## وزارة التعليم العالى والبحث العلمي

## MINISTERE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE "YNEHI! O RICHVIII EXXII VEI O I I

MOULOUD MAMMERI UNIVERSITY OF TIZI-OUZOU
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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



جامعة مولود معمري - تيزي وزو كلية الأداب واللغات قسم الإنجليزية

Item Number:		 							
Serial Number	:								

# A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in English

**FIELD: Foreign Languages** 

SUBJECT: English

**SPECIALITY: Language and Communication** 

## **Title**

## The Representation of the Algerian Movement "Hirak" in English Media

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# To My Family and Friends

## Acknowledgments

I owe my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Pr. Mohammed Sadek Fodil for his patience, endless support, and valuable feedback. I have greatly benefited from his insightful comments and suggestions. Without his guidance and persistent help, this dissertation would not have been completed. I would like also to thank him for providing me with the chance to work on my own. I am particularly grateful for the board of examiners who accepted to read and correct my work. Finally, my special thanks go to all who contributed, in a way or another, to make this work successful especially my friend Siham.

#### **Abstract**

The present study intends to investigate the linguistic representation of the Algerian Hirak movement in the media written in English. The aim of this paper is to explore whether the Hirak movement is represented positively or negatively in the foreign media. Hence, this study seeks to attain two main objectives. The research aims first to identify the foreign journalists' motivation to cover the 2019 Algerian protests. The second objective consists in unveiling the journalists' different ideologies. To achieve these objectives, we have selected four newspapers, namely the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail newspapers extracting from them twenty articles written by foreign journalists. Additionally, this data is supplemented by an online interview conducted with three journalists (Adam Nossiter, Ruth Michaelson, and Borzou Daragahi) and two others from the Conversation( Yahia Zoubir) and the Financial Times(Anonymous) newspapers. Moreover, the study relies on two theoretical frameworks: Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse focusing on two grammatical features in terms of vocabulary and grammar and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics with emphasis put on the textual, interpersonal, and ideational metafunctions. The study is qualitative in nature; hence, the results obtained from the analysis of both the news articles and the online interview are interpreted using the Qualitative Content Analysis following Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. The findings of the study suggest that the Hirak event portrayal is rather positive with some negative aspects of its representation linked to the socio-economic and political challenges of Algeria. Besides, it was found that the identified ideologies of the journalists deduced from the concerned articles are related to justice, democracy, pluralism, and transparency. Still, some of them pretend to be neutral in their writings. Ultimately, the research provides further recommendations within the political field.

**Key terms:** The Hirak, News Articles in English, Foreign Journalists, Critical Discourse Analysis, Systemic Functional Linguistics.

## **List of Abbreviations**

**CDA**: Critical Discourse Analysis

CL: Critical Linguistics

**SFL**: Systemic Functional Linguistics

SFG: Systemic Functional Grammar

H: Hypothesis

**Q**: Question

**QCA**: Qualitative Content Analysis

**SVO:** Subject Verb Object

SV: Subject Verb

**SVC**: Subject Verb Complement

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#### **Statement of the Problem**

There is evidence that February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019 is deemed a memorable date in the history of the Algerian people. This day is observed as a symbol of the heroism of Algerians of all spheres who still fight for justice, freedom, and dignity. The idea is that the public are exasperated by corruption, government clientelism, economic stagnation, unemployment, and rising youth unemployment which have sparked mass unrest (Brannen et al. 2020). Interestingly, this phenomenon gave birth to the 'Hirak' movement. It started six days after the Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika had announced his candidacy for a fifth presidential mandate. To support their demands, people hit the streets each friday. Students also, protest every Tuesday to back up their claims for a more democratic Algeria.

The 'Hirak' attracted international media coverage due to its controversial nature. Newspapers are among the various means of communication which cover this significant event of the Algerian protests. Hence, a challenging issue which arises in this domain is whether online media in English depict the Algerian protests, and if so, is it in a negative or positive way. Therefore, this study is concerned with the media linguistic representation of the 'Hirak' movement in British and American newspapers.

In more precise words, this research sets to analyze the linguistic depiction of the 'Hirak' movement in three broadsheet newspapers. The first to mention is *The New York Times* which is issued in the United States of America. The second is *The Guardian* as well as *The Independent* along with one tabloid newspaper particularly *The Daily Mail*. These three newspapers are issued in Britain. Indeed, the selection of these newspapers is done on the basis of their popularity in their countries of publication.

The analysis relies on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The linguistic analysis consisting of three metafunctions in terms of Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual metafunctions are used simultaneously to communicate meaning. SFL views language as a meaning making potential and serves as a basis for CDA. In this context, critical discourse analysts investigate a text through showing the functional organization of its structure and relate it to the existing ideology and power exercised in a particular society in which the text has been reproduced (Halliday and Mattiessen, 2004). Hence, SFL and CDA are of a valuable assistance to identify the beliefs and ideologies conveyed by the articles under study and to account for the journalists' motives to cover the Hirak movement.

Throughout its history, Algeria has witnessed diverse events mainly the war of Independence against the French colonizer, the civil war known as (the black decade), and in June 2001, the events called 'the black spring' consisted in a series of political demonstrations led by Kabyle activists in the Kabylie region of Algeria which have left 127 dead, thousands of casualties and traumatic memories. This ended by the gathering of millions of protesters in Algiers, and since then, protests have been forbidden in Algiers, the capital of Algeria. Nevertheless, the determination and hope of the Algerians for a better future resulted two decades later in the current 'Hirak' movement appealing for a variety of demands in peaceful demonstrations.

A brief overview of the literature reveals that many researchers and organizations in different parts of the world have discussed the Algerian 'Hirak' movement. In this regard, one may mention Robbins's (2019) survey on the Algerian protests together with the 'Arab Barometer', a research network that provides insights into the social, political, and economic attitudes and values of ordinary citizens across the Arab world. The aim of the survey was to question the root causes of the demonstrations, the demands of protesters in Algeria, and the protests future destination.

It is found that the major factor which gave rise to the protests is the decline of the economic conditions which resulted in a collapse of the social contract among all segments of society. These poor economic conditions have triggered the protest activity in major countries of what is called 'Arab Barometer'; a multi-partner collaborative project(Arab world and USA) established in 2005 to produce reliable data on the politically-relevant attitudes of ordinary citizens (political reforms). Nevertheless, the survey suggests that Algerians have taken to the streets in masses first and foremost for demanding radical reforms to the existing system. Robbins, additionally, states that protesters are aware of their wants. Still, they remain doubtful of the regime's promised democracy and the future situation of the 'Hirak' movement. He concludes by arguing that more responsive governance that meet the public needs and improved economic conditions are amid the crucial demands of the protesters. The second study to mention is Warner's (2019) article on the Algerian demonstrations. It concerns the nature of the protests which he claims to be proceeding patiently. He argues that the Algerians have been so patient. This is clear in the twenty-six weeks of demonstrations which are held with no violence. The findings suggest that Algeria's peaceful transition remains unconvincing and freedom is delayed since the political system has not yet been radically reformed. As a third study, we refer to Hamdi's (2019) article 'Armed with Memes, Algerian Students Join AntiBouteflika Protests'. The article's aim is to shed light on the creative peaceful ways (facebook, slogans, and youtube) Algerians mainly students use to voice their claims. Indeed, Hamdi states that students marched in masses in the streets of Algiers chanting slogans which read 'Algeria has no Master and Algeria is a Free Country'. According to the journalist, humour is also present in the protests. A student wrote 'Where Is Democracy? I don't See It!' a meme inspired by Dora the Explorer. The inquiry comes about the fact that other peaceful protests are planned for the following week which has now a new ritual in Algeria.

Apart from the aforementioned works, to our present state of knowledge, no research has been ever conducted on the English media depiction of the popular Algerian 'Hirak' movement. Hence, there is a need to increase research about the way English print media discussed the current Algerian protests known as the 'Hirak'.

#### Aims and Significance of the Study

The peaceful nature of the movement against Algeria's oppressive regime signals the unquestionable claim of people's rights to perform who they are and who they want to be (Arslane, 2019). In fact, this stimulates various researchers to uncover the roots of the Algerian protests and highlight their demands. Yet, the study remains a fertile area as it seeks to investigate the English press linguistic representation of the Algerian protests. Therefore, the present research is worth investigating since it attempts to discover this unveiled area and provide a contribution to the existing literature. Indeed, the study aims to identify the foreign journalists' motives and ideologies in relation to the Hirak coverage.

#### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

As previously mentioned, this study seeks to address how the press in English portrayed the Algerian 'Hirak'. To reach this objective, the following research questions are raised:

- 1. Is the Hirak represented positively or negatively in the press written in English?
- 2. What are the motives behind the coverage of the Hirak Movement?
- 3. What are the journalists' hidden ideologies?

To potentially answer the questions, one hypothesis is provided for each question asked above:

- **Hp 1:** The English press linguistic representation of the 'Hirak' is positive, but some negative aspects of the Hirak depiction are also denoted.
- **Hp 2:** the Algerian protests' peaceful nature, civism, and creativity are the main factors that motivate the journalists to cover the 'Hirak' movement.

**Hp3:** The journalists' ideologies are Liberalism and Populism. The journalists try to inform the public about the Algerian people who have finally decided to voice their claims through peaceful demonstrations, supporting their will to dismantle the official discourse of the regime.

#### **Research Design and Methodology**

The study consists in an analysis of opinion articles written in English. The selected corpus is elaborated by consulting web-sites. The study is therefore a corpus based analysis in which an examination of the linguistic depiction of the 'Hirak' is analyzed as an attempt to sort out the hidden ideologies conveyed in these articles. This analysis is conducted using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (1989) and Halliday's Functional Grammar (2004). To this purpose, the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is found to be the most appropriate method for interpreting the text of the corpus.

#### **Structure of the Dissertation**

The present study is carried out following the simple traditional design. It encompasses a General Introduction, followed by four chapters and a General Conclusion. The Introduction provides a general overview of the topic, presents the aims to reach in this study, and the general organization of the dissertation. The first chapter is theoretical and is labeled Review of the Literature. It seeks to introduce the main theoretical concepts in relation to the research topic investigated, reviewing the main literature about the Algerian political situation and the origins of the Hirak movement, as well as it provides a detailed explanation of the theoretical framework under which this study will be conducted. The second chapter is named as *Research* Design and Methods which explains the procedure followed for the collection and analysis of data along with the description of the corpus of the research. The third chapter is devoted to Representation of the findings where the results and the findings of the research are analyzed in accordance to the chosen theoretical framework. The last chapter called Discussion of the Findings permits to discuss and interpret the findings of the study. The present work ends with a General Conclusion which provides a brief summary of the main points tackled throughout the dissertation and seeks to answer the research questions on the basis of the obtained results. In addition to that, this chapter provides answers for the research questions, check the validity of the research hypotheses, and includes possible areas for further studies.

#### Introduction

This chapter is theoretical in nature. It consists in the review of literature which accounts for the major works in relation to the present study in order to analyze how the Hirak movement is represented linguistically in the selected American and British newspapers. This chapter; therefore, explains our analytical framework, as it traces back to the most important approaches related to our field of study commonly referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (1989) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (2004). The chapter is composed of four sections. The first section accounts for the previous uprisings of the country to grow aware of the historical roots of the Hirak movement The second section introduces the main theoretical concepts regarding communication, mass communication, and news as it provides the main differences drawn between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The third section discusses the political situation in Algeria. As for the fourth, it reviews Fairclough's and Halliday's works as it sheds lights on the theoretical frameworks of the study consisting in Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional linguistics.

#### 1. Origins of the Algerian Hirak Movement

The word 'Hirak' is a classic Arabic word which comes from the tri-letter word 'Haroka' which means to move. The Hirak is a movement in interaction. In the Algerian case, the interaction is seen in the movement demands and massive protests (our translation) (Berthelemy, 2019)

Historically, protests have often inspired positive social change and have sought to improve protection of human rights as they continue to help define and protect civic space in all parts of the world (Article 19, 2016). Article 19 is an organization that supports people's freedom of expression who actively engage in public life without fear of discrimination.

In Algeria, the beginning of the civic movement dates back to April 1980 in Kabylia where people claimed freedom of speech, human and cultural rights for the first time in the history of the country's post-independence. In this context, one can mention Dahmani's news article (2019) entitled 'Du Printemps Berbère au Hirak' (From Berber Spring to Hirak). Dahmani discusses the socioeconomic context of the Berber Spring emphasizing its role in the fight for citizenship. For Dahmani, in late 1970, Algerians experienced economic grievances and social life deterioration expressing their discontent of the integrated model 'des industries industrialisantes' (Industrializing industries). He, also, regards the Hirak movement as a continuation of the Berber spring. The idea is that, the two movements have claimed 'linguistic, cultural, and political diversity'. According to Dahmani, autonomy, liberty of expression, and

democracy were the major claims of the April 1980 movement. Concerning the issue of the nation, Dahmani argues that after independence, the Algerian authority establishment imposed a cultural and political unity. However, the Hirak movement has emphasized social and cultural diversity under the slogan which reads *9baïli 3arbi khawa khawa* (Kabyle and Arabs are brothers).

Since independence, Algerians have been calling for their government to respond on issues of their livelihoods in terms of unemployment, housing and unreliable delivery of electricity (Martinez et al., 2014). To reinforce this point, we refer to Chikhi's (1991) article 'From Mass Rebellion in October 1988 to Workers' Social Protests'. The aim of the article is to scrutinize the social relations and the dynamics of social movement before and after October 1988. Chikhi believes that the dissatisfaction among all the workers and other employees with the whole social system is correlated with a selective education. The idea is that out of 100 children, only 4 of them have access to university. Consequently, the majority who were excluded face unemployment.

To account for the major unrest characterizing Algeria during 1990's, we refer to Arrief's (2011) article entitled 'Algeria: Current Issues'. The focus is put on political unrest and terrorism. Arrief points out that the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) won the 1991 elections which urged the military forces to intervene and cancel the elections. This engendered a decade of civil war between security forces and Islamist insurgents which resulted in an estimated 150,000 deaths (Arrief, 2011).

After the black decade, ten years of civil war between the Algerian Army and the Islamist groups from 1991 characterized by violence, Algeria witnessed another impasse in the Kabylia region in 2001. The International Crisis Group (ICG) (2003), a transnational organization performing research on global crisis put forward an article under the title 'Unrest and Impasse in Kabylia'. The group emphasized that the Kabyle people's main demands was related to identity. It is worthy to mention that the major reason prompting, what was later to be called Black Spring was the shooting of an eighteen years old young man (Guermah Massinissa) by the 'gendarmerie' on April 18, 2001. Worse than this, after his death, the 'gendarmerie' issued a 'communiqué' (statement) accusing Guermah of being a thief. The same group (ICG) maintains that during the last week of April 2001, Kabylia knew its most violent rioting in the Algerian history. The security forces responded with a death toll reaching 123 by mid-June. These events caused an enormous trauma in Kabyle public opinion.

Several researchers and activists have discussed issues in relation to the Hirak movement. To this matter, we mention the activist and commentator on Algerian matters

Hamouchene who was interviewed by Cochrane (2019). The conversation is entitled 'The Uprising in Algeria – Origins, Current Situation and Future—Hamza Hamouchene'. The aim of the dialogue is to discuss the Algerian protests current situation and future destination as well as to unveil the Hirak origins. Indeed, Hamouchene affirms 'The thing that pushed people to go to the streets, that was the an-announcement of the candidacy of the ailing President Bouteflika to run for a fifth term, which would have meant reaching a quarter of a century in power'. Hamouchene continues by arguing that the Algerians could not handle the president desire to run for fifth mandate. So, they went to the streets to express their claims.

#### 2. Communication

The present research aims at investigating the representation of the Hirak movement in the press written in English; therefore, this means that we are firstly concerned with communication and mass communication. According to the concise Oxford learner dictionary (2008: 84), the term communication stands for 'the activity or process of expressing ideas and feelings or of giving people information', or as 'Communications [plural] methods of sending information, especially telephones, radio, computers, etc. or roads, and railroads'. More precisely, Keyton (2011) contends 'Communication is the process of transmitting information and common understanding from one person to another'. It denotes that the sender intends to create the same understanding in the brain of another person (receiver). Respectively, 'Mass communication is the communication that happens by means of movies, large daily newspapers, and broadcasting (that is, the creation and mass distribution of information and entertainment)' (Lorimer, 2002:01). It seems pertinent to assume that the last definition entails the delivery of information via broadcast (television and radio) and print media, particularly newspapers. The latter is the concern of our research.

#### **2.1.** News

A prominent figure in the sphere of communication studies, Marcel Danesi (2009) defines news as the process which serves to 'Report about current happening or happenings in a newspaper, on radio, on television, or on a web'. It implies that news is reported event via mass media. In a similar vein Reah argues that

News making is regarded as a contextualised process of story making. It is shown that news is not merely a fictional account, but also implies elucidation and expansion and most importantly the construction of a narrative, following a set of conventionalized professional practices. Through a form of storytelling the reporter drags the audience (into the story instead of giving them a disinterested record of facts. This is the rationale behind saying 'news stories', where emphasis is put on the way the events are presented as a structured account (Reah, 2002: 40).

The idea is that news is considered as a narrative governed by professional rules. It is then, presented in the form of structured events in a way that attracts the audience and gets them involved rather than a process of reciting facts.

#### 2.2. Broadsheet vs. Tabloid

Print media include two types of newspapers. The former is labeled *Broadsheets*. A large format newspaper, written and distributed for a national audience. It covers serious topics in terms of politics, business, wars, and international affairs using formal language (Yang, 2003). The second newspaper type is referred to as *Tabloid newspaper* which is small format editions addressed to less educated audiences. The word tabloid holds negative connotation as it is associated with poor quality content and techniques of unethical reporting. Tabloid newspaper is synonymous to *yellow press*, *soft news, infotainment* (formed from a combination of information and entertainment) and *newszac* (news turned into a party). It is referred to as *consumerist magazine* because it favors profits over ethics basing on erotic content, gossip, and kitsch (Popović et al., 2013).

Due to their seriousness, three broadsheet newspapers have been selected to be the object of analysis in the present work. These are the Guardian and the Independent from Britain, and The New York Times from the United States, in order to scrutinize the way they covered the Algerian Hirak movement. Besides, we selected tabloid newspaper to discover whether the Algerian protests are portrayed in negative or positive way because the newspaper is known for its sensationalist reports.

#### 3. The Political Situation in Algeria

The Algerian regime is understood as a network of competing interest groups. The groups in question consist of actors who each influences the political decisions (Martinez et al., 2014). According to Martinez et al. (2014:11) the interest groups include,

General Staff of the army (État-Major), the intelligence services, the DRS (Département du Renseignement et de la Sécurité), [the National Gendarmerie (Darak el watani)], the Military police called the DGSN (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), the former single party, the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale), the current governing party, the RND (Rassemblement National Démocratique), the FAP (Fédération Algérienne du Patronat), the state-run union, UGTA (Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens) and, finally, the state-run oil company, Sonatrach (Société nationale de transport et de la commercialisation des hydrocarbures).

It is believed that these competitors are united to face any threat that touches the stability of the regime. Also, the notion of the political regime is discussed in Addi's article (2015) 'Algeria and its Permanent Political Crisis'. Addi states that every political regime has its specificities and logic which trace back to history. Since the war of Independence, the military

along with (FLN) are regarded as formal powers (Addi, 2015). Also, the author has reviewed some events in relation to the former Algerian presidents, namely Ahmed Ben Bella who was arrested in June 1965, the forced departure of Chadli Bendjedid in January 1992, the assassination of Mohamed Boudiaf in June 1992, and the resignation of Liamine Zéroual in September 1998. Equally, in 1999, Abdelaziz Bouteflika was also designated by the military. For Addi (2015), the latter is the longest ruling president because he accepted the military's primacy over politics. In fact, during Boutflika's rule, there were two main decision making chains in the Algerian affaires; the formal official which decides nothing valuable and the *informal hidden chain* which keep giving orders referring to the military (ibid.).

