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Title

A Social Semiotic Analysis of the Representation of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in *El Watan* and *The New York Times*

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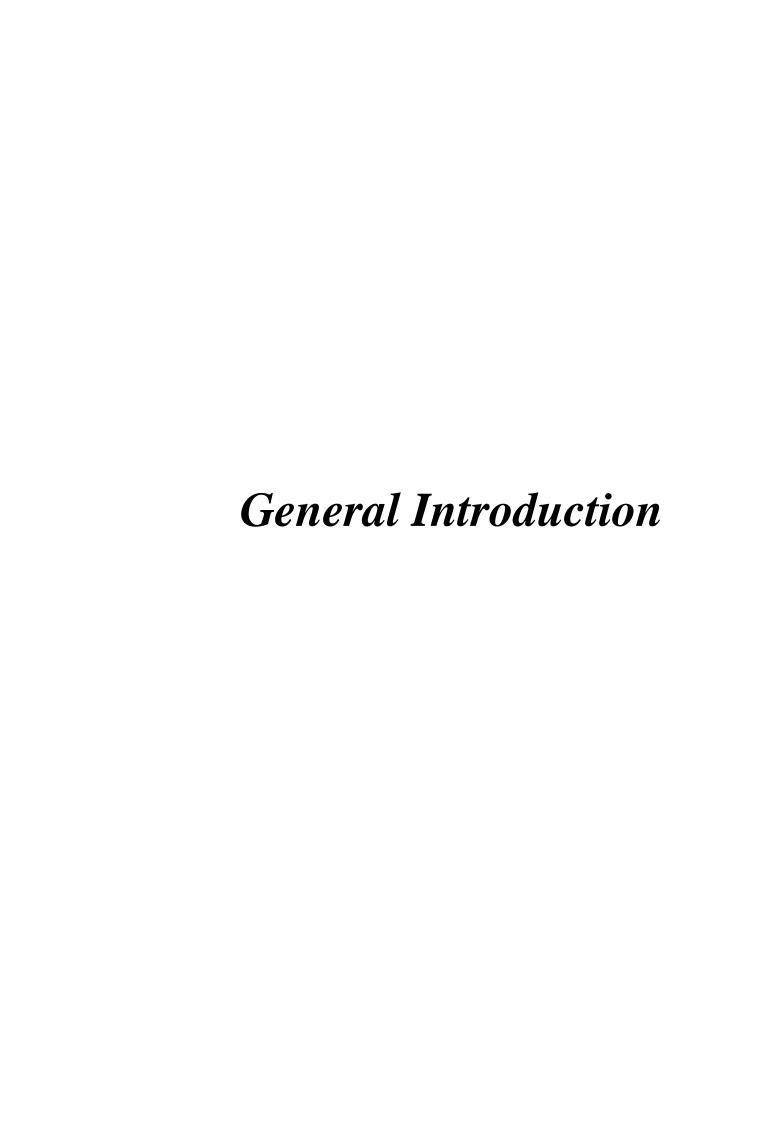
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General Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The Hirak Movement, also called The Revolution of Smiles is an Algerian peaceful movement that began on 22nd February 2019, ten days after Abdelaziz Bouteflika announced his candidacy for a fifth term in a signed statement. The peaceful nature of the February 22nd popular movement, an unprecedented event since the independence of Algeria in 1962, has attracted the interest of national and international news media.

It is important to understand how the Algerian Hirak protesters are represented in national and international news media, mainly how they are portrayed through using different semiotic resources i.e. the visual and linguistic modes. It should be pointed out that any particular event may have distinct possible audiences, which require specific modes of representation; in other words, the same event may have numerous representations depending on the medium through which it is communicated, and the communicative purpose of the news media resource.

The Revolution of Smiles became a world topical event in a plethora of TV channels and newspapers both in national and international news media. Each day, there were new coverages of the Algerian protesters who each Friday filled the streets of Algiers and other Algerian cities. Hence, there were different visual and linguistic representations of the protesters and of the Hirak Movement in their reports. Nowadays, hardly anyone would deny the role of media in today's life. In addition to its role in spreading news and information, media also play a significant role in shaping audiences' standpoints about the Algerian peaceful movement. In the sense that, media can put a particular idea about the Algerian Hirak protesters in the mind of thousands of people at the same time through their manifold depictions.

El Watan and The New York Times are among numerous media news that have always reported the Algerian Hirak protesters in their peaceful movement since its beginning on 22

February 2019. Therefore, the present study is concerned with the representation of the Algerian protesters in El Watan and The New York Times at both visual and linguistic levels. That is, this research seeks to analyze the visual representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters in two broadsheet newspapers belonging to two different countries, namely Algeria and the United States of America, relying on the Multimodal Social Semiotic Approach named 'Visual Grammar' (1996, 2006). In addition to the visual mode, the linguistic mode will be included in the investigation of the portrayal of the Algerian Hirak protesters in the aforementioned newspapers. The linguistic mode will be analyzed through the newspaper articles devoted to the Hirak Movement by the application of Van Leeuwen's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis named the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' (1996, 2008). The selection of these newspapers is due to their quality and seriousness which are the main hallmarks of the 'broadsheets' that they belong to.

Contemporary communication is characterized as being technology mediated, and mainly by multimodality in which different semiotic modes are combined together in making messages in communication such as: words, images, colors and so on. Despite the fact that each mode plays a specific role in the overall message, it is the combination of such modes that represents things, events and persons, and it also creates the full piece of communication.

Social Semiotics offers tools to gather data and to analyze them so that to understand any semiotic mode used to communicate meaning. Put differently, social semiotics attempts to delineate and to understand the way people construct and communicate meaning in specific social settings. Such social settings could also be where sing making is well standardized and hemmed in by habits, conventions and rules, so that for particular semiotic mode can be used to convey meaning (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 266).

It is worth mentioning that this research area requires attention and needs research knowledge. Accordingly, the present study aims to offer an original analysis of the visual and

the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in both national and international news media.

Aims and Significance of the Study

This dissertation endeavours to understand how the Algerian Hirak protesters are depicted in two different daily printed broadsheets: El Watan and The New York Times. These broadsheets come out in considerable amounts, and they have got a large audience in their countries of publication. Therefore, the objectives of the present study are: first, to identify the different visual representations of the Algerian protesters in the aforementioned newspapers, through the application of Kress and Van Leeuwen's theory of 'Visual Grammar' (1996, 2006). Second, the study attempts to highlight the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in the news articles devoted to the Hirak movement, through the lenses of Van Leeuwen's approach in CDA entitled the ' Socio-semantic Inventory' (1996, 2008). Third, the present research seeks to establish a comparison between the selected newspapers in order to ascertain the similarities and the differences in their portrayal of the Hirak Algerian protesters.

The Hirak Movement became ubiquitous and a world topical event because of its peaceful nature against Algeria's oppressive regime, which signals the universal reclamation of the people's rights to perform who they are and who they want to be (Arslane Ghazouane, 2019). It has attracted both the interest of national and international news media since its beginning on 22 February 2019.It is considered as a unique and unprecedented event that gathered all the layers of the Algerian society in one peaceful popular movement since the independence of Algeria in 1962. Therefore, there were several coverages and representations of the Algerian Hirak protesters in their news reports. The present research is worth conducting because of its significance, and a humble contribution that may provide in the field of social semiotics and media discourse analysis. Accordingly, this dissertation is going

to shade the light for deeper understanding of the Algerian Hirak protesters discourse produced by national and international news media mainly, the way the Algerian demonstrators are portrayed in Algerian and American newspapers at both visual and linguistic levels.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

As above-mentioned, this work is concerned with the pictorial and the linguistic representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters in the selected newspapers. Therefore, the main question of the present study is: How are the Algerian protesters depicted visually and linguistically in El Watan and The New York Times broadsheets?

Three research questions related to the aforementioned main question have been raised:

- Q 01-Do the linguistic and visual modes complement each other semantically to portray the Algerian Hirak protesters in El Watan and The New York Times broadsheets?

- Q 02- Do the selected newspapers portray the Algerian Hirak protesters negatively or positively in their news reports?

- Q 03- Are there any similarities and differences between the selected newspapers in their visual and linguistic representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters?

Before doing the analysis and getting the results, the following hypotheses are advanced:

- Hp1: The visual and the linguistic modes complement each other semantically to foster a positive image of the Algerian Hirak protesters in the selected broadsheets.

- Hp2: El Watan and The New York Times newspapers depict the Algerian Hirak protesters positively both visually and linguistically in their news reports.

- Hp3: Yes, there are some similarities and differences between the selected newspapers in their visual and linguistic representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters. Points of convergence at the linguistic level in which the Algerian protesters are represented as

active social actors in both newspapers. Points of divergence at the visual level in which both broadsheets depict the Algerian protesters from distinct angles.

Research Techniques and Methodology

To conduct the present study, two theoretical frameworks will be used: the first is a social semiotic approach proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen named 'Visual Grammar' (1996, 2006). The second is Van Leeuwen's framework in CDA entitled the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' (1996, 2008), to calculate the frequency of the distribution of some representational categories constituting Van Leeuwen's approach.

The present work adopts the mixed-method of research for the analysis of data. We have combined both the qualitative and quantitative research techniques to interpret the results obtained. That is, the qualitative research technique is used to analyze the chosen images of El Watan and The New York Times relying on Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework named 'Visual Grammar' (1996, 2006), while the quantitative research technique is used to analyze the selected news articles in relation to Van Leeuwen's framework in CDA known as the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' (1996, 2008) through examining the frequency distribution of some categories belonging to Van Leeuwen's approach in the selected newspaper articles.

Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation follows the traditional complex model and is comprised of four chapters in addition to a general introduction and a general conclusion.

The first chapter is the Review of Literature and it is preceded by a general introduction. The second chapter is named Research Design, and it introduces the research methods, followed by the procedures of data collection and data analysis, along with the corpus of this study. The third chapter presents the results obtained from the examination of the visual and the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in the newspapers under

study. The last chapter is named the Discussion of the Results which discusses and interprets the results gained from the collected data, as well as providing answers to the research questions so that to confirm or reject the hypotheses advanced in this research. Then the research ends with a Conclusion which sums up the most important points of the research and provides possible areas for further research.

Chapter One:
Review of Literature

Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical underpinnings that the current study adopts to analyse how the Algerian protesters are represented both visually and linguistically in EL Watan and The New York Times newspapers. This chapter comprises two parts: the first part provides an overview of the development of Social Semiotics and Multimodality highlighting the key concepts related to these fields, and it provides the main difference established between two types of newspapers: broadsheet and tabloid. It, then, ends up by introducing visual grammar analysis put forward by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) that will be used to analyse images representing the Algerian protesters. As for the second part, it provides an introduction to CDA, then moves to Socio-semantic Inventory introduced by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) which will be used, in this study to examine the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in the selected news articles.

1. The Multimodal Social Semiotic Approach

1.1 Development of Social Semiotics

Social Semiotics is an influential school of semiotics and a new field of research that seeks to study the process of meaning-making 'semiosis' in social context. This emerging approach originated in the works of M.A.K Halliday on Systemic Functional Linguistics (1978), whose interest was shifted from the study of language as a fixed linguistic system into the study of language as a social system. For him (1978, 2) "language *is a product of the social process*", that is, language is a product of social activities in which language is used as meaning making resource by individuals to convey meaning in a particular social context.

Furthermore, Halliday (ibid, 39) assumes that languages evolve as systems of 'meaning potential' or as sets of resources that influence what the speaker can do with language in a specific social context. According to him, (1978) language fulfills three functions in communication or the so-called 'metafunction'. It helps us to express and

represent our experience in the world (ideational metafunction) it creates social relations between producers and receivers of messages (interpersonal metafunction), and it allows us to organise texts to form coherent wholes, that is the internal and the overall organisation of the language (textual metafunction). Accordingly, social semiotics has paved the way to several scholars among them Gunther Kress and Van Leeuwen, who have extended the Hallidayan metafunction of language (1978) to study and analyse visuals.

Social Semiotics is viewed as "*a process of meaning making enqui*ry" that "*explores two closely related issues: the material resources of communication and their socially generated use to produce meaning*" (Van Leeuwen, 2005: 93). That is, this approach aims at studying the resources that are provided to the language users' and the way they are used from one social context to another to construct different meanings.

Social Semiotics is an approach to communication that attempts to understand how people communicate through using a variety of means either verbal or nonverbal within a given social context. It focuses on social meaning-making practices of all types, whether visual or aural in nature (Thibault, 1991). Contrary to mainstream semiotics that of Saussure and Barthes, which "*emphasizes structures and codes, at the expanse of functions and social uses of semiotic systems*" (Hodge and Kress, 1988:1). In this context, Hodge and Kress (1988: 262) argue that "*social semiotics is primarily concerned with human semiosis as an inherently social phenomenon in its sources, functions, context and effects*". This perspective discerns Social Semiotics School from the Structural Semiotic School that studies semiotic systems in isolation which have a fixed meaning, and not affected by socio-cultural conditioning.

1.2 Development of Multimodality

Multimodality is an approach to contemporary communication which has originated from Systemic Functional Linguistics which is developed by Halliday (1978). The latter becomes a theoretical underpinning of several scholars' works where the interest is shifted

from the study of the linguistic mode into other semiotic modes such as: the visual mode. Thus, "*Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics offers a powerful and flexible model for the study of other semiotic codes besides natural language*" (O'Toole, 1995 cited in O'Halloran and Bradley, 2005: 05). Accordingly, the majority of scholars such as: Kress and Van Leeuwen hinge on Halliday's meaning-making principles (the three metafunctions of language) to achieve their analysis of multimodal communication. Multimodality has been developed due to the works of distinct scholars including Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006), Hodge and Kress (1988, 1998), O'tool (1994), Machin (2007).

In fact, multimodality aims at studying modern communication and how meaning is constructed through the combination of different modes. It presumes that communication draws on a multiplicity of modes in which each mode has its own specific task and function in the process of meaning-making (Kress, 2010: 28). However, for Machin (2007: 3), it refers to "*an analysis of the results and principles that allow to understand the meaning potential of relative placement of elements, salience proximity, colour, saturations… etc*". That is, multimodal relations that exist between these different modes co-occur in modern communication (Yassine, 2012: 42). According to Van Leeuwen (2005: 281), multimodality refers to "*the combination of different semiotic modes. For example, language and music in communicative artifact or event*". In other words, "*multimodality focuses on the study of the interrelationships between various communicative modes, no matter whether they are visual or auditory, words or images*" (Liu, 2013: 1259). That is to say, it focuses on how different semiotic modes such as: images and words are all used by individuals to convey meaning in a specific social context.

Multimodality considers language as one semiotic mode among other modes that constitutes human communication. That is, in this approach, language is no longer the

dominant mode of communication, since other modes have been given prominence such as: colours, visuals, gestures, etc. In other words, Machin (2007: 3) claims that

> Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) use the term multimodality to express that the way we communicate is seldom by one single mode of communication, by language. It is done simultaneously through a number of modes – multi-modally, by combinations of the visual, sound, language, etc.

This indicates that language in multimodality approach is considered as one mode alongside other semiotic modes, and it takes into account how making messages in communication is constructed through mixing different types of semiotic modes.

1.3. Key Concepts in Social Semiotics and Multimodality

1.3.1 Semiotic Resource

Semiotic resource is a basic concept in social semiotics and multimodality, it originated in the work of Halliday on Systematic Functional Grammar (SFG) who states that "*the grammar of the language is not a code, not a set of rules for producing correct sentences, but a resource for making meanings*" (Halliday, 1978: 192). Moreover, Van Leeuwen (2005: 3) defines semiotic resources as:

> The actions and artifacts we use to communicate, whether they are produced physiologically-with our vocal apparatus; with the muscles we use to create facial expression and gestures, etc or by means of technologies-with pen, ink and paper, with computer hardware and software; with fabrics, scissors and sewing machines, etc. Traditionally they were called 'sign'.

The term 'resource' is preferred in social semiotics rather than 'sign', because it avoids the impression that what assign stands for is pre-given, and not affected by its use (ibid). In addition, semiotic resources are not restricted to language, be it spoken, written or visual; but can include almost everything related to social and cultural meanings (Van Leeuwen, 2005: 4).

1.3.2 Mode

A mode is "*a socially and culturally shaped resource for making meaning*" (Bezmer and Kress, 2008: 171). Examples of modes include writing, still and moving images (videos, portraits), colours, speech, gestures and facial expressions. Modes are seen as a set of socially

and culturally shaped means for communicating meaning. They are not fixed but created through social processes, and they are context-dependent. For Kress (2010: 87) *"what a community decides to regard and use as a mode is mode"* that is, in order for a particular resource to be a mode, the community in which it is used needs to recognise it as a mode and share a cultural sense of the different uses and the semiotic features underlying this resource, so that to construct and convey meaning.

Jewitt (2008) affirms that modes are constantly changed by their users in response to the communicative needs of communities, institutions, and societies: new modes are created, and existing modes are transformed. In addition, a modal affordance refers to the idea that *"different modes offer different potentials for meaning making"* (Jewitt, Bezmer and O'Halloran, 2016: 177), this entails that the different potentials uses of a given mode hinging on the context where it is used and the interests of individuals. In other words, certain resources are better suited for particular functions than others. For example, while a written text may be the best mode to describe the circumstances of a given topical event in newspapers, this mode would not be the suitable mode to use for publicising a missing person, as the visual mode would communicate more easily and more accurately the intended message, which is to permit people to identify the missing person (du Toit, 2014: 8). Thus, modal affordances are connected to the material, cultural, social, and historical use of mode (Jewitt, 2008), that is to say, the social purposes that have been used for in a specific context.

1.3.3 The Linguistic Mode

The linguistic mode refers to the use of language, which generally stands for written or spoken words (Arola. K, Sheppard. J and Ball. C, 2014), it is seen as a crucial semiotic mode used to convey meaning. Although the current communication landscape is characterised by a shift in the perspective of language as the main resource of communication, the linguistic

mode has become specialised among other modes of communication by being considered the main carrier of meaning (Kress, 2003, 2010).

In the realm of multimodality, communication is regarded as being multimodal, in the sense that, several modes are used in making messages in communication. For example, when people speak, they tend to use other kinds of semiotic modes alongside their speech such as: facial expressions, gestures, body movements and postures, so that to express their ideas. The linguistic mode is considered to be accompanied by other types of modes in the process of meaning making; in other words, the meaning generated by language as speech or writing, as all other kinds of modes, is always interwoven with meanings made by all the other modes simultaneously and operating in communicative context, and this interaction itself produces meaning (Kress et al, 2001: 43).

1.3.4 The Visual Mode

The visual mode refers to the use of images and could include both still and moving images. It is considered as an eminent mode used to communicate meaning in contemporary communication, because the latter is dominated by the use of visuals that perform specific functions and purposes in their representation of events, things and persons. Visuals play a significant role in today's communication, in the sense that they have been attributed much attention in advertisement, newspapers, laptops, television screens, web pages, etc.

Furthermore, visual mode for Jewitt and Oyama (2001) "*not only represents the world…, but also plays a part in some interaction…*" (cited in Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001: 140). In other words, visuals are not restricted to the representation of things but like words they achieve specific communicative functions, for example, to persuade (the case of advertisements), to explain (in the case of diagrams and pie charts), to warn (images of skull and crossbones or triangle in red colour put in doors) and so on (Van Leeuwen, 2005).

1.3.5 Multimodal Texts

Multimodal texts refer to the idea that texts are constructed through using a variety of modes of communication. In the words of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), multimodal text "*refers to any text whose meanings are realised through more than one semiotic code*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen cited in Lasisi, 2012: 19).

As a matter of fact, all texts in contemporary communication are multimodal. In other words, Kress (cited in Jung Liu, 2013: 1259) claims that:

> The combined use of different modes to make meaning has gone to the point that it is now possible that when making sense of a text, even of its linguistic parts alone, we have to have a clear idea that some other features might be contributing to the meaning of the text.

Therefore, multimodal texts convey meaning through a combination of different semiotic modes such as, linguistic codes, images, sounds, gestures, etc. Although each mode plays a specific role in the overall message, it is the combination of these modes that creates the full piece of communication (Avola. K, Sheppard. J and Ball. C, 2014: 4). Examples of multimodal texts are magazines, picture books, advertisements, film posters and newspapers. The latter constitute the object of investigation in the current study.

