MINISTRY OF HIGHER AND SECONDARY SPECIALIZED EDUCATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN

NUKUS STATE PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE NAMED AFTER AJINIYAZ

FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

5111400 –Foreign language and literature (English language and literature)

QUALIFICATION PAPER

on the theme**:** DISCOURSE ANALYSES OF MEDIA TEXTS

Student: Alimjanov K. Group 4 G.

Scientific adviser: PhD. NSPI Shaniyazov B.

Head of the department: Babajanova K

The Qualification Paper is admitted to the defence.

Protocol № _____ «____» _____ 2019.

NUKUS-2019

CONTENT

Introduction

Under the label of 'discourse analysis' we can find a vast number of standpoints and research programmers. The aims, assumptions and conceptual tools of different scholars vary widely, with important consequences for the outcomes of research. The main assumption of discourse analysis is that the work of deconstruction and reconstruction of texts can give important indications about issues like the intentions of the author of a text or utterance, politically dominant ideologies, or the potential impact of an advertisement on a certain audience. However, there is not a standard method for the examination of texts, but multiple forms of going about it. Each of the procedural choices is not neutral, nor does it take the researcher to the same conclusions as others.

English is the main language of popular music, advertising, home computers and video games. Most of the scientific, technological and academic information in

the world is expressed in English. International communication expends very fast. The English language becomes the means of international communication, the language of trade, education, politics, and economics. People have to communicate with each other. It is very important for them to understand foreigners and be understood by them. In this case the English language comes to be one but very serious problem. A word comes to be a very powerful means of communication but also can be a cause of a great misunderstanding if it is not clearly understood by one of the speakers.

In the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh.M.Mirziyoev №2909 "On measures of further development of the system of higher education" adopted on April 20, in 2017 it is emphasized the importance of "establishing close perspective partnership relations with leading foreign educational establishments, wide implementation into educational process of innovative pedagogical technologies, curriculums and materials based on international educational standards" [1; 4].

Actuality of the qualification paper. Recent years were marked by a major transformation in human and social communication, owing to the advances in ICT and thus social media technologies. Social media have introduced new communication practices, provided newfound interaction patterns, created new forms of expressions, stimulated a wide civic participation, and so forth. They are rapidly evolving and their significance is increasing while their role is changing in social and political processes. Moreover, they are increasingly becoming an instrumental approach to, and power for, social change due to their potential in bringing new dynamics to its underlying processes such as public mobilization.

Object and subject of qualification paper. This paper has two main aims: first, to discuss and critically assess various strands of discourse analysis and their usefulness for studying media discourse, and second, to present an alternative approach to media discourse analysis. Under the label of 'discourse analysis' we can find a vast number of standpoints and research programmes. The aims, assumptions and conceptual tools of different scholars vary widely, with important

consequences for the outcomes of research. The main assumption of discourse analysis is that the work of deconstruction and reconstruction of texts can give important indications about issues like the intentions of the author of a text or utterance, politically dominant ideologies, or the potential impact of an advertisement on a certain audience. However, there is not a standard method for the examination of texts, but multiple forms are going about it.

The aim and the task of this qualification paper is to establish, by means of a discourse analysis, how and with what purpose in mind, the online media report on – represent – the relationship between social media and the and political transformation, a social relationship that seems to be overstated and constructed in various ways by different journalists. And also the main aim of the paper is to discuss and critically assess various strands of discourse analysis and their applicability to media discourse, as well as to present some results of a study of media. This critical reading reveals what is undervalued, overvalued and excluded, as well as the intersection between the media discourse, subjects and ideology. To achieve this aim, the discourse analysis approach was used to examine the set of selected media texts.

Methods and methodology. The study of them as mediated messages themselves is usually relegated to a predominantly methodological approach, viz. that of so-called `content analysis'. Thus, to take just one example, McQuail's recent introduction to mass communication theory, contains one, 25-page, chapter on media content, of which again large part deals with more general properties of news. Systematic discourse analysis of media messages hardly goes beyond modest applications of `structuralise or semiological approaches inspired by the work of theorists of more than 15 years ago. Current results from linguistic discourse analysis are as yet ignored in mass communication research.

Novelties in the qualification paper. Based on my experience of extensive empirical research of newspaper articles, I have developed an approach to discourse analysis that integrates several strands and influences, as well as brings in new dimensions of analysis.

Theoretical value of the qualification paper. Unified models for the description of `text' or `discourse' only became to be elaborated during the 1970s. But most discourse analysts hardly paid any attention to the texts which, apart from everyday conversation, they are confronted with most frequently, viz. those of the media. Second, mass media research has primarily emerged within the social sciences, such as political science and sociology, and therefore rather focussed on macro-phenomena such as institutions, the audience or public, large-scale processes of effects, or overall functions of media in society.

Practical importance of the qualification paper. Materials of the research work may be broadly used in practical lessons on Reading, Listening, and Writing.

The structure of the qualification paper. According to standards of the QP the research work consists of Introduction, two main chapters including correlated subtitles within each chapter, conclusion and list of used literature. The volume comprises 56 pages

Chapter I. Discourse Analysis in (Mass) Communication
1.1. From Content Analysis to Discourse Analysis of Media Messages

For outsiders it is surprising to conclude from the vast amount of mass communication research since World War II that comparatively little attention has been paid to the systematic analysis of what mass communication seems to be primarily about, viz. texts (messages, discourse, etc.). Indeed, most work deals with various sociological or socio-psychological theories of mass media institutions, of audiences or effects, or the relations between media on the one hand and society and culture on the other hand. The study of the mass mediated messages themselves is usually relegated to a predominantly methodological approach, viz. that of so-called `content analysis'. Thus, to take just one example, McQuail's recent introduction to mass communication theory, contains one, 25-

page, chapter on media content, of which again large part deals with more general properties of news.

Systematic discourse analysis of media messages hardly goes beyond modest applications of `structuralise or semiological approaches inspired by the work of French theorists of more than 15 years ago. Current results from linguistic discourse analysis are as yet ignored in mass communication research. There are several reasons for this notable lack of both classical and modern mass media research. First, linguistics itself simply had little to offer to those interested in the analysis of media discourse. Until the beginning of the 1970s, linguistic grammars were limited to rather abstract descriptions of isolated sentences and did not account for the various levels or dimensions of whole `texts'. Interest for media discourse, then, was limited to sister-disciplines such as stylistics, rhetorics or semiotics. Unified models for the description of `text' or `discourse' only became to be elaborated during the 1970s. But most discourse analysts hardly paid any attention to the texts which, apart from everyday conversation, they are confronted with most frequently, viz. those of the media. Second, mass media research has primarily emerged within the social sciences, such as political science and sociology, and therefore rather focused on macro-phenomena such as institutions, the audience or public, large-scale processes of effects, or overall functions of media in society. Indeed, the influence of the media — and its various modalities (high or low impact) — was reconstructed at a rather high level of abstraction and seldom at the level of the actual texts that would have such influence or the actual recipients and their internal cognitive processing of such texts. Third, the nature of the questions asked in mass communication research was conducive to the analysis of large amounts of message data, for which only rather superficial and mostly quantitative methods were available. A subtle stylistic analysis of, say, many thousands of texts (the output of only a month of news of one average newspaper) is simply not a feasible undertaking. Although there are certainly other (historical, practical, methodological or theoretical) reasons for the lack of systematic discourse analysis in media research, it should be emphasized at the same time that

