comparison BBA was keens to highlight the ruling party of Tunisia CDA and other associated Tunisian political parties which enjoy great relationship with president Ben Ali. Thus, BBA always mentions CDA as 'the ruling party' الحزب الحاكم. In addition, if AJA associates Tunisian opposition names with the 'banned' term, BBA in contrast, associates Tunisian political parties closely link to Ben Ali with 'legalized' شرعية.

The difference in labeling these two opposing groups of the 'legalized' and the 'banned' during the 2011 TR indicates the struggles between them for the power to achieve hegemony. Ben Ali and his allies from CDA party and other associate parties was the dominant power in Tunisia for almost 23 years. In the 2011 TR, the 'banned' oppositions have managed to gain their strange in order to challenge the hegemony of Ben Ali. From the naming strategy used by

two online news outlets, it is clear that, AJA selects to be with the 'banned' opposition groups by highlighting the term of 'banned' with the opposition group names. AJA not only try to show their sympathy to these Tunisian oppositions but also to highlight the political restrictions in Tunisia under the rule of president Ben Ali. In contrast, BBA focuses on the ruling party and other 'legalized' Tunisian oppositions two show that these are the recognized groups in Tunisia and other are outlaws.

2) Mohamed Bouazizi vs Unemployed young man

Mohamed Bouazizi was a Tunisian street vendor and considered as an important name during the 2011 JR (TR). On 17th December 2010 he put fire on himself to show his protest against the restrictions forced on him by the local authorities in his hometown of Sidi Bouzid. His action has inspired many Tunisian particularly other unemployed young men and university graduates to show their protest on the issues of unemployment. Although, Mohamed Bouazizi is considered as among the important figure during the 2011 TR, each of online Arabic news outlets of AJA and BBA has different strategies in referring and labeling Mohamed Bouazizi himself and his action on 17th December 2010.

Looking at the Arabic online news texts from AJA and BBA published during the time of crisis (from 17th December 2010 until 28th January 2011) revealed the differences between AJA and BBA in their own strategies in referring to Mohamed Bouazizi and naming him. Since the very beginning, AJA referred to Bouazizi by his full name "Mohamed Bouazizi" when reporting about his injury caused by his protest on his local authorities after been restricted from his selling his goods. Ultimately, when Bouazizi died on 4th January 2011, AJA immediately proclaimed him as the inspire of the wide spread of protest and anger in Tunisia which lead to the 2011 TR. Instead of referring to Bouazizi by his name, BBA in contrast, preferred to label him with his status 'Tunisian graduate' جامعي تونسي or his job 'street vendor' بائع متجول. Sometime, Bouazizi being referred anonymously by BBA as 'a young man' شاب as can be seen from the example of the online news text in table 6.2.

It is clear that BBA does not pay much attention to Bouazizi and undermine his action of protest by merely referring to him anonymously without specifically referring to Bouazizi himself. This lead BBA to consider Bouazizi as unimportant and his incident was a remote case took placed in the remote area of Tunisia which does not deserved much attention in their online news reports. As a result, BBA on 24/12/2010 reported that the incident in Sidi Bouzid is a 'remote case' and does not deserved much media attention.

واكدت السلطات ان الصدمات لم تكن سوى "حادث معزول".

Authorities said the clashes were "an isolated incident."

Once again on 27/12/2010, BBA once again try to dismiss the important of protests in Sidi Bouzid and try to accuse the antagonists particularly the Tunisian oppositions for exploiting the incident to their benefits.

وقللت تونس في الأسبوع الماضي من شأن اشتباكات سيدي بوزيد واتهمت خصومها السياسيين باستغلال الحادث لاغراض سياسية والاثارة.

Tunisia last week reduced the clashes of Sidi Bouzid and accused its political opponents of exploiting the incident for political purposes and excitement.

Furthermore, in BBA's online report dated 27/12/2010, BBA emphasized that chaos and violent rarely happen in Tunisia under the leadership of Ben Ali for almost 23 years.

وَتُعد أعمال الشغب نادرة الحدوث في تونس التي يحكمها الرئيس زين العابدين بن علي منذ 23 عاما

Riots are rare in Tunisia, which has been ruled by President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali for 23 years

BBA only started referring to Bouazizi by his name on 29/12/2010 after President Ben Ali visited him at the hospital.