Although research has illuminated and discussed some aspects of the Algerian protests at the political and cultural dimensions, highlighting the main traits of the Algerian politics ( the succession of the presidents and the power holders of the country), no study to date has examined how the English media depicted the popular Algerian 'Hirak' movement. Hence, there is now our concern to report about the way English online media treated the current Algerian protests at the linguistic level. In order to attain this objective, the work is based upon two theoretical frameworks. The first one is Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough's theory is adopted in the analysis of the selected articles to reveal the ideological stances of the journalists. The study emphasizes the linguistic dimension that is, the textual analysis. The second theoretical framework to consider is Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics in relation to the Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual metafunctions.

## 4. A Review on Fairclough's (1989) and Halliday's (1985) Literature

It is believed that Critical Discourse Analysis takes Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics as its theoretical foundations. Interestingly, Fairclough and Halliday have elaborated a respectable amount of work which is worth accounting for to undertake our analysis of the way the mentioned English media covered the Hirak.

The term Critical Discourse Analysis is developed from Critical language Study. The latter is highlighted in Fairclough's (1989) *Power and Discourse* which discusses key concepts to CDA and the interrelationship between language, discourse, and power. This book is considered as the landmark to the development history of CDA. Fairclough (1989) has put forward twofold aims. The first is theoretical which values language production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. The second practical aim is to increase consciousness about the role of language in the domination of some people by others in the sense that people

who become aware of these differences of power relations imposed by common sense assumptions (ideology) would be able to change and resist inequalities.

Language for him is not a linguistic phenomenon independent from society but rather a social practice. He, then, elaborated his three-dimensional model as an initial model consisting in Text, Interaction and Context as he has provided a procedure of description, interpretation and explanation of texts. Later on, in *Discourse and Social change (1992 a)*, the model was modified and divided into Text, discursive practice and social practice.

For Fairclough (1992) text is only one part of the communication process and it is mediated with processes of production, distribution and interpretation (Discursive practice) in relation to a given context (social practice). The aim of this book is to develop an approach to language analysis which investigates *change in language*, an approach which will be useful in studies of social and cultural change (Fairclough, 1992). Again, social changes do not only concern language, but also social practice. As an illustration, one can mention market culture in the education sector which has brought changes such as relationships (learners as clients / consumers) (ibid.).

Fairclough's 'social theory of discourse' can be applied to any kind of discourse. In his book entitled Critical Discourse Analysis (1995 b), a collection of papers published from 1985 to 1993, Fairclough (1995) discusses various issues in relation to (language, ideology, and power) taking into account the ideological importance of the implicit taken for granted presuppositions on which text order and coherence depend. Also, Fairclough (1995) has conceptualized CDA as 'three-dimensional' framework aiming to relate three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution, and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.

Contrary to the prescriptive (rules) traditional grammar which focuses on the form in the study of language, Halliday developed a new approach to language namely functional grammar which views grammar as resource of meaning making. In his book entitled 'An Introduction to Functional Grammar' or IFG in 1985 Halliday discusses topics in relation not only to grammar, but also to cohesion, intonation and mostly metaphor. Halliday (1985) emphasizes the relationship between text and grammar conceiving a text as a semantic unit rather than a grammatical one, but its meaning is realized through wordings (grammar). Then again, Halliday construed IFG theory around basic concepts one of which is referred to as metafunction. In his view, a clause is a unit which combines meaning of three entities namely the ideational (use of language to express the material world), the interpersonal (use of language

to enact social relationships), and textual (organizing the flow and continuity of discourse through language) metafunctions.

Introduction to functional grammar 3 is a revision of the second edition by Matthiessen (2004), commonly referred to as IFG3. Its main concern is to provide a sense of how the grammar makes meaning in written and spoken text. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) the architecture of language is made up of axis, stratification, instantiation, metafunction, composition. Hence, the focus of our research is on the three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, and textual).

The aforementioned works elaborated by Norman Fairclough and M.A.K Halliday are used in this study as theoretical foundations to unveil the way print media written in English portray linguistically the Hirak movement.

## 4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a fundamental concept in social research in particular to Foucault who states that 'Discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence' (Foucault 1972:107). His view of discourse is confined to text and textual analysis. The latter is, for Fairclough (1989), just a part of discourse analysis. Hence, for him, discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction including processes of production and interpretation of a communicative event (text) within its social context. Two dimensions of discourse are important focal points in terms of the communicative event (an instance of language use such as news article) and orders of discourse (the configuration of all types of discourse used within social field) (Fairclough, 1995b). Communicative events do not only reproduce orders of discourse, but can also change them through creative language use (journalists plays a part in the reproduction of media system) (Jorgsen and Phillips, 2002).

Discourse, once again, is an element of social practices (Fairclough, 2003). It figures as

#### • *Genres* (ways of acting)

It figures as a *part of the action* (acting and interacting through speaking or writing). An example of poetry, prose and interview (Fairclough, 2003).

#### • *Discourses* (ways of representing)

Discourse as an abstract noun refers to language or other types of semiosis as an element of social life. As a countable noun, discourse denotes the representation of aspects of the material world (political discourse).

#### • Style (ways of being)

It constitutes particular social or personal identities (discourse alongside bodily behavior) like formality, the way manager use language to self-identifying. In our work, this refers to journalistic style and the particular way in which demonstrators use English as a resource for self-identifying.

It is worth to note that genres, discourses, and style correlate with what Fairclough (2003) terms aspects of meaning namely action, representation, and identification. The concepts are not separate, but rather they are *dialectical*, that is, each aspect is *internalized* in the other (ibid.).

The notion of media news implies 'News item or news report, i.e., a text or discourse on radio, on TV or in the newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events' (Van Dik, 1988: 4). Just as stories, news can be also regarded as text which communicates a given information about specific events reported via various media. 'News is considered as a complex communicative event − as discourse − including the social context of news reports (→ Discourse; Political Discourse)' (Eilders, 2008:01). The aforementioned definition entails that news is considered as a discourse defined by its social context.

Among the influential studies conducted on news as discourse following a critical approach, we may mention Van Dijk (1988) who provides a theoretical framework for the study of news in the press at both the micro level (phonology /morphology) and macro level (semantics/pragmatics). The description is conducted following Critical Discourse Analysis. The aim of the study is to "...answer the important question about the structural specifics of news discourse as compared to other types of discourse' and 'to propose a new theoretical framework for the study of news in the press. The main feature of our approach is to analyze news primarily as a type of text or discourse' (VanDijk, 1988:01). The attention is put on structures of news discourse and the processes of social cognition in news production and comprehension. The study comes about the fact that the textual analysis of news reveals that nominalization, passivation, neologisms, and sentence complexity are among the grammatical style features specific to news discourse along with specific lexical choice which reveals hidden ideologies. As for the production, macrostructures are related to the constraints and conditions of news production; summaries in all stages of news making. Also, the organization of news taking into consideration the relevance feature that is (from most important to less important events). Regarding the comprehension processes that is, the reader's interpretation of the news reports. It is found that readers remember mostly the macrostructures of the news (headlines,

leads), what they already know and sensational events like crimes and accidents (Van Dijk, 1988).

As far as our research is concerned, we consider news as discourse consisting in an attempt to analyze the way print media written in English covered the Hirak movement in the selected newspapers (The Guardian, The Independent, The New York Times and The Daily Mail) Following Fairclough's CDA theory (1989) and Halliday's SFL(2004) with emphasis put on the Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual functions.

There are various approaches to CDA, one may mention Van Dijk's (2001) sociocognitive approach to CDA which draws links between linguistics and cognitive linguistics. It entails the analysis of the societal structure (text), the production processes (journalistic institutions and their social practices) and the reception processes (comprehension), and their relation to the social process (context). A crucial element in Van Dijk's framework is the sociocognition (social and personal cognition) concept. In van Dijk's terms (1988:18) sociocognition is 'the system of mental representations and processes of group members'. In this sense, there is the notion of Us vs Them which implies the fact that all that is related to an insider group member is good while the outsider is regarded as inferior.

### 4.1.1. Ideology and Power in CDA

Ideology and power are core concepts in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory. According to Alghbary et al. (2015: 2) the term ideology was first developed by the French philosopher Distutt de Tracy in the 18th C. Since then, many disciplines in terms of social and cognitive psychology, linguistics and discourse studies have adopted this notion through different perspectives. Eagleton defines ideology as 'Ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize conditions and life experience of a specific, socially significant group or class' (ibid.:2).

In discourse studies field, Fairclough (2003) put forward the following definition,

Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of texts [...] is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique (2003: 28).

According to Fairclough (1995:14), ideology is 'meaning in the service of power' that is ideologies are conceived as constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of power and domination in societies (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

As For power, Fairclough (1989:03) emphasizes that 'Power is not just a matter of language', but rather it has other manifestations. Wodak and Meyer (2009a: 9) view it as 'the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse'. This definition entails that power is conceived as a matter of control and dominance which is related to the concept of Hegemony defined as, 'the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance (as a bloc) with other social forces' (Fairclough, 1995: 76).

Fairclough (1989) distinguishes two types of language and power relationships. Power in discourse and power behind discourse. The first type is the focus in our work. It refers to face to face exercised power which involves *unequal encounters*. To say it another way, non-powerful participants are dominated and controlled by powerful participants (Fairclough, 1989). Within discourse, once again, there is *hidden power* in relation to mass media. The latter is characterized by unclear power relations mainly in written language (newspaper), the media producers ( the journalist/ editor / the newspaper itself) control the content of the news and target the *ideal subject* consisting in the viewer, listener, and reader(ibid.). For Fairclough (1989), media output may be *manipulative* in favor of the capitalist class. Indeed, Power holders exercise hidden power through particular ways of dealing with *causality*, *agency*, and *positioning readers*. Importantly, Fairclough (ibid.) claims that in both dimensions power is won and lost in social struggle. The idea is that power holders struggle to maintain their domination and the non-powerful subjects struggle to win power. In fact, this kind of ideology (hidden) is going to be applied in our work.

#### 4.1.2. Fairclough's Social Theory in Discourse

The main approach, on which our study is focused, is advocated by Norman Fairclough. Fairclough's theory is concerned with the relationship between language, discourse, and power in society. Fairclough's CDA theory draws upon many social theorists particularly Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Critical Discourse Analysis is defined in Fairclough's (1993:135) terms as,

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

Fairclough conceptualized his three-dimensional analytical framework for the analysis of any communicative text and discourse. His model of CDA divides discourse into three distinct

aspects (as illustrated in the figure 1 below): the physical text either spoken or written, the discourse practice, and the sociocultural practice.

#### Text

Text is the first level of analysis. The linguistic analysis stands for the analysis of vocabulary, semantics, cohesion and phonology above the sentence level (Fairclough, 1995). On the basis of Halliday's metafunctions, Fairclough states that a sentence is analyzable through fulfilling the representation, relation and identities functions. Hence, creating personal relation with the readers. For Fairclough (1995), linguistic analysis is related to the notions of *presences and absences*.

#### • Discourse Practice (interaction)

Discourse practice is the second level of analysis. It encompasses two main dimensions. The first is the institutional (editorial processes) that is closely related to *intertextuality* (Interpretative). Fairclough (1992:84) defines intertextuality as 'basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth'. That is the fact that texts draw on other texts either explicitly demonstrated through linguistic tools (Quotations) or indirectly, what is referred to as *interdiscursivity* (idem.:104).

The second is production and consumption processes or discourse processes. For Fairclough, 'Discourse practice straddles the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other' (Fairclough 1995: 65). The idea is that discourse practice mediates between society and cultural norms and the discourse (text). The discursive practice shows the way authors draw on other genres and discourses to create a text and how receivers apply available discourses and genres in the interpretation of texts (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

#### • Sociocultural Practice (context)

Social practice is the third level of analysis. It takes into account three dimensions, the economy, political and cultural values of the sociocultural context of a given communicative event (Fairclough, 1995).

From Fairclough's perspective, discourse is a three-dimensional concept which involves texts (the object of analysis: writing, speech, visual texts, or the combination of these), discourse practice (means through which the object is produced and interpreted by human subjects i.e. writing, speaking, listening, and viewing, etc.), and sociocultural practice (explanation of the discourse i.e. the sociohistorical and cultural contexts of discourse). Following this model, one

may expose the hidden power and ideology in relation to the news discourse. The model is illustrated in figure 1 below.

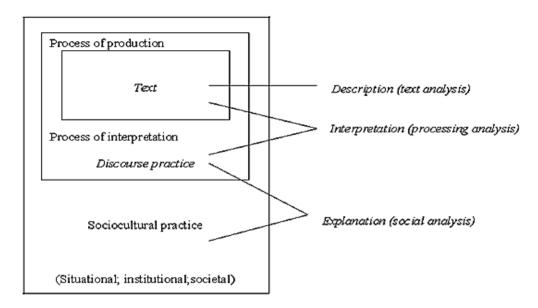


Figure 1: Fairclough's Model of the Three Dimensions of discourse (Fairclough, 1995:98)

As we have mentioned previously, textual analysis is the first level of analysis which is descriptive in the sense that it occurs at the sentence level. For Fairclough (1989:110) 'the set of formal features we find in a specific text can be regarded as particular choices from among the option (e.g. of vocabulary or grammar) available in the discourse types which the text draws upon'. Hence, Fairclough divides the linguistic features found in a given communicative event or text to lexis and grammar as well as the textual structure. Regardless of the last category, our research focuses only on vocabulary and grammar. Indeed, each grammatical feature includes experiential, relational, and expressive values. The experiential value signals the speaker's experience and representation of aspects of the world (knowledge and contents) while the relational value refers to social relationships. As for the expressive value, it denotes the producer's evaluation of reality (social identities) (Fairclough, 2001).

#### • Vocabulary

The analysis of lexis is related to a set of values, as advocated by Fairclough (1995), vocabulary analysis rests upon questions, such as what *experiential*, *relational* and, *expressive* values do words have. The experiential value refers to the representation of the ideological differences of the world as encoded in vocabulary. It is related to some significant stylistic devices such as *synonyms*, *hyponyms*, *antonyms*, and *metaphors* (ibid.). Relational value is concerned with the creation of social relationships between participants depending on the *word* 

*choice* (formality and politeness). As far as the expressive value is concerned, it is related to persuasive language which reflects the positive and/or the negative attitudes (evaluation) that are embedded in a text that are, by their turn, ideologically significant (Fairclough ,2001).

#### • Grammar

As it is the case with vocabulary, the analysis of the grammatical category suggests research on the experiential, relational and expressive values. The experiential value deals with the types of the process and the predominant participants (Agency). For the relational values, the stress is put on *types of sentence mode* (declarative, grammatical question, and imperative), *modality* (relational and expressive) and *pronouns* (we and you). They denote the different positions and power relations attributed to the participants. Concerning the expressive values, Fairclough (1989) focuses mainly on the expressive modality which differs from the relational one in the modal auxiliaries used. Ideology manifests itself in the *authenticity claims* (claims to knowledge) expressed by modality forms. The latter is a feature of newspaper which reports events and facts as a categorical truth (ibid.).

#### 4.2. Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Grammar or Linguistics, first introduced by Michael Halliday (1985), refers to a new approach to the study of grammar. In this context, language is viewed as a resource for meaning making by means of wording. (Bavali et al., 2008). This view is clarified in Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:03),

For the task of constructing such a meaning base, we shall use a systemic grammar. A systemic grammar is one of the class of functional grammars, which means (among other things) that it is semantically motivated, or 'natural', In contradistinction to formal grammars, which are autonomous, and therefore semantically arbitrary, in a systemic grammar every category (and 'category' is used here in the general sense of an organizing theoretical concept, not in the narrower sense of 'class' as in formal grammar) is based on meaning: it has a semantic as well as a formal, lexico-grammatical reactance.

Functional grammar, based on systemic linguistics, is interested in the way language (written or spoken) operates in different social contexts. That is how language varies to meet the purpose of the users. It emphasizes that the meaning of each grammatical component is defined in relation to its function within the whole system. Accordingly, a functional grammar is one that construes all the units of a language – its clauses, phrases and so on. In other words, each part is interpreted as functional with respect to the whole' (Halliday, 1994: 14). For Halliday (1985) 'clause' rather than 'sentence' is the unit of analysis in which meanings of three different kinds are combined. These semantic structures are referred to as Metafunctions. The term 'metafunction' was adopted to suggest that 'Most elements of a clausal structure have

more than one function in the clause' (Halliday et al., 2004: 53). Most importantly, function is seen as an integral component within the overall theory.

According to SFL, Meaning is communicated at three levels simultaneously referring to the Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual metafunctions.

#### **4.2.1.** The Ideational Function (Field)

It refers to the experience of the world (internal and external) and its phenomena. Ideational function of the grammar is 'language as reflection' (construing experience) (Halliday et al., 2004). The idea is that people use language to express their feelings, attitudes, and opinions as well as to reflect upon their environment. The *Transitivity system* belongs to the experiential mode of the ideational metafunction. In this sense, Fowler (1986:138) contends that 'This function is manifested through the transitivity system which is a semantic system to analyze representations of reality in a linguistic text and create the same experience through various lexicogrammatical options influenced by different mind styles or authorial ideology'.

As previously mentioned, the experience of the outside material world (Ideation) is expressed through *transitivity system* process, a process encompassing type of processes, participants in the processes, and circumstances in relation to the processes (Bavali, et al., 2008). Halliday (1976) distinguished six main processes in terms of *Material* (action) (I drive a car), *Mental* (sensing) (I feel sick), *Relational* including identifying process (he is the president) and attributive process (she is innocent), *verbal* (*he said that he was angry*), *behavioral* (the protesters savored the night's victory), and *existential* processes (existence and being) (there are students in the classroom). As a whole, clause a representation (the ideational metafunction) reflects the speaker's feelings and perceptions (feelings, thoughts,...etc) as it contrues the happenings of the material world.

#### **4.2.2.** The Interpersonal Function (Tenor)

The insertion of speakers' own attitudes and evaluations about a phenomenon and establishing a relationship with the listeners. The term *interpersonal* metafunction suggests that it is both interactive and personal (enacting interpersonal relations) (Halliday et al., 2004). Halliday (2004) argues that the interpersonal metafunction is concerned with the *mood system* whether it is declarative, interrogative, and imperative. The idea is that in a linguistic exchange, the performer and the addressee are positioned as the giver or demander of information.

#### **4.2.3.** The Textual Function (Mode)

It mediates between the two functions. It is through the textual function of language that speakers are able to produce texts that are understood by listeners. The textual function connects discourse to the co-text and con-text in which it occurs creating cohesion and continuity as it flows along the discourse (Shyhoslami, 2001). According to Halliday (1971) 'Language makes links between itself and the situation; and discourse becomes possible because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one' (1971: 334). The fundamental concept in the textual metafunction is the one of 'texture'. The latter refers to the cohesion of the structure of a text as well as the coherence of the whole meaning within a given text. Halliday (1976) argues that each piece of language whether spoken or written is constructed around a 'Theme and Rheme', the so called thematic structure. The former is the point of departure of a message and holds the initial position whether marked or unmarked; it deals with the topic, that is, what is going on. The latter holds the non-initial position and considered to be the place or area where the theme develops (the context of the message).

#### **Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed four main points. First, it has unveiled the roots of the Hirak movement: reviewing the protests that the country has experienced. The second section has defined the main concepts in relation to communication. Then, it has drawn a comparison between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The third section has presented the political situation in Algeria. The fourth and main section has highlighted the major works written by Fairclough and Halliday which have served as a useful resource to our study. Also, it has introduced the two theoretical frameworks that the study adopts i.e. the first is CDA by defining what is CDA, its history, and different approaches mainly Fairclough's *A Social theory of Discourse* (focusing only on the textual analysis). The second theoretical framework is Haliday's SFL taking into account the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions that the study adopts for the analysis of the news articles.

#### Introduction

This chapter is methodological and deals with the research design elaborated in order to investigate how the English print media represented the Hirak movement as an attempt to unveil the different ideologies that may be conveyed by the opinion articles. The chapter consists of three main sections. First, it presents a detailed description of the corpus of the present research, consisting of four newspapers, one American newspaper (the New York Times), and three British newspapers (the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail). The second section describes the data collection consisting in a random selection of the twenty news articles together with a semi-structured interview. The third section, in its part, explains the procedures of data analysis. Since our research is qualitative in nature, it makes use of the Qualitative Content Analysis to interpret the textual data based on two theoretical frameworks i.e. Fairclough's CDA (1989) and Halliday's SFL (2004) to scrutinize the way the Hirak as a phenomenon is represented linguistically in the media written in English.