message analysis was not altogether absent either. Ignoring for a moment the more distant roots of media analysis in and before our century, we witness increasing interest during the 1960s for what is still commonly called `content analysis'. After Berelson's classical book [11] and the collection of conference papers edited by Pool [11], the Annenberg School Conference of 1966 resulted in the highly influential book of papers edited by Gerbner et al., a book that appeared in the same year as Holsti's introduction to content analysis in the social sciences and the humanities. Indeed, both the Gerbner et al.book and the Holsti introduction showed that content analysis was not just a theoretical approach of mass communication research, but an interdisciplinary method 'for the objective, replicable and quantitative' description of texts. Besides the media, also poetry, dreams or psychiatric discourse could be analyzed with such a method. And first linguistic, stylistic and even logical foundations were provided for the definition of the crucial 'units' of analysis that must precede quantitative treatment of data Finally, the important help of computers, both for limited automatic analysis and for statistical treatment of results, was called in, as was exemplified for instance in the General Inquirer project published several years before. We had to wait more than 10 years, before the uses of computers in Artificial Intelligence research, e.g. at Yale, on text processing significantly changed these early attempts, and we now witness the first steps in the automatic understanding an summarization of news stories. Content analysis as it was elaborated in the 1960 continued in the 1970s, although that decade hardly seemed to provide new orientations or new paradigms. A decade later, Krippendorff's introduction was a welcome replacement for Holsti's, but its bibliography hardly contained substantial new contributions from the seventies. In other words, the major interests, both theoretically and methodologically, seemed to lie elsewhere in mass communication research, and inspection of a current introduction to the field, such as the one already mentioned by McQuail can illustrate that point. Or else, content analysis is used as part of necessarily large scale projects involving fundamental questions of the media, such as the 'cultural indicators' research directed by George Gerbner, as it is also

summarized in this book. Indeed, cultural changes cannot simply be detected only by meticulous microanalyses of a few media messages. Selected signaling devices, or indicators, are to be described in many (kinds of) media discourse in order to assess such important social phenomena through media analysis. Similarly, other kinds of content analysis will of course provide at least partial insight into properties of media discourse, such as the prevalent themes of the news, the kind of actors in news, advertisements, TV-programs or film, or style in the headlines. That is, content analysis is interested in principles of description when it tries to account for the basis of unitization, and in this way also structural properties of media discourse can be attended to, at least from a quantitative point of view.

Yet, the second half of the 1970s also brought suggestions for a more explicit and systematic account of media discourse. Some of this work clearly rejects the principles of `classical' content analysis and the aims of media research in which it is embedded (often associated with the 'American 'approach in mass communication). Much of this new look in media research is based in Britain. Thus, the well-known Glasgow University Media Group published in 1976 its first `bad news' study about TV-news, followed in 1980 by a book on 'more bad news', in which systematic analysis of both text and film yielded the conclusion that industrial news is biased in favor of the `dominant' position of government or factory directors. In a somewhat different vein, this critical analysis of the media has also been the characteristic of media research by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham, under its earlier direction by Stuart Hall. [27; 34]

In his review of the media research of the Centre, Hall [29] formulates the break with the classical (quantitative, American, stimulus-response) approaches as follows: "(our) approach defined the media as a major cultural and ideological force, standing in a dominant position with respect to the way in which social relations and political problems were defined and the production and transformation of popular ideologies in the audience addressed" [25; 118]. This concern for the (re-)production of ideologies in and through the media is also manifest in the special interest for discourse analysis in the work of the Centre.

Current French thinkers such as Barthes, Lacan, Foucault, Althusser, Laclau, etc. have been a major inspiration for such approaches. Both this work, and the work of the Glasgow University Media Group are represented in this volume, viz. by the chapters of Connell & Mills, and by Davis, respectively. Details about the theoretical backgrounds and the methodological principies of analysis of these two directions of research can be found in those chapters. Although this work is becoming more influential only by the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, it also has its predecessors in earlier research. For instance, Cohen's book about the Mods and the Rockers extensively pays attention to the way these youth groups are transformed into `folk devils' by the media. This analysis is an example of what Hall calls the 'production of popular ideologies'. [16;42] In fact, Hall and his collaborators [28] had shown themselves how this process works in crime reporting, such as the media coverage (or rather: construction) of `mugging' as a pervasive social `problem'. Although these studies do not (yet) apply systematic discourse analysis, there is explicit attention for the ideological analysis of media messages. Instead of the more manifest units of quantitative content analysis, we thus approach an account of underlying meanings or processes of `signification'. That classical methods of content analysis can be usefully combined with such a critical, ideological analysis was already shown by Halloran and his associates in their study of the media coverage of a Vietnam demonstration in London. In other words, there is no strict distinction between content analysis on the one hand and explicit discourse analysis on the other hand, e. g. along the quantitative-qualitative dimension or according to whether observable or latent categories are studied. Another good example of this integration of methods and critical analysis is the Hartmann & Husband study about racism in the media. [31].

Whereas most of the work mentioned above has been done by social scientists, some British (and Australian) linguists have recently started to pay attention to the relations between language and ideology in the media. They start, so to speak, at the other end, viz. with a close analysis of the grammatical structures of media messages about an event in different newspapers. They are able

to show that a syntactic analysis of sentences alone may already reveal biases in the description of facts, e. g. through the deletion of agents/subjects in sentences if these are the agents of negative acts (e. g. 'The mugger was killed' instead of 'The police killed the mugger'). It is obvious that a complete discourse analysis can trace further properties of media messages that go beyond those of syntactic structure of single sentences. It is however important to stress that ideological positions, interests or power, can also be `signalled' through such apparently `context-free' language characteristics as sentential syntax. [34;56].

Several of the papers in part II of this volume can be located in this tradition of critical or ideological analysis of mass media discourse, as it hasbeen developed especially in Britain. The contributions of Schlesinger & Lumley, Downing, Husband & Chouhan, and Hartley & Montgomery, provide such special `readings' of media messages. Despite their differences, they all deal with the representation or the accounts of `others' (minority. groups, foreigners, or `terrorists') in the media.

1.2. From discourse analysis to the analysis of complex communicative events

We have observed above that various directions of media research in the 1970s have laid the foundations for a discourse analytical approach to mass mediated messages. Discourse is no longer just an `intervening variable' between media institutions or journalists on the one hand, and an audience on the other hand, but also studied in its own right, and as a central and manifest cultural and social product in and through which meanings and ideologies are expressed or (re-)produced. In other words, we here find the beginnings of a sound theory of media discourses, even if many social scientists will of course take (media) discourse primarily as the basis for an `inferential framework', that is, as `expression', 'indicator', 'signar or as `stimulus' for other, `underlying', phenomena in culture and

society, such as ideologies, power, dominance, discrimination, racism and sexism, media access of elites, or the uses and effects of the media with the audience. These relations between `text' and `context' are of course crucial, and no full-fledged theory of the media is adequate without such explicit inferences.

This does not mean, however, that our insight into the structures of media discourse is more than fragmentary at the moment. On the contrary, most extant work focuses on rather specific features of media discourse, viz. those features which intuitively are found relevant for inferences about important social or cultural factors. It goes without saying that an adequate analysis of the relations between media texts an contexts requires a more systematic approach to media discourse. All levels and dimensions of analysis need to be attended to, from `surface' properties of presentation, lay-out, graphical display in printed discourse, or intonation, preverbal and nonverbal features in spoken media discourse, on the one hand, through an analysis of syntactic structures, lexical style or rhetorical devices, to the `underlying' meanings, connotations or associations, or the pragmatics of speech acts performed. And such systematic analyses should be made for a large variety of discourse types in the media, not only of news, but also of advertising, film, TV-programs (talk shows, etc.), and so on. Comparison between different media genres may then yield specific properties for different genres but also commonalities, e. g. of style, rhetorical devices, event or actor descriptions, implicit meanings or modes of coherence. Despite the encouraging studies mentioned above, this programmatic enumeration also suggests that most of the work is still ahead of us.