وقد قام محمد بوعزيزي وهو شاب يعمل بائعا متجولا باحراق نفسه

Mohammed Bouazizi, a young man who works as a peddler, burned himself.

However, BBA prefers to mention only by his surname (Bouazizi) rather than his name in full as being done by AJA. For instance, BBA reported on 5th January 2011 immediately after Bouazizi pass away:

وكان الرئيس التونسي زين العابدين بن علي قد زار البوعزيزي في المستشفى الاسبوع الماضي

Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali visited Bouazizi in hospital last week

AJA on the other hand, since 17th December 2010, clearly utilised Bouazizi by referring to him specifically with his full name (name and surname) to show their interest on him by portraying him as important figure which catalyst the protests during 2011 TR.

3) Protest vs Suicide

Both online news outlets not only differ in term of referring to Bouazizi himself, but they are also differed in naming his 'strange' action on 17th December 2010 which not only caused a lot of media attention on him but also caused his death. A protest by setting self on fire is rare not only in Tunisia but also in the whole Arab nations in middle East and Northern Africa which dominated by Muslims. Islamic teaching prohibits suicide or self-immolation. By intentionally putting fire on oneself can be considered as suicide, and suicide is a great sin in Islam. Thus, AJA carefully labelled Bouazizi action on 17th December 2010 as a protest against his local authority after being prohibited from his business activities. In contrary, BBA labelled Bouazizi action as a suicide which lead to his death as can be seen from the online news extracts in Table 2 for AJA and Table 3 for BBC below.

AJA	
<p>إقدام شاب يدعى محمد البوعزيزي (26 عاما) على إحراق نفسه أمام مقر محافظة المدينة احتجاجا على تعرضه للضرب 20/12/2010 <i>A young man, Mohammed al-Bouazizi, 26, burned himself in front of the city's headquarters to protest after being beaten</i> AJA clearly reported Bouazizi's action is a protest after been assaulted by the local officer.</p>	<p>يرقد حاليا بأحد مستشفيات تونس العاصمة، لمعالجته في أعقاب محاولته الانتحار حرقا بإضرام النار في نفسه احتجاجا على تعرضه للضرب 29/12/2010 <i>Is currently in a hospital in Tunis, to be treated after his attempt to commit suicide by setting fire to himself in protest at being beaten</i> Although mentioning that Bouazizi is receiving treatment for trying to kill himself, but is was mentioned that his action is to protest.</p>
<p>وسكب الشاب الذي يدعى محمد البوعزيزي (26 عاما) البنزين على جسمه وأضرم النار في نفسه أمام مقر ولاية سيدي بوزيد. وقد فجرت هذه الحادثة موجة احتجاجات 9/1/2011 <i>The 26-year-old boy, Mohammed al-Bouazizi, poured gasoline on his body and set fire to himself in front of Sidi Bouzid's headquarters. The incident sparked a wave of protests.</i> This news was provided by AJA After Bouazizi died. AJA in this news not mentioning Bouazizi committed suicide, rather focusing on the impact of his action which has sparked wide protests.</p>	

Table 2: Examples from AJA on the naming of 'suicide'.

BBA	
<p>وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر/ كانون الاول إثر محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها جامعي تونسي 24/12/2010 <i>Sidi Bouzid's state has been plagued by social unrest since December 19 following a suicide attempt by Tunisian university graduate.</i> Clearly naming Bouazizi's action as trying to 'suicide'.</p>	<p>وتشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر/ كانون الثاني بعد يومين من محاولة انتحار اقدم عليها بائع متجول 26/12/2010 <i>Sidi Bouzid's state has been plagued by social unrest since 19 December, two days after a suicide attempt by a street vendor.</i> Clearly naming Bouazizi's action as trying to 'suicide'.</p>
<p>أن عدد ضحايا الاضطرابات -التي اندلعت في السابع عشر من شهر ديسمبر/ أيلول بعد انتحار شاب حرقا- ارتفع "بشكل مأساوي" 11/1/2011 <i>That the number of victims of the unrest - which broke out on the seventeenth of December after the suicide of a young man burned himself - rose "tragically.</i> After he died, BBA Directly mentions that Bouazizi committed a suicide by burning himself.</p>	

Table 3: Examples from BBA on the naming of 'suicide'.