2. Broadsheets / Tabloid Newspapers

Newspapers take various forms of media that influence audiences' standpoints, in the sense that, they can pit the same idea in the mind of thousands of people at the same moment (Tocqueville cited in Aitchison and Lewis, 2003). They also provide more details than television have more variety than magazines and are more updated than books (John Hamilton, 2005). Furthermore, newspapers are made up of two distinct types, namely the broadsheets and the tabloids; first, the broadsheets are serious and quality newspapers which include long information articles and few illustrations in standard and formal language. In addition, the broadsheets come in large format and aim at providing the reader with comprehensive coverage and analysis of the national and international news of the day. As for

the tabloids, they are popular newspapers that have pages that are half the size of those of the average broadsheets. They are typically popular in style and characterised by their eye-catching headlines, with big photographs and short articles in colloquial and informal language.

El Watan and The New York Times broadsheet newspapers have been selected to be the object of analysis in the present study, due to their quality and seriousness which are the main hallmarks of 'broadsheets', in order to scrutinise the way the Algerian protesters are depicted both visually and linguistically in the aforementioned newspapers.

3. Visual Grammar

Visual grammar is a new approach put forward by Kress and Van Leeuwen to analyse the visual mode. They have elaborated the first systematic and comprehensive framework for the analysis of visuals in their joint work entitled "Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design" (1996, 2006). The underpinnings of their analytical framework in visual communication come from the works of the linguist Michael Halliday, they extended his metafunctional approach to show how manifold semiotic modes work together in the visual mode. Kress and Van Leeuwen assert that the modal of Halliday "*with its three functions is a starting point for our account of images, not because the model works well for language…, but because it works well as a source for thinking about all modes of representation*" (2006: 20).

Furthermore, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) propose that images like language have grammar structures that can be analysed for the meaning they convey. They (2006) consider the grammar of visual design just as grammars of language that describe how words, phrases and clauses can be brought together to expound the meaning of texts. While visual grammar deals with the study of the way different elements such as: colours are combined together in visuals in a meaningful way to communicate meaning. Within visual grammar, Halliday's

three metafunctions are given other names as: the representational, interactional and compositional functions. They will be used to scrutinise the selected images so that to bewray the way the Algerian protesters are represented visually in both national and international news media.

3.1. The Representational Metafunction

The representational metafunction stems from Halliday's ideational function, it seeks to describe the relationships that exist between the participants (persons, objects, places) depicted in the image, and the way they are represented visually. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) propose that representational meaning can be realised by two types of processes: narrative process and conceptual process, in which presented participants tend to participate.

1. Narrative Process

Kress and Van Leeuwen describe a narrative process as dynamic and serves to "*present unfolding actions and events, process of change, transitory spatial arrangements*" (2006: 59). In this type of process the represented participants are connected to one another through a vector, a line formed by elements in the image. Vector as the distinctive feature of narrative process can be "an *oblique line, often a quite strong, diagonal line*" (ibid). The participant that creates the vector is referred as the 'Actor', that is the 'Actor' is "*the participant from which the victor emanates or which is fixed with the victor*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 74). While the participant that receives it is called 'Goal'; in other words, it is the participant "*at which the victor is directed*" (ibid). The narrative process is comprised of three types of actions. First, ***transactional action*** comprises of both actor and goal, and the latter is "the participant at whom or which the vector is directed" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 64). In other words, transactional action happens when an actor is depicted as performing an action to another goal. Second, ***non-transactional action*** takes place when in an image there is only participant (actor) represented performing an action. The action in this

type has no goal and "*is not done to or aimed at anyone or anything*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 63). The third type is ***reactional action*** in which "*the vector is formed by an eye line, by the direction of the glance of one or more of the represented participants*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 67). It contains two components: reactor is the one who conducts the looking behaviour, and phenomenon is "*the participant at whom or which the reactor is looking*" (ibid). Put differently, reactional action occurs when an actor reacts in an image through gazing to another phenomenon.

2. Conceptual Process

Contrary to the narrative process, the conceptual process has no vector (static) and involves "*representing participants in terms of their more generalised and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 79). That is, the concern of conceptual process is the representation of ideas in images where participants can be analysed, classified or defined rather than actions. There are three kinds involved in the conceptual process: the first process is called ***classificational process,*** it involves relating "*participants to each other in terms of a 'Kind of' relation, a taxonomy: at least one set of participants will play the role of Subordinates with respect to at least one other participant, the Superodinate*" (ibid). That is, this process relates the represented participants with taxonomy through bringing different people, places or things together in one picture, distributing them symmetrically across the picture space to show that they have something in common and that they belong to same class (Jewitt and Omaya cited in Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001: 143). The second process is named the ***analytical process*** which connects participants in terms of part-whole structure, where two participants involved in this process: one participant is the carrier (whole) and the other participants are the possessive attribute (the parts) (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 87). The third process is the ***symbolic process*** which defines the meaning or identity of a participant (ibid, 144). That is, this process

focuses on what the represented participant means or is and the symbolic values associated to him in the image.

3.2. The Interactional Metafunction

The interactive metafunction is the equivalent of Halliday's interpersonal function and it deals with the way the represented participant in the image interacts with the viewers. In an image there are two kinds of participants involved namely, represented participants (the people, the places and things depicted in images) and interactive participants (the producers and the viewers). According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), represented participants can interact with the viewers in three ways: by the gaze of the represented participant, the distance of the participant from the viewers and the angle from which the participant is seen by the viewer.

3.2. a. Gaze

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) an image can be counted as both a "demand image" and an "offer image". The former is realised when the represented participants make 'demands' in which "*the participant's gaze demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 118). While the latter occurs when the represented participants do not look directly at the viewer and it offers information to them or as an object of contemplation (ibid: 119).

3.2. b. Social Distance

It refers to the different relationships that the distance between the represented participants of the image and the viewers can suggest, usually related to the size of frame. Kress and Van Leeuwen rely on Edward T. Hall's (1966) work in 'proxemics' to describe how social relations are determined by different fields of visions in images (cited in Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001). For Edward T. Hall (1966) the shorter the distance between the

represented participant and viewer the more intimate the relation becomes. He has identified a set of dimensions to visually describe social distance (cites in Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006):

Very close shot: involves only the face and the head (intimate distance).

Close shot: includes the head and the shoulders (close personal distance).

Medium close shot: from the waist up (far personal distance).

Medium long shot: the whole (close social distance).

Long shot: the whole figure with space around it (far social distance).

Public distance: torso of at least four or five people.

3.2. c. Point of View

Point of view or so called 'angle' refers to the way represented participants engage in relation with the viewer. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) there are two types of angles: horizontal and vertical.

Horizontal Angle: refers to "*a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-producer and the frontal plane of the represented participants*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 134). That is, the horizontal angle can express whether the image-producer and the viewer are involved with the represented participants or not. Thus, it can be a ***frontal angle*** that indicates involvement in which viewers are brought to the world of represented participant; or ***oblique angle*** which betokens detachment, that is, the viewers are detached from the world of represented participants.

Vertical Angle: is related to power, and the different angles from which the represented participants are viewed whether from blow, above or at eye level. In other words, if a represented participant is seen from a high angle, then the participant has symbolic power over the viewer. If the represented participant is seen from a low angle, this indicates that the participant has less power over the viewer. Finally, if the represented participant is at eye-

level, then there is a relation of equality and there is no power difference involved (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 140).

3.3. The Compositional Metafunction

It corresponds to Halliday's textual metafunction, compositional metafunction refers to "*the composition of the whole, the way in which the representational and interactive elements are made to relate to each other, the way they are integrated into a meaningful whole*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 176). That is to say, how the representational and interactive elements are related to each other in meaningful ways on the image, and the image elements can be analysed according to three systems: information value, salience and framing.

3.3. a. Information Value

It refers to a meaningful positioning of participants (objects, places, persons) in specific zones of the image that endows particular values. The value of the participant can change depending on the placement of the participant whether placed on the top or bottom, on the right or on the left, or whether in the center or the margin. First, ***Top/ Bottom*** positions are related to 'ideal' and 'real'. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 177) elements placed in the top are presented as the 'ideal', that is they are presented as 'the idealised' or 'generalised essence of the information'; while the elements placed in the bottom are put forward as the 'real', that is they are presented as 'specific information', 'more down to earth information'. Second, ***Lift/Right*** positions, are referred to as 'given' and 'new'. That is to say, the elements positioned on the left side of an image are presented as 'given' which means already familiar information to the reader; while what is positioned on the right side is 'new', that is information not yet known to the reader (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 57). The final positions are ***Center/Margin,*** Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) state that the elements positioned in the center of an image are represented as the crucial elements in the image;

while the elements placed in the margin are considered to be less important and they are secondary elements.

3.3. b. Salience

It is the second principle of composition and "*the term 'salience' is used by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) to indicate that some elements can be made eye-catching than others*" (Jewitt and Oyama cited in Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001: 150). Put differently, how certain elements in the image can be made to stand out and to attract the viewers' attention to them. This is realised through means of size, sharpness of focus, placement in the foreground or background, tonal colour contrast, cultural factors (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 210).

3.3. c. Framing

It is the third principle of composition and "*the term 'framing' indicates that elements of a composition can be either given separate identities, or represented as belonging together*" (Jewitt and Oyama cited in Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2002: 149). In other words, framing connects or disconnects different elements of the image. The absence of framing stresses group identity, while its presence signifies individuality and differentiation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 203). Furthermore, framing can be realised through: discontinuity of colour, empty space between elements, frame lines and so on (ibid: 204).

4. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language. It views "*language as a form of social practice*" (Fairclough, 1986: 20), and considers the context of language use to be essential to discourse analysis. In addition, CDA takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power, and aims to reveal ideology, power and dominance in discourse through understanding the relationship between textual features and large social practices. That is, it "*focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or*

domination" (Van Dijk, 2001: 96). In that sense, Wodak (2001:2) regards CDA as "*fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language*". Put differently, this approach aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constructed and legitimised by language use.

CDA differs from other discourse analysis methods in the sense that, it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work (Rogers, 2004: 2). Moreover, CDA seeks to theoretically bridge the chasm between the micro and the macro levels. The micro level of analysis is concerned with language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication, while power, dominance and social inequality between social groups are the main concerns of the macro level of analysis. CDA brings these two together through scrutinising the way power, domination and social inequality are deep-rooted in discourse. Accordingly, discourse in the lenses of critical discourse analysis is viewed as a form of social action that is socially, politically, racially and economically loaded and shaped (Rogers, 2004: 6).

CDA supplies analysts with tools to expound the structures of social and political issues within discourse, through analysing the methods used by elite groups to maintain their influence and their ideological dominance over individuals' lives within society. Because one of the main objectives of CDA is to demystify discourses by deciphering ideologies (Wodak, 2001: 10).

Furthermore, CDA has diverse and manifold roots, starting from the Frankfurt school of critical theory to Hallidayan (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). In the 1970s, witnessed the emergence of an approach to textual analysis named Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), henceforth a plethora of approaches have been elaborated in CDA by several scholars like, Fairclough (1989), Kress (1985), Fowler et al (1979), Van Dijk (1998a, 1998b),

Wodak (2001) and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008). Despite the fact that these approaches are different in a number of ways, they share a commitment of going beyond linguistic description, and show how social inequalities are reflected and created in language (Pennycook, 1994 cited in Karimanghaei and Kasmani, 2013: 127).

This research study opts for Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008)) socio-semantic inventory to analyse the linguistic representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters in national and international news media. Such theoretical framework is considered suitable for this work because it offers accurate representation choices and it is "*the only comprehensive framework in CDA studies that lend itself nicely to the analysis of discourse when representations of actors are looked at from asocial standpoint*" (Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh, 2010 cited in Amer, 2015: 93). Thus, the socio-semantic inventory approach provides this study with the necessary tools to scrutinise the way the Algerian protesters are represented linguistically in national and international news media.

4.1. The Socio-Semantic Inventory

Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) has elaborated an analytical framework to examine how social actors are represented linguistically in his joint work named "Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis". Socio-semantic inventory is an approach to CDA that aims to analyse the ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse, so that to reveal the hidden ideological assumptions that are encoded through language. Within this approach, representations of social actors can be either by including them in the text to suit the interests and purposes of the audience they targeted, or by excluding them from the text in which they are represented (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 28). Additionally, Van Leeuwen's approach of the representation of social actors is grounded in linguistics and aims to bring together representational choices and linguistic resources through the concept of the 'social actor'

(Van Leeuwen, 2008: 25). The following is the system network that constitutes Van Leeuwen's approach of socio-semantic inventory. Categories of socio-semantic inventory are:

1. Exclusion

It is the omission of social actors from the texts in which they are represented. In some cases, the exclusion of social actors may be hinged on details which are assumed to be relevant to an audience, while in other cases exclusion will be part of an inherent strategy (Michael, 2009: 29). Exclusion is comprised of two sub-categories: *suppression* and *backgrounding*. In the case of suppression, there is no reference to the social actors anywhere in the text although they are part of a given action. As for backgrounding, it requires the omission of any immediate or straight reference to the social actors in the action, but they will be mentioned elsewhere in the text. As Van Leeuwen (2008: 29) states "*the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and we can infer with reasonable (though never total) certainly who they are*" (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 29). Thus, exclusion in backgrounding is less radical and does leave traces.

2. Inclusion

It is when social actors are included in relation to a given action; this is done through using manifold discursive categories which are represented as follows:

- **Role Allocation**

It deals with the roles that social actors are given to play in representation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 32). They can be bestowed with either active or passive roles. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity (ibid) while in passivation they are represented as "'*undergoing' the activity or as being 'at the receiving end of it'*" (ibid).

- **Genericization and Specification**

The representation of social actors can be either in generic or specific ways. In genericization social actors are represented as classes. As for specification, social actors are represented as identifiable individuals (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 35).

- **Individualization and Assimilation**

Social actors can be referred to as individuals or as groups. The individual representation of social actors is called individualization, while group representation of social actors is named assimilation. The latter consists of two major types: aggregation and collectivization. The former quantifies groups of participants, treating them as statistics, whereas the latter does not (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37).

- **Association and Dissociation**

Association is the representation of social actors as groups that is it refers to "*groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generally or specifically referred to) which are never labeled in the text…*" (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 38). Parataxis is the most common realisation of association; however dissociation is when social actors are referred to separately.

- **Indetermination and Differentiation**

Indetermination happens when social actors are represented as unspecified 'anonymous' individuals or groups. It can be realised by indefinite pronouns like: somebody, someone, some, some people. As for differentiation, it occurs when representations differentiate an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the 'self' and the 'other', or between 'us' and 'them' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40).

- **Nomination and Categorization**

    Nomination is the use of social actor's unique identity. It is realised through proper nouns which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname). Concerning categorization, social actors can be represented in terms of identities and functions they share with others such a guardian, woman and youth (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40).

- **Functionalization and Identification**

    Categorization is made up of two key types for defining social actors: functionalization and identification. The former manifests when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity or the thing they do, for instance, an occupation or role. Regarding the latter, it transpires when social actors are defined not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they are. In addition, identification consists of three types: classification, relational and physical identification. Classification is when social actors are referred to "in terms of major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42). These indicate age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, etc. Relational identification refers to social actors by means of "their personal, kindship, or work relations, to each other, and it is realsed by a closed set of nouns denoting such relations: 'friend', 'aunt', 'colleague', etc" (ibid: 43). The last type is physical identification, it represents social actors in terms of physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context. It is realised through nouns denoting physical characteristics like 'blond', 'red head', 'cripple' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 44).

- **Personalization and Impersonalization**

    Personalization is the act of personalizing social actors, and representing them as human being. It is realised through personal or possessive pronouns, proper nouns, or nouns (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 46). On the other hand, social actors can be impersonalized by

representing them by other means for example, abstract nouns. Additionally, imporsonalization is divided into two types: abstraction and objectivation. The former occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them. While objectivation takes place when social actors "*are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged*" (ibid).

- **Overdetermination**

It is among the social actor network used for representing social actors in their actions. It occurs when social actors are represented as participating at the same time in more than one social practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 47).

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has reviewed the main theoretical points relating to the main concepts of this present research. First, it defined the theory of social semiotics and the one of multimodality by shedding light on the key concepts related to these fields. Then, it established a comparison between two types of newspaper: the broadsheet and the tabloid. Moreover, this chapter provided the two analytical frameworks to be used for the analysis of the corpus of this research. The first analytical framework is "Visual Grammar" put forward by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006), as for the second, it is the "Socio-semantic Inventory" proposed by Van Leeuwen in his book entitled: Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis (1996, 2008).

Chapter Two:
Research Design

Introduction

This chapter is methodological and describes the research design of the current study. It introduces the research methods used to obtain data from the analysis of the representation of the Algerian protesters in two daily printed broadsheets: *El Watan* and *The New York Times*. It, then, moves to the data collection procedures from the Algerian and American context, in which eight images and eight articles have been taken from the selected newspapers. After that, this chapter provides a description of the corpus of the study, which comprises two newspapers namely El Watan and The New York Times. This chapter ends with a description of the procedures of data analysis, in which the collected data will be analysed by means of two analytical frameworks. The first analytical framework is the social semiotic theory called 'Visual Grammar', put forward by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) to examine the visual representation of the Algerian protesters in the broadsheets under the study. The second analytical framework is, the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' proposed by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) to analyse the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in the selected newspapers.

1. The Research Method

The present research strives to examine the ways through which the Algerian protesters are represented in the visual and the linguistic discourses of the two daily printed broadsheets, through the lenses of 'Visual Grammar' and 'Socio-semantic Inventory'. To accomplish this objective, the study adopts the mixed method research which refers to "*an assignment of categories to text as qualitative step, working through many text passages and analysis of frequencies of categories as quantitative step*" (Mayring, 2014: 10). In other words, the mixed method research involves the integration of both the quantitative and the qualitative research techniques. The former is related to any research that "*is concerned with quantities and measurements*" (Biggam, 2008: 86), while the latter is "*linked to in-depth*

exploratory studies" (ibid) and involves studying *"things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them"* (Denzin and Lincoln cited in Biggam, 2008: 86). The reason behind the combination of these two research methods is that "*they arguably contribute to better understanding of the various phenomena under investigation*" (Angouri cited in Manfied and Julia, 2013: 73).

Accordingly, the qualitative technique will be used to examine the pictorial representation of the Algerian protesters in the selected images relying on the three metafuncions of 'Visual Grammar', namely the representational, the interactional and the compositional. As for the quantitative technique, it is undertaken through Van Leeuwen's theory the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' in order to analyse the linguistic discourse of the newspapers, through calculating the frequency of the distribution of some representational categories constituting this framework.

2. Procedures of Data Collection

The main focal point of the present study is to scrutinise the ways by which the Algerian protesters are represented visually and linguistically in both national and international news media. To meet the intended purpose, the selected corpus of this research is extracted from two daily printed newspapers: the Algerian *El Watan* and the American *The New York Times*, in which I consulted the electronic websites of the selected broadsheets: (http://www.elwatan.com) and (http://www.nytimes.com). From each of these newspapers, four images and four articles published in 2019, depicting the Algerian protesters, were selected. Hence, in total the corpus contains sixteen items to be analysed. It should be pointed out that the selection of this corpus is motivated by the important role the abovementioned newspapers play in shaping public opinion about the Algerian protesters through their manifold representations, and the significant place they have got when it comes to reporting about the Hirak movement. The latter is an Algerian popular movement that began on 22nd

February 2019, in which the major demonstrations have taken place in the largest urban centers and cities of Algeria.

3. Description of the Corpus

3.1. *El Watan*

El Watan is an Algerian independent newspaper published in the French language. The *El Watan* الوطن means the homeland in Arabic. It is founded in 1990 by Belhouchet Omar with his nineteen colleagues who had been previously working for the newspaper of *El Moudjahid*. Its chief editor Belhouchet Omar has received a golden feather in 1994 by the Global Association of Newspapers to reward him and honour his stout-heartedness and his considerable efforts in this field despite some difficult conditions. *El Watan* has launched its electronic website www.elwatan.com in 2008 which includes three languages namely Arabic, French and English (www.journauxalgeriens.com). It is an independent broadsheet aimed at a liberal, local professional middle class, and it often tends to support any form of political correctness. This Algerian newspaper is known for its wide coverage of national and international stories, and of different fields such as: economy, politics and culture.