Some of the papers contributed to this book address these various structural features of media discourse. Lindegren-Lerman, for instance, examines the subtle devices journalists may use in the representation of controversial or `problematic' propositions in Nixon's public declarations about the Watergate affair. On the other hand, van Leeuwen in his contribution deals with acomplex `surface' phenomenon in film and film text, viz. rhythm and intonation. And also Bentele, in his chapter on TV-news programs, shows what linguistic or grammatical approaches can

contribute to media discourse analysis. My own contribution tries to specify some properties of news discourse in the press. Besides the usual distinctions between several levels of analysis, such as the distinction between overall, semantic macrostructures, and local relationships of coherence, this chapter proposes that news has a conventional `news schema', or superstructure, consisting of a hierarchical organization of news item categories. Similar `schemata' may be made explicit also for other media discourses, whether written/printed, or spoken, and including non-verbal acts and film [36, 38].

1.3. The cognitive and social context

Besides this urgent need for more textual analyses of media discourse, also the well-known features of the context, such as processes of production and reception, as well as the social and cultural situations need of course further attention. We have suggested that most work in mass media research in fact is about these social dimensions of the communicative process. Yet, in accordance with the prevalence of macro-level approaches in sociology, there is also a lack of more detailed, micro-studies of media processes, both in production and in reception. For the production of news, a few recent studies have begun to pay attention to the more detailed production and interpretation processes in the everyday activities of journalists. Daily interactions between journalists, or between journalists and other newspersons such as news actors, sources, witnesses, or representatives of organizations, need to be further analyzed for their strategies, routine acts, commonsense categories, or other principles of understanding. Detailed observation and analysis is necessary of decision making processes in e. g. editorial meetings, also to make explicit the understanding and the uses of the well-known news value criteria in the selection or the (re-)construction of news events as news items. From our discourse analytical point of view, for instance, it is imperative that we come to know how final news items in the press or on TV are the alternate results of a complex sequence of text processing stages. It has not sufficiently been realized that most news items are not directly based upon

personal observations or experiences of journalists, but rather the result of a series of textual transformations of various forms of antécedent discourses, such as telex messages, reports, interviews, press conferences, documents, police records, eyewitness testimony, and so on. In other words, most news production is a fore of text processing. We should investigate which linguistic, cognitive and social factors impinge on this process. Cognitive models of discourse comprehension, for instance, will be necessary to account for the strategies used by journalists in these respective processing stages [37]. At this point, a cognitive theory of news values can be built into the cognitive (re-)production model to account for the special, socio-cultural and institutional constraints upon news reporting.[37].

Similar remarks hold for the reception process. Theories of media effects abound, but there is no theory that models in detail the processes of media discourse understanding, the formation of knowledge and beliefs, the interaction of personal or social opinions or attitudes on that process of acquisition, and hence upon the `effects' consisting in the transformation of knowledge, beliefs or attitudes. The `stages' of media effects as they were proposed by e. g. McGuire decade ago are merely rough designations of the various steps of such a process. Detailed memory models, both in experimental psychological terms, and in terms of computer simulations in Artificial Intelligence, will be needed to fill in the required applications in media research. Using a news report in an international weekly as our example, we have demonstrated how complex such processing of news discourse in readers (or hearers) may be [34]. It goes without saying, however, those earlier insights in the field of persuasion analysis, whether from a socio-political or philosophical and sociological point of view, need to be integrated into such highly complex models.

Next, communicative events such as the production and the consumption of media discourse have their goals and functions. In the light of the previous paragraph, we may therefore expect that again a micro-analysis of the 'uses' of media messages may shed further light on problems that have been studied in more global terms before [12]. Thus, in our own current research about ethnic attitudes

in everyday conversations [33; 65], we have found how people use media information in the construction of ethnic opinions and attitudes, and how they take media as `evidence' in conversational strategies of self-presentation and persuasion. Detailed conversational analysis, thus, yields more insights into the actual uses of media discourses in realistic social situations and other communicative events. Both from a cognitive and from a linguistic and social point of view, such insights also allow us to specify what exactly the 'agenda setting' function of the media amounts to. A socio-cognitive model of discourse production indeed may account for the role of such 'topic structures' in the production of new texts and in the participation in talk about media-induced topics and their degree of social relevance.

And finally, a decade of research in sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication [26] has shown how practically all features of discourse, as well as those of discourse production and understanding, are systematically related to the many features of the socio-cultural context. This means that we also need detailed ethnographic observations about the production and uses (participation) of communicative events in the media, both for communicative events (e. g. talk shows) 'in' the media, as well as those 'by' the media, i. e. with media users als participants. Such analyses may shed light upon such issues as the shared cultural basis of common understanding (and hence of cultural presuppositions), the uses of different formal styles in the media, conditions of code switching (e. g. between a dominant media language and a dialect or a minority language), the socio-cultural functions of various media discourses, the ritual nature of specific media discourses or programs, and so on.

At this latter point we also find a link with the important study of international and cross-cultural forms of media discourse, production and uses. Economic and cultural dominance in communication is not only a macro-phenomenon, but also is actualized in the details of media texts and their uses. Explicit comparison of media products across nations and cultures allows us to specify which thematic, stylistic, rhetorical, schematic, or other features of media

discourse are imposed (or not) by dominant communication monopolies. In this way not only ideologies may be transmitted [18, 19] and many other sources, but also the very ways of production, writing, and reading/viewing. In other words, the hypotheses of cultural domination (of the third world by the first world) at the macro-level need to be further strengthened and tested at the micro-level of detailed discourse and communication analysis along the uses briefly sketched above [34].

These final paragraphs may sound convincing but are of course highly programmatic. Yet, both theoretically and descriptively, we at the moment have the instruments to perform such a task. Linguistic, cognitive and social discourse and communication analysis only needs to be applied in and extended towards the systematic account of media discourse. And conversely, the study of mass communication should only realize that besides their own models of communication, media structures and uses, a micro-level approach, such as the one proposed in discourse analysis, may be fruitful. Fruitful also for a thorough study of typical 'macro-problems', such as cultural and communicative dominance patterns in (the media of) our world. Recent work in both interpersonal and mass communication studies has shown that such new developments in linguistics, discourse analysis, cognitive psychology and micro-sociology are being picked up in the detailed, and explicit account of what communication, whether in production, reception or interaction, will always basically involve: discourse.

1.3.1. Social Media, Social Change, and the Relationship

The advances of ICT and new media technologies have drastically changed the information and communication culture and the landscape of mediated communication. Hopper points out that ICT and digital media are the catalyst for contemporary communication, and their advances constitute a transformation in human communication. As a form of digital (new) media, social media have introduced new communication patterns, diversified

communication content, created new forms of expression, fostered freedom of expression, and stimulated a wide participation and collaboration, allowing citizens from diverse walks of life to have an opportunity to convey their views, challenge social norms, and affect societal changes. There are therefore many intuitive benefits for the use of social media technologies. Social media offer new and appealing possibilities to people to express themselves in a variety of ways and freely participate in major events because they are more decentralized and less hierarchical and are based on democratic structures. They provide a means for self-mass media communication that may have previously been restricted by temporal or spatial constraints. According to Castells, self-mass communication reaches a potentially global audience through the Internet and is moreover self-generated in the production of content, self-directed in the definition of potential receivers, and self-selected in the retrieval of content by many who communicate with many. With the ubiquity of the (influential) resources and the potential for communicating massively, the capabilities of social media technologies may used to instigate changes in society. Further, social media make it possible for an average user to archive, create, change, circulate and share digital content and knowledge with other users in powerful new ways. Audiences have the power in their own hands to connect and create various bonds with different people, thereby transforming their personal social networks. Further, by their very nature, social media are characterized by multiple points of production and distribution. This relates to what has come to be known as civil journalism (discussed below), a new form of journalism that demonstrates that the means of social media production are available to the public – that is, to both individual and media actors to publish or access information in equal terms. In addition, social media technologies are simple to use and accessible to people with minimal technical skills, anyone with access can operate such means as well as alter content instantaneously.