By labelling to Bouazizi action on 17th December 2010 as a ‘protest’, AJA focused on the aim of his action which is to show his protest and dismissed about the details (setting self with fire) of his actions in showing his dissatisfaction against the local authority. On the other hand, BBA opted to highlight Bouazizi action by causing his own death after setting fire on himself and did not pay much attention to the reason and aim of the strange action. Furthermore, the use of ‘protest’ by AJA in referring to Bouazizi’s action was aimed to defend by reasoning his brutal and strange action.

Thus, it is clear that AJA selected to be with Bouazizi’s side by defending his action against the local authority as Bouazizi has suffered too much and he does not have any other way to show his anger except setting fire on himself. BBA in contrast, opted to be with the local authority side by naming Bouazizi act as ‘suicide’. By framing Bouazizi’s act as suicide, BBA not only portray the ‘strange’ action as bad but also unacceptable among the Arab and Muslim communities. In addition, the word ‘suicide’ not only carry huge negative connotation as it is clearly against the Islamic teaching and Arab culture but also indicates Bouazizi’s action on 17th December 2010 was useless and worthless.

4) Protest, Demonstration vs Chaos, Clashes, vandalism and Violent

No doubt that both Arabic online news outlets of AJA and BBA have widely report on the 2011 TR particularly during the time of crisis from 17th December 2010 until 28th January 2011, which is the focus for this chapter. However, each online news outlet has its own strategy in reporting the events. AJA named Tunisian mass gathering in various cities of Tunisia during the 2011 TR as ‘demonstrations’ مظاهرات and ‘protests’ احتجاجات. In comparison, BBA prefer to label the same events during 2011 TR with ‘chaos’ فوضى, ‘clashes’ مصادمات, ‘vandalism’ أعمال الشغب and ‘violent’ أعمال العنف.

By labeling the event with ‘demonstrations’ and ‘protests’, AJA opted to soft toned the events with more positive names. This reflects AJA supports for the Tunisian people for having their right to voice out their opinions through peaceful demonstrations and protests. Moreover, AJA also named the events as ‘people protest’ احتجاجات شعبية and ‘society protests’ احتجاجات اجتماعية to show that the events was originated and participated by the people of Tunisia themselves.

Completely differs from AJA, BBC since the beginning of mass protests in Tunisia used more negative terms to label the mass gathering of Tunisian to show their anger during the 2011 TR by utilising terms such as ‘chaos’ فوضى, ‘clashes’ مصادمات, ‘turmoil’ اضطرابات, ‘vandalism’ أعمال الشغب, ‘fights’ اشتباكات and ‘violent’ أعمال العنف. If AJA used the term of ‘society protests’ to indicate that the protest was participated by the people of Tunisia, BBA in contrast used the term ‘society turmoil’ اضطرابات اجتماعية which indicated that the society has suffered from disorders and disturbances caused by the mass protests and demonstrations.

The following table provides examples of online news report which show comparison between the two online news outlets in naming strategy for labeling the events of protest during the uprising:

AJA	BBA
توسعت الاحتجاجات التي تشهدها تونس منذ 13 يوماً 29/12/2010 <i>Protests in Tunisia have expanded for 13 days</i>	تيل وجرحي في اشتباكات بين متظاهرين والشرطة في تونس 24/12/2010 <i>Killed and wounded in <u>clashes</u> between protesters and police in Tunisia</i>
البدء فوراً بإجراء تحقيق واف ونزيه بالوفيات والإصابات التي وقعت خلال الاحتجاجات الشعبية 7/1/2011 <i>Immediately begin a thorough and impartial investigation into the deaths and injuries that occurred during the <u>popular protests</u></i>	تجددت المواجهات العنيفة ليل السبت الاحد في ولاية سيدي بوزيد 26/12/2010 <i><u>Violent clashes</u> resumed Saturday night in Sidi Bouzid province</i>
وقد فجرت هذه الحادثة موجة احتجاجات اجتماعية في عدة أنحاء من البلاد. 9/1/2011 <i>The incident triggered a wave of <u>social protests</u> in several parts of the country.</i>	وتُعد أعمال الشغب نادرة الحدوث في تونس 27/12/2010 <i><u>Riots</u> are rare in Tunisia</i>
ودخلت المظاهرات المساندة للتحركات الشعبية بسيدي بوزيد يومها الحادي عشر 28/12/2010 <i>Demonstrations supporting <u>popular movements</u> in Sidi Bouzid entered its eleventh day</i>	أعلنت الحكومة التونسية مقتل 14 شخصاً في المصادمات 9/1/2011 <i>The Tunisian government said 14 people were killed in the <u>clashes</u></i>
كما جابت مظاهرات احتجاجية مدن القصيرين في الوسط، 28/12/2010 <i>There were also <u>demonstrations</u> in the cities of Kasserine in the centered region of Tunisia,</i>	تشهد ولاية سيدي بوزيد اضطرابات اجتماعية منذ 19 ديسمبر / كانون الاول 24/12/2010 <i>Sidi Bouzid's state has been plagued by <u>social unrest</u> since 19 December</i>
وحذّر سياسيون معارضون من مخاطر اللجوء إلى القوة لقمع المظاهرات السلمية 28/12/2010 <i>Opposition politicians have warned against the danger of resorting to force to suppress <u>peaceful demonstration</u></i>	الحكومة اضطرت لنشر قوات من الجيش في المنطقة للسيطرة على الاضطرابات. 9/1/2011 <i>The government was forced to deploy army troops in the area to control the <u>unrest</u>.</i>
تصاعدت موجة الاحتجاجات على البطالة وتكاليف المعيشة 7/1/2011 <i>The wave of <u>protests</u> against unemployment and cost of living has escalated</i>	لجوء "اطراف غير مسؤولة" الى العنف والفوضى 26/12/2010 <i>"Irresponsible parties" resort to <u>violence and chaos</u></i>

Table 4: Comparison between AJA and BBA Naming of the Event.

It is worth to note that after almost three weeks of peaceful demonstration and protests, it is noticed that AJA has started to use the term 'violent clash' when the peaceful protests have turn into violent and many people have been killed. Thus, on 7th January 2011 AJA used the term 'violent clashes' to indicate that the peaceful protest has turn ugly.

أن مواجهات عنيفة دارت ليلة أمس ومازلت مستمرة حتى الآن
That violent confrontations took place last night and continue until now.

Furthermore, on 9th January 2011 AJA once again used the term of 'violent clashes' in its online news report:

اندلعت مواجهات عنيفة بين قوات الأمن التونسي ومتظاهرين بولاية القصرين

Violent clashes broke out between Tunisian security forces and demonstrators in Kasserine state

Ultimately on 14th February 2011 AJA used another the term which is 'turmoil' to portray that the protest has turn into the worst.

ودعا في الوقت نفسه إلى وقف إطلاق النار على المحتجين، في محاولة لوقف الاضطرابات التي تشهدها تونس منذ شهر.

At the same time, he called for a ceasefire on the protesters in an attempt to stop the unrest in Tunisia a month ago.

5) Protestors, Demonstrators vs Trouble Makers, Attackers and Anger Youths

Once again AJA clearly shows its supports to the people of Tunisia who come down to the street in order to show their protests during the 2011 TR by purposely labelling them as 'protestors' محتجون and 'demonstrators' متظاهرون. By using these labels AJA has recognised the right for the people of Tunisia in expressing their voice through peaceful gathering. Furthermore, AJA wanted to highlight that these group of people who participated in mass rally during the revolution were merely involved in showing their protests and critics towards the authorities. In contrast to AJA, BBA opted to be with the Tunisian authorities and negatively labelled the group of people who involved in the mass gathering during the 2011 TR as 'trouble makers' شباب غاضبين 'angry youth', مهاجمون 'attackers', مثيرو الشغب 'trouble makers'.