3.2. *The New York Times*

The New York Times is an American daily newspaper founded in 1851 by the journalist and politician Henry Raymond and the former banker George Jones. It was first named *The York Daily Times* then, in 1857, the name was changed to *The New York Times*. This American newspaper, based in New York City, has worldwide influence and readership, and its motto is "All the News That's Fit to Print" that appears in the upper left-hand corner of the front page. In 1995, *The New York Times* has launched its electronic website www.nytimes.comwhich is one of the most visited newspaper websites in the U.S.A. It takes a keen interest on politics, economy, sports and culture, and it is interested in every recognised event, be it national or international. This newspaper is considered as one of the

world's leading newspapers which has won 130Plutz Prizes, more than any other newspaper (www.nytimes.com).

4. Procedures of Data Analysis

This section is concerned with the procedures followed to analyse the collected data. In this respect, two analytical tools are used for the analysis of the data obtained from the selected newspapers. The first analytical tool is the theory of 'Visual Grammar' (1996, 2006), it is used to systematically analyse the images depicting the Algerian protesters. As for the second analytical tool, it is the 'Socio-semantic Inventory', it is adopted to scrutinise the selected articles under investigation. The visual analysis is employed to analyse the visual discourse of the selected newspapers, in which each image is analysed systematically and separately relying on the three metafunctions namely: the representational, interactional and compositional as proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen in their approach of Visual analysis (1996, 2006). Besides the visual analysis, the present study adopts *Quantitative Content Analysis* in order to analyse the linguistic discourse of the selected newspapers, and calculate the frequency of the distribution of some representational categories constituting Van Leeuwen's approach of the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' (1996, 2008).These representational categories are: *exclusion, role allocation, genericization, specification, individualization, assimilation, nomination, functionalization* and *identification.* The choice of these representational categories is motivated by their ability to provide a convenient way to interpret and analyse systematically and critically the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in *El Watan*and *The New York Times*.

4.1. Grammar of Visual Design

Grammar of visual design has been elaborated by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) in their joint work entitled: 'Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design'. This approach is made up of three metafunctions:

4.1.1. Representational Metafunction

Representational metafunction describes the relationship between the represented participants, and it consists of two types of processes in which the represented participants come to participate. They are:

- **Narrative Process**

This process counts the vector "*an oblique line formed by arrows, bodies, limbs or tools, which connects participants*" (Torres, 2015: 246). The participant is represented either as 'actor', that is, the one who creates the vector, or represented as 'goal' the one who receives the vector.

- **Conceptual Process**

Conceptual process includes no vector, and the represented participants are represented in terms of their class, structure and meaning. There are three sub-processes underlying this process: analytical, classificational and symbolic processes. **Analytical process** shows how the participants are related to each other in terms of part-whole structure. **Classificational process** relates the participants in terms of taxonomy. **Symbolic process** is related to the symbolic values pointed at by the participants in the image.

4.1.2. Interactional Metafunction

Interactional metafuncion describes the relationship between the represented participants and the real world. It embraces:

- **Gaze**

The gaze can be direct or indirect. The former, if the eye contact with the viewer forms a vector straight to his/ her eyes this is called a demand image, it establishes an imaginary relation with the viewer as the depicted participants address him/her directly. The latter, if it is the viewer who looks at the represented participant but not in the eyes this is called an offer image (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 116).

- **Social Distance**

    It is "*determined by how close the represented participants in an image appear to the viewer*" (Harrison, 2003: 53). It is represented by the length of the depicted space between the participants and the viewers (Torris, 2015: 246). The viewer can see the represented participant in six different ways: '*Intimate distance*' includes only the head and face. '*Close personal distance*' includes the head and shoulders. '*Far personal distance*': from the waist up. '*Close social distance*' involves the whole figure. '*Far social distance*': the whole figure with space around it. '*Public distance*' includes the torso of several people.

- **Horizontal and Vertical Angles**

    The horizontal angle deals with the point from which the image taker produces the picture. Accordingly, visuals can include degrees of: **Frontal** angle which refers to "*what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 136) the viewers identify themselves to the image. **Oblique** angle which refers to "*what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with*" (ibid), the viewers do not identify themselves with the picture. The vertical angle communicates power between the represented participants and the image viewer/ maker (Ruppert, 2004: 28). It can encompass degrees of: **High angle:** an image where the viewer and the image producer are looking down the represented participants. In this type of visuals, they have a symbolic power over the depicted people; **Low angle**: showing the interactive participants look up the represented ones. In this kind of visuals, the depicted people have a symbolic power over the viewer; **Eye level angle**: where the picture is "*at eye level, then the point of view is one of quality*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 140), this entails that there is equality between the represented participants and the viewers.

4.1.3. Compositional Metafunction

Compositional metafunction refers to the correct combination of both the representational and the interactional metafunctions. For Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), it comprises three interrelated systems:

- **The Informational Value**

The informational value is concerned with the participants' positions in relation to each other and to the interactive participants. According to the different parts of the layout it can be: **Left** and **right**: the right side means new information, while the left zone shows the given what the readers are supposed to know as part of their knowledge. **Top** and **Bottom**: the top zone is viewed as ideal, while the bottom part of the visuals is seen as real, identified as more concrete. **Centre** and **Margin**: the center is distinguished as the center of the matter the one that provides periphery elements with prominence, while the margin is dependent to the middle (centre) (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 117).

- **Salience**

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 212) state that "*salience is not an actively measurable quality but in the result of complex interplay between various visual elements which act as cues to let the viewer know what is important and what is more important than the other elements.*". It can be realised by: participants put in the foreground lapping other elements, the size and the use of colours.

- **Framing**

Framing involves "*the degree to which elements of an image are disconnected or connected together*" (Ruppert, 2004: 32). Its absence "*stresses group identity [and its presence] signifies individuality and differentiation*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 203). It can be realised by: the empty spaces between participants, the vectors and the lines of the drawings.

4.2. The Socio-semantic Inventory

The Socio-semantic Inventory is an approach to CDA put forward by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) in his book entitled: 'Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis'. This approach aims at analysing the representation of social actors in order to uncover the hidden ideological assumptions in written texts. According to Van Leeuwen (2006) this approach comprises a system network or categories to represent social actors in texts:

4.2.1. Exclusion

Exclusion refers to the omission of social actors in their depiction, and it has two sub-categories: suppression and backgrounding. **Suppression**is when there is no reference or trace to social actors in the text even though they were part of social action. **Backgrounding** is when social actors are not mentioned immediately in the action but they appear later in the text (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 29).

4.2.2. Inclusion

- **Role Allocation**

Role allocation deals with the roles assigned to social actors to play in representation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 32). These roles can be active or passive. In active roles, social actors are represented as active and dynamic, while in passive roles social actors are represented as receivers of the activity or undergoing it.

- **Genericization and Specification**

Social actors can be represented either in generic or specific ways. Generic is when social actors are represented as class, while specific is when they are represented as identifiable individuals (Van Leeuwen, 2006: 35).

- **Individualization and Assimilation**

Individualization is the individual representation of social actors. Whereas assimilation is the group representation of social actors by hiding their identity. In addition, assimilation is made up of two types: aggregation and collectivization. The former quantifies social actors and treat them as statistics, while the latter does not quantify social actors (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37).

- **Nomination**

Nomination refers to the use of social actors unique identity or proper nouns which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (name and surname) or informal (name only) (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 40).

- **Functionalization and Identification**

Functionalization and identification are two types that belong to categorization. Functionalization takes places when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity or what they do. While identification, occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of what they are. In addition, identification consists of three types: classification, relational identification, and physical identification. Classification is when social actors are *"referred to in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people"* (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42). For example, age, gender, class, ethnicity, etc. Relational identification deals with the representation of social actors in terms of "*their personal, kindship, or work relations, to each other, and it is realised by a closed set of nouns denoting such relations: 'friend', 'aunt', 'colleague', etc*" (ibid, 43). As for physical identification, it is realised through nouns denoting physical characteristics such as 'blonde', 'redhead', 'cripple' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 44).

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has highlighted the research design and methodology used in this study. It has described the research method adopted in this study which is the mixed method research. After that, it has provided a description of the corpus of this research, which comprises two different newspapers. Afterwards, it has presented the methods of data collection through the description of the corpus underlying this study. Finally, this chapter has laid out the techniques used for the analysis of the collected data namely the principals of 'Visual Grammar' introduced by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006), and Van Leeuwen's approach of 'Socio-semantic Inventory' (1996, 2008) emphasising on the selected representational categories. Hence, the abovementioned techniques will be applied to analyse how the Algerian Hirak protesters are portrayed visually and linguistically in El Watan and The New York Times.

Chapter Three:
Presentation of the Findings

Introduction

This chapter is empirical. It presents the results obtained from the analysis of the visual and the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in the corpus under the study, which consists of eight images and eight news articles extracted from two different daily printed newspapers: *El Watan* and *The New York Times*. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section one deals with the representation of the results gathered from the visual analysis of the selected images depicting the Algerian protesters relying on the three metafunctions: the representational, the interactional and the compositional as proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen in their approach of 'Visual Grammar' (1996, 2008). Section two deals with the presentation of the findings obtained from the linguistic analysis of the Algerian protesters in the selected news articles in respect to the approach of 'Socio-semantic Inventory' introduced by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008).

1. The Representation of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in *El Watan* and *The New York Times* newspapers: Visual Analysis

This part is concerned with the presentation of the findings obtained from the social semiotic analysis of the eight images under study, which appear in appendix one. The selected images are systematically analysed in regards to the three metafuntions: the representational, the interactional and the compositional, constituting the theory of 'Visual Grammar' proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008).

1.1 The Representational Metafuncion

A) *El Watan* Images

Images	Process Type	
	Denotative Meaning	**Connotative Meaning**
Image 01	This image shows a group of protesters (only men) in the middle of street in which a placard written in Arabic is raised placed on the left side of the image. One participant with black sunglasses wrapping up the Algerian flag around his neck shakes a hand of another participant who is absent in the image, only his arm appears.	This image connotes a narrative meaning since the participants are involved doing an action that of marching and demonstrating in large numbers. The vector begins from the arm of the hidden participant and ends at the participant with black sunglasses. This entails that the depicted protesters are consolidated in their demonstrations.
Image 02	This image shows a crowd of protesters filling a street of Algiers holding flags, and a big Algerian flag is raised above the heads of a group of protesters.	This image connotes a conceptual meaning since there is no action. It falls in the category of symbolic process in which the big Algerian flag raised above the head of some demonstrators symbolises the identity of the protesters which is Algerian protesters, and makes the viewers aware of their popular movement.
Image 03	The image depicts a group of protesters (men and women) from above draping the Algerian flag. One participant raising his hands in the middle of the protesters and his look is directed to the viewers.	This picture connotes a narrative presentation since the depicted demonstrators are doing an action, that of protesting. The vector line is formed by the gaze of the participant raising his hands connecting him with the audience.
Image 04	This picture shows a crowd of protesters (men, women and children) filling a street of an Algerian city. They are depicted holding placards and flags.	The image presents a narrative meaning because the demonstrators have been portrayed doing an action (marching and walking). This entails that The Algerian protesters are active and dynamic social actors in their popular movement. The vector line begins from the participants and goes towards the direction of the audience.

Table 01: The Representational Metafunction in the Selected Images of *El Watan*.

B) *The New York Times* **Images**

Images	Process Type	
	Denotative Meaning	**Connotative Meaning**
Image 05	This picture depicts a group of protesters (male, young and old) in street holding flags and fumigants.	The image connotes a narrative presentation because the depicted participants are in an action (demonstrating and marching), and it shows them in the middle of their protests. The vector line stars from the participants and goes straight to the viewers. Thus, their looking direction forms a vector which connects them with the viewers, so that to enable the audience to be part of their protests.
Image 06	The image pictures a crowd of protesters (men and women) from high angle, some are heading to a tunnel and some are gathering in the middle of street. They depicted holding flags and placards.	Akin to image 5, this image connotes a narrative meaning since the Algerian protesters are doing an action of demonstrating and marching.
Image 07	This image depicts a group of protesters (men and young) throwing stones and objects to policemen who are not present in the image only their tear gas bombs appear.	The image connotes clash and tension between the protesters and the police riot, and it presents a narrative meaning since there are actors who are the protesters performing an action to goal participants who are policemen. The vector is realised by the gaze of the participants which is directed to the policemen not to the audience.
Image 08	The image presents a crowd of protesters (men and youngsters) filling the balconies of a building holding flags, placards and fumigants. One participant draping the Algerian flag only his back appears in the image.	This image presents a narrative meaning since the Algerian protesters are portrayed doing an action, that of demonstrating. The vector in this picture is formed by the look direction of the protesters which connects them with the viewers.

Table 02: The Representational Metafunction in the Selected Images of *The New YorkTimes.*

As demonstrated in table 1 and 2, there are seven images that represent a narrative meaning because they involve participants who are active, and the aim behind such depiction is to represent the Algerian protesters as dynamic social actors who play a significant role in the Hirak movement. One image is conceptual since there is no interaction between the participants and the viewers. The narrative images that represent the participants as active and dynamic are images: 1, 3, and 4 of *El Watan,* and images: 5, 6, 7 and 8 of *The New York Times*. While the conceptual image, it is image 2 of *El Watan.*

1.2. The Interactional Metafunction

A) *El Watan Images*

Images	Gaze	Social Distance	Relation	Angle	
				Horizontal	Vertical
Image 01	Demand	Far Personal	Far Intimate	Frontal	Eye Level Angle
Image 02	Offer	Close Personal Distance	Intimate	Oblique	Low Angle
Image 03	Demand	Far Personal	Far Intimate	Frontal	Low Angle
Image 04	Offer	Far Personal	Far Intimate	Frontal	Low Angle

Table 03: The Interactional Metafunction in the Selected Images of *El Watan.*

B) *The New York* **Times Images**

Images	Gaze	Social Distance	Relation	Angle	
				Horizontal	Vertical
Image 05	Demand	Far Personal	Far Intimate	Frontal	Eye Level Angle
Image 06	Offer	Close Social Distance	Impersonal	Oblique	Low Level
Image 07	Offer	Close Social Distance	Impersonal	Frontal	Medium Angle
Image 08	Offer	Close Social Distance	Impersonal	Frontal	High Level

Table 04: The Interactional Metafunction in the Selected Images of *The New York Times.*

Tables 3 and 4 shown that the images of *El Watan* and The *New York Times* are offer images except image 1, 3 and 5 which are demand pictures. With the regard to social distance, far personal distance is realised in image 1, 3, 4 and 5 creating a far intimate distance between the participants and the viewers. In addition, close personal distance is realised in image 2 establishing an intimate distance between the participants and the viewers, in order to make them aware of the significant role that the demonstrators play in the peaceful protests and they can be part of their movement. Besides, close social and intimate distances are realised in image 6, 7 and 8 creating an intimate distance between the participants and the viewers. As regards the horizontal angle, in the images of *El Watan* and *The New York Times,* the participants are seen from a frontal angle except in image 2 and 6 the participants are viewed from an oblique angle. In terms of vertical angle, in image 2, 3, 4 and 6 the participants are depicted from a low angle in which the viewers have a symbolic power over the represented participants. In addition, in image 1, 5 and 7 the participants are seen from eye level angle which involves equality between the represented participants and the viewers. While in image 8, the participants are viewed from high angle, this entails that they have a symbolic power over the viewers.

1.3. The Compositional Metafunction

A) *El Watan Images*

Images	Information Value	Salience	Framing
Image 01	In the image, the group of protesters is put in the center. Thus, they are the most important elements in the image. However, the raised placard on the left side of the image entails that, this placard is a given and already kwon information to the viewer.	This group of protesters and the raised placard are placed in the foreground, in order to draw the attention of the viewers to them.	The group of protesters is connected to each other.
Image 02	In the image, the group of protesters is placed in the central position.	The represented group of protesters is given a salience by the big Algerian flag raised above the heads of some protesters which symbolises the identity of the protesters which is Algerian.	The group of protesters seems connected to each other.
Image 03	The image presents a group of protesters placed at the center of the picture. Therefore, they are the most valued elements.	The represented protesters are given a salience through placing them in the foreground.	The group of protesters is connected except one participant who appears at the middle of protesters raising his hands.
Image 04	The group of protesters portrayed in the picture put in the center which entails that they are the most valued elements.	The represented group of protesters is positioned in the foreground.	The group of protesters is connected to each other.

Table 5: The Compositional Metafunction in the Selected Images of *El Watan*.

B) *The New York Times* **Images**

Images	Information Value	Salience	Framing
Image 05	The image presents a group of protesters put at the center. Thus, they present important elements in the picture.	The represented protesters are placed in the foreground.	The group of protesters seems connected.
Image 06	The group of protesters depicted in the image is put in the central position.	The group of protesters is positioned in the foreground.	The represented group of protesters appears to be connected.
Image 07	The image portrays a group of protesters put at the center, in order to attract the foreign viewers to them since and their peaceful demonstrations.	The represented group of protesters is given a salience by the foreground.	The group of protesters is connected
Image 08	In the picture, a group of protesters placed at the center except one participant draping the Algerian flag positioned at the left side of the image.	The participant draping the Algerian flag who is given the salience by placing him in the foreground.	The group of protesters seems connected to each other except the participant draping the Algerian flag.

Table 6: The Compositional Metafunction in the Selected Images of *The New York*

Times.

As shown in table 5 and 6, images of *El Watan* and *The New York Times* place the Algerian protesters in the center position to show that they are the most significant and valued elements in the image, since they are depicted as dynamic social actor in their popular movement. With regards to salience, the represented participants are given salience. As for framing, the depicted participants in image 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are connected and represented as collectively identifiable social actors.

2. The Representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters in *El Watan* and *The New York Times*: Linguistic Analysis

This part deals with the results obtained from the textual analysis of the news articles of the abovementioned newspapers, which appear in appendix 2. The corpus under the study is analysed relying on the framework put forward by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008), in order to calculate and to classify the representational categories constituting this framework. In which all the phrases, clauses and sentences of the selected news articles are interpreted and analysed.

2.1. Exclusion in the Selected Articles

	El Watan	*The New York Times*
Frequency of Suppression	0	0
Frequency of Backgrounding	2	2

Table 7: Exclusion of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Articles

As indicated in table 7, in *El Watan and The New York Times,* the Algerian protesters are rarely excluded from their action through using the category of backgrounding (2 and 2 cases). In addition, there is not suppressed element in the selected broadsheets. Thus, it has been ascertained that the Algerian protesters are rarely omitted or excluded from their actions that of demonstrating and marching to the point that their exclusion is hardly examined in the selected articles.

2.2. Inclusion

- **Role Allocation in the Selected Articles**

	El Watan	*The New York Times*
Frequency of Activation	31	40
Frequency of Passivation	9	8

Table 8: the Algerian Hirak Protesters Role Allocation in the Selected Articles

As shown in table 8, the active representation of the Algerian protesters has larger position in *El Watan* and *The New York Times* (31 and 40 times respectively), while passivation of the Algerian protesters in the selected newspapers (9 and 8 times respectively).

- **Genericization and Specification in the Selected Articles**

	El Watan	*The New York Times*
Frequency of Genericization	33	42
Frequency of Specification	4	17

Table 9: Genericization and Specification of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Articles

The results in table 9 indicate that in *El Watan* and *The New York Times,* the frequency of genericization is higher than specification. This entails that the Algerian protesters are represented most frequently as a class of entities in 33 and 42 cases respectively.

- **Assimilation and Individualizationin the Selected Articles**

	El Watan	*The New York Times*
Frequency of Assimilation	36	46
Frequency of Individualization	9	18

Table 10: Assimilation and Individualization of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Articles

Table 10 shows that in *El Watan* and *The New York Times* the Algerian protesters are most frequently represented by assimilation in 36 and 44 cases respectively.

- **Nomination in the Selected Articles**

	El Watan	*The New York Times*
Frequency of Formalization	0	0
Frequency of Informalization	2	2
Frequency of Semi Formalization	4	16

Table 11: Nomination of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Articles

As revealed in table 11, the Algerian protesters are nominated in semi formalization in both *El Watan*and *The New York Times* in 4 and 16 cases respectively. As it is indicated in the

table above, *The New York Times* is the broadsheet that mostly nominated the Algerian protesters in 16 cases.