Consequently, the notion of user-generated content constitutes a new canon that is reshaping power relations between individuals and media actors. Users

can exercise some control over the information they provide on Web 2.0 (social media) sites.

Audiences understand that they are factually empowered to produce their own intellectual property. As Jenkins et al. put it, 'we are moving away from a world in which some produce and many consume media, toward one in which everyone has a more active stake in the culture that is produced'. The above features corroborate why social media have changed the notion of communication in many ways and at different levels. Kietzmann et al. contend that social media introduce substantial and ubiquitous changes to communication between and among individuals, communities and organizations. All in all, social media culture is about people empowerment, civic participation, freedom of expression, collective actions, etc. These features are instrumental in the processes underlying revolutions and political transformations. Much of the hope pinned on social media stems from their contribution to social change.

1.3.2. The Role of Social Media in Political Change

There is a general recognition that social media have implications for societal changes due to their role in the processes of the socio-political. The rapid development of social media technology in recent years has fueled discussions about their impact on political and social change. They are increasingly becoming an instrumental approach to, and power for, social change. More recently, social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, have been transformed into effective means to bring about political transformation. Specifically, they played a significant role in what has come to be known as the Arab Spring, including the historical political change in some countries. This marked a victory for social media and corroborates that they are an enduring resource for the successful mobilization of bottom-up, grassroots movements and leaderless collective actions. As echoed by Schneider and Graph reports about the mobilization effects of social networking such as Facebook and other social media platforms suggest substantial media impact on change. In relation to this,

numerous scholars; emphasize that social media such as social-networking sites are, collectively, a critical new resource for the successful organization and implementation of social movements. Recent political revolts, from North Africa - Egypt, Tunisia and Libya - down to Middle East – Syria and Iran, have all been inspired and aided by social media technologies due to their unsurpassed potential in enabling continued, dynamic flow of information, swiftness in public mobilization, and new patterns of mediated interaction and communication. It is highly likely that the embrace and strategic use of social media technologies will further transform them into a driving force for major political changes. However, the successful implementation of various types of social media for the promotion of social change requires a constant adjustment of strategies to political and national context specific requirements.

1.3.3. Social Media and Social Change Processe

People are the nucleus of communication for social change, whether be it of dialogical or digital nature. Communication is about people and hence its role is to facilitate people's participation and empowerment. These have been taken to new highs in the context of digital communication. The participatory character of social media technologies has enabled new practices of communication that have become central in political change processes, in particular in the way they can operate concurrently and evolve dynamically in resulting in political transformation. While all political upheavals that swept the Arab world corroborated more or less the potential of social media in fuelling and instigating political change, in the case social media were of a distinctive facet and had a particular weight. This was demonstrated by the multiple roles played by the social media in terms of: promoting and boosting civic engagement; propelling public mobilization; enabling cyber-activism and citizen journalism; stimulating civil society; creating less-confined political spaces; promoting a sense of community; rallying support for political causes; etc.

1.4. Civic Engagement and Public Mobilization

During the uprising, a myriad of events and actions that took place in social media platforms demonstrated the boost of civic engagement, and thereby triggering public mobilization: the capability of the protestors to plan, organize, and execute leaderless movement actions. Mobilization is interrelated with cyber-activism in that it can help foster civic engagement, which, in turn, gives rise to various forms of mobilization. In the some countries revolution, social 'media acted as effective tools for promoting civic engagement, through 'supporting the capabilities of the democratic activists by allowing forums for free speech and political networking opportunities'. Providing such opportunities was made possible through social networking sites such as Facebook, which amplified, magnified and expedited the process of revolution These sites provided platforms for debates inviting millions of people from diverse walks of life and from different geographical areas across the world.

Moreover, countries political activists used social media to mobilize protesters and engage in collective planning. It is the 'political activism in the real world, aide d by cyber activism in the virtual world' that succeeded to find the link between public resentment and public mobilization to bring about real change. The ubiquity of the influential resources and the public will made of social media a consequential factor for the countries revolt. Particularly, the patterns underlying the way in which actors effectively deployed the resources for mobilization were stimulated by the union of the diversity of activists' affiliations and leaderless nature of political grassroots movements. Moreover, social media are 'public and many-to-many', and hence they provide platforms for continuous, multiple interaction between activists and citizens. Resource mobilization theory of Jenkins, Khawaja, Langman emphasizes the significance of the availability of resources (e.g. new technology and enthused citizenry) and the efficacy of actors. The novel resources introduced by social media provided a

swiftness in communication, helped build and strengthen ties among activists, enhanced interaction between protesters and inspired, and boosted them.

Social media differ in terms of self-disclosure and media richness features, which have impact on the dynamics of public mobilization. Accordingly, Facebook, social networking site, was well suitable for mobilizing the protesters due to the fact that information in this platform could be shared between friends, with the advantage that the receivers were already interested and trusted the source. Twitter was also used for mobilization and planning political discussions. Twitter scores high in self-disclosure, yet low in media richness, as they give high visibility to users generating the content, which, subsequently, increases interpersonal trust. Protesters used Twitter – microblogs - to 'announce new initiatives, like marching to the parliament building, and to boost their collective morale with reports of other developments around the country'. All in all, the strategic use of social media was of help to the revolution to snowball, through using certain strategies, maneuvers and tactics that turned small protests into a huge challenge to the regime that led to its ultimate demise'.

Collective Identity and Action

Social media played a key role in promoting collective identity, a sense of community, and supporting collective action among citizens and activists across the globe. Facebook, Twitter, and blogs seemed to strengthen the collective identity of Europe worldwide to support the struggle against the regime. This was driven by the oppressive conditions under which the European had lived for long. In other words, social media provided a community space where people could call attention to government corruption and abuses. New technologies foster the perception among people that they belong to a larger community by virtue of the injustice they share. It is argued that they may cultivate collective identity across a dispersed population, which organizers can then mobilize to rally support and stimulate collective actions in the efforts to bring about social change. Hampton found that online social networks can facilitate collective action. This can be generated by shared awareness among people, which results from information

exchange, and collective action creates shared responsibility by tying the user's identity to that of the group. In all, social network platforms constitute new spaces for information sharing and bringing together new networks for action, utilizing (shared) user-generated content.

Less Confined and Critical Public Sphere

Social media acted as effective tools for providing a virtual public space for assembly, serving as a public arena where citizens could discuss political, social and cultural affairs to bring about political change. Through social media the public sphere has become less confined, critical and vibrant. This is because social media provide an unrestricted form of participation, open new spaces for active citizenship, and enhance opportunities for political expression. This emerging trend of public sphere is increasingly becoming a catalyst for igniting political revolts. For example, with social media, it has become possible for citizens to self-propel public mobilization against their governments.

Audiences are today cognizant that they possess the power to mobilize themselves on behalf of political causes. This is about what Jakubowicz labels the 'appearance of alternative and opposition public spheres.' This unprecedented decentralization of information and communication brought by social media has empowered citizens and enabled marginalized people to express themselves by utilizing independent channels to voice their opinions and join virtual activism, and thereby taking part directly or indirectly in social changes. According to el-Nawawy and Khamis social media empowered activists to share ideas with others globally, creating a 'virtual global public sphere', where acts of political resistance could be proliferated and supported internationally. Moreover, in these less-confined political spaces, a myriad of public affairs were debated by young citizens and tech-savvy activists reflecting an unprecedented diversity: secularists, islamists, nationalists, leftists, liberalists, and feminists. Overall, the European political change revealed the potential of independent and politically vocal non-mainstream social media in the creation of a vibrant civil society, which set the grounds for the success of the revolution.