The following table provides examples of online news report which highlight comparison between the two online news outlets in naming strategy for labeling the participant of protests during the Tunisian revolution:

AJA	BBA
<p>وشهدت أحياء متفرقة من المدينة يوم الأحد اشتباكات متفرقة بين شبان محتجين وقوات الأمن</p> <p>20/12/2010</p> <p><i>Sporadic clashes between youth protestors and security forces were sporadic clashes in different parts of the city on Sunday</i></p> <p>Youth protestors</p>	<p>تفيد الأنباء بوقوع مواجهات عنيفة ليل السبت واستمرت الاحد بين قوات الامن ومئات الشبان الغاضبين</p> <p>19/12/2010</p> <p><i>Heavy clashes between the security forces and hundreds of angry youths were reported Sunday night</i></p> <p>Angry Youths</p>
<p>وطالب المتظاهرون بتحقيق فرص تنمية وضمان الحق في العمل</p> <p>28/12/2010</p> <p><i>The demonstrators demanded opportunities for development and guarantee the right to work</i></p> <p>Demonstrators</p>	<p>لجوء "اطراف غير مسؤولة" الى العنف والفوضى</p> <p>26/12/2010</p> <p><i>"Irresponsible parties" resort to violence and chaos</i></p> <p>Irresponsible group</p>
<p>ومازلت مستمرة حتى الآن بين عناصر الأمن وعدد من المحتجين في مدينة مكثر</p> <p>7/1/2011</p> <p><i>still continuing between the security forces and a number of protesters in the city of Maktar</i></p> <p>Protestors</p>	<p>توعد الرئيس زين العابدين بن علي بمعاقبة المتطرفين والمحرضين على العنف والشغب</p> <p>29/12/2010</p> <p><i>President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali has vowed to punish extremists and instigators of violence and riots.</i></p> <p>Extremists and Insigators</p>
<p>وندد المحتجون بالتهميش وغياب التنمية بعدد المناطق الداخلية</p> <p>5/1/2011</p> <p><i>Protesters denounced the marginalization and lack of development in many interior areas</i></p> <p>Protestors</p>	<p>ان شخصين من بين "مثيري الشغب" قتلوا الاحد في القصرين واصيب ثلاثة آخرون</p> <p>9/1/2011</p> <p><i>Two of the "trouble makers" were killed Sunday in Kasserine and three others were injured</i></p> <p>Trouble makers</p>

Table 5: Comparison between AJA and BBA in the Naming of the Participants in the Event.

This is to say, BBA utilised the negative side of demonstration and uprising events to make a negative generalisation not only on the people who participated in the demonstrations but also on the series of peaceful demonstration events during the 2011 TR itself. By focusing on the negative side of Tunisian uprising events, BBA has distracted from reporting the main purpose of holding the demonstrations or the reasons for doing it. In addition, BBA was focusing on the destruction and chaos resulted from the demonstrations rather than demonstrators demands to portray the protest and the protesters negatively at least during the early days of 2011 TR. AJA on the other hand, detailly reported on the demonstrations by focusing on the demands of protestors, especially for the issues of unemployment among the youth and the resignation of Ben Ali later on. Thus, AJA was focusing in their online news reports on the reasons for the people of Tunisia went out to street and voice out the feeling towards the government.

6) Revolution and Uprising

It is noticed that, after 14th January 2011 when Ben Ali departed Tunisia, both news outlets have agreed to label the Tunisian fight for their right and better future which overthrown Ben Ali as 'revolution' ثورة or 'uprising' انتفاضة. Previously, particularly during the early stage of protest in Tunisia, BBA is reluctantly in using the term to refer to the mass protest which may or may not succeed in toppling the Ben Ali's regime. AJA on the other hand, started to utilise the term during the final stage of protests after seeing the huge momentum of protestors who raised against the regime. Comparing between the two news outlets in using the term, it found

that AJA was more consistent with the 'revolution' name as it occurred more frequently in the corpus data at 58 times. The term 'uprising' on the other hand only appears 11 times in AJA online news texts. BBA however used the town term almost equally and perhaps interchangeable between the two terms. The term 'revolution' occurred 12 times in BBA online news text, while 'uprising' recorded 10 times.