#### 1. Research Method

The aim of the present research is to investigate the way the Hirak Movement is linguistically portrayed in the print press written in English. To meet this objective, the qualitative research method is used. In this regard, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that the qualitative research includes an *interpretive* and *naturalistic* approach: 'This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (ibid. :3). Hence, the concern of the qualitative research is the understanding of humans' experiences and their reflections on those experiences, what Lincoln and Guba (1985) call, 'the human as instrument' approach. By this, is meant 'the systematic collection, organization, and interpretation of textual material derived from talk or conversation. It is used in the exploration of meanings of social phenomena as experienced by individuals themselves, in their natural context' (Malterud, 2001:483). The definition entails that the qualitative research method is an ordered and planned investigation of a social phenomenon (written or spoken) on the basis of the subjective influence of the individuals' experiences in the interpretation process.

#### 1.1. Description of the Corpus

#### 1.1.1. The New York Times

As mentioned in Britannica (2020), a general knowledge English-language online encyclopedia, *the New York Times* is an American morning daily newspaper based in the United States established in 1851 by the journalist and politician Henry Jarvis Raymond. It avoids

sensationalism and reports the news in a restrained and objective fashion reaching elite readers instead of a mass audience. It is sometimes abbreviated as the (*NYT | NY Times*) and formerly called The York Daily Times. Then, in 1857, the name was shortened to The New York Times. This newspaper is deemed to be one of the most influential and world's great newspaper given the fact that it has won more than 120 Pulitzer prices. In 1995, The Times continued to utilize technology to expand its circulation by launching an online website (*www.nytimes.com*) and employing color photography in its print edition in 1997.

#### 1.1.2. The Guardian

As defined by Britannica (2020), the Guardian is a British daily newspaper previously (1821-1869) known as *The Manchester Guardian* founded in 1821 by John Edward Taylor, based in northern England. The daily paper dropped 'Manchester' from the title in 1960 to become *The Guardian* in 1964 while moving to London. The paper was renowned for its investigative journalism, its dispassionate discussion of issues, its literary and artistic coverage, and criticism, and its foreign correspondence. Also, the paper had a substantial online presence. The website, launched in 1999 (*www.theGuardian.com*), won 2005, 2006, and 2007 *Webby* award (given by the International Academy of Digital Arts and Sciences) for the best newspaper on the Internet. It is also considered as the best electronic daily newspaper for six years running from the British Newspaper Awards.

## 1.1.3. The Independent

Britannica (2020) indicates that *the Independent* is a British online newspaper founded by Andreas Whittam Smith, Matthew Symonds, and Stephen Glover. It is situated in London and nicknamed *the Indy*. The Independent found a large audience because Britain's educated citizens needed an objective source of daily news. In 2003, it shifted from a broadsheet to a tabloid. Hence, its circulation increased. In 2010, the Russian businessman Alexander Lebedev acquired *The Independent*. The latter received critical praise for its journalistic integrity, innovative use of graphic design, and artistic photographs. However, The Independent issued the last print edition on March 26, 2016, as it experienced a steady decline in circulation. Since then, it has become a digital only-format by launching its online website (www.independent.co.uk.).

#### 1.1.4. The Daily Mail

Britannica (2020) represents *the Daily Mail* as a British daily newspaper published in tabloid format founded in 1896 by Alfred Harmsworth and situated in London. Its roots can be

traced back to the *Hull Packet* (founded in 1787). After 12 years, it moved to London under the name of the Daily Mail. The newspaper was known for its coverage of foreign news. Then, it was criticized for its unreliability and sensationalist inaccurate stories of medical research and copyright violations. However, its circulation reached one million in 1902 as it received the *National Newspaper of the Year* award seven times since 1995. Content from the paper is involved in the Mail online website (*www.dailymail.co.uk*) and managed by a separate editor.

It is worth mentioning that we have opted for interviewing, Yahia Zoubir, journalist of *the Conversation*. As we have interviewed one of *the Financial Times*' journalists who wished to remain anonymous. This choice is meant to deepen our understanding of the journalists' ideologies behind the Hirak coverage.

#### 1.1.5. The Conversation

It is a network that publish news stories written by academics and researchers. It was first founded in and first launched in Australia. The Conversation Australia and New Zealand is a unique collaboration between academics and journalists that in just 9 years has become the world's leading publisher of research-based news and analysis. The Conversation's website (www. the conversation. com) was debuted in 2011 (the Conversation, 2020).

#### 1.1.6. The Financial Times

It is a British newspaper founded in 1888 by James Sheridan and his brother. The Financial Times is specialized in reporting business and financial news. Its readership reached two million people in the second decade of the 21st century. The Financial Times' website (www.ft.com) was launched by 1995 (Britannica, 2020).

## 1.2. The Description of the Participants (Journalists)

#### 1.2.1. Adam Nossiter

Adam Nossiter is the Paris bureau chief at The New York Times. Previously, Mr. Nossiter served as a Paris correspondent and before that he occupied the West Africa bureau chief for The Times. He served as a Times national correspondent in New Orleans from 2006 to 2009. Before that, he did varying stints as a Times reporter from 2005 to 2006 and from 1995 to 1996. He also worked as a Times stringer from 1992 to 1994 and from 1996 to 1997 (The New York Times, 2020).

#### 1.2.2. Ruth Michaelson

Ruth Michaelson a British and an investigative journalist and conflict reporter. She is concerned with the movements of people, money and weapons throughout the Middle East. Particularly, the journalist's work is related to the after-effects of the Arab Uprisings of 2011

and the changing role of women. Ruth is an international correspondent for the Guardian (Muck Rack, 2020)

#### 1.2.3. Borzou Daragahi

Borzou Daragahi is an Iranien International Correspondent for The Independent. Since 2002, the journalist has been covering the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia, and Europe, with stints in Tehran, Baghdad, Beirut, Cairo, and now Istanbul. Among the important events he covered, we mention the 2003 invasion of Iraq and subsequent civil conflict, the 2006 war in Lebanon, the 2008 conflict in Georgia, the 2009 uprising in Iran, the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings, the 2013 coup in Egypt; the 2014 rise of ISIS as well as the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey. Interestingly, He has been a Pulitzer Prize finalist three times. He serves as a senior non-resident fellow at the Atlantic Council, a Washington think tank (The Independent, 2020).

#### 1.2.4. Yahia Zoubir

Dr. Yahia Zoubir (Algerian) is a Professor and Director of Research in Geopolitics, KEDGE Business School. He has issued numerous books and volumes, one may mention "North Africa in Transition-State, Society and Economic Transformation in the 1990s" and "North Africa: Politics, Region, and the Limits of Transformation" (Aljazeera, 2019).

#### 2. Data collection Tools

The present work, as mentioned previously, investigates the English media representation of the Hirak movement. It follows two aims. First, to account for the reasons that motivate foreign journalists to cover the Hirak. The second is to unveil the hidden ideologies in the news articles concerning the Hirak. The data of the present study i.e. twenty news articles and a semi-structured interview conducted with the authors (*mainly 3*) of the news articles and two other journalists from the Conversation and the Financial Times are obtained by means of a random selection. The interview was conducted from 13 March to 20 July, 2020.

#### 2.1. Selection of the Newspapers

In order to reach the aforementioned objectives, four newspapers were selected namely the New York Times (The United States of America) the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail (The United Kingdom). In each newspaper, five news articles written by foreign journalists were selected to be used as the corpus of the study. The news articles were taken randomly from the formerly mentioned newspapers' websites. As for the analysis, the articles are analyzed using Fairclough's approach to CDA known as 'A Social Theory of Discourse' and Halliday's SFL focusing on the Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual metafunctions.

#### 2.2. Semi-Structured Interview with the Journalists of the News Articles

Alshenqueti (2014) considers that the semi-structured interview is a suitable qualitative method used in social sciences for a thorough understanding of human beings' behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes. Indeed, it has been referred to as a 'conversation with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984), that is to say, the semi-structured interview has its own techniques and format where the researcher develops an interview guide. In a same vein, Jamshed (2014:87) notes 'semi-structured interviews are those in-depth interviews where the respondents have to answer preset open-ended questions'.

To make our research more reliable, we opted for a semi-structured interview with the journalists who wrote the news articles and who have accepted to answer our questions as an attempt to understand their motivation to write on the Hirak movement and to scrutinize the hidden ideologies. The interview is divided into an introduction (which includes the topic of our study, the aim, and we requested their consent to include their feedback in the work). The first section of the interview is entitled 'Motivation to write on the Hirak Movement', the questions asked in this section (mainly two questions) concern the motives that stimulate the foreign journalists to cover the Hirak event. The second section entitled 'Beliefs about the Algerian protests' deals with questions related to the second objective of our research that is to identify the hidden ideologies.

#### 2.3. Limitation of Data Collection Procedures

The study has some limitations. The first to mention concerns the unavailability of resources in relation to the Hirak movement as it is a recent event. Hence, we have relied on articles found useful to our research which discuss the 2019 Algerian protests. The second limitation that may affect the reliability of the present research is the fact that we have opted for an online interview instead of a face-to-face interview. Because of the impossibility to physically meet the journalists, we opted for an online interview through email and LinkedIn.

#### 3. Data Analysis Tools

#### 3.1. Qualitative Content Analysis

The data obtained from the semi-structured interview and the qualitative nature of the corpus (news articles) require the use of the qualitative content analysis (QCA) as the most appropriate method to analyze the corpus in question. Schreier (2012:1) conceptualized the term QCA as '...a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material. It is done by classifying material as instances of the categories of a coding frame'. The idea is that

social researchers make use of QCA to analyze qualitative material like interviews, or samples from available sources (magazines and newspapers) following a set of steps (mainly eight), as suggested by Shreier (2013), 1) deciding on a research question 2) selecting material 3) constructing a coding frame 4) segmentation 5) trial coding 6) evaluating and modifying the coding frame 7) main analysis 8) presenting and interpreting the findings. Indeed, Shreier's process of analysis is followed to analyse the news articles. The idea is that we have selected the 20 articles as a material with a semi-structured interview, then the corpus is analysed and segmented on the basis of two theoretical frameworks( CDA and SFL), as an attempt to find out the way the Hirak movement is represented in the online press written in English.

#### 3.2. Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse (CDA) (1989)

As we have mentioned before, the present study adopts Fairclough's approach to CDA to unveil the hidden ideologies and power implied in the news articles. According to Fairclough, discourse is viewed as *a social practice* rather than an individual practice. By the term 'discourse', Fairclough refers to the spoken or written language. Indeed, he underlines the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure. As conceptualized by Fairclough (1995), any communicative event can be analyzed at three-dimensional levels in terms of the textual, discursive practice (processes of text production, distribution, and consumption), and social practice dimensions. In our work, we resort to the textual analysis level. The latter is concerned with *vocabulary*, *grammar*, and *textual structure* (cohesion). The aforementioned grammatical categories (lexis and grammar) express *experiential*, *relational*, and *expressive values*. Our study, then, focuses on vocabulary in terms of its lexical aspects and on grammar in relation to the type of processes and participants. More details are provided in the following tables (1 and2).

<b>Experiential Values of</b>	Relational Values of	The Expressive Values
Vocabulary	Vocabulary	of Vocabulary
<ul><li>Synonyms</li></ul>	• Formality (politeness)	Expressive values are
They refer to words or	The formality of social relations	concerned with
phrases that mean exactly	depends on the speaker/writer's	evaluations (negative or
or nearly the same as	choice of lexis (formal /informal)	positive) of aspects of the
another word or phrase in	such as the use of politeness and	world as encoded in
the same language. In	respect for other's status and	vocabulary.
Fairclough's terms (1989:	position as an aspect of formality.	
116)	<ul><li>Euphemisms</li></ul>	
'Is the case where	Euphemisms stand for indirect	
words have the same	expressions used in place of	
meaning'. Like the word	offensive and impolite terms. For	
fair is synonymous to	Fairclough, (1989:117)	
objective and unbiased.	'A euphemism is a word which is	
<ul><li>Antonyms</li></ul>	substituted for a more	
They entail oppositeness	conventional or familiar one as a	
between words.	way of avoiding negative values'.	
'Antonymy is meaning	An example of euphemism used	
incompatibility the	in media is, friendly fire which	
meaning of one word is	refers to an army killing people on	
incompatible with the	its own side by accident.	
meaning of another'		
(ibid.). For instance,		
Random is the opposite of		
specific.		
<ul><li>Metaphors</li></ul>		
'Metaphor is a means of		
representing one aspect		
of experience in terms of		
another' (ibid.). For		
example, Eye of a needle.		
<ul><li>Hyponyms</li></ul>		
'The meaning of one		
word is, so to speak,		
included within the		
meaning of another word'		
(ibid.). So, mammal,		
birds, and fish are		
hyponyms of the word		
animal.		
	cabulary and its Proparties (Faire	1. 1000)

Table (1): Vocabulary and its Properties (Fairclough, 1989)

Experiential values	Relational Values	<b>Expressive Values</b>
In Fairclough 's terms (1989:120) experiential values refer to 'the ways in which the grammatical forms of a Language code happenings or relationships in the world'.  The experiential value is expressed in relation to the types of process used (Action, event and attribution) and the predominant participants in terms of agent or patient in relation to their position in the sentence (SVC, SV, or SVO). For Fairclough( 1989) Types of the processes include: a) Action process which involves agent (usually animate and patient (animate or inanimate) as participants. It answers the question what has the (subject) done? b) Event process involves one participant (animate or inanimate). It answers the question what has happened?, it is called non-directed or patientless in case is animate; c) Attribution process, once again, involves one single participant. It includes possessive attribution after verb (have) or non possessive attribution after verbs ( like and feel ) or ( adjective) .	Fairclough (1989) distinguished three distinct formal features which express the relational values namely sentence modes, modality and pronouns.  a) Sentence modes include the declarative, grammatical question and imperative sentences. Each mode places the subject in different position (the giver of information, receiver, asking something, etc.). The choice of mode and position imply power relations between participants (Fairclough, 1989).  b) Modality 'is to do with speaker or writer authority' (idem.126). It is expressed by modal auxiliaries (may, must, might should,ect). There exists two dimensions, the relational and the expressive modality. The focus is on the relational which denotes the speaker/ writer's authority in relation to others.	The expressive values are processed through expressive modality (Fairclough, 1989) Expressive modality is the modality of the speaker/writer's evaluation of truth expressed through modal auxiliaries like may and must and/or through adverbs like probably and certainly (ibid.).
animate and patient (animate or inanimate) as participants. It answers the question what has the (subject) done?  b) Event process involves one participant (animate or	participants (Fairclough, 1989). <b>b) Modality</b> 'is to do with speaker or writer authority' (idem.126). It is expressed by modal	
question what has happened?, it is called <i>non-directed</i> or <i>patientless</i> in case is animate; <b>c) Attribution process</b> , once again, involves one single participant. It includes	might should,ect). There exists two dimensions, the relational and the expressive modality. The focus is on the relational	
verb (have) or non possessive attribution after verbs (like	speaker/ writer's authority in relation to	
ideological (ibid.).	with the writer) and exclusive we (reader and some others without the audience)(ibid.)	

Table (2): Grammar and its Properties (Fairclough, 1989)

# 3.3. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (2004)

As was previously mentioned, Halliday's SFL theory is found useful in the analysis of the news articles. It is a theory of language centered on the notion of function. For Halliday (1981) the clause realizes simultaneously three functions namely ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions i.e. 'a clause is the product of three simultaneous semantic processes. It is at one and the same time a representation of experience (ideational), an interactive exchange (interpersonal), and a message (textual)'(Halliday, 985:53). Halliday introduced the Transitivity system which is made up of three main components: the process itself, the participants in the process, and the circumstances in relation to the process. In the transitivity system, there are six types of process in terms of the material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential processes. Interestingly, one may analyze the clause through the transitivity system, what Halliday calls analyzing the meaning of clause as representation. The table (3) below illustrates the main points, on which our study relies, in relation to Halliday's SFL theory.

The Ideational Metafunction	The Interpersonal	The Textual
The Ideational Metalunction	Metafunction	Metafunction
Halliday (1071:65) points out that		According to Halliday
Halliday (1971:65) points out that the ideational metafunction 'deals	According to Halliday and Hasan (1985: 8) 'a	(1971 :334)
	` ` ′	` '
with the representation of the user's	sentence is a piece of	Language makes links
language to talk about his /her	interaction that involves	between itself and the
internal and external experiences'.	two participants who	situation; and discourse
7. 1	are the listener and the	becomes possible because
It denotes our experience of the	hearer'.	the speaker or writer can
outside world expressed through the		produce a text and the
transitivity system. The latter	It involves examining	listener or reader can
includes	the relationship between	recognize one'.
	prticipants (listener and	
<ul> <li>The material process</li> </ul>	hearer) and the context	
It is a process of doing and	they are in (politeness	The idea is that the textual
happenings (Halliday and	levels). It happens at the	metafunction relates
Matthiessen, 2004:179). Material	clause and sub clause	between the two other
clauses deals with our experience of	levels. This meaning is	functions and looks at
the material world. Its structural	realized through:	making language cohesive
configurations are the actor (doer)		and coherent across
+process+ goal(patient) (transitive	<ul> <li>Mood System</li> </ul>	clauses.
doing process) or the actor + process	•	
(intransitive happening process)	It involves	The clause as message is
	a)Declarative clause(	construed through the
	giving information)	combination of <i>Theme</i> and
The mental process		Rheme. Their function is
The process of sensing that is		identified by Order and
referred to as our experience of the	b)Interrogative	position in the clause.
world of our consciousness (inner	,	<b>^</b>
ej em conserementes (iliter	<u> </u>	

world) (ibid.:197). Its participant is the senser.

### • The relational process

It relates between the material and mental processes (the inner and outside world) it has two modes (identifying and attributive) words like (be)

# • The behavioral process

It mediates between the mental and material processes and accounts for the psychological and physiological processes (coughing , breathing; smiling , dreaming, and staring.(ibid: 128).

# • The verbal process

It has to do with any kind of saying as Halliday(1985:129) assumes 'any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning or the ideas in human consciousness with their linguistic representation of Sayer, the addressee labelled as Target and Verbiage'.

Its structural configuration is the sayer +the verbiage ( message )+recepient .

### • The existential process

These processes represent that somthing exists and happens. They typically include words that denote existence such as exist, be, and arise. The word 'there' stands for a subject.

( asking for information)

c)Imperative( make comments and orders). (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1978) (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004)

#### Theme

The point of departure of the message (initial position).

### • Rheme

The end of the message (it sets up the context of the message).

Table (3): Halliday's (1985) Three Metafunctions.

As it is shown in table (1, 2, and 3), the present research relies on Fairclough's textual analysis mainly on its lexical features: vocabulary and grammar, as well as Halliday's three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, and textual). The two theories serve as a useful source for the identification of the issues and ideologies covered in the news articles.

### Conclusion

In a nutshell, this chapter has outlined the methodology to be adopted in the study to investigate the online media written in English depiction of the Hirak movement. First, it has provided a detailed description of the corpus of the study gathered following two main

procedures of data collection: a random selection of twenty news articles written in English and a semi-structured interview conducted with the journalists of the opinion articles, used as a corpus of the research. The chapter has presented the limitations faced during the collection of data. The last section has explained the data analysis procedures through the application of the qualitative content analysis (QCA) that is used for the interpretation of the data. More precisely, our research has highlighted two theoretical frameworks for the analysis of the corpus i.e. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model to CDA focusing on the textual analysis and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (mainly the Ideational, Interpersonal, and textual metafunctions).

### Introduction

This chapter is empirical in nature. It depicts the results obtained from the analysis of both the news articles about the Hirak written in English by foreign journalists and from the interview conducted with the same journalists who accepted to answer the questions. The analyzed data encompass twenty news articles discussing the Algerian protests. The analysis is carried out in the light of two frameworks. The first to mention is Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis in terms of Textual analysis. This analysis is based on two main categories: vocabulary related to the lexis used to express different values and grammar consisting in the analysis of the types of process and participants in terms of agency, sentence moods, modality, and pronouns. The second theory is Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics in relation to the three metafunctions namely the Ideational metafuncion, the Interpersonal metafunction and the Textual metafunction. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two sections. Section one reports the findings obtained by the implementation of CDA to the articles while section two shows the results obtained from SFL.