Citizen Journalism

In some countries revolution, social media was instrumental in promoting citizen journalism as new form of reporting on revolution events. They provided a platform for minute-by-minute citizen journalism, where European citizens contributed to the news by expressing themselves and reporting their own versions of ground reality - revolution events - using powerful new means in more creative ways, e.g. posting pictures, videos and commentary, as well as disseminating information to different media outlets. Social media avenues offered 'forums for ordinary citizens to document the protests; to spread the word about ongoing activities; to provide evidence of governmental brutality; and to disseminate their own words and images to...the outside world through both regional and transnational media'. Also, activists were tweeting to the international media as well as to the world. In other instances, the European protesters tweets were picked up by journalists and re-tweeted by them, which appears to have marked the emergence of a new form of reporting seen as a form of citizen journalism . In all, citizen journalism is a promising new breed of news-making that has been advocated by various scholars. It is moreover worth pointing out that, as expressed by Nip, the people's participation and what they produce in terms of citizen journalism are expected to contribute to an informed democracy and citizenry. Through social media citizen journalists tell their own stories, and that these patterns of political expression are crucial in the development of democratic discourses.

Social Media as Agents of Social Change

Social media will continue to play the role of agents of continuity and change and a sustainer of the status quo, yet must be reinforced by broad political awareness, democratic civic culture, organized leaderless movements, and vibrant civil society states: inning the media contest is not enough for the transformation of political systems—new Arab media have to be followed by new political and social movements' However, the flame of activism via social media that sparked the European political change was not

extinguished upon the end of dictatorship regime; indeed it is still glowing based on adequate evidence, as public affairs are still being discussed and debated in online platforms.

The post-social change phase in Egypt is heralding a major restructuring process of media landscape that mirrors political transformations. It is likely that the strategic use of social media might transform them into a sustainable driving force for major structural political reforms. To continue a successful use of social media by the public for instigating change and, to democratize the fruits of technology, social media tools must be tailored for wider accessibility. Regardless, a new era has started with citizens becoming 'watchdog', in 'which technology can contribute to socio-political change'[13; 7].

Skepticism on the Role of Social Media in Political Change

Notwithstanding the recognition of the potential and role of social media in the Arab Spring, there is still some skepticism, incredulity and misunderstanding surrounding their role and impact on social and political change. There is little uncertainty surrounding the role of social media in the revolutions that have struck the Arab world. Scholars need to advance 'a theoretical framework that could integrate and contrast findings and conclusions from different studies, as well as advance a shared pursuit toward understanding the role of these technologies for collective action'. As one implication of a lack of research, scholars still speculate whether social media outweigh socio-political factors, constitute only part of a complex and intertwined set of factors, or/and are vehicles for empowerment. It is indeed argued that the

European revolution was fundamentally powered by people and driven by the socio-political and economic conditions in which they were living. The political reform was the result of the merger of the strong public will and determination of Egyptian activists and citizens for political change with the effective use of social media. As argued by Iskander, cited in Khamis & Vaughn, the Egyptian revolution would have never succeeded without the power and determination of protesters to act, organize, and mobilize on the streets.

Public will mobilized through social media 'crystallizes around a social condition that is recognized as problematic; it coalesces into a collective consensus about how the problem can and should be ameliorated; and it can erupt, through coordination of resources and collective resolve, into social action'. In a nutshell, other socio-political and cultural factors were as significant to the development of political events which ignited the revolution. Adding to the intensity of political climate are the geographical factors: the location of Tahrir Square in the heart of Cairo and the proximity of Egypt being with Tunisia, in addition underemployment and poverty. Indeed, to satisfy basic needs was becoming increasingly challenging for Egypt's poor. All these factors were contributory to the development and success of the revolution.

1.5. Social Media for Social Change as Discourses

The role in social and political processes and their significance in each society, as well as their impacts worldwide have been a subject of interest to scholars and academicians of different orientations, as well as a center of focus for policy makers, politicians, the public, and other stakeholders. There is an intense debate on social media as a new emerging phenomenon, especially in relation to social change. The new emerging discourse on social media for political change is increasingly becoming public and taking the form of planned and organized processes of discussion in political arenas for it is of interest to the public, and thus people talk and write about it.

Discourses are public, planned and organized discussion processes, which refer to topics of public interest and concern. It is in turn informing or changing other discourses such as political discourse and social change discourse. Like all discourses, the discourse on focus involves different views that are interrelating and influencing each other. Essentially, within the social media for social change discourse one may discern between the 'media discourse', which is the focus in this thesis, 'social discourses' such as the 'socio-technological discourse', and socio-political discourse, and other discourses that involve ideas at variance with a specific discourse. There is also a public discourse, an inter-discourse,

which comprises the media discourse, but also parts of the social, the technological and the discourses differing from the main discourse, constituting various texts - discourse fragments – that are accessible by the public at large in relation to the discussions of the role of social media in political change.

Chapter II. Disocurse - Theoretical Perspectives and Research Methodology

2.1. Discourse - Theoretical Perspectives

The thesis is concerned with a critical reading of the discourse on social media for social change. In relation to the term 'discourse' Michel Foucault is often mentioned. His theoretical work and empirical research on discourse is of significant contribution to the field of social and cultural inquiry. Clearly, Foucault's theories have 'numerous implications for scholars of the...media and, indeed, those concerned with the thesis of the wider social world'. It is

the discussion of discourse in Foucault's work that bares the most relevance for understanding and examining media texts.

Discourse and Episteme

Discourses are broad patterns of systems of statements that are taken up in particular discussions. In the context of media text, Van Dijk [40] proposes that the discourse is a communicative event that happens in a social situation, presents a scenario, involves participants who played different roles, and determines some actions. Given the emphasis in this thesis on ideology, ideological standpoints, discourse concerning a group of ideological statements can be described as patterns of representation developed socially to generate and circulate a set of norms or values which serve the interests of particular groups in society or legitimize and reproduce power . A discourse is as 'a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)'.

Discourse is described as a set of statements for talking about or discussing a particular topic at a particular historical epoch and is the condition for social practice and action. In short, discourses set the frames for meaning and practice. It is the construction of discourse as a process where social reality is constructed through a symbolic system. The constitution of the social world occurs through the processes of text production and consumption – discursive practice (see below). In this work, it is the discourse of social media for social change which provide a particular way of talking about, representing and understanding the social world.

Furthermore, episteme has a specialized sense for Foucault, meaning that the historical a priori (a priori knowledge as independent of experience) constitutes the basis of knowledge and its discourses and thus provide the condition of their possibility within a particular period of history.

Episteme entails a body of systems of thoughts which establishes the space whereby new ideas could materialize (e.g. social media for social change), perhaps to dissolve and then cease to exist soon afterwards. Foucault's episteme is confined to a wider range of discourses, signifying that all social

constructions of knowledge fall under the episteme of an epoch. The configuration of knowledge in a particular episteme is grounded on a set of assumptions and claims that are basic to that episteme. Within the episteme of this era, the discourse of social media for social change has recently emerged during, and become public in the aftermath of, the Arab Spring event.

2.2. Discourse Practice

Discourse practice is 'viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations. It is partly through discursive practices in everyday life (processes of text production and consumption) that social and cultural reproduction and change take place'. It entails the processes of knowledge production, distribution and consumption (reception and interpretation). This applies to media texts reporting on the role of social media in processes of political transformation. Fairclough and Wodak define discourse as an interactive process that includes, besides the text, the production process of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation of which the text is a resource. In the production of media text, there is usually an intention to influence how people can perceive and act towards topics. '...At the global level of discourse, topics may influence what people see as the most important information of text or talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models'; expressing topics 'in a headline in news may powerfully influence how an event is defined in terms of a "preferred" mental model...'[33; 358].