- **Functionalization and Identification in the Selected Articles**

	El Watan	*The New York Times*
Frequency of Functionalization	17	46
Frequency of Identification	16	20

Table 12: Functionalization and Identification of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Articles

Table 12 reveals that both *El Watan* and *The New York Times* frequently refer to the Algerian protesters in relation to their function in 17 and 46 times respectively. *The New York Times* mostly represented the Algerian protesters through their function in 46 cases respectively.

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter introduces the results obtained from the visual and the linguistic analysis of the representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters in *El Watan* and *The New York Times*. The visual analysis has been carried out in respect to the multimodal social semiotic theory 'Visual Grammar', and it has revealed that seven images present a narrative meaning in which the Algerian protesters are depicted as active and dynamic social actors except in image 2 of El Watan. It also revealed that in the eight selected images the demonstrators are given a salience by placing them in the foreground of the images. With regards to the linguistic analysis, it has been carried out relying on Van Leeuwen's model in CDA known the 'Socio-semantic Inventory', in which nine representational categories have been selected in order to conduct the linguistic analysis of the Algerian protesters in *El Watan* and *The New York Times*. Hence, the linguistic analysis has revealed that the protesters are represented as active social actors, and they are referred to by their function in all the selected articles.

Chapter Four:

Discussion of the Findings

Introduction

The present chapter is devoted to the discussion of the findings obtained from the social semiotic and critical discourse analysis of the representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters in two daily printed broadsheets: El Watan and The New York Times. This chapter aims to provide answers to the research questions raised in the general introduction, and to check the validity of the formulated hypotheses. This chapter is comprised of three major parts. The first part discusses the results gained from the social semiotic analysis of the selected images, as for the second part, it discusses the findings of textual analysis of the selected news articles relying on the Socio-semantic Inventory. The last part, establishes a comparison between the two selected newspapers' depiction of the Algerian protesters, so that to reveal the main similarities and differences of their representation both at the visual and the linguistic levels.

1. The Visual Representation of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in El Watan and The New York Times

   1.1. The Represented Algerian Hirak Protesters as Active Social Actors

Representation refers to the represented participants such as objects, individuals and places, and the way they significantly relate to one another in meaningful ways in the image. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) have identified two types of represented participants that come to participate in two distinct types of processes: the narrative process and the conceptual process.

The narrative process represents the communication that the viewers read between the represented participants when interacted and connected through a presence of a vector. The participant that creates a vector or from which the vector emanates is called 'Actor', while the one at which the victor is directed or receives is referred to as 'Goal' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 66). Relying on the results obtained from the analysis of the selected images,

it has been ascertained that images 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 (see Appendix 1) generate a **narrative meaning** since the represented participants are involved in an action and serving "*to present unfolding action and event*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 59). That is, they are represented as active participants or " 'the agents', the doers of the action" (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 142) in order to show that the demonstrators have an active and significant role in their popular movement and they are the leaders of the peaceful protests, in which they demonstrate a firm and solid determination to abolish the nefarious regime and aspire to build prosperous Algeria. As for image 7 (see Appendix 1) of The New York Times, it is about violence in which a group of protesters throw stones and objects to the policemen who are not present in the picture only their shot tear gas bombs appear. This indicates that there is a clash and tension between the protesters and the policemen; it also entails that the Algerian demonstrators are subject to violence and oppression. Accordingly, this image is based on a **narrative process** since it includes participants that create vector referred to as 'actors' and a participants that received it are called 'goal' (transactional action). In other words, in this image the Algerian protesters are portrayed as 'actors' performing an action to 'goal' in this case is the riot police receiving the action from the actors. In addition, image 7 is decontextualised since it provides no identification of the policemen who shot the tear gas bombs to the protesters. Hence, they are excluded from the action in order to suit the interest of the newspaper which is to avoid associating the Algerian police with negative connotations or actions.

With regard to the conceptual process, it represents the participants in terms of their class, structure and meaning, and it does not include a vector. Image 2 of El Watan (see Appendix1) is an instance of **conceptual presentation,**which depicts a street filled with crowd of protesters where a big Algerian flag is raised above their heads at the left side of the picture which identifies their identity. This image uses a **symbolic attributes** since the demonstrators

are portrayed with a large flag of Algeria raised above their heads, in order to show their identity to the viewers, and the protests are Algerian. Besides, this picture falls in the category of analytical process, whereupon the Algerian protesters are represented as 'the carriers' in regards to their 'possessive attributes'; that is, the national emblem of Algeria raised above the heads of protesters connotes their country which is 'Algeria'. Hence, the demonstrators are categorized, for the viewers, in relation to the 'cultural characteristics' of the social group they belong to (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 144).

1.2. The Interactional Metafunction

The interactional metafunction deals with the way the represented participants in the image interact with the viewers. The interactive meaning of an image has three dimensions namely social distance, gaze and pint of view.

1.2.1. Social Distance between the Algerian Hirak Protesters and the Viewers

Social distance refers to the different relationships that the distance between the represented participants in an image and the viewers can suggest, usually related to the size of the frame. Based on the results obtained from the visual analysis of the selected images, it has been ascertained that image 1, 3 and 4 of El Watan (see appendix 1), *far personal distance* is reflected in which "*we see the other person from waist up*" 5(Hall, 1964 cited in Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 125). This generates a *far intimate* relation between the depicted Algerian protesters and the viewers. The major ettle behind this representation is to apprise and demonstrate plainly to the audience that the Algerian demonstrators are active in their protests for the Hirak movement, as well as the placards and the flags that they are holding. Besides, to make the viewers aware of the significant role and presence of the protesters in theirs demonstrations and make them part of the protesters' Hirak. As for image 2 of the same newspaper, it pictures the Algerian protesters in a *close personal distance* in which "*we take in the head and the shoulders*" (ibid), in order to enable to the viewer to be part of their

popular movement and acknowledge their large peaceful demonstrations. It suggests an *intimate* and *personal* relationship between the represented participants and *the* viewers. In other words, "*to see people close up is to see them in the way we would normally only see people with whom we are more or less intimately acquainted*" (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001: 1946). Thus, the depicted Algerian protesters are shown as if they were close to the viewer.

As regards The New York Times, **far personal** is created between the represented participants and the viewers in image 5 in which "*we see the other person from waist up* "(Hall, 1964 cited in Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 125). It establishes a **far intimate** relation between the depicted Algerian protesters and the audience. This virtual relation is adopted in order to show clearly to the viewers the demonstrators' resilience and determination to go the whole hog in achieving their objectives. In image 6, 7 and 8 of the same newspaper, a **close social distance** is established between the Algerian protesters and the audience, in which "*we see the whole figure*" (ibid). This results in a **close social** relation between the depicted participants and the viewers. Hence, this imaginary relation is employed in order to make the audience close to the Algerian protesters and the action in which they are involved.

1.2.2. The Gaze Direction of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Images

With regard to *gaze*, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 117) claim that "*there is, then, a fundamental difference between pictures from which represented participants look directly at the viewers' eyes, and pictures in which this is not the case*". Both image 1 and 3 of El Watan newspaper involve participants who gaze directly at the viewers, therefore they are demand images in which the represented participants' gaze demand that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with them (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). They, perhaps, demand from the viewers to acknowledge the Algerian protesters' important role in the Hirak

movement and the peaceful nature of their demonstrations. For instance, in image 3 a participant draping the Algerian flag stands in the middle of protesters, in which he looks directly at the camera with raised arms as a sign of victory. This entails that, it is a kind of an invitation to the viewers to celebrate and be part of the Hirak movement. However, image 2 and 4 involve participants who do not gaze directly at the viewers and, therefore, they are offer images in which the represented participants are offered to the viewers as "*times of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case*" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996 cited in Ly and Jung, 2015: 52). That is, the main purpose of these images is to inform the viewer that the Algerian protesters are consolidated and pacific in their demonstrations.

Concerning The New York Times, image 5 is a demand image which depicts a group of protesters holding fumigants and flags, and they are gazing at the viewers. Hence, these Algerian protesters interact with the audience and, perhaps, demand from them to get involved in marching and be part of the Hirak movement. As regards image 6, 7 and 8 of the same broadsheet, portray a group of protesters in a close social distance. Some of them gaze directly at the viewers while others do not. In this context, Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006: 120) analysis of the portrayal of Aboriginal people in Australian textbooks, point out that even though the Aboriginals people occasionally gaze at the viewers, they do it from a far distance which significantly reduces the impact of their gaze. They are seen as objects of contemplation because they are figures in the background, gazing accidently in the direction of the camera. Accordingly, the abovementioned images are offer images, because the gaze of the Algerian protesters appears to be accidental rather than intentional. In other words, the represented participants in these images let the viewer be the invisible bystanders in order to observe the Algerian demonstrators' willingness and determination to accomplish their goal of establishing justice and abolishing the nefarious rulers.

1.2.3. Point of View and Distribution of Power Relations between the Algerian Hirak Protesters and the Viewers

The third dimension for representing social relations between the viewers and the depicted social actors of the image is ***angle***. It comprises two types namely ***horizontal angle*** which can be frontal to suggest involvement or oblique to signify detachment between the portrayed social actors and the audience. ***Vertical angle*** is associated with power and status, and the different angles from which the participants of the image are viewed whether from below, above or at eye level.

The results gained from the analysis of the corpus under study revealed that, image 1, 3 and 4 of El Watan, depicted Algerian protesters as seen from a frontal angle which gives a sense of involvement between them and the audience. The aim behind this representation is to involve the viewers with the protesters in their peaceful demonstrations and in the Hirak movement. As it is pointed out by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 113) *"what we see here is part of our world, something we are involved with"*, that is, the viewer becomes part of the protesters' world as if he is engaged in the peaceful protests, revendications and marching with the Algerian protesters. However, image 2 involves participants who are observed from an oblique angle which indicates that they are detached from the audience. Put differently, the viewers do not get involved in the protests of the Algerian demonstrators and are not part of their popular movement. Kress and Van Leeuwen state that *"what we see here is not part of us, something we are not involved with"* (ibid). As far as the vertical angle is concerned, image 2,3 and 4 of El Watan are taken from a low angle, placing the viewers in a position of symbolic power over the represented Algerian participants. In other words, a low angle is *"to look down on someone is to exert imaginary symbolic power over that person, to occupy, with regard to that person, the kind of 'high' position"* (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 139).This associated

with the strategy of "*disempowerment representing people as below us, as downtrodden*"(ibid). The Algerian protesters represented in abovementioned images are disempowered. As for image 1, the portrayed protesters are viewed from eye level angle which signals equality between the Algerian demonstrators and the viewers. As Jewitt and Omaya (2001: 133) state "*symbolic equality between the viewer and the depicted participant.*"

Regarding The New York Times, image 5, 7and 8, they are similar to image 1, 3 and 4 of El Watan, that is, the three images of The New York Times involve the Algerian protesters who are seen from a frontal angle and, thus, this generates an involvement between the protesters and the viewers in order to let the latter be part of the demonstrators' world. While image 6 is taken from an oblique angle.With regards to vertical angle, both image 5 and 7 are at eye level which realises equality between the depicted protesters and the audience. Image 6 is photographed from a low angle while image 8 is taken from a high angle. Hence, the former suggests that the viewers are more powerful than the Algerian protesters. The latter implies placing the protesters in a position of symbolic power over the viewers. That is, "*to look up at someone signifies that someone has symbolic power over the viewer, whether as authority, a role model, or something else*" (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 139).

1.3. The Compositional Metafunction

The compositional metafunction refers to the correct combination of both the representational and the interactional metafunctions within visuals. Compositional meaning is realised through three interrelated systems: ***information value, salience*** and ***framing***.

1.3.1. The Positioning of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Images

Social distance deals with the meaningful positioning of the represented participants (objects, places, individuals) in specific zones of an image that endows particular values. In image 1 of El Watan, the group of protesters is placed in the center of the picture. The

centralization of the group of protesters enables them to be the essence of the representation in order to draw the attention of the viewers, and make them aware of the Algerian protesters' demonstrations and their peaceful movement, that has attracted the attention of many news media. While the raised placard written in Arabic is placed on the left side of the picture, this indicates that it is already known information to the audience. Similar to image 1, image 2 positions the crowd of protesters in the middle in order to inform the viewers that the Algerian peaceful movement has drawn the attention of a broad cross-section of the Algerian society. As regards image 3, the depicted group of protesters are given importance by placing them in the center, so that to indicate the crucial role that they have in the Hirak movement that of showing solid willingness to get rid of the shady rulers and establish equality in society. Likewise, the represented Algerian protesters in image 4 are given prominence through placing them in the middle of the image. As for The New York Times, image 5 depicts the protesters while marching and demonstrating in the middle of the street holding fumigants and flags. They are placed in the center, which indicates that they are the most valued elements in the image. Similar to image 5, image 6 gives attribute prominence to the protesters by means of positioning them in the centre. In image7, the protesters throw stones and objects to the policemen who are not seen in the picture. Only the tear gas bombs that appear are placed in the centre. The centralization of the Algerian demonstrators makes them the core of the depiction in order to invite the viewer to acknowledge the connotation of this positioning, which is to make them aware of the situation of the protesters in Algeria. As far as image 8 is concerned, the protesters occupying the balconies of a building holding flags and placards written in Arabic and English, they are placed in the middle since they are considered as important elements in the picture. While one participant draping the Algerian flag is placed on the left side, this demonstrates that he is 'the given' already known by the audience. In nutshell, the results reveal that all the images selected from El Watan and The

New York Times place the Algerian protesters in the central position, in order to present them as the core information and the most valued elements in the image.

1.3.2. Salience as a Tool to Foreground the Algerian Hirak Protesters

The second principle of the compositional metafunction is *salience*. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 212) state that "*salience is not an actively measurable quality but in the result of complex interplay between various visual elements which act as cues to let the viewer know what is important and what is more important than the other elements.*"This indicates that salience indicators can be colour, size and placement in the foreground or the background. From the analysis of the eight selected images, we notice that all of them make use of foregrounding in their representation of the Algerian protesters. In image1 of El Wtan, the group of protesters is placed on the foreground, thus, they are seen as the most salient elements in the image. The goal behind such depiction is to make the viewers aware of the Algerian protesters' demands that they are revendicating each Friday in the Hirak movement. In image 2, the crowd of protesters is given salience through their dominant central position. As for image 3 and 4, the represented Algerian demonstrators are provided salience and this by placing them in the foreground, and in the central part of the pictures. Regarding image 5 of The New York Times, the protesters are placed in foregrounding and, thus, they are viewed as the most salient elements in the image. In image 6, the protesters holding flags and draping the Algerian flag are the salient elements by being foregrounded in the center of the picture. Concerning image 7, the protesters who are depicted throwing objects to policemen are also foregrounded. The aim is to show to the audience the situation of protesters in Algeria. Akin to the previous images of the same newspaper, the participants portrayed in image 8 are attributed salience through being foregrounded in the central part of the image.

1.3.3. The Framing of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected Images

The third component of the compositional metafunction is referred to as *framing*. It is concerned with the connectedness or disconnectedness of the represented elements of a given image. For Kress and Van Leeuwen, the absence of the framing stresses 'group identity' while its presence signifies 'individuality' and 'differentiation' (2006: 203). Different framing devices can be utilised to connect certain elements together or separate them from each other. For instance, the use of discontinuities of colour hue or saturation, the use of empty spaces, vectors and so on. In image 1 of El Watan, the represented protesters are connected to each other. Likewise, in image 2, the crowd of demonstrators seems connected. As for image 3, the depicted Algerian protesters are connected to each other while the participant who is standing in the middle of crowd protesters raises his arms is disconnected. That is, this participant is portrayed as an independent individual while other protesters are collectively identified. In image 4, the crowd of protesters is connected to each other and, thus, they are collectively identified. Concerning The New York Times, in image 5, 6 and 7, the represented Algerian demonstrators are joined to each other and, therefore, they are inclusively identified. While in image 8, the Algerian protesters who are filling the balconies of building are joined to one another, except one participant, who is draping the Algerian flag placed at the left side of the image is disconnected since he is placed separately. Thus, he is identified individually.

In summary, the results obtained from the visual analysis of the selected images depicting the Algerian protesters and their discussion provide important insights and reveal that El Watan and The New York Times employ the principles of the representational, the interactional and the compositional metafunctions put forward by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) in order to attain their communicative purposes that of informing the audience about the Hirak movement, and representing the Algerian protesters in their news reports. As a matter of fact, the Algerian protesters have been portrayed as active social actors in the

selected newspapers. They have been also depicted positively except for image 7 of The New York Times which has represented them negatively, reflecting the situation of protesters in Algeria.

2. The Linguistic Representation of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in El Watan and The New York Times

2.1. The Backgrounding of the Algerian HirakProtesters in the Discourse of the News Articles

The representation of social actors can point out the way particular individuals or parties are positioned in discourse. As it is argued by Krzyzanowski (2013: 117), the representation of social actors deals with how "*certain social and political actors are represented, portrayed and positioned in discourse, as well as endowed with social and political agency.*" That is, social actors and activities that are associated to them can be represented in discourse by means of different discursive structures. Accordingly, Van Leeuwen's Socio-semantic approach (2008) provides a discursive framework to critically explore the ways social actors are linguistically positioned in discourse. Thus, he sets forth two major discursive categories namely ***inclusion*** and ***exclusion***, in which social actors can be included or excluded deliberately in order to convey a relevant massage to the readers. From the analysis of the selected news articles, we noticed that the Algerian protesters are excluded just in few instances through making use of the category 'backgrounding', since they have a significant and an active role in the activity which they are involved in. The following are some examples of how the Algerians protesters are excluded in the news articles:

- Example1 (EL Watan, article 4):***Les slogans en soutien aux étudiants victimes de la répression*** ont d'ailleurs dominé la marche…(***The slogans in support of students victims of repression*** have also dominated the march) ;

- Example 2 (El Watan, article 4) : ***une procession interminable*** venue des quartiers ouest de la capital marque une longue pause…(***An interminable procession*** coming from the western districts of the capital marks a long pause) ;

- Example 3 (The New York Times, article 6): ***The weekly protests*** that have been held after Friday prayer;

- Example 4 (The New York Times, article 6): … ***demonstrations*** that have been repeatedly hit cities and towns from the coastal north to the desert south…

Accordingly, the presence of the Algerian protesters in the selected news articles is accentuated through involving them in the activities they are doing rather than excluding them. The aim behind this representation is that the Algerian demonstrators and the activity which they are involved in are significant to be included in the discourse of the news stories. In other words, the selected news articles rely extensively on ***inclusion*** through making use of various discursive structures namely role allocation, genericization, specification, individualization, assimilation, nomination, functionalization and identification. The aforementioned categories are the focal points of this research.

- **The Active Role Attributed to the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the News Articles**

Role allocation is a significant discursive category, and it refers to the roles that social actors take in the representation. Van Leeuwen (2008: 32) contends that *"representation can reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants."* Social actors can be activated, that is, they are represented as active and dynamic forces in a given activity; they can also be passivated through undergoing the activity, or being the recipients. What is striking about the results gained from the analysis of the news articles under study is that, in the great majority of cases, in whereupon the Algerian protesters are included in the news stories, they are represented actively. The examples below demonstrate clearly how the protesters are assigned an active role:

- Example 5(EL Watan, article 2):…*des cortèges de marcheurs drapes de l'emblèmenatioal*, certain coiffés d'un chapeau ou un bob vert- blanc- rouge, défilent allégrement gans une ambiance festive (*Processions of walkers draped in the national emblem*, some wearing a hat or a bob green, white, red parade chearfully in festive atmosphere);

- Example6 (EL Watan, article 3): *Les citoyens sont déterminés* plus que jamais à occupier la place publique…(*Citizens are more determined* than ever to occupy the public square) ;

- Example7 (EL Watan, article 2):*Deux jeunes femmes descendent* la rue Didouche avec une bandrole… (*Two young women walk down* Didouche street with placard);

- Example 8 (The New York Times, article 6): *Hundreds of youthful protesters returned* to the streets of Algiers and other cities….;

- Example 9 (The New York Times, article 7): *Many of the protesters on Friday started marching* even before the end of weekly prayers…..;

- Example 10 (The New York Times, article 5):…*the protesters remain mobilized* still coursing through the capital's sun blasted streets twice a week.