### 4. The Results

# 4.1. The Linguistic Representation of the Hirak in the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail: Critical Discourse Analysis.

This part presents the results of the textual analysis of the news articles under investigation, obtained through the implementation of Critical Discourse Analysis. In order to sort out the lexical and grammatical aspects present in the corpus in question (opinion articles), the main sentences and clauses are highlighted. The following table illustrates the newspapers and the number of articles examined.

The Title of the News Papers	The New York Times	The Guardian	The Independent	The Daily Mail
The Number of Articles	5	5	5	5

Table (4): Title of the Selected Newspapers and the Number of Articles.

The table above represents the name of the newspapers along with the number of articles selected as a corpus of our study. Indeed, the corpus consisting of articles from the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail is selected randomly as an attempt

to analyze the way the Hirak is represented by media written in English. More details about the news articles are provided in the Appendix.

# 4.2. Textual Analysis of the Articles

# 4.2.1. Vocabulary

In order to analyze the vocabulary, the articles have been classified according to the newspapers' name. The vocabulary, then, was analyzed on the basis of some lexical aspects outlined by Norman Fairclough in his textual analysis particularly: synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, and metaphors which stand for experiential values; formal and informal language and euphemist expressions as reflecting relational values; negative or positive expressive values as reflecting attitudes towards a certain aspect in the text (articles).

### 'The New York Times'

Lexical	Experiential Values		Relational Values
Type	Hyponymy	Metaphor	Euphemist Expressions
Number of Lexical Features	10	5	16
Extract from the Articles	-Protests: Demonstrations; Protesters; demonstrators; Anti-government Crowds; Opposition figures;  -Government System; Regime; Power;	- The protesters who have filled the streets of Algiers;the interim president rejected by the street; -Bouteflika regime is nothing but a cancer corrupting the body of the state; -Money flowed like water; -We are not afraid of blood bath;	-The counciloperating in the shadow of the country's all powerful military; -Unacceptable in the eyes of many Algerians; -Algeria's politics frozen under Mr. Bouteflika; -Said is the regime real string-puller; -it's time to break the chains; - whether the demand for a wholesale housecleaning is realistic remains to be seen; -Promises to include the opposition may fall on deaf ears; -Gaid Salah is still pulling the strings; -ill-defined entourage around him; -Since his stroke, even his body has disappeared;

Table (5): Lexical Types Involved in the New York Times' Newspaper.

Lexical	The Exp	oressive Values
Type	Positive	Negative
Number		
of Lexical	22	74
Features		
Extract From the Articles	-Algerians seek a revolution; -Determined crowd than ever;as the demonstrations have gained the upper hand; -'we are not afraid, we are just afraid of god'; -General Gaid Salah himself has praised the demonstrators 'patriotism; -Revolution has a cherished place in the Algerian memories; -Demonstrations have gained the upper hand; -Sunday's decision represented another victory for the opposition;	-'We have been violated for twenty years'; -There is worry and hesitation; -A president so enfeebled; -The country's aging and ailing president; -You can't fool us; -To put the country out of its political impasse; -In the name of the paralyzed 82 year old Mr. Bouteflika; -Mr. Bouteflika discredited government; -Algeria's political opposition is divided and disputatious;

Table (6): Expressive Values identified in the New York Times' Articles.

The analysis of the New York Times' articles in relation to the notion of vocabulary shows that the major lexical aspects identified, as shown in table five (05) and six (06), are as follows, Hyponyms (10), Metaphors(5),  $and\ expressive\ values$  which reflect both negative (74) and positive(22) attitudes of the journalist towards specific aspects in the articles (more details will be presented in the following chapter) followed by explainter(16) that reveal the type of relation that exists between participants involved in the articles under study.

# 'The Guardian'

Experienti	al values	Expressive	Values	Relational Values
Metaphor	Hyponymy	Positive	Negative	Euphemist Expressions
-After several days of angry protests; -fuelled by angry younger people; -'Zorro of the niqab' -Protest movement likely to shun Algeria's controversial election; -The candidatesthe softest version of bouteflika's system;	Not Identified	-Students are expected to lead fresh demonstrations on Tuesday; -'Algeria free and democratic'; -The announcement caused widespread celebration; -who marched peacefully through cities and town across Algeria; -Historic protests; -The Algerian example of successful popular revolt; -'History would remember that in 2019 the country had found its freedom';	-Bouteflikais in ill- health -Police fired teargas to block a march on the presidential palace in Algiers; -Supporters of Bouteflika have emphasized the risk of unrest; -Algerians have bitter memories of a decade of civil war; -'Algeria, with its history of violent internal conflict'; -'Strikes and protests over economic grievances'; -'during a protest demanding an end to censorship'; - 'Police assaulted journalists'; -'Corrupt and opaque system';less festive and creative';	Not Identified

Table (7): Lexical types Involved in the Guardian' Articles.

Considering the data displayed above in table 07, the analysis of vocabulary in the Guardian' articles demonstrates that two lexical types are recurrent namely the *metaphor*. Like in the previous table, one may notice in table 07, the prevalence of *negative expressive values* expressing the journalist 'standpoint towards the Algerian political and economic situation which have prompted the Hirak popular movement.

# 'The Independent'

Lexical	Experiential Values		
Type	Metaphors	Euphemist Expressions	
Number of Lexical Features	8	17	
Extract from the Articles	-Demonstrations snowballed across the country; -Algerian protesters had some news to digest; -Algeria offers hope to others waiting for their own taste of a late-flowering Arab spring; -Protesters only seem to gather steam week after week; -Protesters will not let up; -Fueling fears; -Street leaders of the Hirak; - Savouring the night's Victory;	-Algeria's powerful military has repeatedly intervened in politics over decade; - 'They know Bouteflika is the tip Of the Iceberg'; -There is another election the world should be paying attention to; -General Salah himself, at 79, no Spring chicken announced the 12 December election; -These men were part of the very same clique that has ruled a corrupt and corrupted state; -Such is the rotundity of man of these generals and ex—generals that there opponents will need very Big garbage cans indeed; -General Salah attempts to quieten the furor of the Algerian streets; -Blood was in everyone's hand in this dirty war;but the removal from power all the obscure figures; -Shadow clique; -The wall of fear has been broken; -Protesters suspect the manoeuvring is meant to buy power; -Bouteflika's statementbut his words ring hollow to many;	

Table (8): Experiential Values Involved in the Independent Newspaper.

Expressive Values		
Positive	Negative	
19	65	
-Coordinated in Facebook to show	-Nepotism is rife	
solidarity ;	-Djamila speaks for <i>gathering sense of outrage</i> ;	
-Among the London crowds optimism	-Bouteflika's renouncement is a trap;	
dominatedhope and peace would	-Bouteflika's end game remains <i>unclear</i> ;	
prevailyoung Algerian men and	-The new generation has grown impatient with its	
women dancedkissing London	ailing ruler ;	
policeman on the checks ;	-Horrifying civil war known as the black decade;	
-Vast and peaceful Demonstrations	-It is certainly a country now in fluxuncertainty	
across Algeria;	is widespreadwith warnings of ensuing chaos;	
-The tens of thousands of young	-povertyhave boomed in Algeria ;	
Algerians are an Apotheosis;	-Outside powers were attempting to destabilize	
-Surprised by a protest that seems to	Algeria ;	
be growing in magnitude;	-	

Table (9): Expressive Values Involved in the Independent Newspaper.

Table 08 and 09 indicate that the lexical aspects are recognized. All of experiential, relational, and expressive values are identified in the Independent articles. The first lexical type is *metaphor*. The second is *euphemist expressions*. The third and last is *expressive values* including both *positive* and *negative* values.

# 'The Daily Mail'

Lexical	Expressive Values		
Type	Positive	Negative	
Number of Lexical Features	14	44	
Extract from The Articles	- Protesters rallyto demand an end to president rulethere is no suggestion these protesters were involved in the incident'; -Algeria's tidy revolutionaries: cleanup after mass protests; -The protesters themselves roam the streets, picking up bottles, papers and other detritus left behind; -It's a powerful symbol of movement's peaceful, hopeful spirit; -organizersto stay peaceful and clean up after themselves; -The peaceful nature of the protests is especially important to Algerians; -Volunteersscooping up water bottles;	-Speculation is rife that his health condition is far more serious; -Nekkaz suggested that Bouteflika was actually dead; -Transgender woman is abused and attacked in Paris during protests by Algerians; - She was heckled and abused by men against president Abdelaziz Bouteflika; - 'Julia is filling a complaint for sexual assault'; - 'Transpobic aggression'; -Algerians woke to a new and uncertain era; -Algeria Jails 28 Protesters over Berber Flags; -Army chief general Ahmed Gaid Salah has banned protesters from bearing flags other than the Algerian one; Kabylie has long suffered marginalization; -Protesters are opposed to any Bouteflikaera figures taking part in the election;	

Table (10): Lexical Categories Identified in the Daily Mail Newspaper.

As it can be noted from table 10 above, the lexical types mentioned previously are present in the Daily Mails articles. The main features involved include the expressive values expressing both positive and negative values. It is noteworthy that the Daily Mail includes informal lexis (in relation to a transgender woman abused by unknown men) which is not the case with other newspapers. This preference suggests particular relation between the participants involved in the news articles.

### **4.2.2. Grammar**

According to Fairclough's model of CDA, grammar encompasses grammatical features of Agency, Sentence Modes, Pronouns, and Modality to express the experiential, relational, and expressive values. The analysis of grammar in the present research is conducted in relation to the news articles. Put differently, clauses and sentences that are in direct relation to the news articles are analyzed on the basis of the aforementioned grammatical categories.

# **Experiential Values (Agency)**

For Fairclough (1989) the experiential value of grammar is expressed through three main types of simple sentences namely Subject, Verb, and Object (SVO), Subject and Verb (SV), and Subject, Verb, and Complement (SVC) in relation to three processes: Actions require two participants, an agent (usually animate) and a patient (animate and inanimate). Events involve one participant (animate and inanimate). In case the agent is inanimate, SV represents an event while the animate agent represents a non-directed process or patientless actions. The attribution process, also, involves one single participant which can be possessive (have) or non- possessive attributes with verbs like (seem, feel, and look). These non-attributives may be found in the form of Adjectives. Indeed, the absence of the agent is ideologically motivated (ibid.).

Sentence	SVO
type Number	5(/
of SVOs	566
Extract from the Articles	-Algerians Seek a Revolution; -He has not uttered a single word; -Tens of thousands of demonstrators fill the streets; -The army brutally crashed an Islamist insurgency in 1990s; -In 2011, Algeria proudly rode out the Arab Spring; -Mr. Bouteflika also cloistered himself; -The government has tamped down opposition; -You Can't Fool Us; -Algerians have heard this before; -Huge crowds of Algerians protest Army's latest compromise offer; -Algeria cancels presidential election; -Protesters hail president's downfall; -Bensalah seeks the top job on a permanent basis; -But as Egyptians who overthrow another long-entrenched president; -Journalists complained of a blackout imposed on media coverage, -Bouteflika has not directly addressed the protests; -History would remember that in 2019 the country had found its freedom; -Algerian protesters plan more action and call for regime change; -Algerian protesters had some news to digest; -Algeria's leader Bouteflika defies demands for his departure; -Mr. Bouteflika has not delivered a public address since 2012; -Live-streaming videos feeds showed protests erupting in the capital; -Plane believed to be carrying Algerian president leaves Geneva; -He told reporters; -The protesters themselves roam the streets; -Young couples come out to march with babies; -The tidy revolutionaries have drawn attention in France; -Algeria jails 28 protesters over Berber flags;Kabyliehas long suffered marginalization; -Demonstrators have gripped Algeria ever week since February; -Protesters are opposed to any Bouteflika-era figures taking part in the election; -Activistshave complained that public media have been colluding with authorities;

Table (11): Frequency and Examples of SVO Sentences Involved in the Four Concerned Newspapers.

	SVC		
Sentence type	Possessive Attribute (Have)	Non-Possessive Attribute with Verbs	Non-Possessive Attribute with Adjectives or Noun Phrases
Number of SVC		205	
Extract from the Articles	-Revolution has a cherished place in Algerian memory; -The government ministers have so little credibility; -But some still have legitimacy with the movement; -The Algerian capital, Algiers, has had its biggest street demonstrations; -Algerians have bitter memories of a decade of civil war in the 1990s; -Algeria has a young population; -Since he had a stroke in 2013; -All five candidates have close links with the establishment; -Berbersstill have a presence across the region; -'There are people who will not have the strength that I have';	-The demonstrations  seem unstoppable; -'We feel like we have been violated for 20 years'; -The episode seemed only to energize them; -The government and the security forces seem stymied; 'They seem more like a comedy show';by a protest movement that seems To be growing in Magnitude; -But some feel that there are things more important than healthcare, money or food;	-Many in the crowd are too young; -The streets of Algiers were thick with demonstrators; -It is not clear that anybody is listening this time; -Change is inevitable; -Bouteflika's departure is just the beginning of Algeria's struggle; -Changing the system is harder; -He is in ill-health; -Nepotism is rife; -Algerians across the board were outraged; She was indignant at this transphobic aggression; -It is a powerful symbol; -Here's one way Algeria protest movement is unlike any other; -It's no small task; -Now the cleanup operation is a fundamental part of the friday protest ritual; -Today's protests are a family affair; -Protesters and businesses are on the same side; -Algeria is home to some 10 million Berbers;

Table (12): Frequency and of SVC Examples Sentences Involved in the Selected Newspapers.

Sentence	SV				
type	Events	Patientless actions			
Number of SV	10				
Extract from the article	- The anti-government demonstrationswill continue;elitist governmental system remains; -Now the next phase begins; - The threat of real instability remains; -The wall of fear has been broken; -The day the current term expires;	-The country's prime ministerhas resigned; -Police rarely intervene;70 lawyers would appeal; Where the president has been treated			

Table (13): Frequency and Examples of SV Sentences Identified in the Four Newspapers.

As it is illustrated in tables eleven (11), twelve (12), and thirteen (13), the three types of a sentence (SVOs, SVOs, and SVs) are present in the news articles. Results of the analysis demonstrate that SVO is the most frequent type used followed by SVC. As for SV is the least used with only 18 identified sentences. Notably, the majority of the participants involved in the three processes (actions, patientless action, and attributions) are animate.

### Relational values

### Sentence mods (*Moods*)

As suggested by Fairclough (1989), the English Language consists of three types of mode. The *declarative mode*, composed of subject and verb followed by either (Object/Complement/Adjunct), the *interrogative* consisting of wh /yes or no questions and the imperative mode made up of verb with other elements. Each mode places the subject in different positions which is again ideologically motivated.

Sentence Type	Declarative Sentences
Number of Declarative Sentences	781
Extract from the Articles	-The police has not hesitated to use force to repress them; -A man who is gravely ill; -The protesters demands are unambiguous; - The anti-government demonstrationswill continue; -People got rich on public money; -Elitist governmental system remains; -Now the next phase begins; - The threat of real instability remains; - Bensalah is a long-time Bouteflika loyalist; -The wall of fear has been broken; -The day the current term expires; -Protesters and politicians alike voiced a collective dislike of Bouteflika; - The country's prime ministerhave resigned; -The five faced 13 questions; -Algerians in Britain join global demonstrations; -Thousands of Algerians every year risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean; - He has previously been refused the chance to stand; -He dispatched a key official to Moscow to shore up help; -Life is worse than before; -But sunshine is plentiful in the city of 350,000; -Footage show her being shouted at; -Algerians woke to a new and uncertain era; -Little sign is left of what happened the day before;

Table (14): Frequency and Examples of Declarative Sentences Involved in the Concerned Newspapers.

Sentence Mode	Interrogative Sentences
Number of	
Interrogative	07
Sentences	
Extract from the Articles	-How long the government will be able to maintain its grip? Or whether the all-powerful armywill intervene to preserve the status quo? -But does that justify calling into question everything that has come before? -Who is really in charge? and who has the authority to negotiate with the protesters? -Is Algeria on the cusp of freedom, or does Bouteflika have one last play? -But did it really guarantee greater freedoms? Or had Bouteflika, a master of political feint, pulled off a deft manœuvrebefore he finally goes? -How many will actually vote? -Who actually runs Algeria?-Who is <i>le pouvoir</i> , or the power?

Table (15): Frequency and Examples of Interrogative Sentences Involved in the Selected Newspapers.

The two tables above (14 and 15) show that two modes of the sentence in terms of declarative and interrogative sentences are present in the news articles, yet, in imbalanced proportions. The findings indicate that the most frequently mode is the declarative with seven hundred and eighty-one (781) sentences. As for the interrogative mode, it is the least frequent with only seven (07) interrogative sentences.

### **Pronouns**

Pronouns we and you have relational values which are ideologically significant i.e. the writer or the speaker can choose either to include participants (speaker with the audience) or exclude them (speaker without the audience) from/into a particular group (Fairclough, 1989).

Pronouns	We	You
Number		
of	44	3
Pronouns		
Extract from the Articles	-'We feel like we've been violated for 20years'; -'They thought that because we were quiet, we were stupid'; -'We recognize that there are reasons for frustration'; -'For us, at least we will be able to say, we tried. We can't just sayWe were cowards'; -'We can't stay in this situation'; -'We've all got to recognize this'; -'We don't need the current regimewe want a radical changeunlike other candidates who we only see during elections'; -'We want a transition, a real one'; -'We swear we will not stop!' -'We need to put pressure on those in charge'; -'We don't know the exact postponed date of these presidential elections'; -So, we may gather some clues to the future of Algeria on the day after the election; 'We want you on the streets, not in prison'; -'We're volunteerswe organized ourselves after appeals on social network'; -'We demand that authorities stop imposing censorship on private and public media';	-You've stolen the country'; -'Come with me, and you will have everything';

Table (16): Frequency and Examples of the Pronouns We and You Used in the Selected Newspapers.

Table (16) illustrates the different uses of the pronouns *we* and *you*. The analysis of the news articles shows that both pronouns are present in different proportions. That is, the most used pronoun is we (44) and the less recurrent pronoun is you (3). Such preference is ideologically significant (*more details will be provided in the next chapter*).

# **Modality**

The use of modality constitutes both Relational and expressive values. It is expressed through modal verbs such as must, may, can, can't, and ought. The choice of modal verbs is of an ideological interest (Fairclough, 1989)

Modality	Modality Expressed With Modal Verbs								
The Involved Modal Verbs	Will	Would	Could	May	Can	Must	Should	Might	Have To
The Number Of Modal Verbs	42	41	12	10	9	6	4	4	2

Table (17): Frequency and Examples of the Modal Verbs Used in the Selected Newspapers.

Through the analysis of the news articles, as displayed in table (17), the notion of modality is found in almost all the articles. As it can be noted, the modal verb *will* is the most recurrent modal verb, followed by all of 'would', 'could', 'May', 'Can', 'Must', 'Should', and 'Might' respectively while 'Have to' comes at the last position. It is worth mentioning that the most used modal verbs namely 'will' and 'would' express probability.

# Textual Metafunction

The clause as a message represents the first line of meaning i.e. the textual metafunction of the clause construes the flow of discourse following a particular organization. It is expressed through *thematic structure*: Theme and Rheme (Halliday and Mathiehssen, 2004).

Thematic Structure	Theme	Rheme
	-Algeria protests	grow against president Bouteflika;
	-Thousands	poured into Algerian streets;
Extract from	-Algerians	welcomed the end of the nearly decade-long
the Articles		conflict;
	-Street protests	are officially banned in the capital;
	-They	shut the country off the outside world;
	-Algeria protesters	plan more action and call for regime change;
-Thousands of Algerians rish		risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean;
	-The government	has tamped down opposition;
	-You	can't fool us;
	-Algeria president	resigns after 20 years in power;
	-Algeria's powerful	has repeatedly intervened in politics;
	military	
	-Mr. Bouteflika	has originally planned to seek a fifth term;

Table (18): Examples of Themes and Rhemes Involved in the Selected Newspapers.