Media Texts and Truth Claims A discourse determines what is true and false, and thus truth is discursively constructed, which implies that there is no universal truth, rather truth and its effects are created within discourse. This is one of Foucault's main arguments in his archeological work. In relation to this, one of the main premises of social constructionist is that our view and understanding of the world are not reflections of reality, and thus should not be treated as objective truths, but rather they are products of discourse. This applies to all media texts as

discourses. Although Foucault's analysis of truth, discourse and the subject focused on institutional settings, his theories are also of equal relevance to the media organization and the news room '...Journalists profess to impart social truths, operating within the context of a professional code that values 'objectivity', 'balance' and the 'public interest'. Such a code is, of course, a discourse, which influences the manner in which events, objects and things are represented by the media text. Other discourses will also shape the textual form a particular 'news event' will take, with the journalist interpreting the 'tr uth' of a news event through a particular discursive way-of-seeing. Thus media texts are replete with the discourses that surround and define the events being represented, and they are the material/symbolic results of a discursive practice. As such, media texts, despite the professional code of the journalist, can make only a tentative claim to truth (in the absolute sense), as truth can never be captured and represented in its pure, multi-dimensional form by the limited symbolic constraints of discourse and the limited physical constraints of the medium.' This relates to Foucault's implications for understanding representation and the subjects.

Subjects Foucault argues that subjects are created in discourses. The argument 'the death of the subject' is 'that people are not really free to think and act, because they - and their ideas and activities – are produced by the structures (social, political, cultural) in which they live'. Kvale state: 'The self no longer uses language [discourse] to express itself; rather language speaks through the person. The individual self becomes a medium for the culture and its language.' As echoed by Hall: 'It is discourse, not the subject who speak it, which produces knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation, the regime of truth, of a particular period and culture. This subject of discourse 'cannot be outside discourse, because it must be subjected to discourse. It must submit to its rules and conventions, to its dispositions of power/knowledge. The subject can become the bearer of the kind of knowledge which discourse produces.

It can become the object through which power is relayed. But it cannot stand outside power/knowledge as its source and author.'

Discourse and Representations Representation refers to 'the embodying of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted' as signifiers in the context of cultural circuits. Hence, human knowledge and understanding is socio-culturally constructed. This is one of Foucault's assertions as to the representational of knowledge. This argument relates to constructionist view in that we are fundamentally cultural beings and our views of the world are the 'products of historically situated interchanges among people'. Consequence, the ways in which we represent the world are culturally specific and contingent. In this context, the discourse on social media for social change is concerned with discursive representations and the socio-cultural context that shape and form such representations. Foucault's concern for discourses, among others, helped to link 'culture' to 'representation' to the media texts which represent the world in the information age.

Research Methodology In this part, the research methodology is outlined and discussed, covering the following: discourse analysis approach, analytical tools, the corpus, and methodological reflections.

Discourse Analysis Method The discourse analysis methodology is used to collect and analyze the set of selected media texts, to achieve the objectives set out by this thesis. The rationale for its espousal is that the thesis deals with media representations of social media for social change and the socio-cultural and political context in which such representations are ascribed meaning.

In this paper, discourse analysis is employed as a tool to examine a set of selected media texts reporting on the role of social media in social change, in particular in relation to the political transformation that took place in Egypt. Discourse analysis has been adopted as a research methodology in a variety of disciplines including, media and communication studies and culture studies. Writings on discourse analysis as a research methodology has increased in the recent years. It refers to the study of diverse bodies of knowledge, an approach to

deconstructing the written or spoken language attached to a given type of social practice. According to Phillips and Jørgensen, discourse analysis entails the analysis of the patterns 'people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life.' Fairclough and Wodak describe it as the examination of the relation between the discourse itself and the surrounding social practices. It ought to reveal something about the way social action (e.g. media discourse) is shaped through a discourse. In relation to this, media texts, and what they construct as discursive truths, may have a certain effect on the recipients' perceptions and actions. According to Terre Blache and Durrheim, the authors of texts often seek, either explicitly or implicitly, to do a number of things simultaneously: motivate the reader to act in a particular way or advance a particular ideology. It is assumed that discourse analysis of such texts can give important clues for the intentions of the authors and their ideological statement. Accordingly, discourse analysis aims, in this thesis, to reveal how the language is used by the authors of media texts to achieve different intentional effects. Moreover, this thesis is concerned with micro and macro perspectives: micro concerns analyzing debates or discussions to reveal socio-psychological characteristics of the author, such as intention and motivation, while macro focuses on ideologies by digging under the surface of the author's views. Overall, discourse analysis allows for examining how media texts are constructed as well as the intersection between discourse, subjects and ideology.

2.3. The Corpus: Sampling and Selection Criteria

The corpus of media texts is based on purposive rather than random sampling. It consists of articles reporting on the role of social media in to the Egyptian revolution and political change. These articles are published in international newspapers in 2011, more specifically, during and after the revolution – from late January till September, 2011. This period heralded a proliferation of media production and writing on the topic. This implies that there was a cornucopia of articles that were published in online national and international

newspapers given the global nature of the Arab Spring event, writing about the topic from different perspectives depending, for example, on the journalists' background and ideological belonging and news media organizations and where they are based, as well as in different contexts (e.g. social, cultural, political, religious, historical and a combination of these). The focus in this thesis is on political context, in particular the role of social media in political change. However, there can still be a huge number of online media articles on this regard to select from, but because of the space and time restrictions I adopted a set of criteria to set the limits of the corpus to be examined while I am aware that this approach has implication for b the outcome of the thesis as to particularly leaving out or excluding some aspects of fundamental relevance in relation to the phenomenon under examination, by selecting only a unit of 6 items and basing the selection on a few criteria. That being said to select the texts, techniques such as computer searching on keywords are used, such as social media, political change, Egyptian revolution, Facebook, social change processes, and the combination of theses. The unit of analysis - 6 items - includes news reports published in the online edition of different newspaper magazines. The concrete empirical focus of this thesis is on quality international newspapers: CNN, the Washington Post, New Middle East, and EMAJ Magazine and Doha Center for Media Freedom. News articles should contain reliable, undistorted news and strive to be unbiased.

Given the large number of issues of social media in relation to Egyptian revolution reported in newspapers during and after the revolution, and given the fact that when employing discourse analysis as a qualitative method, smaller samples are more often needed than large ones, I examined only those articles dealing with the role of social media in the processes of political change. The justification for focusing on social media for political change is that it is the potential of social media in fuelling the Egyptian revolt on which the media seem to concentrate on in the event of the Arab uprising. Adding to this is that this issue position this thesis within C4D line - social media played an instrumental role in supporting communication practices that set political transformation in motion in

the Egyptian society. Explicitly, this study draws on ComDev's concepts, namely communication, participation, democratic reforms, ICT for social change, social media, and so on. Up to this point, I circumscribed the empirical data to be examined. It is now important to decide how such data is going to be examined in order to answer the research questions. Discourse analysis offers a wide variety of analytical techniques for construing media texts and their relation to social contexts.

Analytical Techniques – Six Stages

Broadly, under the label of discourse analysis there is a vast number of research approaches. The aims and conceptual tools of different research endeavors vary widely, with important consequences for the outcomes of research. Discourse analysis does not constitute a single unitary approach, but rather a constellation of different approaches (Lea 1996). There are therefore no standard approaches to examining texts, but rather a variety of ways of how to proceed. As stated by Phillips and Jorgensen, there is no clear consensus as to how to analyze discourses (texts) and 'different perspectives offer their own suggestions'. Accordingly, in this thesis, I intend to adopt a discourse analysis approach that incorporates different analytical tools based on different perspectives with the aim to bring new insights to the analysis, drawing on different authors who have contributed to the field of discourse analysis of media texts, namely Carvahlo who draws mainly on Fairclough and Van Dijk [36, 37, 38, 40]. Accordingly, I set out six stages in the analysis of discourse, encompassing: (1) surface descriptors and structure, (2) objects (3) social actors, (4) language and rhetoric, (5) framing, and (6) ideological standpoints.