Accordingly, this demonstrates that both El Watan and The New York Times show positive representation of the Algerian protesters through depicting them as energetic and active social actors in their popular movement, for instance in example 6: *les citoyens sont déterminés* plus que jamais à occupier la place publique…(*Citizens are more determined* than ever to occupy the public square) (El Watan, article 3). They are also associated with positive actions like in example 8: *Hundreds of youthful protesters returned* to the streets of Algiers and other cities (The New York Times, article 8). Hence, giving such active representation enables the reader to have a positive attitude and a good image of the Algerian protesters, especially the peaceful nature of their demonstrations.

- **Genericization and Specification of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected News Articles**

    Van Leeuwen (2008: 35) discerns the choice between generic and specific reference as an important factor in the representation of social actors. In this representational category, Van Leeuwen hones in on the differences, when social actors are represented as part of a class of people (genericised), or represented as identifiable individuals (specified) (Taryn Bernard, 2008: 86). The results revealed that the Algerian protesters are most frequently represented through generic form in the majority of the selected news articles (33 times in El Watan and 42 instances in The New York Times). In order to inform the readers that the demonstrators are involved in the Hirak movement as united social actors who aspire to make radical changes in their country by establishing justice and equality. The following examples show the genericization of the demonstrators in the news articles:

  - Example 11 (EL Watan, article 4): ***Certains manifestants*** ont meme appelé à une manif devant le siège de l'APN….(***Some demonstrators*** even called for a demonstration infront if the headquarters of APN);

  - Example 12 (EL Watan, article 2): ***Le people algérien*** est sorti d'une manière très forte durant les trios premiers weekends….(***The Algerian people*** came out in very strong manner during the first three weekends);

  - Example 13 (The New York Times, article 7): …..***the protesters*** insisted on their determination to keep marching until their goal was achieved;

  - Example 14 (The New York Times, article 6):….***demonstrators*** holding sings with images……

    This indicates that the newspapers represent the Algerian protesters as consolidated and united social actors who are involved in the same action, which is marching and reclaiming their demands in a peaceful way. Hence, such representation aims at making the

reader involved in the Algerian protesters' world, that of the Hirak movement which became unique and typical in a region full of tensions.

- **Nomination of the Known Algerian Figures in the Selected News Articles**

    Nomination is another important representational category within Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach (2008) , it is concerned with the use of social actors' unique identity or proper nouns, which can be formal(surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (name and surname) or informal (name only). Based on the corpus under study, the Algerian protesters are more nominated in semi-formalization in both El Watan and The New York Times, and it is realised by mentioning both their names and their surnames. The following examples demonstrate the point clearly:

    - Example 15 (EL Watan, article 3): …..*Wasyla Tamzali* qui qualifie ce mouvement de moment historique… (*Wasyla Tamzali* who qualifies this movement as a historical moment);

    - Example 16 (EL Watan, article, 2):…..nous croisons maitre *Badi Abdelghani* avocat et défenseur des droits humains qui s'est battu acharnement….(We come cross master *Badi Abdelghani* lawyer and human rights defender who fought hard);

    - Example 17 (The New York Times, article8):….*Rabah Bouberras*, 32 a shopkeeper from the suburbs who was demonstrating in Algiers on Friday;

    - Example 18 (The New York Times, article 8):…*Louisa Dris-Ait Hamadouche* a leading political scientist here, her words nearly drowned by thousands protesting around her on Friday.

    This indicates that the Algerian protesters are very well respected and esteemed by the selected newspapers through nominating them in semi-formalization, and they seriously consider the popular movement that has attracted a broad cross-section of society and has impressed the world by its 'Silmiya' which means ' peacefulness' in English.

- **Assimilation and Individualization of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected News Articles**

    Assimilation and individualization are two significant discursive categories constituting Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach (2008).Social actors can be referred to as individuals by means of individualization, or as a group in a process called assimilation (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 37). Assimilation is made up of two types, namely ***aggregation*** and ***collectivization***. "*The former quantifies groups of participants, treating them as 'statistics', the latter does not*"(Van Leeuwen cited in Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard, 1996: 49). After analysing the corpus of the present study in regards to these two categories, it has been found that the Algerian protesters are more frequently represented as group social actors in the discourse of the selected news articles. The following examples elaborate on how the protesters are depicted in groups:

- Example 19 (EL Watan, article 4):***Les manifestants*** ont exprimé leur colère….(***The demonstrators*** expressed their anger) ;

- Example 20 (EL Watan, article 3):***C'est tout le peuple algérien***…qui se soulèvent…(All the Algerian people are rising up) ;

- Example 21 (EL Watan, article 2):…***un important group de manifestants*** est déjà entré en action…(***a large group of demonstrators*** has already taken action) ;

- Example 22 (The New York Times, article 8):…***tens of thousands of demonstrators*** fill the streets every week …;

- Example 23 (The New York Times, article 7):…***tens of thousands of people***took the streets of the capital….;

- Example 24 (The New York Times, article 8):***The Algerian people*** want a radical change.

Accordingly, the Algerian protesters are aggregated and collectivised in the corpus under study more than they are individualised. Thus, the aim behind this representation is that the selected newspapers attribute great importance and attention to "*the groups' identity and numbers rather than [to] the individuals' identity*" (Abid et al, 2013: 43).That is, they aim to show that the portrayed Algerian protesters belong to one community which is the Algerian society.

- **Functionalization and Identification of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected News Articles**

    Functionalization and identification are subcategories of the discursive structure called categorization constituting Van Leeuwen's approach (2008). Functionalization refers to representations which characterise social actors in terms of what they do, while identification refers to social actors not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they are. There are three categories of identification: classification, relational and physical identification. Hence, functionalization and identification are two essential representational categories that need to be considered in order to see how the newspapers refer to the Algerian protesters in their news articles. Drawing on the findings gained from the analysis of the corpus of study, it has been ascertained that the Algerian protesters are frequently categorized in terms of their functions. The following examples demonstrate properly this aspect:

  - Example 25 (EL Watan, article 3):*Le professeur Abderrazak Dourani*, *spécialiste en science de langage et traductologie*…revient sur l'introduction…(*Professor AbderrazakDourani a spacialist in language science and translatology*… returns to the introduction) ;

  - Example 26 (EL Watan, article 4):*Les marcheurs* ont par ailleurs exprimé leur refus…(*The walkers* also expressed their refusal…) ;

- Example 27 (EL Watan, article 2):***Desvandeurs*** sur le trottoir proposent des artricles aux couleurs national…(***Salers*** on the side walk offer items in national colours) ;

- Example 28 (The New York Times, article 7):...***protesters*** took streets some with placards…;

- Example 29 (The New York Times, article 8):...***Zoubir Arous a leading sociologist*** as he watched a stream of chanting youth…;

- Example 30 (The New York Times, article 8):...***a banker, Mallem Amel*** said "there's been this consciousness raising";

- Example 31 (The New York Times, article 6):...***Amel Boubekeur a researcher at EHESS in Paris*** said in a telephone interview from Algiers.

Therefore, the represented Algerian protesters as demonstrated in the aforementioned examples, in the lenses of the selected newspapers they are portrayed by their function in the discourse of the news articles. They are presented as having high status jobs such as researchers, specialists in language science, sociologists, etc. The aim behind this representation is to show to the readers that the Algerian protesters play a crucial role in the community they live in. It also aims at making the reader aware of the fact that the Hirak movement is not restricted to one specific class of society; on the contrary it has managed to gather the protesters despite their different jobs in a typical and peaceful popular movement.

All in all, the results of the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters and their discussion revealed that El Watan and The New York Times depict the protesters in a positive way in their news articles. It is worth pointing out that the linguistic mode does not complement the visual mode semantically in image7 of The New York Times newspapers, since the Algerian demonstrators are portrayed negatively at the visual level but they are represented positively at the linguistic level. That is, "*images play a role that goes far beyond the mere illustration of what is communicated in language, and images can contradict and*

work against spoken or written messages" (Jewitt and Omaya, 2001: 138). Hence, it could be argued that the visual mode contradicts the linguistic one in image 7 of The New York Times broadsheet. Nevertheless, the remaining news articles portray the protesters positively both at the visual and linguistic levels, and both modes complement each other semantically.

3. A Comparison between the Visual and the Linguistic Representation of the Algerian Hirak Protesters in the Selected News Articles

Drawing on the results obtained from the visual and the linguistic analysis performed on the selected news articles under the study and their discussion, it has been found that both El Watan and The New York Times share a number of similarities and differences in their representation of the Algerian protesters both at visual and linguistic levels. Thus, the third hypothesis advanced in the introduction is confirmed. The examples below elaborate further the major similarities and differences that the selected broadsheets have in their visual and linguistic representation of the demonstrators in their news articles.

Firstly, the visual analysis of the Algerian protesters in the eight selected images has demonstrated some points of convergence between the two newspapers. Starting with the representational metafunction, nearly all the selected images of the newspapers are 'narrative' since they are hinged on 'vectors' (except image 2 of El Watan). The aim is to depict the Algerian protesters as active and dynamic social actors involved in action (protesting). Secondly, as regards the interactional metafuntion, the portrayed demonstrators are mostly seen from two angles (except image 8). They are seen from eye level which suggests equal distribution of power between the protesters and the audience (image 1, 5 and 7), they are also viewed from low angle which places the viewer in symbolic power over the depicted participants (image 2, 3, 4 and 6). As for the compositional metafunction, the portrayed Algerian protesters are placed in the center of all the selected pictures, thus, they are the most significant and valued elements. Besides, the majority of the images rely on connection while

depicting the participants in order to present them consolidated to one another in their demonstrations. In addition, all the selected images give salience to the participants by placing them in the foreground.

Concerning the linguistic analysis of the selected news articles depicting the Algerian protesters, the findings indicate that both El Watan and The New York Times share some common points while depicting the protesters linguistically. To begin with, the Algerian demonstrators are highly included in relation to their actions in the majority of the newspapers. Besides, they are portrayed in most of the cases as energetic and active social actors. In addition, all the newspapers employ more frequently the category of genericization while representing the protesters. Finally, the two selected newspapers represent the Algerian protesters mostly by their functions rather than as identifiable individuals.
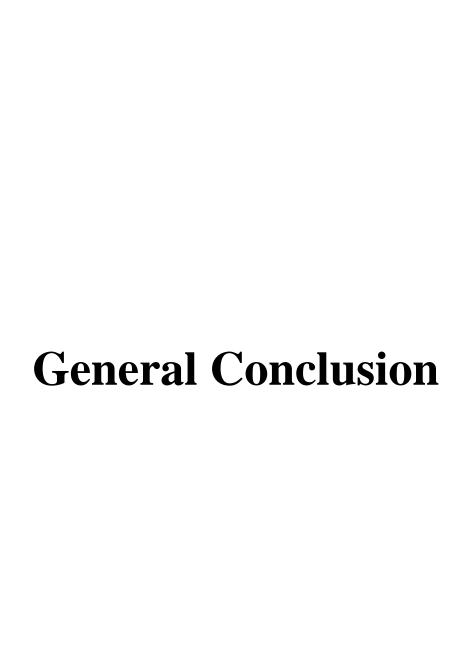
Despite the fact that El Watan and The New York Times share some points of similarities, the investigation reveals that they have some points of divergence. The first difference between the abovementioned newspapers lies on gaze. All images of The New York Times are 'offer' images (except image 5). They involve participants who look away from the viewers, whereas the images of El Watan are 'demand' (except 2 and 4), they portray the participants who engage in direct eye-contact with the viewer. Hence, the images belonging to The New York Times are less interactive with the audience. Moreover, the images of El Watan are based on medium close shot which establishes far intimate relationbetween the depicted participants and the viewers, while the images of The New York Times are based on medium long shot that establishes a close social relation with the viewers.

As regards the linguistic analysis of the news articles, the results indicate that The New York Times fuctionalized the Algerian protesters more frequently compared to El Watan in terms of the frequency of distribution and usage of this represented category in both newspapers. Such difference lies on the various communicative purposes of the selected

newspapers since each one has specific target readers, since El Watan targets the local audience in which it provides a political and social analysis of the Hirak movement, while The New York Times targets the international audience which aims at providing news reports about the Algerian Hirak protesters.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the results collected from the visual and linguistic analysis of the representation of the Algerian protesters in El Watan and The New York Times. It has answered the research questions raised in the introduction and checked the validity of the advanced hypotheses. Initially, this chapter has demonstrated that the Algerian protesters are represented in a positive way both visually and linguistically in the selected newspapers except for image 7 of The New York Times which depicts the protesters negatively at the visual level, showing the situation of the protesters in Algeria in some cases. Therefore, the visual and the linguistic mode complement each other in the selected broadsheets except in image 7 of The New York Times. Moreover, the chapter has demonstrated that the selected newspapers share some similarities and differences in their representation of the Algerian Hirak protesters.

General Conclusion

The present study has endeavored to investigate the way national and international news media represent the Algerian Hirak protesters in their news articles. More precisely, it has dealt with the visual and the linguistic representation of the Algerian protesters in two different broadsheets namely the Algerian El Watan, and the American The New York Times.

Three main objectives have been set for this study to be achieved. As a first objective, to identify the different visual representations of the Algerian protesters in the eight selected images. As a second objective, it attempted to shed light on the linguistic representation of the Algerian demonstrators in the eight selected news articles devoted to the Hirak movement. The third objective, to establish a comparison between the selected newspapers in order to ascertain the similarities and the differences in their portrayal of the Algerian protesters. The analysis was framed by two theoretical frameworks for the sake of reaching the objectives of the study. The first is the Visual Grammar approach developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) in their joint book called *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design,* in which the three metafunctions constituting their approach have been employed. The second is Socio-semantic Inventory put forward by Van Leeuwen (1996, 2008) in his book named *Discourse and Practices: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis,* whereupon nine representational categories have been used in the analysis. These discursive categories are: exclusion, role allocation, genericization, specification, assimilation, individualization, nomination, functionalization and identification.

The study has adopted the mixed method of research which integrates both the qualitative and the quantitative research techniques for the analysis of data. The quantitative research technique has been employed to examine the images under study, while the qualitative research is used to calculate the frequency distribution of the selected representational categories in the selected news articles.

The social semiotic analysis of the selected images has revealed that nearly all the images are 'narrative' since they are hinged on 'vectors' , and the Algerian protesters are represented as active social actors. As for the interactional metafunction, the findings have demonstrated that the images of El Watan and The New York Times involve gaze in order to demand something from the viewers when it is present or offer information to the audience when it is absent (image 6, 7 and 8). Distance is another system within this metafuntion employed to establish virtual relationships between the represented Algerian protesters and the audience. In fact, far intimate and close social relations are established between the protesters and the viewers in the pictures under the study. Angle is the third system underlying the interactional metafuntion. It is comprised of two parts: the horizontal and the vertical angles which are employed in the selected images. The former can be frontal to suggest involvement between the participants and the viewers or oblique to signify detachment between them. The frontal angle is reflected in all the selected images except in image 2 of El Watan and image 6 of The New York Times where the oblique angle is reflected. Concerning the vertical angle, it is associated with power and status, and the different angles from which the participants are viewed whether from below, above or at eye level. In fact, both low angle and eye level are reflected in nearly all the images under the investigation.

Concerning the compositional metafunction, the results collected from the analysis have shown that the depicted Algerian protesters are placed in the center of all the selected images, this indicates that they are the most valued elements. Salience is the second system within this metafunction. It is achieved in all the selected images through representing the Algerian protesters in the foreground in order to attract the viewers' attention to them, and to involve the viewers in their popular movement. Due to their significant scale, the demonstrations have attracted both national and international coverage and have provoked
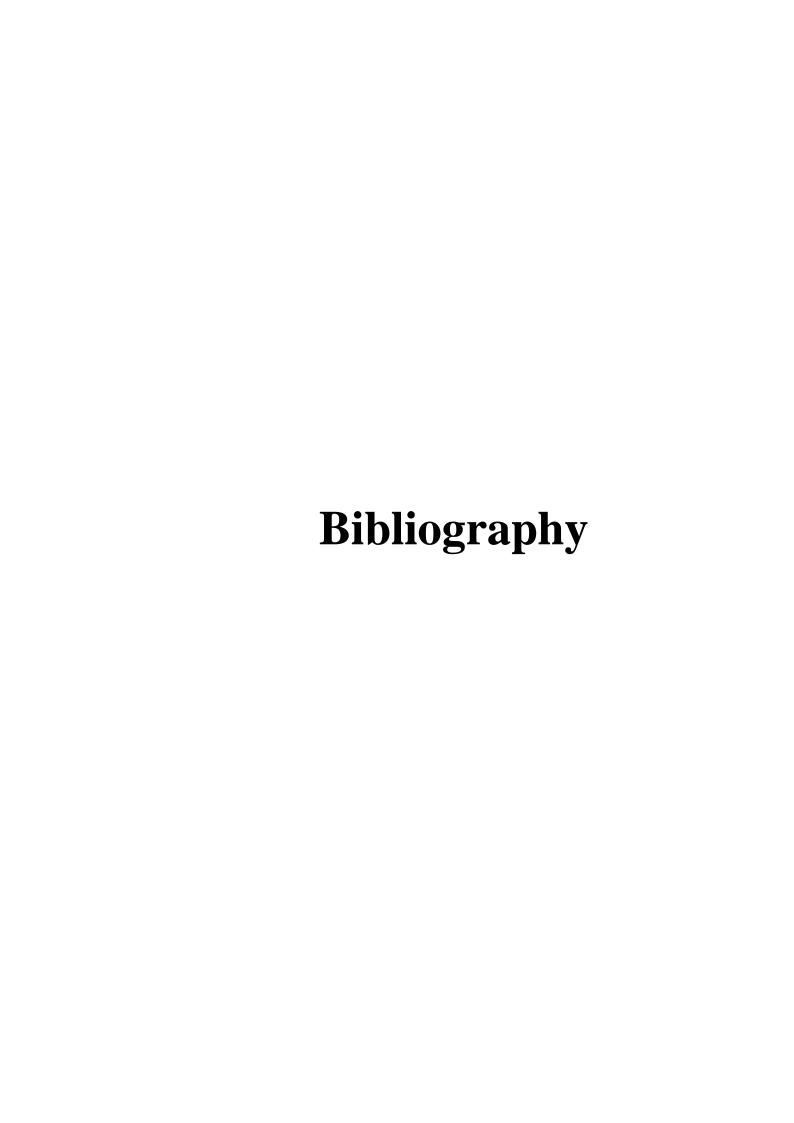
reactions from manifold scholarly figures and heads of states. Framing is the third system constituting the compositional metafuntion. It is concerned with the connectedness which signifies 'group identity', and disconnectedness which signals 'individuality' and 'differentiation' of the represented participants. Framing is used in the selected images in which the Algerian protesters are represented as connected to one another.

The findings of the linguistic analysis of the selected news articles, which relies on the 'Socio-semantic Inventory' approach have demonstrated that the Algerian protesters are significantly included as regards to their actions through attributing them a dynamic role rather than a static one. In addition, in the two representational categories of genericization and specification, the protesters are most frequently depicted as generic and collectively identified. In the categories of assimilation and individualization, the Algerian protesters are most of the time portrayed as groups through using the two types of assimilation: aggregation and collectivization. As for nomination, the demonstrators are nominated in semi-formalization in all the selected images through mentioning both their family name and their name. Ultimately, functionalization and identification are two other representational categories utilised to depict the Algerian protesters in the selected news articles. The Findings indicate that the demonstrators are more represented by the category of functionalization through associating them with high-status jobs and activities.

The present study has drawn the following conclusions: first, both El Watan and The New York Times have provided a positive depiction of the Algerian protesters in their Hirak movement both visually and linguistically. However, in image 7 of The New York Times, on the one hand, the protesters are represented positively at the linguistic level but, on the other hand; they are portrayed negatively at the visual level. Therefore, both the visual and the linguistic modes complement each other in the selected newspapers except in image 7 of The New York Times, where they are not complementary. In addition, the results have identified

some points of convergence and divergence between the selected newspapers while representing the Algerian protesters in their Hirak movement. Accordingly, the findings of the investigation have confirmed the hypotheses that are advanced in the General Introduction. Furthermore, the research study has faced few limitations which can be taken into consideration in further studies. The present study has relied on a small number of news articles, and they are extracted from only two daily printed newspapers namely, El Watan and The New York Times.