It is also interesting to note that although BBA used the term 'revolution', in the most occasions it was used with the scared quotes (inverted comma) which provides an impression that the outlet is trying to distance itself from the name. Unlike BBA, AJA utilised both terms directly in the news articles without any scared quotes which also provide a feeling that the outlet supporting the Tunisian demand for power change in Tunisia. Furthermore, the term 'revolution' comes with two predications in AJA online news texts. The first predication is 'Tunisian' which resulted in 'Tunisian Revolution' الثورة التونسية and secondly 'popular' الثورة الشعبية which means 'popular revolution'. Similarly, the term 'uprising' also been attached with the same two predications previously mentioned. Hence, it is found that AJA is labelling the uprising with 'Tunisian uprising' الانتفاضة التونسية and 'popular uprising' الانتفاضة الشعبية. BBA on the other hand, preferred to utilised 'popular' predication to the two terms, hence the two labels of 'Tunisian Revolution' الثورة التونسية and 'popular revolution' الثورة الشعبية can be found utilised in the online news articles of BBA.

CONCLUSION

The critical analysis of 67 modern standard Arabic online news texts published by two prominent modern standard Arabic online news outlets al-Jazeera (AJA) and BBC Arabic (BBA) during the time of crisis has revealed the ideological stand of each news institution during the 2011 Jasmine Revolution. The use of naming strategy by utilising certain label or name to positively refer the 'in-group' while negatively refer to the 'out-group' has reveal the bias practised by both news outlets.

Although, both AJA and BBA have tried their best to provide balance reports on the Jasmine Revolution events by bringing news coverages from both sides in the conflict (the Tunisian authority and the antagonists) it is however pretty obvious that each news agency has its own agenda and hidden ideology in reporting the event. Thus, the analysis of naming strategy utilised by AJA clearly indicated Al-Jazeera support for the antagonists and their demands for removing Ben Ali from his dominance of power in Tunisia. Thus, the antagonists were treated by AJA as the 'in-group' by providing positive connotation on the protest events and the protestors who participated in the events. Hence, the protests are being labeled as peacefully, originated from the Tunisian themselves, far from any political influence or certain ideology and the protestors' demands are legit. These positive labeled associated with the protest against Ben Ali provide positive representation of the protest and the protestors which clearly show the news outlet agenda to launch counter-hegemony against the power dominance of Ben Ali in Tunisia.

On the other hand, the naming strategy used by BBA was aimed to provide negative connotations on the protests and the protestors themselves as they only bring in a lot of harm to Tunisia and Tunisian themselves. In contrast, the Tunisian authority were given positive labels.

This is to say, by naming the protest and the protestors which carries negative connotation, BBA try to provide negative impression on the uprising event in Tunisia by highlighting the dark side of the event such as riot, chaos, casualties, demolition of public properties, influenced by certain ideology and extremism. In short, by providing positive connotation on the Tunisian authority while giving negative impression on the antagonist through the naming strategy, BBA has opted to be with Ben Ali during the time of crisis in JR. Hence, the outlet considered Ben Ali and his associates as the 'in-group', while the antagonists were treated as the 'out-group'. As a result, it is revealed that BBA tries to preserve the hegemony of Ben Ali power dominance in Tunisia during this hard time when the regime is having serious challenge to their dominant from the antagonist.

Despite this attempt by BBA to preserve the hegemony of Ben Ali, it is noticed that, BBA has changed its side from in favour of Ben Ali during the beginning of Jasmine revolution to become in favour of the antagonists particularly the protestors after Ben Ali left Tunisia on 14th January 2011. Thus, it is indicated that the change in power may resulted in change of discourse construction strategy.

All in all, the analysis of naming strategy utilised by the two prominent Arabic online news has revealed the outlet biased toward one of the two side in the Tunisian's conflict. It is also shown that the outlet has try to change its side after the success of the revolution in toppling the regime which seam to be tough and touchless for almost 23 years in power. The analysis has reveal many forms of inequality faced by the Tunisian antagonists in their fight to defend for their rights. Hence, analysis of the discourses of power that reproduce, and legitimate unbalance of power can offer significant contribution to the struggles of resistance and change as a result of power crisis and conflict which happen during the wave of 'Arab Spring'. In this regard, critical discourse analysis through the textual analytical tools (which naming strategy is one of its many tools) can provide formulation of effective counter-discourse and the persuasive development of counter-ideologies for better understanding of online news discourse.

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