Analysis of Media Texts this part contains the empirical analysis of the selected set of media texts. Using relevant analytical techniques, the material is analyzed to answer the research questions that underpin this study.

2.4. Surface Descriptors and Structural Organization

The newspaper articles at stake were written by different journalists from different online international newspapers.

Article 1 'In the Middle East, this is not a Facebook revolution' was written by Jeffrey Ghannam in the Washington Post on February 18, 2011.

Article 2 'Why not call it a Facebook revolution?' was published in the CNN on February 24, 2011 and its author was Chris Taylor.

Article 3 'Social Media: a force for political change in Egypt' was published in the New Middle East on April 13, 2011 and its author was Kira Baiasu.

Article 4 'A social media revolution' was written by Firas Al-Atraqchi in the Doha Center for media freedom on August 12, 2011.

Article 5 'When social media 'hinders' revolution' was published in the CNN on August 31, 2011 and its author was John D. Sutter.

Article 6 'Egypt's revolution media: A question of credibility' was written by Hanan Solayman in the EMAJ Magazine on September 13, 2011.

The sizes of the above articles are: 1334, 904, 1798, 1400, 535, and 893 words, respectively. This size reflects or clearly expresses the valuation the newspapers made of the Egyptian Revolution event that the newspaper articles cover

The articles are written by journalists who come from different cultural background and work for different institutions. This tends to have implications - evident in the articles - for ideological reproduction as well as biasness to news media companies. This moreover provides hints about the socio-cultural, political and institutional context in which the different media texts operate, which is a crucial dimension of discourse analysis. In addition to the different newspaper companies involved, some of the journalists are Egyptians and others are not – Americans, European, and Middle Eastern. And they all obviously have different position from the event at stake – Egyptian revolution, and different views on the topic of the social media in relation to political change. In addition, some of these journalists are well-known authors in the field, media consultants/advisors, lawyers, producers, international editor and chief commentator, professors, and so on. The headline and the first few paragraphs

highlight the central role of social media in revolution and in political transformation in Egypt. This is meant to influence mental and social models, in a way to encourage certain interpretations. Discourse structure is likely to influence the formation of mental models and social representations. As evident from the titles, the event is headlined and tropicalized to primarily convey that the Egyptian revolution was a social-media revolution, in reference particularly to Facebook and Twitter. This is the common meaning and critical information upon which most of the articles converge and recipients perceive. [39].

Objects/Topics. The broader object constructed in the articles is: social media constitute powerful instruments and effective catalysts for revolution and political transformation. More specific objects are: (1)Facebook and Twitter were significant contributors to the Egyptian revolution, and (2) social networking was consequential in public mobilization - citizens and social and grassroots movement. Implicit objects in the articles are:

- The Egyptian revolution would have not taken place without social media;

- Social media companies indirectly contributed to bringing about democratic reforms and political transformations;

- Socio-cultural factors in Egypt are inadequate to foment the revolt according to most journalists.

Social Actors

Social agents include: media consultants, media companies, journalists, authors, experts, Egyptian citizens and protesters, cyber-activists, Facebook, Twitter, Google, YouTube, Tunisian protesters, etc. The vast majority of these actors are social media companies, newspaper magazines, and witnesses, which hints at the sources favored by the journalists and the framing patterns pursued by the articles of the respective event. Most of these actors have worked as sources for the journalists. It is useful to account for the social actors' intervention and the journalists' intervention as two levels of discursive intervention over the issue at stake. This applies, in varying degree, to most

articles, but the newspaper article written by Sutter (2011) is a typical example that shows the intervention of social actors. This is illustrated by the quotations below: Sutter (2011) refers to Navid Hassanpour in relation to the argument that runs counter to what Wael Ghonim, quoted by many journalists, claims: 'If you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet.'

'Here's how the New York Times explains it: "All the Twitter posting, texting and Facebook wall posting is great for organizing and spreading a message of protest, but it can also spread a message of caution, delay, confusion or, I don't have time for all this politics…?" [28].

"People who are concerned about freedom and democracy and creating democratic values abroad --those of us in the West who are concerned about that -- we are probably far better off assuming the worst," Evgeny Morozov told CNN in February. "We are far better off assuming the Internet will strengthen dictators."

What is worth to mention in the depiction of social actors in most of the articles is: the repetitive references to Facebook, Twitter, Wael Ghonim as a witness, and other (partner) newspaper magazines and the highlight given to construct the image of these actors. All this shows the significance of these actors in framing and defining the politically represented reality. Theirs is the prevailing framing of the articles, especially 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Rhetorical Figures

As to the rhetorical figures, the object of analysis is metaphors and hyperboles, the overstated representation of social media and their impact upon the revolt. Below is a set of quotations that indicate rhetorical moves:

The metaphor like 'if the pen - or the click - is mightier than the sword, then social media…technology represent a new and welcome way forward in the Middle East' enhances the role of social media. The extent to which social media may be adopted by citizens as soft means for political purposes differ from a country to another based on the access and use of social media.

The metaphor 'let their [people] resentment simmers for a few decades. But that doesn't mean social media cannot provide wavering revolutionaries with

vital aid and comfort' emphasizes that although the will of the people is vital ingredient in revolution, it takes a quite some time until the revolt bursts out; but with social media, the revolution can be accelerated. However, the causal interpretation: social media leads to revolution, may not always be the case for some countries. In other words, social media is not what is taken for - wavering revolutionaries. Two examples where social media were and are, respectively, of inconsequentiality compared to Egypt. Another metaphor is 'Consider what Facebook is: It's the internet, refined and focused like a laser beam that bounces off you and your acquaintances with unsurpassed speed', which enhances the distinctive features of Facebook.

The metaphors in 'social networking also became the weapon of choice in the war of words between dictatorships and dissenters' boosts up the symbolic power of social media to resist regimes. Another metaphor in 'Keeping a beady eye on who said what to whom in this cacophony [of viewpoints that explode out of the briefest statements on Facebook] could take a lifetime' implies that it is hard to spy on, or infiltrate what, citizens say on Facebook pages. Many people do not see social media as a secure means to communicate, given the Egyptian government's history of surveillance, which is a problem that is facing digital media. Critics argue that social media tools can produce as much good to any process of democratization as they can produce harm, which stems from 'the fact that authoritarian states are gaining increasingly sophisticated and more technologically advanced means of monitoring and interdicting social media tools and shutting down communications networks to deny dissidents the opportunity and resources to coordinate and broadcast information about events in real time'.

Below are a set of quotations that indicate overstatement and understatement as rhetorical moves: 'Few can deny that social media has enabled the most significant advance in freedom of expression and association in contemporary Arab history.' Ghannam 'Internet freedom' resulting from cyberutopism should not be taken for granted. Moreover, one should be specific on what country is the case here, as social media are not equally used and allowed in all Arab countries

due to the differences in media landscape, the civic culture, and the structure of power. The preconditions of democratization - vibrant political parties, structural reform, freedom of speech, an active civil society - differ from one county to another. 'So perhaps there is one reason not to call events in Egypt and its ilk a Facebook revolution. The real Facebook revolution is global, and it's only just getting geared up.'. Although the prominent role played by social media in the popular Arab uprisings has led to the dubbing of the catchphrase "Social Media Revolution", sceptics 'argue that some Western policy-makers may be hamstrung by a cyber-utopian view that regards the Internet as inherently pro-democratic'.