Hopefully, this humble work has contributed to the field of social semiotics and media discourse analysis, specifically the Algerian protesters discourse produced by national and international news media. This present study was conducted on one type of newspapers which is referred as 'broadsheet' and still images. In terms of directions for future studies, it will be interesting to conduct a research using the other type of newspapers which is known as 'tabloid' as a corpus to investigate the Algerian protesters representations. In addition, videos or documentaries produced by news channels about the Algerian Hirak protesters can be used instead of still images. As a final suggestion, this study has dealt with the representation of the Algerian protesters in regard to the mixed method of research, future studies can rely on the qualitative method of research to provide an in-depth analysis of how the Algerian Hirak protesters are represented in both national and international news media.

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Appendix 01: Images Included in the News Articles

Image 01: El Watan, August 18, 2019

Image 02: El Watan, March 16, 2019

Image 03: El Watan, May 2, 2019

Image 04: El Watan, October 11,2019

Image 05: The New York Times, July 29, 2019

Image 06: The New York Times, March 12, 2019

Image 07: The New York Times, March 8, 2019

Image 08: The New York Times, March 24, 2019

Appendix 02: The Selected News Articles

Le hirak, pour un big bang politique en Algérie

Ammar Koroghli

18 août 2019 à 10 h 02 min

Le concept de big bang est utilisé par les scientifiques pour décrire l'origine et l'évolution de l'univers ; il est associé à toutes les théories qui décrivent notre univers comme issu d'une explosion. Si l'histoire du cosmos est une saga d'environ 13,7 milliards d'années, il semble bien qu'un big bang politique s'installe depuis le 22 février 2019 en vue d'une Algérie démocratique. Ici, une lecture de cet événement au regard de la vie politique algérienne depuis l'indépendance dans le cadre d'un système politique à réformer d'urgence.

La position du pouvoir de fait incarné par la Direction de l'armée est connue : maintenirle processus constitutionnel par une élection présidentielle dans les plus brefs délais. A l'appui de ce projet (contesté par le hirak qui propose de «dégager» les têtes connues pour leur implication dans l'ancien système dans ce qu'il a de plus abject), elle a mis en place une opération visant à assainir le pays de la gangrène de la corruption (seuls les corrompus présumés sont à ce jour touchés, quid des corrupteurs et d'autres corrompus notoires laissés encore à l'ombre de ce même pouvoir de fait ?). Ce genre d'opération a eu lieu en Italie «manipulite» (mains propres) ayant visé dans les années 90' des hommes du monde politique et économique italien ; des ministres et parlementaires, ainsi que des entrepreneurs et présidents du Conseil furent mis en cause pour avoir mis un système de corruption et de financement illicite des partis politiques.

Au Brésil, il semble que l'opération «lava jato» (lavage rapide) soit sujette désormais à la critique et ternirait même l'image de la justice qui aurait été instrumentalisée à des fins politiques : éviter le retour du Parti des travailleurs (gauche) de revenir au pouvoir.

Ainsi, «les méthodes de travail de même que les motivations des procureurs et des juges de l'opération anticorruption sont mises en cause» (Le Monde du 18 juin 2019). Sergio Moro, son instigateur, alors magistrat, est aujourd'hui ministre de la Justice dans le gouvernement d'extrême droite de JairBolsonaro (on y évoque aujourd'hui «lava jatogate» ou «lava jatoleaks»).

En Algérie, tout en admettant que l'incarcération de certaines têtes de l'ancien système n'est pas forcément pour déplaire aux citoyens algériens, des voix s'élèvent pour évoquer «la justice du téléphone» dont des avocats citoyens qui observent que même lajustice est touchée par la corruption. Au-delà de la violation des dispositionsconstitutionnelles par le fait du prince, celles du code des marchés publics l'a été tout autant par la quasi généralisation du gré à gré. Ce qui explique la mainmise desoligarques sur tous les marchés : BTP, agroalimentaire, communications… Outre que lesystème économique, miné par la rente pétrolière, subit de plein fouet les coups deboutoir de ce fléau favorisant ainsi l'affairisme d'Etat (A. Koroghli : «L'Algérie entre affairisme d'Etat et déficit démocratique», Le Quotidien d'Oran du 8 octobre 2009).

La pensée unique comme système politique ?

Depuis son accession à l'indépendance, l'Algérie vit dans le cadre d'un système politique dominé par l'institution de la présidence de la République avec la Direction de l'arméecomme alliée principale et une pensée unique imposée jusqu'au 5 Octobre 1988 etreconduite depuis sous d'autres formes avec un mal-développement persistant enprime (A. Koroghli : «Le mal-développement algérien», Le Matin du 8 avril 2004).

Depuis, il s'agit d'un système de parti dominant qualifié d'«alliance présidentielle».Face à la quasi-absence de l'opposition morcelée et réduite dans son audience quiconfirme le déficit démocratique, la voie de la réforme du système politique devient une nécessité pour redessiner le profil des institutions politiques algériennes et redéfinir les prérogatives de celles-ci en vue d'asseoir un équilibre des pouvoirs. En effet, depuis laConstitution de 1963

jusqu'à l'avènement du hirak, on observe l'emprise du chef del'Etat sur toutes les institutions car titulaire d'impressionnants pouvoirs, alors qu'il aété promis au pays un Etat sérieux et régi par une morale selon la proclamation du 19juin 1965 (A. Koroghli : «Présidentialisme, démocratie résiduelle et bailleurs depouvoir», El Watan du 26 janvier 2000 et «La Constitution, loi fondamentale ou fait duprince», Le Quotidien d'Oran du 29 novembre 2012 «Révision constitutionnelle enAlgérie. Le pouvoir manoeuvre pour gagner du temps», Le Point du 9 février 2016). Ilest vrai que seule la Constitution de 1996 a eu le mérite de consacrer sur le textel'alternance au pouvoir par la limitation des mandats présidentiels (deux quinquennats suffisent).

C'est ainsi que j'observe le hirak comme un contre-pouvoir (A. Koroghli : «La rue, cinquième pouvoir, dit non», El Watan du 2 avril 2019) en précisant que le meilleur antidote au pouvoir prévaricateur (corrompu autant que corrupteur) ne peut être constitué que par des organisations non gouvernementales gérées par des personnalités issues de la seule société civile, en ce qui concerne la veille quant aux droits de l'homme, la construction de l'Etat de droit, la liberté d'expression (presse et culture)… C'est sans doute là que réside la réponse à la fin de la «crise» que vit le pays qui subit un pouvoir en mal permanent de légitimité. Il devient en effet évident que les ressources politiques antérieures (le nationalisme et le populisme aux lieu et place du patriotisme et du débat contradictoire) ne suffisent plus face aux défaillances d'un système productif d'une bureaucratisation à outrance faisant le lit de la corruption à grande échelle, d'un fort taux de chômage de la jeunesse, d'une austérité pesante même à l'heure de «l'aisance financière», d'une paupérisation englobant les couches moyennes de la société, d'une clochardisation des cadres…

Dans cette perspective, le hirak observé comme aspiration à la démocratie, définie comme moyen de résolution de la question du pouvoir autrement que par la violence, ne peut plus tolérer l'étouffement des libertés publiques et du droit à l'expression par l'incarcération des citoyens et la marginalisation des hommes de pensée. Les uns et les autres, peuple des jeunes, peuvent désormais constituer des forces politiques autonomes en dehors même des partis politiques (les appendices du pouvoir comme ceux de l'opposition), des syndicats classiques, des éventuelles ONG préfabriquées et des associations sans canaux de communication avec les citoyens (la télévision algérienne – dernier bastion de la pensée unique – ayant vocation à devenir un véritable service public ouvert à tous et à toute forme de communication, y compris celle parfois impertinente). Ce faisant, le système politique doit être réaménagé en profondeur si l'on veut éviter que le hirak ne devienne une autre explosion populaire comme seul mode d'expression. Car à force d'étouffer les révolutions pacifiques, la
violence risque de s'installer durablement comme elle l'a été dans un passé récent de
notre pays.

Le Hirak, pour quel système politique ?
Aujourd'hui, l'Algérie officielle apparaît comme une vitrine hors Constitution : de la présidence de la République au panel de hauts fonctionnaires ayant servi sous l'ancien système de la présidence inamovible, la Direction de l'armée incarne un pouvoir de fait
(«L'Armée e(s)t le pouvoir», El Watan du 30 janvier 2019). S'il est vrai que par le passé
l'institution de l'armée ne manqua pas d'assurer à plusieurs reprises une mission de sauvegarde de l'ordre public (tâche classique dévolue aux services de police, ainsi en Octobre 1988), sa haute hiérarchie a veillé à influer dans le choix des hommes appelés à être chefs d'Etat, y compris en 1999 et après cette date. En tout état de cause, aujourd'hui aucun indice sérieux ne prédispose à un changement pacifique vers un système politique expurgé de ses scories dont la plus visible et la plus constante : laviolation de la Constitution comme mode opératoire de succession.

A ce jour, la vox populi ne semble pas être entendue. Il est proposé au hirak de se faire

représenter indirectement par un «panel de personnalités nationales», préfigurant ainsi
un dialogue de sourds alors même que le peuple des jeunes a plutôt tendance à réclamer
légitimement l'institutionnalisation d'un réel contre-pouvoir au sein de l'Etat pour éviter au
pays une dictature présidentielle (par l'institution de la présidence à vie) et, en tous les cas, un
pouvoir disqualifié par les propres dispositions violées d'une Constitution désormais obsolète
d'un pouvoir à terre mais résistant encore au changement.

Rappel sur quelques modestes recommandations (A. Koroghli : «Manifeste pour la deuxième
République», Le Quotidien d'Oran des 25 au 27 mars 2019). Adopter un régime politique
avec pour principes directeurs la légitimité et l'équilibre des forces politiques afin de
distribuer rationnellement le pouvoir. Ainsi, expression de la légitimité du peuple, le
Parlement doit pouvoir bénéficier de prérogatives à même de lui permettre de contrôler de
façon efficiente la politique du gouvernement ; ce, d'autant plus que la recherche d'une
majorité parlementaire demeure un élément structurant de la vie politique.

Dans le même temps disparaîtra la situation quasi-ubuesque qui dure depuis de nombreuses
années, à savoir la présence du président de la République qui siège ès qualité au Conseil du
gouvernement mais également en qualité de ministre de la Défense (en effet, on imagine mal
comment le Premier ministre puisse avoir une quelconque autorité sur le ministre de la
Défense). Confier ce portefeuille ministériel à une «personnalité» civile résoudrait également
cette situation dès lors que l'institution de l'armée s'est professionnalisée.

De ce fait également, le président de la République devrait pouvoir être plus en rapport avec
le Parlement à même de contrôler sa politique ; ce, car le Parlement est également détenteur
de la souveraineté populaire. Quant aux ministres, ils devraient bénéficier effectivement d'une
autonomie indépendante de la volonté présidentielle pour pouvoir mieux apprécier les
solutions à apporter aux secteurs dont ils ont la charge sous la vigilance du Président, en sa
qualité de chef de l'Exécutif et du Parlement. En ce sens, c'est lui le véritable chef du
gouvernement et non pas le Premier ministre auquel il délègue des missions selon son bon
vouloir. Le système politique actuel se caractérise inutilement par le bicaméralisme, le
constitutionnalisme algérien ayant opté pour cette solution. D'où cette interrogation légitime :
quels seraient les tenants et aboutissants de l'institution du Sénat (Conseil de la Nation) dont
le tiers dit «présidentiel» est désigné par le président de la République ?

En effet, dès lors que les différentes tendances politiques, couches sociales ou catégories socio
économiques, régions du pays, âges et sexes, sont sérieusement représentées au sein de
l'Assemblée nationale, il me semble légitime de s'interroger sur l'efficacité de l'institution
d'une seconde Chambre. Dans ces conditions, le monocamérisme devrait pouvoir suffire aux
besoins du parlementarisme algérien qu'il serait inutile de doper par l'élection d'une seconde.
Cette dernière alourdit de toute façon le fonctionnement normal du système politique pour une
meilleure lisibilité et transparence de la vie
politique du pays.

A cet égard, des parlements régionaux seraient à même de pallier l'absence d'uneseconde
Chambre. Ainsi, l'Algérie n'a pas cru devoir explorer la donne de larégionalisation en tant
que forme organisationnelle intermédiaire entre l'Etat et lesCollectivités locales à même de
permettre une décentralisation et une déconcentrationde certaines prérogatives dites de
puissance publique entre les mains des représentantsrégionaux. Ce, afin d'alléger l'Etat – en
sa qualité de maître d'oeuvre de la politique de lanation – de certaines tâches davantage
techniques que politiques. Il y a donc lieu de
réfléchir à la mise en place, dans un premier temps à titre expérimental, de Régionsavec
Assemblée régionale élue d'où pourrait être désignée l'élite constituée de jeunesqui seront
appelés à gouverner cette nouvelle entité politico-administrative ; ce faisant,préparer la
nouvelle élite de demain pour l'Algérie.

Par ailleurs, il est de notoriété publique que, historiquement, l'armée a été mêlée à la viepolitique pour permettre à certaines «personnalités nationales» d'accéder au pouvoir ;ainsi, le 19 juin 1965, Boumediène ès qualité de ministre de la Défense, a pu sans coupférir prendre le pouvoir. Depuis, l'institution de l'armée à travers sa haute hiérarchie aété davantage encore mêlée à la politique du pays ; ce qui explique sans doute que,depuis cette date, tous les présidents de la République ont, à leur corps défendant,gardé le portefeuille de la Défense nationale. Ce ministère se révèle d'une importancecapitale pour qui veut dominer l'échiquier politique, longtemps assujetti à la penséeunique. A ce jour, c'est toujours le cas, même si les tenants du pouvoir (depuisnotamment l'arrêt du processus électoral de 1991) se proposent de réaménager cetteinstitution afin d'en faire un corps de professionnels. Elle demeure, en tout cas, uneinstitution incontournable dans la vie politique et constitutionnelle algérienne. Laréforme devrait consister en une professionnalisation de sorte que cette institution, nécessaire à la défense nationale, puisse se consacrer avec sa haute hiérarchie à cettetâche dévolue au demeurant par le Texte fondamental du pays.

Sur un autre plan, quel serait l'apport du multipartisme octroyé ? Force est d'observer que, hormis le FFS, né au lendemain de l'indépendance nationale par la volonté d'opposition de ses promoteurs, les autres partis politiques sont nés pour la plupart suite aux événements d'Octobre 1988 (une loi ayant promu les associations à caractère politique). Les élections municipales et celles législatives, contestées au demeurant, on fait vivre à l'Algérie des tribulations qualifiées officiellement de tragédie. Le FLN, longtemps parti au pouvoir, n'a pas réussi sa reconversion tant attendue du fait de la permanence des données de base du système politique en vogue depuis l'indépendance. En réalité, il y a eu primauté de fait de la Direction de l'armée sur celle civile et partisane du FLN qui a été promu parti unique par le pouvoir (ensuite locomotive d'un parti dominant «alliance présidentielle») et que les uns et les autres continuent de se disputer à ce jour à travers les «coups d'Etat scientifiques» et autres «redressements».

Au fil du temps, certains partis sont devenus de simples appendices du pouvoir : FLN comme RND. Feu Boudiaf avait prôné l'émergence d'un parti politique national et démocratique au service de la République algérienne. Aussi, compte tenu de l'orientation à insuffler à un nouveau système politique, la réforme en la matière serait une solution qui pourrait aboutir à terme soit à un bipartisme (selon un schéma classique : parlementaire, comme c'est le cas de la Grande-Bretagne avec les conservateurs et les travaillistes, ou présidentiel avec les républicains et les démocrates comme c'est le cas aux Etats-Unis) ou à un multipartisme (selon un autre schéma : régime qualifié de semi-parlementaire ou semi-présidentiel, je dirais présidentialiste car l'essentiel du pouvoir demeure aux mains du seul président de la République, le Premier ministre étant souvent un homme lige et un fusible pratique à éjecter lors de mécontentements réitérés de la population).

Le big bang politique tant attendu depuis l'indépendance de l'Algérie tarde encore. Le hirak réussira-t-il enfin cet exploit pour instaurer un nouveau système politique en achevant définitivement l'ancien ? C'est essentiellement au peuple des jeunes de répondre à son destin et celui d'El Djazaïr. Il doit pouvoir en devenir la colonne vertébrale.

4e vendredi de manifestations à Alger : «Son Excellence le peuple vous a tous virés»

Mustapha Benfodil

16 mars 2019 à 10 h 15 min

Et encore une claque ! Et quelle claque ! Les Algériens ont répondu massivement au dernier courrier du «Président-par-correspondance» et ses vaguemestres, Bedoui et consorts. Et, comme toujours, ils l'ont fait avec classe.

Le clan présidentiel tablait sur un essoufflement du «mouvement du 22 février» et une fissuration dans l'opinion après sa dernière proposition de sortie de crise. La réponse du peuple a été claire et nette, cinglante, sans appel, et toujours, toujours, avec le sourire, sur le mode «Silmiya», avec des «smiley» et des «smahli» en veux-tu, en voilà, des gestes de douceur et de bienveillance d'une rare prodigalité. De la tendresse à profusion. Sauf envers ceux qui l'ont cherché, qui ont manqué de respect à son intelligence du coeur.

Il est 11h30. Nous quittons la Maison de la presse et marchons vers la place du 1er Mai en passant par la Maison du peuple. Les portraits géants à l'effigie de Bouteflika accrochés sur la façade de l'UGTA doivent se sentir affreusement seuls comme le patient de Zéralda. A la place du 1er Mai, un important groupe de manifestants est déjà entré en action sous le regard passif de la police qui est encore plus décontractée par ce vendredi printanier. D'ailleurs, le dispositif antiémeute est sensiblement allégé. Ce sont des citoyens qui organisent la circulation automobile entre deux blocs de manifestants. Des citoyens massés sur la place Mohand TayebFerkoune donnent le ton avec des pancartes sur lesquelles on peut lire : «Ni Bedoui, ni Brahimi, ni Lamamra, ils sont tous du système», «Deuxième Bataille d'Alger : la famille de Bouteflika contre le peuple», «La lihadihi el mahzalaessiyassiya» (Non à cette mascarade politique), «Bouteflika rends-nous notre patrie»… Sur le bord d'en face, un jeune brandit une large pancarte qui nous fend le coeur : «Pour la première fois, j'ai pas envie de te quitter mon Algérie», écrit-il en français.

Et il a ajouté en arabe ce message bouleversant : «A nos frères harraga dévorés par les poissons, nous sommes désolés que vous ne soyez pas avec nous. Nous vous demandons pardon, parce que nous étions en retard. Nous essayons maintenant de bâtir l'Algérie que vous désiriez.»

«Ni prolongation ni report»

Sur la rue Hassiba Ben Bouali, des cortèges de marcheurs drapés de l'emblème national, certains coiffés d'un chapeau ou un bob vert-blanc-rouge, défilent allègrement dans une ambiance festive. Des vendeurs sur le trottoir proposent des articles aux couleurs nationales : fanions, écharpes, mais aussi des «vuvuzela», ces trompettes qui faisaient fureur dans les stades lors de la Coupe du monde 2010 en Afrique du Sud. Deux jeunes paradent au milieu de la chaussée avec une large banderole : «Barakat ! Barakat ! A bas le régime des gangs.»

Nous coupons par la rue Ahmed Zabana pour gagner la rue Didouche Mourad. Des jeunes en gilet orange et brassard font partie d'un comité de vigilance. «C'est pour éviter tout grabuge et parer à d'éventuels dérapages», explique l'un d'eux. Ils ont disposé une table sur le trottoir derrière laquelle trône un mur d'images. On y reconnaît les doux visages de Maurice Audin, Hassiba Ben Bouali, Larbi Ben M'hidi, Didouche Mourad… Des images satiriques sont également placardées : celles de Sellal, Ouyahia, avec des bulles rigolotes. «Wesh el batata ? weshbihoum el faqaqir ?» interroge Sellal.