From the results obtained in relation to the Theme and Rheme, as table 18 illustrates, the main themes are centered over the Algerian protests and their government because the journalists have focused on the Algerian authorities deeds on the behalf of the Algerians and the latters' reaction through a series of protests.

# Interpersonal Metafunction

Clause as exchange refers to the second line of meaning (Interpersonal). This metafunction is concerned with the exchange of information or goods and services between the speaker or writer and the audience. The *interact* is realized through two types. The indicative type of clause including the declarative and interrogative moods and the imperative type (ibid.).

Clause Mode	Declarative	Interrogative
Number of Clause Mode	622	07
Extract from the Articles	-Corruption has become a Major grievance; -It is rare for protests to be tolerated; -Journalists complained of a blackout; -Supporters of Bouteflika have complained the risk of unrest; -These figures could not be Independently verified; -Algeria has a young generation; -Opposition has been stifled; - These men were part of the very same clique; -Salah has already ordered the arrest of Bouteflika's brother Said; -The Hirak has no appointed leaders; -These events are watched in Paris; -Footage shows her being shouted at; - He has previously been refused the chance to stand; -He dispatched a key official to Moscow to shore up help; -Life is worse than before;	-How long the government will be able to maintain its grip? or whether the all-powerful armywill intervene to preserve the status quo? -Who is really in charge? and who has the authority to negotiate with the protesters? -Is Algeria on the cusp of freedom, or does Bouteflika have one last play? -But did it really guarantee greater freedoms? Or had Bouteflika, a master of political feint, pulled off a deft manœuvrebefore he finally goes? -How many will actually vote? -Who actually runs Algeria?-Who is <i>le pouvoir</i> , or the power?

Table (19): The Different Clause Mood Used in the Concerned Newspapers.

This table (19) reveals that the writers (journalists) often opt for the use of declarative sentences to provide the audience with the necessary information about the Hirak movement. The rest of the sentences are put in the interrogative mood to indirectly seek answers.

# The Ideational Metafunction

Grammar construes the experience of the outside and inner world which is enacted through the *Transitivity System*; a system that involves three figures namely the process, participants as central elements of the clause, and circumstances associated with the process (peripheral)( Halliday and Mattiehssen,2004). The aforementioned semantic categories explain how phenomena of our experience of the world are construed as linguistic structures (ibid.). In this work, we consider the Hirak movement as a phenomenon in an attempt to scrutinize the way it is perceived by the Anglophonic press.

Verbal Process	Verbal	Material	Relational Attributive/ Identifying
Type	Sayer+verbiage+Target/ Sayer+verbiage	Actor+Process+Goal(doing) Actor+Process(happening)	Entity+Be/Have+ Entity
The Number of Verbal Processes	216	196	73
Extract from the Articles	-Ex-soldiersdescribed to the Independent how they were given drugsDjamila told methat her concern was that Bouteflika has used a mechanism to delay the vote; Soufiane Djilali told AFP that 15 members of the group had been detained, -'The entire world and all of Algeriaknows he is no longer of this world' he told reporters; -'I's a republic, not a kingdom!' some shouted'It's not even constitutionally based,' she said;	-You can't fool us; -Mr. Bouteflika cloistered himself; -He has been replaced by his frame portraitAlgeria cancels presidential election; 200,000 people were killed; -The next phase begins; -The tidy revolutionaries have drawn attention in France; -Algeria jails 28 protesters; -Protesters flooded the streets;	-Algeria was a global archetype of Third world revolution; -Algeria's political leaders are discredited; -He is the country's longest serving president; - Change is inevitable; -Bouteflika's departure is just the beginning of Algeria's struggle; - Algerians have bitter memories of a decade of civil war in 1990s;

Table (20): Frequency and Examples of the Recurrent Verbal Process Involved in the Concerned Newspapers.

Types of Verbal	Mental	Existential	Behavioural
Process	Senser+Process+phenomenon	There+Existent	Behaver+Process
The Number of Verbal Processes	15	14	4
Extract from the Articles	-He knows a high placed general; -Many feel disconnected from a Ruling elite made up of veteran fighters; -It will infuriate those intent on root-and- branch reform; -They fear new surges; -This week's poll cannot be seen as free or fair; -'We don't know the exact postponed date of these presidential election'; - Leaving young deeply Frustrated; -'We see attempts to undermine the situation'; -Algerians have for years been dissatisfied; -So, forget the charade of Brexit; -Who have despaired forever of finding dignity in Algeria;	-There are virtually no tourist here; -There is worry and hesitation; -There was occasional use of tear gasThere is little evidence of either at the demonstrations; -There now exists(ADDA); - There may be two million Algerian binationals; -There is no suggestion these protests were involved in the incident; -There was a large dose of pessimism; -There was a vein attempt to hold another poll;	-Algerian protesters had Some news to digest; -People in Algeria celebrated in the streets; -Young Algerian men danced and sang; -The activist and journalist savoring the night's victory;

Table (21): Frequency and Examples of the Less Used Verbal Processes Involved in the Concerned Newspapers.

Tables 20 and 21 display the findings collected from the analysis of the Hirak articles with regard to the Transitivity System. As it can be seen from the tables above, the most frequent verbal processes are the verbal, material and relational ones while mental, existential and behavioral verbal processes are less frequent. This is to say that, the verbal process type is highly employed in news reporting as it enables the reporter to attribute information to sources, including officials, experts and eye witnesses to report events (Halliday and Mattiehssen, 2004).

# 4.4. Presentation of the Interview Findings

The interview conducted online with journalists of the selected newspapers, who accepted to answer some questions, has been transcribed into written texts and then analyzed as an attempt to identify the reasons that led journalists to cover the Hirak movement and to unveil the hidden ideologies involved in the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent,

and the Daily Mail newspapers. It is noteworthy that we opted for interviewing other journalists who have covered the Hirak movement on (the Conversation and the Financial Times) to better understand their beliefs about the Hirak event. Interestingly, the journalist who covered the Hirak for the Financial Times accepted to answer some questions on the condition of anonymity.

### 4.4.1. Section one: Motivation to write about the 'Hirak' movement.

# Q (1) What has motivated you to cover the Hirak event?

Michaelson (on the Guardian) argues that she has been covering events in The Middle East and North Africa since 2012. So, the moving thing is that there were protests emerging in countries (Algeria and Sudan) characterized by an autocratic and long-standing government regime. In her words, the Hirak is a 'seismic event' worthy of coverage. As for Daragahi who reports for the Independent, his motive was the Algeria's news values as he considers it as an important country. Nossiter (the New York Times), in his turn, states that his medium has covered the Hirak because it was an important popular protest movement that succeeded to bring down the government. Other journalists like Zoubir from the Conversation expressed his interest in Algeria and on questions of political change. Concerning the journalist of the Financial Times who accepted to be interviewed on the condition of anonymity, said that the size and determination of the protesters and the rallies in many cities made the Hirak a significant event to cover. In addition to that, the journalist was interested in the Algerian politics since the nineties.

# Q (2) According to you, in which way is the Hirak movement different from other countries' political protests?

Both Michaelson and Zoubir are fascinated by the peaceful nature of the movement. Zoubir explains further that unlike what happened in Libya, Syria and Iraq, the movement is unique in civism, the number of protesters in Algeria, the length of time, and the political slogans. Daragahi on his part, claims that Algeria has a unique history referring to the late 1980s uprising which turned violent and the fact that Algeria avoided the 2011 uprisings. He concludes by stating that peacefulness is the best way for the Algerians to make their demands heard because Algeria has tried violent uprising and failed. The same with the Financial Times journalist who believes that the Hirak was remarkable for staying peaceful thanks to the self-discipline of the protestors and the decision by the authorities to refrain from using violence. It was also remarkable for managing to maintain a degree of momentum for a year, though it did stop making gains after the ouster of Bouteflika.

# 4.4.2. Section two: Beliefs about the Algerian Protests.

# Q (1) Are your articles influenced by your ideological stances?

Michaelson and Zoubir believe that each opinion article is influenced by ideology. Michaelson continues by arguing that her news articles are influenced by a personal belief in the power of democracy and supporting citizens' demands of their government. In similar veins, Daragahi believes in basic Enlightenment values in relation to justice, pluralism, and transparency. He affirms that he is neither a Marxist, Islamist nor even a liberal. Unlike other journalists, Nossiter thinks that Western media (mainly the New York Times) is not influenced by ideology while covering events. He further clarifies the issue by claiming that '*I am assigned to cover Algeria, just as I am assigned to cover France*'. Meaning that, he covers significant events which is the case of the Hirak. The Financial Times' journalist denies any ideological influence emphasizing the importance of objectivity and neutrality in the news coverage.

### Q (2) What is your targeted audience?

Zoubir's target audience are academics and general audiences while Michaelson writings are targeted to the Guardian's audience i.e. the internationalist, people who are curious of events and more left-leaning in worldwide. As for the journalist who wished to remain anonymous, targets readers of the Financial Times (the elite group).

### Conclusion

The present chapter has presented the findings of the study. First it has presented the corpus of the research consisting of twenty news articles selected in four newspapers. Then, the corpus was analyzed through the textual analysis of Fairclough's CDA (more precisely vocabulary and grammar) to unveil the hidden ideologies. The news articles are then analyzed at the level of Halliday's three metafunctions i.e. the Textual metafunction with regards to Theme and Rheme. The Interpersonal metafunction is scrutinized in relation to the mode of sentences. The third and last metafunction is the Ideational with respect to the transitivity system. Finally, the chapter moves to present the results of the interview. Thereby, a detailed interpretation of the findings is presented in the discussion chapter.

### Introduction

This chapter aims to discuss the results obtained from the analysis of the news articles in addition to the findings of the interview conducted with the journalists who reported the Hirak events in the press written in English. The discussion, then, follows two theoretical frameworks. The first one is Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse focusing on the textual analysis and the other theory is inspired from Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics in terms of the three metafunctions (textual, interpersonal, and ideational). The chapter also attempts to present answers for the research questions asked in the 'General Introduction' about the way the Hirak movement is represented, the journalists' motivation and ideologies with regards to the Hirak movement coverage, and checking the validity of the advanced hypotheses as well. Therefore, the first section is an account for the way the Algerian protests are portrayed and the reasons that led foreign journalists to discuss the Hirak and their ideologies. The second section discusses the findings resulting from the textual analysis of the news articles by drawing on Fairclough's CDA with the focus put on both vocabulary and grammar. As for the third section, the results obtained are discussed in relation to Halliday's SFL mainly (textual, interpersonal, and ideational metafunctions).

# 1. The Representation of the Hirak in the Media Written in English

Following the results displayed in the previous chapter, it is demonstrated that the English press portrays the Hirak movement positively. Indeed, the four selected newspapers highlighted the peaceful nature of the protests, the protesters' civism, and self-organization, their determination, and their endless hope. This may be seen in the following extracts: 'Algerians seek a revolution; Determined crowd than ever; Students are expected to lead fresh demonstrations on Tuesday; who marched peacefully through cities and town across Algeria; The Algerian example of successful popular revolt; Algeria's tidy revolutionaries: cleanup after mass protests'. Significantly, it is found that there are some negative aspects in the representation of the Hirak in relation to the Algerian president and his system, and the socioeconomic challenges of the country. This may be illustrated in, 'Speculation is rife that his health condition is far more serious; Bouteflika's renouncement is a trap; to put the country out of its political impasse; in the name of the paralyzed 82-year-old Mr. Bouteflika; Mr. Bouteflika discredited government'.

Overall, the Hirak is a peaceful movement led by enthusiastic and enraged Algerians who believe that it is high time the political system changed, along with other sectors mainly

education i.e. the quality of education, competent teachers, and motivated students. Algerians fight for a change in all domains hoping for a better future.

# 1.2. Motives to write about the Algerian Hirak Movement

The Answers obtained from interviewing all of Nossiter, the journalist of the New York Times, Michaelson, the journalist of the Guardian, Daragahi, the journalist of the Independent, Zoubir, the journalist of the Conversation and the journalist (anonymous) of the Financial Times show that the journalists' motives can be summarized into two main points: the Hirak Movement as a symbol of change and the fact that Algeria is an important country with its fascinating history of protests.

# 1.2.1. The Hirak Movement as a Symbol of Change (Seismic Event)

The journalists consider the Hirak movement as a remarkable event because of the protesters' determination and the big gatherings in different cities across Algeria to put an end to the authoritarian political system as their pivotal claim. The Hirak was a *seismic event* which brought important changes in politics manifested in the ousting of the long-ruling president and the arrest of many political figures. Hence, with the departure of the Algerian president, it is believed that the protesters have gained the upper hand. Importantly, most of the journalists hailed the peaceful nature of the protests which are considered as unique in comparison with other country's protests (Lybia, Iraq, and Syria).

# 1.2.2. Algeria's Fascinating History of Protests

All of the aforementioned journalists view Algeria as an important country because of its unique recent history beginning with the late 1980s protests which turned violent where Algerians witnessed the terror of a decade of civil war (Black Decade). The Black Decade (1990-1999) was a civil war between the ruling Front de Liberation National (FLN) and the newly established Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) Islamist opposition party resulting in 150,000 victims (Malafronte, 2019). Then again, the country succeeded to avoid the 2011 Arab uprisings. The idea is that in 2010, with the start of the Arab Spring, the bitter memories of the civil war have prevented protests in Algiers turning into a violent uprising, unlike neighboring Libya. More precisely, 'The Algerian regime was able to pacify the population with increased public spending via revenues from the oil prices, in stark contrast to other regimes like Gaddafi that opted for a military response' (Malafronte, 2019).

# 1.3. Journalists' Ideologies (Linguistic and Political)

The concept of ideology is particularly difficult because of the plurality of its different usages. Generally, ideology refers to the beliefs and attitudes of a particular group. However, ideologies are not only confined to sets of beliefs, but rather they are socially shared beliefs serving as the basis of the group interest (Van Dijk, 1998). More precisely, ideologies stand for 'The basic criteria that constitute the social identity and define the interests of a group' (Van Dijk, 1997:25). For Van Dijk (1997), these criteria include membership, activities, values, goals, position, and resource. In case of the journalists, they are recognized through holding license or diploma, they write news and editorials, their job is to inform the public (watchdog of society), their values and norms involve truth, reliability, fairness, their position with regards to their readers or the authorities, and their typical group resource is information(ibid.). Interestingly, opinion discourse is influenced by both group ideologies and personal opinions and knowledge (journalists) regarding specific people, events, or situations. (Van Dijk, 1997)

What is evident is that each news article is influenced by ideology (Michaelson and Zoubir) see appendix. Draghi's writings are influenced by the Enlightenment values consisting in justice, pluralism, and transparency i.e. he believes in the diversity of ideas and the respect of the different viewpoints that the Algerians have towards the ideal political system. Transparency concerns fair elections, the discussion of the political decisions, and the government's meetings openly to the press and the public. As for justice, it is manifested in respecting the Algerians as free and rational agents and to establish a fair interpersonal relationship between the government and the Algerians to maintain a stable political society. Concerning Michaelson's personal belief in the power of democracy and supporting citizens' demands from their government, they are related to the Algerians' right to choose how authority is shared among them. The idea is that the government should submit to the Algerians' demands by making the necessary adjustments mainly in politics and to provide opportunities for young people to devote their creativity and energy in the service of the country. Importantly, Michaelson targets left-leaning people who support egalitarianism.

All of Nossiter and the Financial Times' journalist contend that the western society is not influenced by ideology in the events coverage, but rather they cover significant events, which is the case of the Hirak, following their editors' demands. They pretend that their writings are meant to be objective and neutral. There is evidence that the New York Times newspapers' orientation is liberalism, a political doctrine that maintains that the government's job is to ensure people's freedom and protection from others' harm. In this regard, we may refer to

Spayd's (2016) article about the readers' perceptions regarding the Times. Spayd (2016) has found that the New York Times' readers consider the newspaper as biased. Gary Taustine, one of the readers, argues that 'The NY Times is alienating its independent and open-minded readers, and in doing so, limiting the reach of their message and its possible influence'. However, Dean Baquet, the executive editor, denies the Times' liberalism side in its coverage of events by stating that they would like to be perceived by the readers as honest and fair. Still, it is difficult to achieve this all the time. Indeed, Spayd shares the editor's claim stating that it is not easy to satisfy the readers all the time.

# 1.4. Anonymity in Journalism

Anonymity of the media sources concern unidentified persons, witnesses, organizations, and documents. According to the Financial Times editorial codes, 'This places a responsibility on every FT editorial employee and contributor to conduct her/himself according to practices which reinforce the FT's reputation for accuracy, truthfulness, honesty and authority'. That is, the Financial Times journalists' writings should adhere to the newspaper's ethical codes for a good reputation. It is believed that the journalist, who accepted to be interviewed without disclosure of identity, in the process of revelation of facts about the Hirak coverage may be due to the fear of professional reprisal, or jail.

# 2. Discussion of the Linguistic Findings: Fairclough's Textual Analysis (1989)

# 2.1. Discussion of the Selected Newspapers

The Hirak is one of the impressive social movements led by the Algerians that appeal for democracy in the world (Chiheb, et al., 2019). The movement has attracted the foreign media attention. For this purpose, four newspapers namely the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail were selected randomly with twenty (20) news articles (five articles for each newspaper). It is noteworthy that the selected corpus discusses the Hirak events that occurred from mid-February, when the Hirak started, until the December elections. Then, the way the Hirak is represented in English media is analyzed during this aforementioned period because the movement is continuing up to this day.

# 2.2. Discussion of Vocabulary

As we have previously mentioned, vocabulary encodes happenings, enacts social relationships and social identities in a given discourse (Fairclough, 1989). The lexical aspects suggested by Fairclough (ibid.) are the following: synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms and metaphors expressing experiential values; euphemisms and formality standing for relational

values as well as negative or positive expressive values as reflecting attitudes towards a certain aspect in the text (articles). In order to discuss the lexis of the news articles, the selected newspapers are classified by name in terms of the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail newspapers.

### The New York Times

The journalist Adam Nossiter covered the Hirak movement for the New York Times newspaper. He approached the event from many perspectives (the socio-economic challenges, the political impasse, and the protesters' demands). The Hirak, an intergenerational movement in which people participate in the process of (*vendredire*) i.e. a compound word standing for *Friday* and *to say* (Davis,2020). It is the designated day for protests along with Tuesday's demonstrations where Algerians express their refusal of the current system demanding its wholesale and hoping for better future for the coming generations.

Throughout the news articles, Nossiter represented the protests and the government in different ways (re-wordings). This can be illustrated in the use of terms like: demonstrations, demonstrators, protesters, anti-government crowds, and opposition figures which are hyponyms of the word protests while system, regime, and power stand for hyponyms of the word government. The two concepts (protests and government) are the focus in the New York Times' articles because the Hirak events turn around them. Also, the representation of the Hirak aspects is manifested through the use of metaphors. As an illustration, 'the protesters who have filled the streets of Algiers' the journalist compares the demonstrators to water as a reference to the large number of the Algerian protesters which is an evidence for their perseverance. From the demonstrators' perspective, Nossiter mentions 'Bouteflika's regime is nothing but a cancer corrupting the body of the state'. In this example, the Algerian system is compared to a disease (cancer) which is of ideological interest i.e. the Algerian government needs to be eradicated as cancer.

In other cases, the journalist established implicit relations between the Algerians and their government using euphemist expressions. As it may be noted from the extracts: 'Said is the regime real string-puller' referring to the president's brother who controls the Algerian government including the president's decisions regarding the future of the nation. Again in 'Whether the demand for a wholesale housecleaning is realistic remains to be seen' indicating the Algerians' demands of the removal of the whole system. The same in 'It's time to break the chains' as reference for the Algerian awareness and necessity to get free from the Algerian authorities' oppression.

In the New York Times' articles, Nossiter expressed positive attitudes towards the Algerian Hirak and negative attitudes towards the Algerian government. This may be seen in the following quotes 'Algerians seek a revolution' and 'Determined crowds'; 'The president so enfeebled' and 'Mr. Bouteflika discredited government'. The idea is that the journalist portrays the Hirak movement in a good image praising their determination and strength. Moreover, he emphasizes that the president is unfit to rule the country because he is aging highlighting his disgraceful government.