Un «Wanted» donne à voir quelque-unes des personnalités les plus impopulaires dumoment (OuldAbbès, Haddad, Sidi Saïd, Bouchareb, etc.). Des pancartes au ton plus solennel proclament : «Construisons le futur.Système dégage !» Un peu plus bas, des jeunes sur le trottoir arborent cet écriteau : «Onne règle pas les problèmes avec ceux qui les ont créés». Deux jeunes femmesdescendent la rue Didouche avec une banderole sur laquelle est

marqué:«Latamdid, lataadjil/ Errahil, errahil !» (Ni prolongation ni report, partez, partez). Ambiance de folieaux abords de la place Audin.Pas de cordon de police, pas de BRI. Un homme propose des dattes aux passants. Uneforêt de drapeaux et de pancartes, plus inspirées, plus inventives et plus créatives, lesunes que les autres, nous happe d'emblée. Les slogans rivalisent d'ingéniosité, et nousnous en voulons de ne pouvoir les restituer et les documenter tous.**«YetnahawGa3 !»**Un slogan fait l'unanimité : «YetnahawGa3 !» (Il faut tous les virer !). La tirade estextraite d'une vidéo devenue culte, où l'on voit un jeune f'hal, comme on les aime,répondre par ces termes à une journaliste de la chaîne Sky News Arabic qui recueillaitses sentiments le soir de l'annonce de l'annulation de l'élection.

On en trouve des déclinaisons très inspirées. Des militants l'ont même imprimée sur des t shirts, et l'un d'eux a eu la gentillesse de nous en offrir un (merci Samir). Unejeune femme a détourné pour sa part le fameux jeu télévisé, «Questions pour unchampion». «Que veulent les Algériens ?» interroge-t-elle, avant de proposer l'une deces réponses : «A- Qu'on viole leur Constitution ; B- Un 4e mandat sans fin ; C- Marierleur Président ; D- Que le système dégage.» Autres pancartes, pêle-mêle : «On ne peutbâtir un nouveau bateau avec de vieilles planches» ; «Trohoyaanitroho (Vous partez,c'est que vous partez).Demain sera plus beau qu'hier» ; «Notre revendication est que vous partiez, notreprojet : construire l'Etat du peuple et des jeunes», «Son excellence le peuple a décidé devous virer. #Yetnahawga3 !», « La rue ne se taira pas», «On n'est pas sur Facebook, onest dans la rue», «On a demandé des élections sans Bouteflika et non un coup d'Etat»,«Dégagez, laissez-nous vivre !» «Rendez vous, vous êtes cernés par le peuple», «Cecamembert Président pue moins que votre système», «Non à Bouteflika et ses dérivés»,«Vous avez prolongé votre mandat, on prolonge notre combat», «Les prochainsharraga, c'est vous», «Notre histoire on l'écrira nous-mêmes».Une jeune manifestante résume l'un des enjeux des prochains jours en soulevant cetécriteau : «Vigilance ! Qui va nous représenter ?» «C'est à nous de nous représenter,plaide-t-elle. Il faut que les jeunes soient dans la transition.Il faut être du côté du peuple et rester vigilant.» Une dame en haïk arbore cettepancarte : «Nidhamfassed, irhalou !» (Système corrompu, partez !) Elle s'appelleNacéra, elle est maman de huit enfants «et je suis grand-mère», sourit-elle. «Nous sommes là pour leur dire dégagez. 20 ans, c'est trop ! Il y a de jeunes cadres, de jeunes généraux, qui sont prêts à prendre la relève. Il faut un changement de A à Z. Bedoui, Lamamra, c'est du passé. Il faut laisser la place aux jeunes générations. Beaucoup ont fait des études supérieures, on ne leur a pas donné leur chance. On a préféré la donner aux imbéciles heureux. Il faut un changement radical», exige-t-elle.

Zoubir, lui, est venu manifester avec ses deux enfants, une fille et un garçon. Ils brandissent une pancarte avec un arrache-clous et ces mots : «Tah el cadre, qaadoulemssamer» (Le cadre est tombé, les clous sont restés). Zoubir explique : «On est là pour notre libération effective afin que nos enfants vivent libres et indépendants. La France est partie en 1962, mais elle a laissé ses enfants ici. Ce sont eux qui dirigent le pays.

Ce régime est corrompu, on le connaît. Depuis toujours, il ne travaille que pour ses propres intérêts. Ces gens-là n'ont jamais oeuvré pour l'intérêt du peuple. C'est toujours le peuple qui paie. Eux, ils ont tous une planque là-bas (à l'étranger, ndlr), pour se mettre à l'abri, eux et leur progéniture. Notre action depuis le 22 février, c'est pour chasser ce régime afin que l'Algérie soit réellement indépendante, libre et démocratique.» Son fils lâche : «Inchallahhadihiyaellakhra.» (On espère que ça sera la dernière). Dans la foule compacte, nous croisons maître BadiAbdelghani, avocat et défenseur des droits humains, qui s'est battu avec acharnement, en 2014 déjà, contre le 4e mandat de Abdelaziz Bouteflika. Nous lui avons posé la question sur la suite du mouvement et la question de la «représentativité» dans la période de transition. «Il est trop tôt pour parler de représentativité. Cela risque de casser le mouvement. Il faut laisser le ''hirak'' grandir. Il faut le laisser mûrir. C'est un mouvement horizontal qui produira lui-même ses formes de représentation.

Le mouvement est en train de s'exprimer très clairement. Sa réponse est sans appel. Ses désirs sont des ordres. Ce ne sont pas des demandes qu'il est en train de formuler, mais des décisions scellées et non négociables», tranche Me Badi. Nous avons inévitablement croisé aussi l'infatigable AbdelouahabFersaoui, président du RAJ, qui a été de toutes les manifs depuis le début. Son regard sur l'évolution du «mouvement du 22 février» et ses perspectives fait sens. Il nous dit : «Le peuple algérien est sorti, d'une manière très forte, durant les trois premiers week-ends, et aujourd'hui, il est sorti pour la quatrième fois d'une manière tout aussi forte. C'est une réponse claire à ce pouvoir qui a essayé d'étouffer, de manipuler et d'affaiblir ce mouvement, avec sa proposition d'aller vers une conférence nationale, et d'enclencher des réformes, alors que le peuple algérien est sorti pour dire on ne veut pas des réformes, on ne veut pas un changement de personnes, on veut un changement du système.

Donc aujourd'hui c'est un message très clair qui est transmis au pouvoir et à ces responsables qui continuent d'insulter l'intelligence des Algériens, de mépriser ce peuple. Je pense qu'ils n'ont d'autre choix que de céder à la rue. La revendication de la rue est très claire, c'est le changement de ce système. La mobilisation de la rue doit continuer, et je pense que la démission de Bouteflika du poste de président n'est qu'une

mesure d'apaisement de la rue. Il est là jusqu'au 26 ou 27 (avril), au-delà du 26, il ne peut plus exercer ses fonctions, donc il est temps pour lui, pour son gouvernement, d'annoncer sa démission et de rendre le pouvoir au peuple. Ce peuple, j'en suis sûr et j'ai confiance en lui, va s'en occuper et va mettre les premiers jalons d'une République démocratique et sociale.»

Représentativité, transition : «L'Algérie n'est pas le premier pays qui va faire cette transition d'un régime autoritaire à une démocratie, il y a des méthodes, des procédures qui ont été éprouvées de par le monde, une période de transition gérée par des compétences nationales qui font le consensus est indispensable, mais pas par ces gens qui ont échoué durant des décennies et qui, aujourd'hui, veulent gérer la transition.

Donc la transition devra être gérée par des gens durant cette période qui sera bien déterminée. On va réunir toutes les conditions pour revenir à l'exercice politique dans le respect des standards de démocratie, des libertés et de respect des droits de l'homme.

Aujourd'hui c'est tout le peuple qui est sorti, mais notamment

les jeunes. Le pouvoir n'a pas fait confiance à ce peuple, il nous a considérés comme des mineurs, mais là, le peuple algérien, particulièrement ses jeunes, ont donné une gifle à ce pouvoir, ça fait 4 semaines que ce peuple, cette jeunesse sortent dans les rues sans qu'il y ait desincidents, sans qu'il y ait de violence, donc leur argument de la peur, comme quoi ce quise passe en Syrie, dans la région ne tient plus la route.Ils n'ont aucun argument aujourd'hui. Le moment est venu qu'ils partent et qu'ilslaissent la place à ce peuple.» A 14h, l'avenue Didouche est noire de monde jusqu'à laGrande-Poste.La foule, compacte, a déferlé par l'avenue Pasteur, jusqu'au Tunnel des facultés, puis apu franchir la barrière de police qui coupait le boulevard Mohammed V. Lesmanifestants ont scandé à tout rompre : «Ma tzidchedqiqaya Bouteflika», un slogan

décliné également sur des pancartes assortie d'un chrono.On a répété aussi : «Ranashina, bassitou bina», «Klitoulebledyaesseraquine», «Felassimamakache el kachir», «Nehou el issaba, nwelloulabass», «La casa d'ElMouradia». Dernière image : «Lamamra et Brahimi» sur une large banderole et cesmots : «Danger pour l'Algérie. Silmiya».Plusieurs collègues sont bloqués, les clameurs montent encore, jamais Alger n'a connuune telle liesse. Historique ! S'il vous reste une once de dignité, M. Bouteflika, partez !

Mouvement du 22 février : Hirak ou révolution ?
DjedjigaRahmani
02 mai 2019 à 9 h 30 min

Après l'euphorie de la récupération de la place publique pour s'exprimer librement, la place est au débat sur le devenir de ce mouvement que certains nomment «Révolution», tandis que d'autres lui préfèrent le mot «hirak», ou encore «soulèvement».

Après plusieurs années de léthargie ayant caractérisé la société algérienne, le mouvement du 22 février vient de mettre fin à une des époques considérées par les manifestants comme des plus épouvantables. Les citoyens sont déterminés plus que jamais à occuper la place publique, une place qui leur a été interdite pendant des années.

Ainsi, la réussite de ce pari, paru impossible en début de 2019, est déjà un moment historique, une prouesse en elle même. D'autant plus que cela se déroule d'une manière pacifique. Mais peut-on, pour autant, qualifier cela de Révolution ? *«C'est une Révolution !»*, assure fièrement Abdelhak Mellah, ex-magistrat à la Cour suprême. M. Mellah met en exergue ce qui, à ses yeux, permet de parler de la Révolution, sans omettre de préciser qu'on est en période post-secousse. De l'avis de ce juriste, ce sont toutes les composantes de la société qui se sont soulevées, y compris les plus sensibles, à l'instar des magistrats, qui s'alignent sur la voix du peuple. *«C'est tout le peuple algérien, toutes les régions et toutes les catégories sociales qui sesoulèvent. Il n'y a aucune revendication catégorielle»*, appuie notre interlocuteur. Même constat du côté de la militante féministe, WasylaTamzali, qui qualifie ce mouvement de *«moment historique»,* insistant sur le caractère révolutionnaire. Néanmoins, cette avocate attend encore de ce mouvement qu'il pose les fondements d'une société basée sur l'égalité des femmes et des hommes et de tous les êtres humains vivant en Algérie, la liberté de conscience et la solidarité sociale. Ce qui laisse entendre que les fondements de cette Révolution ne sont pas encore là. Même attitude du côté des hommes et des femmes politiques qui, dans leurs interventions orales ou écrites, insistent sur le caractère révolutionnaire du mouvement de 22 février.

Est-on réellement en pleine Révolution ? Sachant qu'à côté de ce terme *«Révolution»,*d'autres vocables sont également associés à ce qui se passe actuellement en Algérie,*«Révolte populaire, Révolution de sourire, insurrection, mouvement populaire et puis hirak»,* ce sont autant d'appellations qui reviennent dans les messages des intervenants.Ces mots, ou ces expressions, expriment-ils les mêmes faits ?La politologue Louisa Dris-Aït Hamadouche estime que ce qui ce passe actuellement enAlgérie peut être qualifié de*«soulèvement»*. De l'avis de cette analyste, le *«hirak»*, telqu'il est utilisé par les arabisants, veut dire *«mouvement»*.Ce concept suggère une *«dynamique, quelque chose qui bouge, contrairement austatique». «Le hirak suggère un mouvement, sans direction, sans vision et sans connaître ses aboutissants»*, explique Mme Dris-Aït Hamadouche. Pour sa part, leprofesseurAbderrazakDourari, spécialiste en sciences du langage et traductologieà l'université d'Alger 2, revient sur l'introduction du concept «hirak» sur la scènemédiatique, puis dans la société algérienne.*«L'essentiel des médias, notamment audiovisuels, en Algérie, est largement arabisé.Ils s'inspirent la plupart du temps du Moyen-Orient et de leurs médias, notamment lasulfureuse Al Jazira, quant à leur mode d'analyse et de dénomination des mouvementssociaux et politiques»*, note le professeur, Pour la signification de ce mot en français, M. Dourari souligne qu'en français, *«mouvement»*, qui désigne souvent ce genre de manifestation vient de *«(se) mouvoir». «La traduction vers* l'arabe scolaire donne *«harraka», «taharaka»*...et le substantif est *«harakatun», «hirâk»* ou *«harâk»*…Ce dernier est-il le concept qui convient aumouvement populaire algérien ? Ce dernier s'inscrit-il dans la mouvance desmouvements qu'ont connus les pays arabes ?Les *«mouvements des printemps*

arabes, aussi impressionnants que le mouvement de citoyenneté algérien en cours, avaient été dénommés par les médias arabes à l'époque »hirak ou harak » et la comparaison se prêtant bien, les médias algériens, essentiellement arabisés, leur ont emprunté ce terme», détaille le traductologue. Maisle mot «hirak» convient-il pour décrire le mouvement populaire algérien ? «La ressemblance avec le »hirak » du Moyen-Orient ne tient pas seulement à la dénomination, mais aussi à l'objectif visé ! La démocratie, le respect du citoyen et du peuple, la reprise par le peuple des richesses de son pays, de son Etat et de sa

souveraineté des mains de pouvoirs oppresseurs et oligarchiques, asservis au profit d'une caste de prédateurs et in fine au profit du néolibéralisme impérialiste», sepersuade M. Dourari, rappelant à l'occasion que «les objectifs premiers de ces mouvements ont été détournés par la conjonction des intérêts des oligarques nationaux et des impérialistes moyennant l'adjuvance de l'islamisme terroriste». Ce professeur avertit les Algériens de ce «piège mortel auquel il faut à tout prix échapper chez nous». C'est pourquoi M Dris-Aït Hamadouche suggère de qualifier lemouvement de 22 février de «soulèvement», au lieu de «hirak», dans la mesure où leconcept «soulèvement» «implique une direction» et puis c'est un «soulèvement contre quelque chose». Qu'en est-il du concept «Révolution» ? La politologue reconnait, non sans peine qu'onest au stade du soulèvement et non pas de la Révolution. «La Révolution est un changement radical, avec un projet alternatif, des objectifs et des instruments»,définit la politologue, qui attire l'attention sur les manques du soulèvement du 22février pour atteindre le stade de la Révolution. «Il manque plusieurs éléments pour parler de Révolution, à savoir les forces politiques qui peuvent faire aboutir ce projet alternatif, une organisation et une planification etenfin un projet de société pour remplacer ce qu'on veut changer», conclut Mme DrisAït-Hamadouche.

Article 04, El Watan

34e vendredi : Mobilisation massive à Alger
Farouk Djouadi
11 octobre 2019 à 17 h 46 min
Une foule humaine majestueuse a déferlé, aujourd'hui vendredi, sur le centre d'Alger. Les manifestants ont exprimé leur colère suite à la répression qui s'était abattue, mardi dernier, sur les étudiants et réitéré leur rejet total de l'élection présidentielle prévue le 12 décembre.
14h00. Le rue HassibaBenbouali est occupée par une marée humaine qui s'étend de la place du 1 mai jusqu'à Place Mauritania. « Cette année, il n'y aura pas d'élection », scandent les milliers de manifestants avant de fustiger les forces de sécurité qu'ils qualifient de « hagarinetalaba (oppresseurs des étudiants) ». Les slogans en soutien aux étudiants victimes de la répression ont d'ailleurs dominé la marche de ce 34 vendredi de la révolution pacifique.
Vers 15h00, une procession interminable venue des quartiers ouest de la capitalemarque une longue pause devant le portail latéral de l'Université Youcef Benkhedda,pour clamer àl'unisson « les Algériens, avec les étudiants ».
A proximité de la grande poste, les manifestants, jeunes pour la plupart, ont scandé les traditionnels « pouvoir assassin ! », « pas d'élection avec les gangs » et « libérez nos enfants, ils n'ont pas vendu la cocaïne ». Les portraits des détenus d'opinions, à l'exemple de Bouregâa, Tabbou, Boumala … étaient présents partout, au dessus des têtes et sur les T-shirt. La foule énorme a, comme à son habitude, réservé des chants acerbes au chef d'état-major de l'armée,AhmedGaid Salah.
Les marcheurs ont par ailleurs exprimé leur refus du projet de loi de finance 2020 qui, selon eux, « est contre les pauvres ». La nouvelle loi sur les hydrocarbures a été qualifiée par de nombreux marcheurs comme un bradage des richesses du pays. « Vous avez vendu le pays »,

ont-t-ils crié en visant les initiateurs de cette loi controversée. Certains manifestants ont même appelé à une manif devant le siège de l'APN (chambre basse du Parlement algérien), dimanche prochain. Sur les pancartes hissées aujourd'hui, on a pu lire : « Vos prisons ne contiendront jamais nos rêves », « Votre arrogance renforce notre détermination », « la terre d'Algérie n'est pas à vendre ». Et en tamazight « tarwa n tlelli i levdaannili (enfants de la liberté, nous existerons toujours ».