Accordingly, Nossiter used hyponyms to name the protesters and the government using different wordings. In fact, words like: system, power or *le pouvoir* are used by the demonstrators during Friday's and Tuesday's protests (System go out!). The metaphors used demonstrate the protesters determinism. Indeed, they used to go to streets in masses despite the obstacles (rain, heat, and the fasting month). In addition, euphemisms are used to enact the relationship between the Algerians and their government, a relationship characterized by the Algerians' deception and dissatisfaction with the Algerian authorities. Concerning the positive expressive values, they denote that the journalist is amazed by the protesters' determination as he perceives them as warriors who seek a revolution. That is, the Algerians are ready to win the battle against the Algerian political system using a pacific means.

### The Guardian

The journalists Ruth Michaelson, Jason Burke, Simon Tisdall, and Angelique Chrisafis commented the Algerian protests for the Guardian newspaper. They shed light on the Algerians refusal of the president fifth term bid in office, they questioned the nature of the president departure and whether the Algerians finally found their freedom. Also, the journalists highlighted the demonstrators' protests against the December elections.

Two main lexical types are underlined in the Guardian's articles. The first to mention is the *metaphor*. Indeed, the journalists used metaphorical expressions to represent the psychological state of the protesters. As an illustration, 'After several days of angry protests', 'fuelled by angry younger people'. The idea is that the Algerians are not satisfied with their government's decisions and the nature of their president rule.

Furthermore, the journalists expressed their standpoint regarding the Hirak and the Algerian government. This can be seen in the following extracts: 'Students are expected to lead fresh demonstrations'; '...who marched peacefully through cities and town across Algeria'; 'the Algerian example of successful popular revolt'. The aforementioned examples demonstrate the journalists' positive attitudes towards the Algerian protests. Then again, they emphasized

the uniqueness of the Hirak movement manifested in its peaceful nature. This is to say that, unlike other countries' protests (Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Iraq), Algeria succeeded to avoid the 2011 Arab spring then starting the 2019 revolution maintaining peacefulness for a long period of time. Also, the journalists expressed negative attitudes towards the political, economic grievances, and the media censorship in Algeria. This Appears in expressions such as 'Strikes and protests over economic grievances...police assaulted journalists' and 'Bouteflika is in ill-health'.

It follows, then, the journalists represented the Algerian protests for the Guardian newspaper using metaphorical expressions highlighting the strength of the protesters. Also, they praised the peaceful nature of the movement through positive expressions as they spotlights on the president deteriorated condition and the economic grievances of the country. Indeed, the president's health condition does not allow him to run the country for a fifth term, knowing that he has been in office since 1999 as he suffered from a stroke in 2013.

# The Independent

The Independent newspaper reports many aspects of the Hirak events. The events include the Algerians' protests in Britain, the protesters 'refusal of the president's fifth term, and the latter's resignation after twenty years in power as well as the December elections.

As table eight (08) and nine (09) illustrate, metaphors are present in the news articles. According to Fairclough (1989: 99) a metaphor is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another, thus; in the sentences like 'Demonstrators snowballed across the country', the journalist uses words in relation to the natural world (falling snow) to make reference to the big size of the demonstrations and in 'Protesters only seem to gather steam week after week' the comparison of the protesters to an engine refers to their power and strength. Another metaphor is 'Protesters will not let up'. The protesters are associated with the lights as a reference to the fact that the Hirak movement will continue whatever happens as well as the Algerians would not give up until their demands are heard. Also, the journalists use euphemist expressions to implicitly say that the political figures are so old to be integrated into the political system. This can be seen in 'General Salah himself, at 79, no Spring chicken announced the 12 December election'. This indicates that General Salah is as old as other political figures who would resign and provide the opportunity to the Algerian young people.

The journalists, once again, expressed their positive attitudes towards the Algerian protests (highlighting the peaceful nature of the protests and the protesters' optimism) as they stress the political and socio-economic destabilization of the country and the protesters'

dissatisfaction with their president embarrassing situation. This may be illustrated in the following extracts: 'Vast and peaceful demonstrations across Algeria'; 'Among the London crowds ...optimism dominated...hope and peace would prevail...young Algerian men and women danced...kissing London policeman on the checks'. The journalists' negative attitudes are manifested in 'The new generation has grown impatient with its ailing ruler'; 'Nepotism is rife'; 'Poverty ...have boomed in Algeria'.

In conclusion, the journalists of the Independent newspaper depict the protesters in a positive way (optimism and strength) using metaphors. As, they implicitly state that the government figures are so old to remain in power (demonstrated by euphemist expressions). Respectively, they hailed the peaceful nature of the protests, the protesters' joy and cheerfulness. In the beginning of the protests, the prime minister defied the Algerians that the Hirak would turn violent as it happened in the neighboring countries, but the demonstrators responded by giving flowers to the policemen as a symbol of respect and civism. The journalists, then, signaled the economic challenges of the country (nepotism and poverty).

# The Daily Mail

All of Nina Larson, Ross Ibbesston and the AFP news agency covered the Hirak for the Daily Mail. The journalists commented on the Algerian demonstrations against the president's bid for the fifth term and the protesters 'civism (clean up after mass protests), but also the journalists shed light on an event occurring in Paris during the Algerian protests.

Unlike other newspapers, the Daily Mail newspaper discussed the abuse of a transgender woman in an offensive way using informal language. As a reminder, this event which took place in France during the Algerian protests concerns the attack of a transgender woman during the Algerian demonstrations in France (La Place de la Republique). Still, the identity of the individuals responsible of the abuse is not identified.

The idea is that the Mail is known for reporting sensationalized events and scandals. In this sense, Ibbesston on established an implicit relation between the transgender community and other people responsible for the abuse (unknown identity). There is the notion of 'transphobia' and rejection of the community in question by society.

It is noteworthy that, initially, the journalist Ibbesston accused the Algerians to have attacked the transgender woman by maintaining that 'Transgender woman is abused and attacked in Paris during protests by Algerians'. However, the journalist clarified further the issue in the following extracts: 'Protesters rally...to demand an end to the president rule...there is no suggestion these protesters were involved in the incident'. Overall, apart from the

aforementioned incident caused by unknown men, the Daily Mail hailed the peaceful nature of the Hirak stating that 'It's a powerful symbol of movement's peaceful, hopeful spirit'.

The journalists have portrayed positively the Hirak on the one hand. For instance, one may mention 'Algeria's tidy revolutionaries: clean up after mass protests' and 'organizers...to stay peaceful and clean up after themselves', and on the other hand they have expressed their pessimism towards the deteriorated condition of the Algerian president and the ethnic issue present in Algeria. This is manifested in expressions like: 'Algeria jails 28 protesters over Berber flags' and 'Speculation is rife that his health condition is far more serious'.

In Sum, the journalists of the Daily Mail presented the Hirak and protesters positively and expressed their pessimism regarding the absence of plurality in Algeria and the president's ill health condition.

Taken together, these results obtained from the analysis of the news articles relying on Fairclough's vocabulary would seem to suggest that all of New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail portrayed the Hirak positively using lexical categories: hyponyms, metaphors, euphemisms, and positive expressive values. More precisely, the selected newspapers reported the Hirak positively and the Algerian authorities in negative way (as reflecting the real events in relation to the Hirak). The journalists emphasized the peaceful nature of the protests, the demonstrators' self-organization, and their awareness of the necessity to put an end to the political system. This is to say that, the journalists pointed that the Algerians maintained peacefulness and patience in their demonstrations to voice their refusal of the corrupted system including the old political figures who are supposed to resign and leave the last word for the Algerians to decide on the ideal system, a system that serves the country's interests. Then again, the journalists established the relationship existing between the Algerians and their government, typified by the Algerians' furor and dissatisfaction and refusal of the whole political system using euphemist expressions. As a whole, the journalists expressed positive attitudes towards the Algerians who are portrayed as warriors ready to engage in a revolution to get free from the government's oppression.

### 2.3. Discussion of Grammar

The representational aspect of grammar consists in coding events, actions, relationships and the participants involved in these relationships. In this sense, Fairclough (1989:120) affirms

Grammatical features encode happenings, the experiential aspects of grammar have to do with the ways in which the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, the people or animals or things involved in those happenings or relationships, and their spatial and temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence.

The news articles are analyzed following Fairclough's CDA model consisting in the four grammatical features: Agency, Sentence Mode, Modality and Pronouns in relation to the experiential, relational and expressive values.

### Agency

In this study, SVO is the most frequent sentence type used with five hundred and sixty-six sentences (566). The action process sentences are put into active voice. For example, 'you can't fool us, protesters hail president downfall, Journalists complained of a blackout imposed on media coverage, the protesters themselves roam the streets'. Indeed, all of (you, Protesters, and journalists) are animate agents. The journalists want to uncover the identity of the responsible for the actions performed in the sentences. However, in some cases, the Agency is unclear as in 'Algeria cancels presidential elections'; 'Algeria jails 28 protesters over Berber flag'; 'Kabylie has long suffered marginalization'. It can be noted from these examples that the agents are inanimate (Algeria; Kabylie) i.e. It is not the whole Algeria or the Kabylie region that are targeted, but rather specific individuals within Algeria (the responsible agents). The journalists' obfuscation of agency is ideologically motivated. That is to say, the journalists are implicitly highlighting the ethnic issue in Algeria while reporting the Hirak events.

Furthermore, two hundred and five (205) SVC sentences are identified in the news articles. Among them, 'Algerians have bitter memories of a decade of civil war; since he had a stroke in 2013' (possessive attribute); 'some feel that there are things more important than healthcare, money or food (non-possessive attribute with verbs), and 'many in the crowd is too young' (non-possessive attribute with an adjective). Importantly, the agents are visible in each of the process types and the journalist explicitly provides the agent's identity and provides them with attributes such as bitter memories; too young. This indicate that the Algerians have witnessed bitter memories mainly in the 1990s (the Black Decade) which they still bear in their minds (traumatic memories). Interestingly, the majority of the protesters are too young i.e. most of them are under thirties.

With regards to SV sentences, ten (10) sentences made up of events and patientless actions are used in the opinion articles. Indeed, there are six (6) sentences representing events. For example, 'the anti-government demonstrations will continue'; 'the threat of real instability remains'; 'the day the current term expires'. The illustrated statements have inanimate agents (the intention is to hide Agency) and all of the sentences answer the question: what has happened? As for the patientless actions, mainly four (4) sentences are identified. As an example, 'police rarely intervene'. In this example, the agent is animate (police) who

performed the action (intervened) without identifying the goal or patient. Hence, the journalists opted for this type of sentence to hide the fact that the police and more specifically the military used to take decisions to preserve the statu quo of the nation. Sometimes, they used force to repress the protesters (the June 2001 events). However, during the 2019 protests, the police seem compassionate with the protesters whose demands are so realistic to be rejected.

### **Sentence Mode**

Modes of the sentence is a grammatical feature which expresses relational values. The three main modes present in the English language are the declarative, grammatical question, and imperative modes (Fairclough, 1989). In this study, the most adopted modes are the declarative and the interrogative.

The declarative mode comes in the first position with seven hundred and eighty-one (781) sentences. As an illustration, 'A man who is gravely ill'; 'the protesters and non-protesters alike voiced a collective dislike for Bouteflika'; 'Algerians woke to a new and uncertain era'; 'people got rich on public money'. Regarding these examples, there are different distributions of the participants that is, the agents are provider of information while the addressees are the receivers of information. Hence, the journalists are deemed powerful as Fairclough (1989:126) states, 'Systematic asymmetries in the distribution of modes between participants are important per se in terms of participant relations: asking, be it for action or information, is generally a position of power-as too is giving information'. The idea is that the journalists inform the audience about the negative attitudes the Algerians have towards their president who is in ill health and did not address the country since 2013. Thus, he is found unfit to rule. Adding to the corrupted political elites who absorb the richness of the country leaving the Algerian citizens suffering in all domains (economy, politics, society, and culture).

Regarding the interrogative mode, Fairclough distinguished between two types of questions: wh/ yes and no questions. Importantly, the two types are present in the news articles. For instance, 'who actually runs Algeria? Is Algeria in the cusp of freedom, or does Bouteflika have one last play?' In this context, asking questions (demanding information) is a symbol of power (Fairclough, 1989). The journalists have the authority in that they ask indirect questions which elicit the audience to think over the Algerian issues (the real power, whether the Hirak will shift the balance of power, elections,...etc.).

### Pronoun

As suggested by Fairclough (1989) personal pronouns express relational values. Indeed, the choice between them may reflect relationships of *power and solidarity* (ibid.). They

incorporate ideological values reflected in a given discourse. In this regard, van dijk (2006:123) states that pronouns 'are perhaps the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies.' Similarly, the personal pronouns we and you may denote either collectivity or individuality i.e. the writer may choose to include the audience (inclusive) or exclude them (exclusive) (Fairclough,1989). The idea is that they can be used for 'self' or 'other' referencing as a way to represent in-groups and out-groups (van Dijk, 2001).

As we have previously noted, both pronouns 'we' (44) and 'you' (3) are identified in the news articles. Interestingly, all of the instances use of the pronouns are direct quotations of the Algerians' claims. For instance, this may be seen in the following extracts: ' We feel like we've been violated for 20years; They thought that because we were quiet, we were stupid; We demand that authorities stop imposing censorship on private and public media; You can't fool us; You've stolen the country'. The journalists have reported the Algerians' wants, feelings, and beliefs in relation to their country and the political system i.e. the uses of 'we' is inclusive including all the Algerians who suffer from the oppression in their country. As for 'you' is also inclusive in the sense that it incorporates the whole Algerian political system. However, there is one case where the journalist Robert Fisk who reports for the Independent newspaper questioned the future of the Algerian elections and votes using the pronoun 'we'. This may be illustrated in, 'so, we may gather some clues to the future of Algeria on the day after the election, How many will actually vote?' The Independent newspaper uses an inclusive 'we' to show its identification with the audience and to treat them as equivalent to its composited we, i.e. academics and all people interested in news. This choice is of ideological interest because the journalist identified himself with the audience to guess the future of a country (Algeria) under the rule of a divided political system.

# **Modality**

Modality is a grammatical feature which expresses both relational and expressive values. The relational modality deals with the speaker/writer's authority on others while the expressive modality refers to speaker/writer's evaluation and authority towards aspects of the world (Fairclough, 1989). Modality is expressed through modal verbs in terms of may, might, must, should, can, can't, ought to. The modal verb *may* expresses permission, *must* obligation, and *may not* signifies withholding permission (ibid.). In the previous chapter, table(18) shows that the modal verbs 'will', 'would', 'could', 'May', 'Can', 'Must', 'Should', 'Might' and 'Have to' are present in the opinion articles.

The expressive modality is the prevalent dimension in the news articles. This choice indicates that the journalists express their attitudes and evaluations towards the Hirak events rather than imposing their authority. Indeed, 'will' and 'would' are used to express probability. As an illustration, Michaelson argues, 'the 81-year-old Bouteflika has ruled since 1999 and will run for fifth term in office in April'. Tisdall contends 'There would be no quick fix for endemic economic problems that fuelled the upheavals'. The journalists speculate about the president's competition for a fifth term and the fact that there is no immediate solution to the Algerian economic shortages. The modal verb May is used to express possibility as in 'so, we may gather some clues to the future of Algeria on the day after the election'. The journalist questions the possibility to gather predictions about the number of voters during the December elections which would give insights into the future of Algeria.

Concerning the relational modality, the examples identified are related to the Algerians relation with their authorities. For instance, in the extracts: 'you can't fool us', 'Mr. Bouteflika, his clan and his system must go' (strong obligation). The Algerians grow aware of the government's tricks. So, there is no chance that (impossibility) their president deceive them again. Also, they insist on his departure and the removal of the whole system which is considered as an obligation.

The analysis of the opinion articles following Fairclough's grammar leads to the following conclusions: the journalists coded the Hirak events and the participants involved in the events in relation to the Algerian government and the protesters. The use of agency reveals that sometimes the journalists explicitly demonstrate the responsible agents with regard to the Algerian demonstrators who hit the streets to voice their demands and show their civism and maturity through cleaning up after massive protests. Also, it is highlighted that journalists in Algeria have complained about censorship imposed by authorities. In this context the journalists' belief in democracy, transparency, and pluralism is identified. That is, they believe in people's right to refuse such discredited government. In some cases, the newspapers' journalists underlined in an implicit way the Hirak issues in terms of the canceling of the December election, the Berber marginalization, and the jailing of the Berber protesters without identifying the responsible individuals, knowing that the Algerian army chief ordered the arrest of every individual who holds the Berber flag pretending that they touch the integrity of the nation. Once again, this confirms the journalists' neutrality and objectivity in reporting events. Furthermore, the use of expressive modality suggests the journalists' attitudes towards the political and economic impasse of the country.

As previously mentioned, the opinion articles are also examined following Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (mainly the textual, interpersonal, and ideational metafunctions). The following section discusses the main results in relation to the way the Hirak events are construed, exchanged and represented into a linguistic form.

## 3. The Linguistic Representation of the Hirak: Halliday's SFL (2004)

## 3.1. The Textual Meaning and Message Construction

The clause as message construes the flow of events in a discourse. Indeed, the textual metafunction is realized through two categories namely the theme which informs about what is being talked about, and the rheme which informs the reader about what the journalist prefers to say about the theme. Halliday and Mattiehssen (1997:37) contend that,

The textual metafunction is concerned with the creation of text\_ with the presentation of the ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared by speaker and listener in-text unfolding in context. One of the major textual systems is THEME, the resource for setting up a local context for a clause by selecting a local point of departure of the flow of information.

The idea is that the textual metafunction mediates between the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions and organizes meanings in form of a text that can be exchanged by the speaker and the receiver. The message is processed with regards to the theme that commences the message, indicated by position in the clause, and the rheme which is referred to as 'The part in which the theme is developed' (Halliday, 1997: 37).

In the case of the news articles, the journalists focused on the Algerians (protesters) and the government as thematic elements. Put differently, the two concepts are prominent because the majority of the events turns around the protesters and the Algerian authorities. As for the rheme is defines the nature and the context of the Hirak related events. A good example is 'Algeria protesters plan more actions and call for regime change' where the theme is Algeria protesters and the rest of the sentence: plan more actions and call for regime change is considered as rheme. Another example is 'Thousands poured into the Algerian streets'. That is thousands denote the topic of the clause while poured into the Algerian streets refers to the context of the clause. More precisely, the Algerians (topic) go to the streets regularly on Fridays and Tuesdays to demand the wholesale removal of the Algerian system (context). Again, the journalists focused on the government as a theme in the opinion articles. For example, the government (theme) has tamped down opposition (rheme); Algeria president (theme) resigns after 20 years in power (rheme). These statements in relation to the Algerian government construe the idea that the president has planned for a fifth term presidency, the thing that sparked

protests all over the country since mid-February. As a result, the military has put aside the president from power by applying the article (102) of the Algerian constitution which allows the president removal on grounds of ill-health.

It is worthy to mention that the majority of clause mode identified in the news articles are declarative sentences. As it can be noted from the above-mentioned examples, the declarative sentences' thematic elements are expressed through nominal groups. Hence, they denote *unmarked themes* .i.e. the theme of the clause is mapped up onto the subject (Halliday and Mattiehssen, 2004). For example, 'Algeria's powerful military has repeatedly intervened in politics'. The theme is Algeria's powerful military which functions as the subject. The same in Mr. Bouteflika (Subject/theme) has originally planned to seek fifth term (Rheme).

Throughout the opinion articles, the journalists who covered the Hirak on the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail adopted the two concepts (mainly the Algerian protesters and the government) with its context as the thematic structure which ensures the flow of events in relation to the Hirak movement.

#### 3.2. Interpersonal Metafunction and Clause Exchange

The clause as exchange deals with the interaction of the speaker/writer and the audience. The interactors exchange goods and services or information. In the same vein, Halliday (1975:21) affirms "the interpersonal metafunction represents the idea that language can be used as a means of communicating information". According to Halliday (2004) the clause is interactive. The two participants involved in the interaction process exchange either linguistic (goods and services) or non-linguistic commodity (information).

The speaker is not only doing something himself; he is also requiring something of the listener. Typically, therefore, an 'act' of speaking is something that might more appropriately be called an interact (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014:135).

The mood is a principal grammatical system in the interpersonal metafunction (idem.). In this context, the journalists frequently adopt the indicative type in the opinion articles. This is to say that, the most used mode is the declarative (622) followed by six (06) interrogative sentences. Concerning the declarative mode, the journalists' position is the giver of information while the audience (academics, internationalists, left-leaning, and people in general) is the receiver of information. In more precise words, the journalists provide the audience with the selected information about the Hirak movement and the participants involved in the event particularly protesters and the Algerian authorities including the whole system (political figures). As an illustration, 'the Hirak (protesters) has no appointed leaders; supporters of Bouteflika have complained the risk of unrest; Algeria has a young generation; Salah has

already ordered the arrest of Bouteflika's brother; Corruption has become a major grievance'. These examples provide information about the fact that the Hirak started due to the economic and political challenges (such as corruption) Algeria has witnessed for decades. Also, the journalists inform the audience that the Hirak is leaderless and the Algerian protesters were young as the majority of the Algerian population is under 30. Indeed, the Hirak is considered as a shift in the course of events i.e. Algerians were not allowed to protest since protests were banned in 2001. This seen in 'It is rare for protests to be tolerated'.

It is noteworthy that the audiences' role in the declarative mode is that of the receiver of information because giving implies receiving (Halliday and Mattiehssen, 2004). In the context of the opinion discourse, the audience are passive receivers of information as they cannot immediately provide their feedback to the journalists.

As for the interrogative mode, 'The WH- element is a distinct element in the interpersonal structure of the clause. Its function is to specify the entity that the questioner wishes to have supplied' (Halliday and Mattiehssen, 2004: 134). Indeed, the journalists' role is the seeker of information (requesting information). Once again, they are questions in relation to the Hirak movement and the Algerian current situation in general. More precisely, the journalists demand indirect answers concerning the identity of the individuals who run Algeria and the real authorities. To illustrate this point, one may mention, who actually runs Algeria? who is le pouvoir, or the power?; who is really in charge? and who has the authority to negotiate? In addition, the journalists would like to know whether the Algerians have finally found their freedom once the president withdrew from elections or it was simply a trick for the population. This is shown in 'Is Algeria on the cusp of freedom, or does Bouteflika has one last play?' and in 'But did it really guarantee greater freedoms? Or had Bouteflika, a master of political feint, pulled off a deft manœuvre ...before he finally goes?' Moreover, questions on whether the balance of power between the government and the Algerians will shift. This is evident in 'How long the government will be able to maintain its grip?'.

The audience's role is shifted from the receiver in the declarative mode to the supplier of information in the interrogative mode. The act of demanding information implies give in response (ibid.). The idea is that what is exchanged in the opinion articles is information. Unlike goods and commodities, information is debatable and arguable. Hence, it is required from the audience to answer the questions.

On this basis, one may conclude that the analysis of the opinion articles relying on the textual and interpersonal metafunctions show that the journalists construed the flow of the Hirak events selecting the protesters and the government as topics. As well as the journalists used

frequently the declarative mode as an attempt to inform the audience about the Algerian protests as they indirectly asked questions in relation to the real powers in Algeria which is an evidence of the journalists' position as powerful media actors (providing and asking for information).

## 3.3. The Ideational Metafunction: Analysis of a Clause as Representation

The clause as representation refers to the construction of the inner and outer world as enacted through the transitivity system including the process, participants, and circumstances involved in the process. In this regard, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:170) contends that 'The clause is also a mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events. The grammatical system by which this is achieved is that of TRANSITIVITY'.

The findings displayed in the previous chapter have shown that the most used verbal processes in the news articles are the verbal and the material followed by the relational process while the less frequent ones are the mental, the existential and the behavioral verbal processes.

The results suggest that the verbal process, processes of saying, is highly employed by reporters to report an event and to associate it to an eye witness. As an example, *Djamila* (Sayer/eye witness) told (process) me (target) that her concern was that Bouteflika has used a mechanism to delay the vote (verbiage). Another example is 'the entire world and all of Algeria...knows he is no longer of this world,' he told reporters. The pronoun he is the sayer who informs the reporters (target) that Algerians are convinced that their president is dead (verbiage).

Regarding the material verbal process, processes of doing and happening, the journalists mentioned 'Algeria jails 28 protesters'. The actor is Algeria who has performed the action of jailing on the behalf of 28 protesters (patient/goal). Another example to discuss is '2000, 000 people (the patient) were killed (process)'. The statement is in the passive voice (receptive) where the actor or agent is left. So, there is no responsibility in the clause i.e. during the decade of the civil war, many people were killed without identifying the doer of the action. As for the material process which expresses happenings (Actor+process), one may mention 'the next phase (actor) begins (process)'.

The Relational process is also identified in the news articles. It denotes the relation of being between two entities. This relation can be attributive (feature) or identifying (identity). As an illustration of the attributive process, *Change* (attributive) *is* (process) *inevitable* (attribute). The possessive attribute, the relation of possession between two entities, is seen 'Algerians have bitter memories of a decade of civil war in the 1990s'. With regards to the relation of identity between two entities (identifying), one may mention 'He is the country's

longest-serving president'. In which the pronoun he is identified by is the longest-serving president (identifier).

The mental process (clauses of sensing), in its part, is related to the inner experiences of the conscious being. It is noteworthy that the journalists have used fifteen (15) mental processes as an attempt to describe their perception of the Hirak events along with the Algerian protesters' feelings, perceptions, and cognition. This is shown in 'Many (the senser) feel disconnected (emotive process) from a Ruling elite made up of veteran fighters (phenomenon)' to describe the Algerians dissatisfaction with the ruling figures composed of old veteran fighters who used to run the country for decades. For the perception process, one may mention 'This week poll (phenomenon) can not be seen (perceptive process) as free and fair'. This statement denotes the journalists' perception and negative attitudes (not free and fair) towards the elections scheduled on December 2019. Another example that illustrates the cognition process is 'Forget (cognitive process) the charade of Brexit (phenomenon)'. The journalists target the cognition of the audience to draw their attention to the Algerian elections which are regarded as a critical period for the country.

As far as the existential process is concerned, the journalists have used fourteen (14) existential statements (which indicate that something exists) introduced by the pronoun *there* as the subject. For instance, 'There is no tourist here'. As for 'There is no suggestion that the protesters were involved in the incident' denotes the non-existence of the event attributed to the Algerians i.e. While the Algerians were protesting against their president in France (La Place de la Republique), a transgender woman was abused by men who are not Algerians as suggested by the journalist Ross Ibbesston on the Daily Mail. Another illustration is 'There is now exists' ADDA' this clause is processed by the verb exists which indicates the existence of the Alliance of Democrats of the Algerian Diaspora (ADDA), an organization which encourage the democratization of Algeria and the demands of the Hirak.

The sixth and last process is the behavioral with only four statements. It is a process of behaving which mediates between the material and mental processes. As an illustration 'People (behaver) in Algeria celebrated (process) in the streets'. The same thing with the journalists who considered the president resignation as a tasteful victory. This is shown in 'The activist and the journalist savoring the night's victory'.

Interestingly, the journalists have used the six verbal processes namely the material, the relational, the mental, the behavioral, the existential and verbal processes as an attempt to represent the Hirak movement as an impressive phenomenon and to report the major events in relation to the Hirak movement. Also, the journalists expressed their dissatisfaction in relation

to December elections as well as they have demonstrated the Algerians' frustration, anger and despair with regards to the Algerian political situation. Again, the journalists have listed the main actions and events which took place since the protests started.

This is an important finding in the understanding of people's claims by reporting their sayings and feelings i.e. the best way to demonstrate the real story (Hirak events) is through relating it to the Algerians. Indeed, they are fed up of the country's political system nature, they insist on radical change so as not to risk their lives crossing the sea for better living conditions abroad, and most importantly, they are eager to change the world's view about Algeria (violent history of protests, massive immigration, and poor quality of education).

#### 3.4. The Power of the News Media

News media encompasses elements and sources of information including print media (newspaper and magazines) and broadcast media (television and radio) that deliver news to the public. As for the power of the media, it refers to the influence of media message on the change or reinforcement of the audience's belief. As far as the social power of media is concerned, it is defined as 'a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members) a less powerful group' (Van Dijk, 1995: 10). The idea is that Media as a powerful institution controls the ordinary users of means of communication(less powerful). This mind control is seen in the viewers 'acceptance of the news reports as true or journalistic opinions as legitimate or correct (ibid.). According to Van Dijk (1995), there are two forms of media power: legitimate or acceptable power and power abuse (dominance). The latter is a reference to the media manipulation of the readers' minds through biased mediated information. The readers 'mind, in its turn, can not be totally controlled by media because the users engage actively while using the means of communication i.e. 'Whatever the symbolic power of the news media, at least some media users will generally be able to 'resist' such persuasion' (Van Dijk,1995: 11). Interestingly, elite groups (politicians, managers, and scholars..., etc.) are attributed a social power because they have access to discourse and broader communicative events including press conferences and press releases. Then, they take part in the news media as social actors (ibid.).

The most striking result to emerge from the analysis of the news articles inspired from both Fairclough's textual analysis (vocabulary and grammar) and Halliday's SFL relying on the interrelated metafunctions (textual, interpersonal, and ideational) is that the Hirak movement linguistic representation is positive with regards to the massive peaceful protests, the big rallies in the cities, and the demonstrators' determination to change the political system

in a civilized way. The journalists like: Michaelson, Daragahi, and Zoubir support the Algerian's claim for democracy and political change while Nossiter and the Financial Times' journalists deny any ideological influence in their writings (pretending neutrality and objectivity). As for the journalists' motivation, the reasons that led foreign journalists to cover the Algerian protests is related to the significance of the movement (peacefulness, civism and organization) along with the country's fascinating history of protests.

#### **Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the main results of the study for the purpose of answering the research questions. The first section discusses the way the Hirak is represented and journalists' motives to discuss the Algerian protests. The main reasons revealed are the significance of the Hirak event including its peaceful nature and the civism of the protesters, the remarkable outcomes of the movement along with the impressive history of Algeria (protests). Additionally, it has shed light on the journalists' ideologies (justice, transparency, pluralism, and democracy). The second section, for its part, has discussed the linguistic findings following Fairclough's A Social Theory of Discourse mainly both of vocabulary and grammar.

The analysis of vocabulary reveals the Hirak positive representation in foreign media, positive attitudes the journalist expressed towards the movement, and the journalists' pessimism towards the Algerian socio-economic and political grievances. The analysis of grammar, in its turn, demonstrates instances of the journalists' ideologies i.e. absence of agency signifies neutrality and objectivity on the behalf of the responsible agents. The last section is devoted to the discussion of the results relying on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics on the basis of the three metafunctions (textual, interpersonal, and ideational). The main conclusions drawn are related to the journalists' selection of the *government* and *protesters* notions as thematic elements to ensure the flow of the Hirak events, the use of the declarative mode to communicate the selected information for the audience, and the use of interrogative mode to question the real rulers in Algeria and the shift of power (Asking and giving information is symbol of power) as well as the frequent adoption of the verbal process to report the Hirak events relating them to the eye witnesses (mainly Algerians). Also, it has highlighted issues in relation to the power of news media manifested in the influence of media on its readers (mind) and the influence of the journalists' ideologies on the opinion discourse.

#### **General Conclusion**

The present dissertation has attempted to investigate the representation of the Algerian Hirak movement in the press written in English focusing mainly on four newspapers: the New York Times, the Guardian, the Independent, and the Daily Mail that have been randomly selected. As presented in the previous chapters, the general aim of the research is to find out whether the Hirak is represented positively or negatively. Then, the study has sought to attain two main aims. The first objective has focused on the reasons that led journalists to cover the Hirak event. The second objective has aimed to unveil the different ideologies implicitly conveyed in the opinion articles. To achieve these objectives, the study has relied on Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse (1989) and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics(2004) with emphasis put on the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions.

The corpus of the research i.e. four newspapers (4) and twenty articles (20) have been analyzed on the basis of QCA mainly *Directed Content Analysis*. More precisely, the analysis of the data has included the analysis of the linguistic findings in accordance with the analysis of the responses of the online interview conducted with three journalists of the news articles and two other journalists, one from the Conversation (Yahia Zoubir) and the other from the Financial Times (anonymous) newspapers because of the impossibility to reach out the journalists' contacts of the four concerned newspapers. So, it is found useful to understand the journalists' ideologies behind the Hirak coverage. Additionally, the linguistic analysis has been divided into three main parts. The first part has implied the analysis of the interview findings. The second part has comprised the analysis of the corpus relying on Fairclough's two main categories: vocabulary and grammar. The first category is being related to the different lexical aspects suggested by Fairclough namely: synonyms, hyponyms, metaphors, euphemist expressions, formal/informal language, and positive and negative expressive values. The second category has consisted in the analysis of the sentences and the clauses of the news articles at the level of grammar following four sub-categories in terms of Agency, sentence modes, modality, and pronouns. The last part has dealt with the analysis of the opinion articles with regards to Halliday's three metafunctions. The textual metafunction, the opinion discourse has been analyzed following the thematic structure: Theme and Rheme. Then, the interpersonal metafunction consisting in the analysis of the data at the level of modes of sentences mainly the declarative and the interrogative modes has been fully accounted for. As for the ideational metafunction in relation to the transitivity system i.e. the clauses have been analyzed on the basis of the six verbal processes.

Based on the outcomes of the previous chapters (results and discussion), it is possible to conclude that the online press written in English has represented the Hirak movement in a positive way with some negative aspects in relation to the Algerian political situation. Put differently, the foreign journalists have praised the peaceful nature of the Hirak movement emphasizing the protesters' self-organization and determination. Meanwhile, they have expressed their dissatisfaction with what is occurring in the country including the deteriorated health condition of the Algerian president and the socio-economic and political grievances. It may be enlightening to confirm the first research hypothesis which states that the English online press linguistic representation of 'Hirak' is positive with some negative aspects of its representation. Indeed, the journalists support the Algerians' claim for democracy, better life, freedom of expression manifested in the protesters refusal of the president bid for fifth term and his system. The idea is that the journalists depicted the truth of the political situation in Algeria.

Notably, the foreign journalists have covered the Algerian Hirak movement because of its significance (a symbol of change) and the fact that Algeria is an important country characterized with a fascinating history of protests. The idea is that to all the journalists, the Hirak is a remarkable event and a unique one regarding its peaceful nature, the determination of the protesters, and the big rallies across the cities. The second motive of the journalists relates to the country's unique history of protests in the sense that, the Algerian people has witnessed a civil war in 1991 between the Algerian army and the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). After the black decade, the country faced the 2001 June events (Black spring) in the Kabylie region. Furthermore, Algeria is found remarkable in that it succeeded to avoid the 2011 Arab Spring. This leads to the disconfirmation of the second research hypothesis which states that the Algerian protests' peaceful nature, civism, creativity are the main factors that motivate the journalists to discuss Hirak movement. In more precise words, the journalists maintain that the peaceful nature of the Algerian protests is not the only thing remarkable because other countries' protests were initially peaceful, then, they turned violent. For the journalists, peacefulness attracts western media's attention especially when the protests are led by young people. However, the coverage of the events is motivated mainly with urgent events which bring about change.

It has been found that there are divergent ideologies implied in the news articles. The idea is that one of the journalists' writings (Daragahi) are influenced by the Enlightenment values: justice, transparency, and pluralism. Indeed, the influence of his beliefs is seen in his news articles about the Hirak event i.e. Daragahi believes in justice on the behalf of the Algerian people and reported their demands while shedding light on the divided political system. As for

Michaelson and Zoubir, they support the people's claims for democracy. Hence, they target academics and left-leaning people who endorse social equality and egalitarianism. However, Nossiter denies any ideological influence in his writings and in the western media in general. Also, a point hard to admit when one is aware of the important stakes involved in the manipulation of events by the media in general, the Financial Times' journalist stressed neutrality and objectivity in the events coverage. This is seen in the analysis of grammar of news articles (absence of agency). That is, the journalists have not mentioned the responsible behind the December elections canceling and the arrest of the individuals who hold Berber flags. In fact this may be due to fear of professional reprisal. Hence, the third research hypothesis which suggests that the journalists' ideologies are Liberalism and Populism in the sense that the journalists try to inform the public about the Algerian people who have finally decided to voice their claims through peaceful demonstrations, supporting their will to dismantle the official discourse of the regime is disconfirmed.

The application of Hallidayen linguistics (the three metafunctions) in the news articles analysis has helped discover the Hirak positive representation, and participants involved in the events (mainly protesters and government). Indeed, the inner feelings and thoughts of the demonstrators are reflected. Put differently, on the basis of the transitivity system, one may notice that the Algerians are eager to put an end to the whole regime because they feel manipulated by the authorities and are drawn towards an unknown future. Still, with determination, patience and most importantly, pacifism, the protesters' demands would be heard. As for the Critical Discourse analysis, the resort to this theory in analyzing media discourse has helped to unveil the hidden ideologies (because media is biased and manipulative). Indeed, CDA has made it possible to undertake a critical analysis of the opinion articles through questioning the social and political justice in relation to the Hirak and the way its events are reproduced and represented by foreign media. It is found that the oppressed group is portrayed in a good image (Hirak protesters) while the higher authority group is depicted in a bad image (Algerian authorities). This is demonstrated through the analysis of vocabulary (metaphors, euphemisms, and positive and negative values) along with the category of grammar in relation to agency, sentence mode, expressive and relational modality, and pronouns.

While conducting this study, we have faced two main limitations. As previously mentioned in the second chapter, the Hirak movement is a recent event, it started in mid-February, 2019. Hence, there is only some literature devoted to this event. Indeed, the research has relied on articles that discuss the Algerian protests. The second limitation is the unavailability of the foreign journalists therefore of the possibility to make contacts with them.

So, one journalist from the conversation (Yahia Zoubir) and another from the Financial Times (anonymous) are interviewed as an attempt to understand their ideologies in relation to the Hirak coverage. Also, the interview has been conducted online through email and LinkedIn because of the physical distance.

For this purpose, the future researchers who would be interested in this field of research can extend this study focusing on other areas of the Hirak movement meaning that they can work on the way the Algerian female protesters are represented in English press. Further studies are also recommended to draw a comparison between the Hirak movement and the 2011 Arab Spring which was led by Lybia, Egypt, Syria, and Yemen at the level of the nature of protests, the protesters' demands and the outcomes of the protests.

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# The Table of News Articles under Study

The Country	The title of the Articles	The Name of the Journalists	The newspaper's Name	The Year of Realisati on
The United States	-Protesters' Message to Algeria's President: You Can't Fool UsAlgeria protests grow against President Bouteflika, Ailing and Out of Sight'It's Time to Break the Chains'. Algerians seek a RevolutionHuge Crowds of Algerians Protest Army's Latest Compromise OfferAlgeria Cancels Presidential Election, Setting up New Impasse.	-Adam Nossiter	The New York Times	2019
	-The Wall of Fear has been Broken.	-Alexander Seale		
Britain	-Algeria's Leader Bouteflika Defies Demands for his Departure Instead Cosies Up to RussiaAlgerians Take to Streets against Cuts and Ailing, Out of Touch PresidentAlgeria's President, Resigns after 20 years in Power, According to State News.	Borzou Daragahi	The Independent	2019
	-There is Another Election the World is Paying Attention to this Week in Algeria.	Robert Fisk		
	-Algerians Take to the Streets over President's Plan to Seek Fifth Term.	Angelique Chrisafis	The Guardian	
	-Algerian Protesters Plan More Action and Call for Regime Change.	Ruth Michalson		2019
	-Is Algeria on the Cusp of Freedom, or does Bouteflika Have One Last Play?	Jason Burke		
	-Bouteflika's Departure is Just the Beginning of Algeria's Struggle.	Simon Tisdall		
	-Protest Movement Likely to Shun Algeri's Controversial Election.	Jason Burke And Ruth Michaelson		

	-Plane Believed to be Carrying Algeria President Leaves GenevaTransgender Woman is Abused and Attacked in Paris during Protests By Algerians.	Nina Larson	The Daily Mail	2019
	-Algeria's Tidy Revolutionaries: Cleanup after Mass Protests.  -Algeria Jails 28 Protesters over Berber FlagsAlgerians Flood Streets to	Associated Press AFP News Agency		2017
Australia	-Why After One Year, Protests Continue to Rock Algeria	Yahia Zoubir	The Conversation	2020

## **Samples of the News Articles**

The Journalist: Adam Nosier

The Newspaper: the New York Times

The Article's Title: Algeria Protests Grow Against President Bouteflika, Ailing and Out of Sight

Algerian students taking part in a protest in the capital, Algiers, on Feb. 26 against President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's bid for a fifth term.Credit...Agence France-Presse — Getty Images [March 1, 2019]

Thousands poured into Algeria's streets on Friday for a second week of unusual demonstrations against the country's aging and ailing president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, whose decision to run for a fifth term has aroused unexpected popular opposition.