In an Epic Standoff, Unarmed Algerians Get the Army to Blink
By Adam Nossiter
July 29, 2019

ALGIERS — The side with the guns — the army command — dares not spill blood, five months into a popular uprising that chased out Algeria's autocratic president. The side without — the protesters — remains mobilized, still coursing through the capital's sun blasted streets twice a week.The street has stared down the army, and the army has blinked. So the epic standoff in Algeria — Africa's largest country, the oil-rich neighbor of Libya, strategically situated on the rim of the Mediterranean Sea, gateway to the deep Sahara — continues.That it does, even if Algeria is still far from the democracy the street wants, already signals an unusual victory, one making this unfolding and so far bloodless revolution perhaps unique in the Arab world, say the protesters and Algeria analysts."What we've lived in five months, the Arab world hasn't seen in 40 years," said a former government minister and ambassador, AbdelazizRahabi, who heads one of the numerous citizen groups that have sprung up since the uprising began and pushed out President AbdelazizBouteflika after 20 years in power. "We've removed a president without exiling him," as in Tunisia, Mr. Rahabi said. "Without imprisoning him," as in Egypt. "And without killing him," as in Libya, he added."So don't tell me things are going badly,'' he said. ''And nobody has been killed. There's nothing similar in the Arab world."The police and their armored vehicles line the marchers' route, but stand silently by — wary of initiating a bloody confrontation — allowing the protests to continue marching the streets, chanting "No to a military state!" and "The people want it, tomorrow!"What they want is a democratic government free of the military, devoid of even a taint of officials beholden to the old regime, and a full voice in laying out the road map on how to get there, even if the precise path is unclear.Equally unclear — a relative triumph for the street — is who has the upper hand as the two sides circle each other cautiously. The protesters have already forced the cancellation of two projected elections, suspicious that the army would rig them. The army alternately tightens the screws on the demonstrations and loosens them, unsure how much pressure to apply on a popular movement with broad support across classes and regions in this vast country. "Who are the real holders of power in Algeria?" asked one opposition politician, Mustapha Hadni, at a sweaty political meeting in the heights of Algiers this month. In a land of opaque politics the question is perpetual, but it now has new meaning. Those with the power, he and his colleagues believe, are on the street. "There is no dialogue with them as long as they are trying to impose their own road map," Mr. Hadni said, with all the confidence that it was the opposition calling the shots. In interviews, opposition figures — current and former politicians, human rights advocates, and academics —expressed pride in what had been accomplished so far by Algeria's low-key revolution. So did the demonstrators in the streets. And, whether bluffing or not, the activists expressed relative serenity about the future. "It's a question of the balance of power," said MohcineBelabbas, head of the opposition RCD party. "And for now, the strength is on the side of those who want constitutional change in this country." "Our advantage is that we have a population that has an interest in defending the country," he said. At a Friday march down the dilapidated but still grand colonial-era Rue

DidoucheMourad in Algiers, the capital, the crowd chanted, "Remember, we are the ones that got rid of Boutef!" referring to Mr. Bouteflika. "It's us or you, and we're not going to stop!" they yelled. "The people are not dupes," said one marcher, a 55-year-old shopkeeper, KasdiM'hend. "Boutef was a facade president. It's like a Russian doll," he said, referring to the country's concealed layers of power. "They're playing deaf-and-dumb, and they're blocking the path," said another man at the Friday march, Mohammed Akli, a lawyer. "This government has been illegitimate since July," he said, referring to the constitutional departure date for the interim president, appointed after Mr. Bouteflikawas kicked out. Gen. Ahmed Gaïd Salah, the country's rough-hewed de facto ruler since Mr. Bouteflika's forced departure, makes Soviet-style speeches threatening "traitors" and denouncing "poisonous ideas" like the street's insistence on a civilian government. In a bid to appease the protesters, General Gaïd Salah has imprisoned the cream of the business and political elite that ran the country for decades under the deposed president. That appears not to be enough. Yet the unschooled general has not pulled the trigger on the crowd. "It would be very risky for them," said NacerDjabi, a leading political sociologist here, one of 13 Algerians put forward by a citizens' group as potential negotiators with the authorities. "And then, they can't be certain of the instruments of repression themselves," he added, referring to rank-and-file soldiers in Algeria's all-volunteer army. "The military authority has all the powers, but it can't exercise them," said MoussaabHammoudi, an Algerian political analyst at the Paris EHESS, the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences. "It's the hirak that has power," he added, using Algerians' name for their protest movement. "Gaïd Salah is stuck." Government ministers, installed by Mr. Bouteflika shortly before he was forced to resign, have been harassed by angry citizens in rare sorties from their offices. They have been seen swiftly returning to their cars. "They are afraid of their own people," said MostephaBouchachi, a prominent human rights lawyer who is also one of the 13 potential civilian negotiators. Mr. Belabbas, of the opposition RCD party, agreed. "They've lost their credibility with the population," he said "They will be obligated to leave the country." Mr. Bouteflika's handpicked prime minister, NoureddineBedoui, is seen as particularly vulnerable because he organized rigged elections under the previous regime. He appeared nervous and uncertain in a recent appearance on state television. Meanwhile, civic groups and opposition politicians hatch new plans every week, hoping to see Algeria through to hoped-for democracy, and setting out conditions for talks with the governing regime. But for now no single personality or group has emerged to channel the energy and demands of the protest movement.The common denominator for discussions about elections is an insistence that the 60-odd protesters who have been jailed — mainly for brandishing the flag of the Berber minority — be liberated, that gestures of harassment aimed at media outlets be stopped, and that Algerians' newfound appetite for denouncing past abuses and demanding democracy not be interfered with. If not willing to unleash a violent crackdown, the authorities have begun tiptoeing toward repression. "The regime has begun to restrict the protest space," said AbdelwahabFersaoui, recalling the moment two weeks ago when dozens of police showed up to break up his meeting of a youth protest group, the RAJ or Youth Action Group. After they had gathered at a symbolic spot in downtown Algiers, the neo-Moorish Grande Poste or central post office, "They said, 'You can't meet here.' They told us, 'You can't organize this,' " he recalled. Others have had similar episodes. "They are making preventive arrests in the mornings," before the weekly marches, said NoureddineBenissad, head of the Algerian human rights league. Mr. Bouchachi, the human rights lawyer, is no longer given authorization by the authorities to speak at the universities. He and others in the protest movement have been infuriated by the imprisonment of a legendary figure from Algeria's near-sacred war of independence against France 60 years ago, LakhdarBouregaâ. He is accused of making anti-army statements and all groups are demanding his release. The

interim president whose term expired earlier this month but who is still in office, the Bouteflika loyalist AbdelkaderBensalah, said he was "available" to "study" the demands of the protesters.The protesters remain vigilant, wary that such gestures are merely a trap, a way to blunt their momentum or divide the opposition. "I had hoped that this country would have changed, already. We are the future here," said YousraNemouchi, a 20-year-old student who marched on a recent day. "We want to be heard by this government." "We've gotten rid of the president, but they are still arresting people for talking,'' Ms. Nemouchi said. ''But still, I think already we have achieved a lot."

Article 06, The New York Times

Protesters' Message to Algeria's President: You Can't Fool Us
By Adam Nossiter
March 12, 2019

Initial euphoria over the Algerian president's decision to give up his candidacy for a fifth term quickly gave way on Tuesday to skepticism and anger among opposition figures who called the move a "trick" to save his troubled government. Hundreds of youthful protesters returned to the streets of Algiers and other cities a day after the government canceled the April election, and the country's independent news media gave voice to a sense that the elderly and infirm president, AbdelazizBouteflika, was maneuvering to extend his mandate under the guise of "reform." Independent television in Algeria broadcast images of demonstrators holding signs with messages like "No extension, game over" and "System, give it up," using one of the names Algerians commonly give to the ruling circle. The way forward in this giant, oil-rich North African country, four times the size of its former colonizer, France, is unclear. What is nearly certain, though, is that the anti-government demonstrations that have repeatedly hit cities and towns from the coastal north to the desert south will continue. The question looming over the disarray is how long the government will be able to maintain its grip, or whether the all-powerful army, up to now restrained, will intervene to preserve the status quo, as it has done in the past. At the same time, no single leader has emerged to unite the country's chronically divided opposition, weakened by years of repression and oil-money patronage dispensed by Mr. Bouteflika, who has been president for two decades. On Monday night, Algeria's government announced, in the name of the paralyzed, 82-year-old Mr. Bouteflika, that an April 18 election would not be held, that he would not be a candidate in any future election, and that a constitutional convention would be held to promote "reforms." But no timetable was given for the national convention, or for any future election. Mr. Bouteflika's growing body of opponents suggested that the president — or the ruling army-led circle behind him — was merely seeking to prolong his term in office. While Mr. Bouteflika got rid of his broadly unpopular prime minister, Ahmed Ouyahia, for years a loyal servant, the reaction a day later to the president's moves was broadly hostile. "He's canceled the election and remains in power: Bouteflika's latest trick," read a headline on Tuesday in the leading independent daily newspaper, El Watan.The veteran opposition leader SaïdSaadi, who has been imprisoned several times by the government, said in a telephone interview from Algiers: "People were demanding an election without Bouteflika. Now he's saying it's going to be Bouteflika without an election." State television broadcast rare images of an immobile Mr. Bouteflika hunched over in a chair, his face frozen, receiving visitors. Some of his visitors have confirmed that Mr. Bouteflika has extreme difficulty speaking. It is unclear how much of the turmoil he is aware of. The televised images did not appear to reassure the public. "I don't think this will calm the country at all," Mr. Saadi said. "Even more will be out on the streets Friday," he added, referring to the weekly protests that have been held after Friday Prayer. Ali Benflis, a leading opposition figure and one of Mr. Bouteflika's former prime ministers, told France 24 television that the government's plan was "simply a trick, another

trick." Mr. Benflisadded: "This is an extension decided on by unconstitutional forces. This is an illegitimate presidency. This just makes the situation worse. It's a charade." Mr. Benflis had been a candidate in the scheduled April 18 election but withdrew to protest Mr. Bouteflika's presence in it. Mr. Bouteflika's latest plan "will only reinforce the determination to take to the streets and ask the regime to leave," AmelBoubekeur, a researcher at EHESS in Paris, said in a telephone interview from Algiers. "It's not even constitutionally based," she said. "It's not the responsibility of the president to determine elections." In any case, "the discussion is no longer about individuals," Ms. Boubekeur said. "It is about the illegitimacy of the regime." In that sense, promises to include the opposition in the planned constitutional conference may fall on deaf ears, given that it will be organized by Mr. Bouteflika's discredited government. The newly appointed deputy prime minister, RamtaneLamamra, a former foreign minister, made such promises in an interview Tuesday with Radio France Internationale. "An opening-up is the order of the day," Mr. Lamamra said. "It's a true national consensus, the union of all Algerians and their energies in the service of a qualitatively better future." Algerians have heard this before. It is not clear that anybody is listening this time.

Article 07, The New York Times

Algeria's Protests Grow as New Cracks Appear in the Regime
By Adam Nossiter
March 8, 2019
PARIS — For a third successive week, tens of thousands of people took to the streets of the capital and cities across Algeria on Friday to protest a fifth term for the country's gravely ill president, AbdelazizBouteflika, as new cracks opened in the longstanding authoritarian regime. Many of the protesters on Friday started marching even before the end of weekly prayers, a new development in what has become a wildfire popular revolt organized largely through social media. The streets of Algiers were so packed with demonstrators that movement inside the crowds was impossible, observers reported. At one point crowds forced through barriers blocking access to the presidential palace, the Mouradia. The demonstrations were largely nonviolent although there were some clashes between demonstrators and the police, who used tear gas. The police detained 195 people, Algerian state television reported. "This is a revolutionary situation," said LahouariAddi, an Algeria specialist who is emeritus professor at the Institute of Political Studies in Lyon. "The protests are huge. It's the whole population that wants to see them go." As important, ruling party members, top business leaders and even the mouthpiece of the country's powerful armed force began siding with the demonstrators. On Friday seven prominent members of the ruling National Liberation Front party — successor to the liberation movement that freed Algeria from French rule — resigned from the party to express support for the protesters, according to Algerian media. Earlier in the week, the powerful organization of former liberation-war combatants, the Moujahidin, saluted the "civilized behavior" of the anti-government demonstrators and denounced corruption "at the heart of the power hierarchy." Several chief executives have resigned from the industry bosses' league in support of the protest as well, though its head remains close to Mr. Bouteflika. Perhaps most significant, El Djeich, the magazine of the country's powerful army, published an editorial on Friday hinting at support for the mainly youthful protesters. In the veiled language typically used by the country's nomenklatura, the editorial spoke of the Algerian army's "common destiny" with the people, the "unity of their shared vision of the future," and hailed the country's youth as "no less patriotic than the youth of yesterday." The army — in the person of its chief of staff, 79-year-old Mohamed Gaïd Salah — is at the heart of the clique that rules Algeria today. Analysts said the editorial in El Djeich had implications for the country's future, and for the army's current posture. "It shows that they are at sea,"

Mr. Addi said in a telephone interview from Lyon. "They are looking for a way out, and they are saying to the people, 'We are with you.' " Mr. Bouteflika has not publicly addressed the country in seven years. Barely able to talk because of his stroke, he is represented at government rallies by his framed portrait, known as "The Frame." He is currently undergoing treatment in Switzerland, where on Friday the police arrested a popular opposition activist, RachidNekkaz, who was demonstrating at Mr. Bouteflika's hospital. The anti-government demonstrations began several weeks ago after the ruling party indicated that, despite the president's evident infirmity, Mr. Bouteflika would again be a candidate for a fifth term of office. That was enough for many Algerians who have until now abided awkwardly for years under the rule of an absentee president while those around him shared the spoils of power. Within days, protesters took to the streets, some with placards reading, "Game over". The demonstrations –in themselves extraordinary under the authoritarian regime- have grown weekly since. With no single figure in the opposition capable of uniting the protesters, Mr. Addi said it was impossible to predict how the situation would resolve itself, a view shared by other seasoned Algeria-watchers. "It could be a government of national unity," he said. "It could be a committee of public safety. Nobody knows." Last weekend, in an effort to hold off even bigger demonstrations, the government offered to set early elections should Mr. Bouteflika win a new term in April — an outcome Algerians consider a foregone conclusion — but that did not appease the street. In the streets of Algiers on Friday, the protesters insisted on their determination to keep marching until their goal was achieved — Mr. Bouteflika's bowing out of the election. "This movement is giving me hope, hope that I had lost," said Meriem, a 54-year-old university professor who, like others, declined to give her last name for fear of government reprisals. "And we hope that the protests will organize themselves. Sure, we're always afraid of violence. But better to be afraid than to die a slow death. And in any case, I hope it is them who are afraid today." "I'm demonstrating today because they have made us hate our lives," said Samia, a 30-year-old mother of two who lives in the suburbs of Algiers. Her children "have no place to play," she said. "We've tried to free ourselves for years. And we're still waiting." Mohamed Lamine, a 22-year-old student, said: "It's the whole system I want to get rid of. I know very well that when I finish my studies, I have no future in this country." One of the country's leading opposition figures, MohcineBelabbas, predicted that the movement would continue. And he suggested that a larger goal had overtaken the original one of Mr. Bouteflika's ouster. "The people have a determination to fight it out with the system," said Mr. Belabbas, head of the Rally for Culture and Democracy party, who joined the protesters in the streets of Algiers on Friday. "There can't be any turning back." It's not just about rejecting a fifth term for Bouteflika, he said. "It's a rejection of the whole system," he said. "We are in a political moment like the one preceding the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution."

'It's Time to Break the Chains.' Algerians Seek a Revolution.
By Adam Nossiter
March 24, 2019

ALGIERS — High above the sea in a heavily guarded villa, Algeria's 82-year-old president, AbdelazizBouteflika, sits in a wheelchair — mute, paralyzed, barely able to move his hands. Hovered over by a flurry of attendants and family members, he has not uttered a single word in public, much less given a speech or interview, since a stroke in 2013. Twenty miles away in the capital, Algiers, tens of thousands of demonstrators fill the streets every week loudly demanding his departure, and that of the extensive, ill-defined entourage around him that Algerians call simply the "power," the nexus of high-ranking officials, wealthy businessmen and military officers who actually run the country. The demonstrations, the largest in over 30

years, have grown larger every week and seem unstoppable. Algeria, the largest country in Africa and a rare pillar of stability in the Arab world, now faces an uncertain future. The protesters' demands are unambiguous: After two decades of undivided reign, Mr. Bouteflika, his clan, and his system must go. "We feel like we've been violated for 20 years," said Haid Mohamed Islam, a 27-year-old doctor standing outside the modernistic national library on a recent wind-swept day. "It's time to break the chains." While it remains far from clear what happens next, a sense that change is inevitable is sweeping the country. The protest has caught on across the country and among all classes of society, from bankers to bakers to truck drivers to teachers to waiters to students. "It is extraordinarily diverse," said NacerDjabi, a sociologist. An offer by Mr. Bouteflika that he would not run for a fifth term, which the government portrayed as a major concession, was roundly rebuffed by the protesters because it fell short of their demand that he step down immediately and because it appeared to leave him in office indefinitely. The episode seemed only to energize them. The government and the security forces, adept at swatting away the small protests that periodically erupt in Algeria, seem stymied. Its officials say they have ruled out firing on the protesters. And as the protesters' numbers have grown, a violent response could backfire. Although it remains difficult to imagine the government yielding to the protesters, recently there have been positive signs of at least a tacit acceptance. State news media, at first barred from covering the protests, have begun reporting on them. "The Street Is Not Backing Down" was the banner headline in the daily Liberté on Wednesday. The ruling National Liberation Front and the army have joined the chorus of praise for the demonstrators, with the chief of staff hailing their "unequaled sense of civic responsibility." "Just on its face, the dynamic is really very strong," said Louisa Dris-AitHamadouche, a leading political scientist here, her words nearly drowned out by thousands protesting around her on Friday. For decades, Algeria was seen by allies on both sides of the Atlantic as a bulwark against the regional Islamist threat. After the army brutally crushed an Islamist insurgency in the 1990s, the military chose Mr. Bouteflika, a wily ex-foreign minister whose political roots go back to the earliest years of Algerian independence, to lead the country. Algerians welcomed the end of the nearly decade-long conflict and accepted Mr. Bouteflika with it, an arrangement made even easier as oil money began flowing freely in the early 2000s, and with it generous social benefits. In 2011, Algeria proudly rode out the Arab Spring, its leaders mocking the reckless, pro-democracy demonstrators in neighboring countries even as they shut the country off from the outside world. There are virtually no tourists here, and downtown Algiers is free of the international commercial brands seen elsewhere. Mr. Bouteflika also cloistered himself. According to journalists and political scientists here, he has never given an interview in the Algerian news media in his two decades in office. Since his stroke, even his body has disappeared: He has been replaced in public appearances by his framed portrait, known here as "the frame." There were few complaints. Large public works programs and free loans to young people, financed by the country's oil and gas wealth, kept citizens content and quiescent. A top member of the governing coalition, speaking on condition of anonymity to talk freely, said the Bouteflika system was built on patronage and corruption. With oil fetching high prices, "money flowed like water," he said. "There was corruption in bidding. Easy bank loans. People got rich on public money." But in 2014, the prices of oil and gas, which account for 97 percent of the country's exports, started falling. Unemployment among the young bit deeply as the government cut social benefits. Last month, when Mr. Bouteflika announced he would run for a fifth term, the bottom fell out. Algerians had had enough of his system, and his physical incapacity became a metaphor for the withering country. Ordinary Algerians, in the grimy downtown streets where great chunks of plaster are peeling from the Haussmann-style buildings, in the shabby cafes made shabbier by five years of fluctuating oil prices, and in the mass demonstrations, say there is no going back. "They thought that because we were quiet,

we were stupid," said RabahBouberras, 32, a shopkeeper from the suburbs who was demonstrating in Algiers on Friday. "But the people are not going to forgive them. We're not hungry. It's a question of dignity." Corruption has become a major grievance. "In my sector it's flagrant," said AbdenourHadjici, a sales manager for a plaster company. "There are certain people that are favored." A builder he knows, for instance, got a cheap loan because he knows a high-placed general, he said. But it is the central demand of the protesters, that the whole Bouteflika system must go, that would be hardest to satisfy, government insiders and analysts here say. "The clan that governs this country isn't going to just let go just like that," said ZoubirArous, a leading sociologist, as he watched a stream of chanting youth, many draped in the Algerian flag, march on a downtown street. "It's a question of life or death for them." And "the system" is wider than Mr. Bouteflika and his cronies. Eliminating it would require purging a tentacular web of corruption encompassing thousands of people and built up over years. "Everybody's been co-opted," said Mr. Djabi, the sociologist. "It was, 'Come with me, and you will have everything.'" Inside the gargantuan marbled government buildings constructed with oil money, there is worry and hesitation. Officials, stunned by the size of the demonstrations, insist occult forces are guiding them. The demonstrations have been taken over by opposition politicians, they say, or Islamists, though there is little evidence of either at the demonstrations. The officials are bewildered at the absence of leaders among the protesters, and at the total rejection of the government's offers. "They're saying, all those who are part of the system have to go, but that's excommunication," exclaimed a top official, who declined to be quoted by name. "We recognize that there are reasons for frustration. But does that justify calling into question everything that has come before?" There is also the question of who is really in charge and who has the authority to negotiate with the protesters. Mr. Bouteflikais said to be barely able to speak, though top officials and friends insist that he is lucid and capable of dispensing directives. "He's in control of his faculties, 100 percent," LakhdarBrahimi, a former United Nations negotiator and friend of Mr. Bouteflika's, said in an interview here this past week. He said he had recently seen the president, whom he has known since they were young revolutionaries together in the early 1960s. "Still, the fact is, he's disappeared from the scene," Mr. Brahimi said. "And that creates a problem." Revolution has a cherished place in Algerian memory, and the victory over France almost 60 years ago is enshrined in national pride. In the late 20th century, Algeria was a global archetype of third world revolution and ground zero for revolutionaries from the Black Panthers to the African National Congress. Now France is watching events here anxiously from across the Mediterranean. Home to an Algerian diaspora in the millions, France is already reckoning with the boatloads of young would-be migrants who attempt the dangerous crossing. The protesters say rising up against oppression is a hallowed national tradition. "Our parents made the revolution," said HassenKhelifati, 51, a prosperous insurance executive who has participated in the demonstrations. "For us, at least we will be able to say, we tried. We can't just say to our children, we were cowards." He is joined on the streets by a banker, MallemAmel, 25. "There's been this consciousness raising," she said. "We can't stay in this situation." And a doctor, Zaidi Hamza, 26. "The Algerian people want a radical change," he said. "There isn't a single category in the population that will negotiate with them. "They say they will fight to the end. "We're not afraid of a blood bath," said ZohirGeurroumi, a 23-year-old law student. "This isn't for us. It's for our descendants."