Analysts and local journalists said the size of the antigovernment crowds all over the country was the largest in over 30 years, and spoke of a possible shift in the balance of power in a place ruled for years by a gerontocracy left over from the country's war of independence against France nearly 60 years ago. They said this Friday's crowds were even bigger than those of last week.

Frustration with a president so enfeebled that his framed image — known as "the frame" — replaces his physical presence at government rallies appears to have boiled over, analysts said. Mr. Bouteflika turns 82 on Saturday, is paralyzed and in a wheelchair following a 2013 stroke, and <a href="https://doi.org/10.1001/journal.

The streets of Algiers were thick with demonstrators, many of them young, who took to the protests after Friday prayers. Many held signs saying "Stop!" and shouting "F.L.N., get lost," referring to the historic ruling party.

Last week the F.L.N. party leader, Mouad Bouchareb, scornfully told the demonstrators: "To all those calling for change: I say dream on, and sleep well!"

Those comments enraged the crowd. "It's a republic, not a kingdom!" some shouted, while others yelled, "You've stolen the country."

## The Journalist: Ruth Michaelson

The Newspaper Title: the Guardian

The Article's Title: Algerian protesters plan more action and call for regime change.

#### Democracy movement Mouwatana opposes president Bouteflika's bid for a fifth term

[Thu 28 Feb 2019 15.10 GMTFirst published on Thu 28 Feb 2019 11.14 GMT]

Students protesting against President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in Algiers on Tuesday. Photograph: Farouk Batiche/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

Following a week of protests sweeping across <u>Algeria</u>, one demonstration organiser has called for wholesale regime change as tens of thousands were expected to take to the streets on Friday. "What Algerians want is to get rid of not just the president, but the entire regime," said Soufiane Djilali, who spearheads the Mouwatana (Democracy and Citizenship) movement, which organised some of the historic <u>protests against the current ruler</u>, <u>Abdelaziz Bouteflika</u>. "The president must go, the government must resign, and the fake national assembly – all these need to be dismantled," he said.

The 81-year-old Bouteflika has ruled since 1999 and will run for a fifth term in office in April despite rarely being seen in public or addressing the nation since he had a stroke in 2013. Thousands of students across Algeria joined the protests on Tuesday, voicing demands that Bouteflika drop his bid for re-election, calling him unfit to rule.

At least 15 journalists were <u>briefly arrested</u> on Thursday in the capital, Algiers, during a protest demanding an end to censorship, where police <u>assaulted</u> journalists holding signs that read "no to the muzzling of the press" and against Bouteflika's rule. The demonstration was the <u>second</u> of its kind in a week after journalists for the country's national television and radio service protested on Tuesday to demand their employers allow them to cover the mood of dissent gripping Algeria.

Hamza Zait, a journalist and political scientist who attended Thursday's demonstration, said that Algerian police detained the journalists in an oft-used tactic to disperse and repress protests. "The protest was organised by a number of journalists to say no to Bouteflika's candidacy, and also that the press in Algeria must be free. Right now, the press in Algeria isn't exactly free –

it's manipulated, and they came to say that this needs to change and the press must be respected," he said.

As hundreds and on some occasions thousands defied a protest ban in the capital, the country's fractured and sometimes co-opted political opposition attempted to coalesce around a single candidate to challenge Bouteflika in the forthcoming April election by harnessing the anger of the protests. But as protesters and politicians alike voiced a collective dislike of Bouteflika, no single candidate has yet managed to unify both elements around a vision beyond changing the president. Equally unclear is whether the election could quell the protests, fuelled by angry younger people in a country where more than a quarter of people under 30 are unemployed.

## The Journalist: Borzou Daragahi

The Newspaper Title: the Independent

The Article's Title: Algerians take to streets in protest against cuts and ailing, 'out of touch' president

Abdelaziz Bouteflika – the country's 82-year-old leader – has not made a public speech since 2012

[Saturday 23 March 2019 18:44]

Life in the Algerian coastal city of Annaba grows harder by the year, with government austerity measures squeezing public services, such as healthcare and education, to make up for a collapse in oil and gas revenues.

But sunshine is plentiful in the city of 350,000. The beaches teem with youthful energy during the warm months, and daily life is not at all unbearable.

Yet for another week, 27-year-old high-school English teacher Djihed Sadaoui took to the streets with his friends and relatives to demand an end not just to the presidency of 82-year-old Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the country's ailing, wheelchair-bound leader, but the removal from power of all the obscure figures using the man as a front for ruling the country.

He was among hundreds of thousands of others demonstrating for a fifth week on Friday, despite the grey skies and cold rain biting at the south Mediterranean coast.

"They are 'stupidising' us, if this verb exists," he tells *The Independent*.

Employees of the Algerian Ministry of Vocational Education and Training protest against President Bouteflika in Algiers on March 18

**EPA** 

"This is why we say in Arabic 'don't make donkeys of the people'.

Life is worse than before, but some feel that there are things more important than healthcare, money or food.

"We are not 'hungry people'. We need ethical leaders, not corrupt ones."

Live-streaming video feeds showed protests erupting in the capital, Algiers, and at least 12 other cities across the nation of 42 million.X

The protests were initially sparked by the Mr Bouteflika's announcement that he would seek a fifth term after 20 years as president.

The Journalist: Nina Larson

The Newspaper Title: the Daily Mail

The Article's Title: Plane believed to be carrying Algerian president leaves

Geneva

[AFP•March 10, 2019]

The Algerian government did not immediately announce the purpose of the flight but it was possible that the plane was coming to repatriate the 82-year-old leader, who has been receiving medical treatment at the University Hospitals of Geneva (AFP Photo/Fabrice COFFRINI)

More

Geneva (AFP) - An Algerian government plane believed to be carrying President Abdelaziz Bouteflika took off Sunday from Switzerland, where the ailing leader has been undergoing medical treatment for two weeks.

The white Gulfstream 4SP jet, with "People's Democratic Republic of Algeria" written on the side and the Algerian flag on the tail, landed at the Geneva international airport Cointrin shortly before 10:00 am (0900 GMT).

It took off again around 4:00 pm (1500 GMT), shortly after a large convoy drew up from the hospital where the president had been treated, according to AFP journalists at the airport.

The Algerian government did not immediately announce the purpose of the flight but it was likely that the plane came to collect the 82-year-old leader, who has been receiving medical treatment at the University Hospitals of Geneva (HUG).

AFP journalists on the scene saw a large convoy arrive at the airport, but could not see who boarded the plane, which remained hidden in a hangar for the approximately six hours it was on the ground in Geneva.

Numerous police officers had been stationed near the VIP wing on the eighth floor of the HUG earlier Sunday afternoon, as television crews waited outside hoping to catch a glimpse of Bouteflika's departure, according to another AFP journalist.

- Massive protests -

Bouteflika, in power since 1999, has rarely been seen in public since suffering a stroke in 2013.

His bid to secure a fifth term in Algeria's April 18 election has sparked massive protests in the country, dominated by youths who have called for the president to stand aside.

# A Semi-Structured Interview with the Foreign Journalists who covered the Hirak Movement

This interview is part of an academic research relating to an analysis of articles written in English on the Algerian Hirak and its portrayal by foreign journalists. To achieve this objective, you are kindly solicited to answer following questions.

We assure you that the data to be obtained from the interview will be only used for the purposes of our academic research and we graciously request your permission to record your sayings.

#### **Section one:**

Motivation to write about 'Hirak' movement.

## **Question 1**

What has motivated you to cover the Hirak event?

## **Question 2**

According to you, in which way is the Hirak movement different from other countries' political protests?

## Section two:

Beliefs about the Algerian protests.

#### Question 1

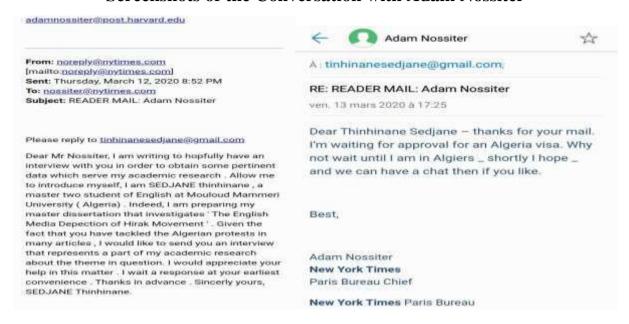
Are your articles influenced by your ideological stances?

## **Question 2**

What is your targeted audience?

Thank you for your collaboration!

#### Screenshots of the Conversation with Adam Nossiter





Adam Nossiter

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#### Screenshots of the Conversation with Ruth Michaelson



I am writing to hopefully have an interview with you in order to obtain some pertinent data which serves my academic research.

Allow me to introduce myself, I am SEDJANE thinhinane, a master two student of English at Mouloud Mammeri University (Algeria). Indeed, I am preparing my master dissertation that investigates 'The English Media Portrayal of Hirak Movement'. Given the fact that you have covered the Algerian protests (Hirak), I would like to send you a semi-structured interview that represents a part of my academic research about the theme in question. I would appreciate your help in this matter. I am sending you the Attached interview.

I wait for a response at your earliest convenience preferably by July 20 because my viva is scheduled on August, 2nd.

Thanks in advance.

would appreciate your help in this matter. I am sending you the Attached interview.

I wait for a response at your earliest convenience preferably by July 20 because my viva is scheduled on August, 2nd.

Thanks in advance.





#### Dear Tinhinane,

Thank you for reaching out to me about this. As you can imagine, I wasn't immediately able to reply as it's been quite a difficult time. Can you clarify for me how exactly my responses will be used- will they be quoted or is this part of qualitative interviews?

I also want to make clear that I am okay with being quoted in an academic context, but not elsewhere if that's okay.

I've done my best to answer your questions below. Please let me know if you have any further questions.

I intend to continue reporting on Algeria - if you are happy to stay in touch with me then I would be most grateful.

All the best,

Ruth Michaelson

Section one:

Motivation to write about 'Hirak' movement.

Question one: What has motivated you to cover the Hirak event?

I have covered the Middle East and North Africa since 2012, and so when I saw the first protests take place in a country where politics has appeared stagnant for many decades, it was extremely moving. We live in an age where, unfortunately, many dictators, autocrats or longstanding anti-democratic regimes have managed to entrench their power. The Hirak, along with protests in Sudan, represents a shift away from this for the region. It felt like a seismic event.

Question two: According to you, in which way is the Hirak movement different from other countries' political protests?

Firstly, the Hirak is clearly a uniquely Algerian movement that is mindful of a context where few civilians have an appetite for protests to turn violent. As such, the protests have no interest in anything, even stone-throwing, that might not appear peaceful and have maintained this over a long period. Secondly the movement represents a unique

not appear peaceful and have maintained this over a long period. Secondly the movement represents a unique intersection of protestors' desires to combat corruption and anti-democratic tendencies from within the regime, and inject politics into Algerians' daily lives once again.

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Section two: Beliefs about the Algerian protests, Question one: Are your articles influenced by your ideological stances?

I'm not entirely sure how to answer this question, but I will try. All reporting is to some extent influenced by ideology. If you mean a personal belief in the power of democracy and that we should at least listen to citizens' demands of their governments, then yes.

## Question two: What is your targeted audience?

According to the Guardian's statistics from June this year, our newspaper is the most read quality newspaper in the UK with a record 35.6 million for combined print and digital monthly readership. So, when I write I think of the Guardian's audience, who tend to be internationalist and more left-leaning in worldview. These are people



read quality newspaper in the UK with a record 35.6 million for combined print and digital monthly readership. So, when I write I think of the Guardian's audience. who tend to be internationalist and more left-leaning in worldview. These are people who are curious about the world, and it is our job as journalists to provide that information.



#### Dear Ruth Michaelson,

Many thanks for your email. I really appreciate your collaboration and I will be happy to stay in touch with you.

I ensure you that the questions are part of the qualitative interview and your sayings will be quoted to serve only our academic research. I have another question, if you do not mind, I would like to know whether the peaceful nature of the Algerian protests has a role in motivating journalists to cover ( the Hirak). I have put this as a hypothesis for my research.

However, I think overall it's important to remember that when journalists decide to cover breaking news, it's because something is happening urgently and we feel it has news value, i.e. it represents change. So when the Hirak movement began, it wasn't a question of whether or not it was violent or how we personally felt about the movement, or whether we personally think peaceful or violent protests have more meaning, it was because it represented a powerful shift. For example: Journalists covered the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria not because they have positive or negative associations with armed violence or extremism (although I'm sure many journalists have extremely negative associations with these things) but because the group's rise represented a powerful shift in dynamics on the ground.



That is kind of you, thank you for being so transparent.

So to answer your final question about the peaceful nature of the protests: I think that you are correct in identifying that protests which are initially peaceful probably attract Western media attention more easily, and frankly this is probably in part due to media bias and potentially endernic orientalism in coverage. As journalists this is something we can be mindful of in our decisions regarding how and why we cover protests in the ways that we do, and it should probably be part of the conversation more.

If you consider how the Arab uprisings of 2011 were covered, it was the peaceful and youth-led nature of the initial protests across the region which certainly aided a media narrative about young people fighting for democracy and freedom, which was the case. This becomes a more difficult question when protests later became violent for different reasons in places like Syria or Libya, even though violence doesn't necessarily diminish the desire for democratic results.

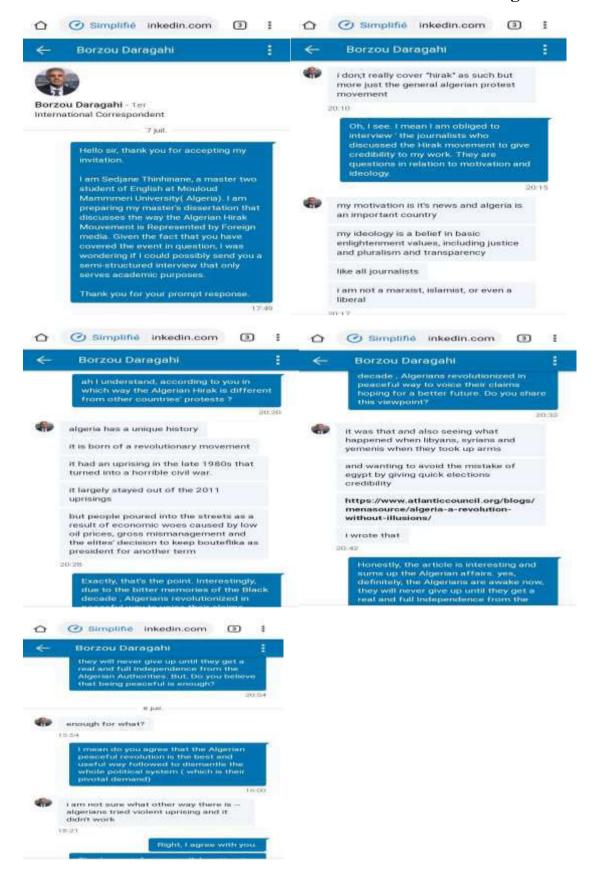
However, I think overall it's important to remember that when journalists decide to cover breaking news, it's because something is happening urgently and we feel it has news value, i.e. it represents change. So when the Hirak movement began, it wasn't a question of whether or not it was violent or how we personally felt about the movement, or whether we personally



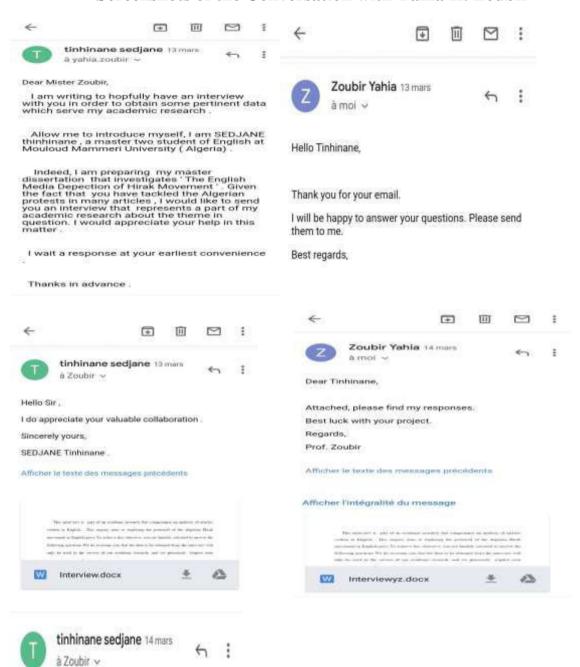
#### Dear Ruth Michaelson.

Thank you for your valuable feedback. I sincerely appreciate your guidance and suggestions.

## Screenshots of the Conversation with Borzou Daragahi



#### Screenshots of the Conversation with Yahia H. Zoubir

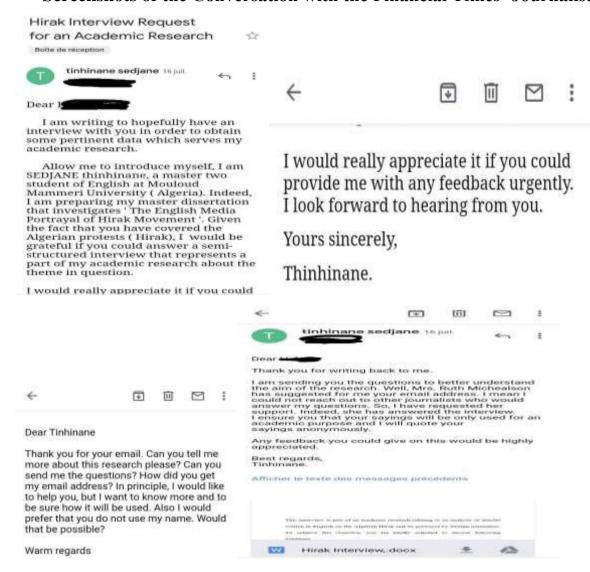


Dear Zoubir Yahia,

Thanks a lot for writing back. I appreciate your valuable feedback. Thank you and the same to you.

Sincerely Yours, SEDJANE Thinhinane.

#### Screenshots of the Conversation with the Financial Times' Journalist



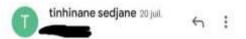


Dear Tinhinane,

Here are the answers to your questions.

I was motivated to cover hirak for at least two reasons. The first one is that I cover North Africa for the Financial Times, so it is my job to cover something like the hirak-a significant protest movement. I could not cover it. In addition, I have had an interest in Algerian politics since the nineties and I knew that this was an important development and that the hirak managed to impose itself on the Algerian scene despite the ban on protests in Algiers and despite fears that the authorities would respond violently. The size and determination of the protestors and the fact that hirak rallies took place in so many cities and wilayas made it an important event to cover. When the military pushed out Bouteflika, it was clear the hirak could make gains and stood a chance of changing the political scene.

Protests in every country take a different shape dictated by conditions in the country. Hirak was remarkable for staying



Dear I hope this email finds you well.

I really appreciate your valuable feedback and your collaboration, Thank you.

Best regards,

Tinhinane.

Protests in every country take a different shape dictated by conditions in the country. Hirak was remarkable for staying peaceful and that was the result of the self-discipline of the protestors and the decision by the authorities to refrain from using violence, especially when so many thousands of people were out on the streets. It was also remarkable for managing to maintain a degree of momentum for a year, though it did stop making gains after the ouster of Bouteflika. The lack of a leadership was also noteworthy. Leaserless protests broke out in 2019 in both Iraq and Lebanon reflecting popular frustrations.

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My articles are not influenced by my ideological stances. I am a professional journalist and I strive to maintain objectivity and to report fairly and to remain neutral.

My target audience is the readers of the Financial Times, an elite group of mainlywestern decision makers in business and politics.