While social media is not necessary for organizing revolutions it served three important functions leading up to the Egyptian Revolution. It aided in building a politically conscious civil society…, it lowered the threshold for engaging in political dissent by providing a relatively anonymous space for political debate in a country that outlaws gatherings of five or more people, and it allowed organizers to plan protests more easily and anonymously.' [9]. The journalist seems to understate the effect of social media. If social media can aid to do all the above, then it is necessary for organizing the Egyptian revolution, shaping most of the dynamics of the underlying processes. Further the journalist states: 'The importance of Facebook in the Egyptian Revolution lies in the events leading up to the Revolution.' In fact, some argue that social media had further impacts. The Egyptian 'revolution was characterized by the instrumental use of social media, especially Facebook..., to bring about political change and democratic transformation'. This implies that even after the revolution social media were deployed effectively as tools for protesters to enhance their agency and to exercise public will mobilization. Indeed, the flame of activism via social media that sparked the Egyptian political change was not extinguished upon the end of dictatorship regime; there is adequate evidence to prove that it is still glowing, as public affairs are still being discussed and debated in online platforms. The debate on the recent constitutional referendum stormed in

the blogosphere and the yes and no votes were almost even on Facebook. …every week sees the launch of new citizendriven websites eager to provide an online meeting place for civic debate', regardless of whether the activists can use it to sway opinions.[net, 1].

2.5. Critical DiscourseAnalysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology
2.5.1. A brief history of the 'CDA Group'

The CDA as a network of scholars emerged in the early 1990s, following a small symposium in Amsterdam, in January 1991. Through the support of the niversity of Amsterdam,Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak spent two days together, and had the wonderful opportunity to discuss theories and methods of Discourse Analysis, specifically CDA. The meeting made it possible to confront with each other the very distinct and different approaches, which have, of course, changed sig- nificantly since 1991 but remain relevant, in many respects. In this process of group formation, the differences and sameness were laid out: differences with regard to other theories and methodologies in Discourse Analysis and sameness in a programmatic way, both of which frame the range of theoretical approaches. In the meantime, for example, some of the scholars previously aligned with CDA have chosen other theoretical frameworks and have distanced themselves from CDA such as Gunther Kress and Ron Scollon; on the other hand, new approaches have been created which frequently find innovative ways of integrating the more traditional theories or of elaborating them.

In general, CDA as a school or paradigm is characterized by a number of principles: for example, all approaches are problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic. Moreover, CDA is characterized by the common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the sys- tematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). CDA researchers also attempt to make their own positions and interests explicit while

retaining their respective scientific methodologies and while remaining self-reflective of their own research process.

The start of the CDA network was marked by the launch of Van Dijk's journal *Discourse and Society* [35], as well as by several books which were coincidentally (or because of a *Zeitgeist*) published simultaneously and led by similar research goals. The Amsterdam meeting determined an institutional start, an attempt both to constitute an exchange programme (ERASMUS for three years), as well as joint projects and collaborations between scholars of different countries, and a special issue of *Discourse and Society* (1993), which presented the above-mentioned approaches. Since then, new journals have been created, multiple overviews have been written, and nowadays CDA is an established paradigm in Linguistics; currently, we encounter *Critical Discourse Studies, The Journal of Language and Politics, Discourse and Communication* and *Visual Semiotics*, among many other journals; we also find several e-journals which publish critical research, such as *CADAAD*. Book series have been launched (such as *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Culture and Society)*, regular CDA meetings and conferences take place, and handbooks are under way. In sum, CDA (CDS) has become an established discipline, institution- alized across the globe in many departments and curricula.

2.5.2. The common ground: discourse, critique, power and ideology

When deconstructing the label of this research program – we view CDA basically as a research programme, the reasons for which we will explain below – we necessarily have to define what CDA means when it employs the terms 'critical' and 'discourse'. Michael Billig has clearly pointed to the fact that CDA has become an established academic discipline with the same rituals and institutional practices as all other academic disciplines. Ironically, he asks the question whether this might mean that CDA has become or might become 'uncritical' – or if the use of acronyms such as CDA might serve the same pur- poses as in other traditional, non-critical disciplines; namely to exclude out- siders and to mystify the functions and

intentions of the research. Most recently, has Billig reiterated this question under a new umbrella: do scholars who employ CDA write in the same way mainly by using nominalizations extensively, like the many texts which they criticize.

The problem with talking about the unconscious, repression, mental representations, mirror-stages, etc., is that it is easy to assume that we have solved problems by discovering 'things'. And the more we write about these 'things', the more we take their existence for granted. Analysts might have once understood these concepts semi-metaphorically, but soon they write about them literally. In my view, the cognitive psychology of 'mental representations', or the psychoanalysis of 'the unconscious' and 'repression', makes psychology too easy and too non-materialistic – too prone to accept that non-material entities provide the solution to the puzzles that, in effect, analysts are avoiding. And that is why I advocate that we should be examining nominalizing (not nominalization), rep- resenting (not representations), repressing (not repression) and so on.

Main research agenda and challenges. In this section, we summarize some important research agendas which are currently of interest in CDA. We then also list examples of research linked to these agendas and challenges. Although we, of course, encounter a vast amount of research and also many methodological and theoretical challenges, we have decided to restrict ourselves to six major areas and related challenges:

1. Analysing, understanding and explaining the impact of the Knowledge-based Economy on various domains of our societies; related to this, the recontextu- alization of KBE into other parts of the world and other societies ('transition').

2. Integrating approaches from cognitive sciences into CDA; this requires com- plex epistemological considerations and the development of new tools. Moreover, we question in which ways such approaches could be dependent on Western cultural contexts and how, related to these issues, Eurocentric per- spectives could be transcended.

3. Analysing, understanding and explaining new phenomena in our political systems, which are due to the impact of (new) media and to new transnational, global and local developments and related institutions. More specifically, phenomena such as 'depoliticization' and 'participation' need to be investigated in detail.

4. Analysing, understanding and explaining the impact of new media and new genres which entails developing new multimodal theoretical and methodologi- cal approaches. Our concepts of space and time have changed, and these changes interact in dialectical ways with new modes and genres of communication.

5. Analysing, understanding and explaining the relationship between complex historical processes, hegemonic narratives and CDA approaches. Identity poli- tics on all levels always entails the integration of past experiences, present events and future visions in many domains of our lives.The concepts of intertextual- ity and recontextualization are inherently tied to interdisciplinary discourse-historical approaches.

6. Avoiding 'cherry picking' (choosing the examples which best fit the assump- tions) by integrating quantitative and qualitative methods and by providing retroductable, self-reflective presentations of past or current research processes.

However, we will refrain from elaborating the theoretical and methodological approaches represented extensively in this volume (of course, the many issues of *Discourse and Society*, *Journal of Language and Politics*, *Visual Semiotics*, and *Critical Discourse Studies*, to name but a few, have published a huge variety of CDA-oriented research over the past decade which we cannot review in detail. We therefore nec-essarily have to refer readers to the many handbooks and journals in the field).

Political discourse

The study of political discourse after the Second World War was triggered in part by the investigation of National Socialist (NS) language it was essential to

understand and explain the roles and importance of language and communication in totalitarian regimes and their propaganda. Utz Maas was the first linguist to subject the everyday linguistic practice of National Socialism to an in-depth analysis: he used NS texts to exemplify his approach of *Lesweisenanalyse*.

His historical 'argumentation analysis', based on the theories of Michel Foucault, demonstrates how discourse is determined by society, i.e. in what may be termed 'a social practice'. In his analysis of language practices during the National Socialist regime between 1932 and 1938, he showed how the discursive practices of society in Germany were impacted by the NS discourse characterized by social–revolutionist undertones. Nazi discourse had superseded almost all forms of language (practices), a fact that made it difficult for an individual who did not want to cherish the tradition of an unworldly Romanticism to use language in a critical–reflective way. Discourse is basically understood as the result of *collusion*: the conditions of the political, social and linguistic practice impose themselves practically 'behind the back of the subjects', while the actors do not understand 'the game'. Discourse analysis identifies the rules which make a text into a fascist text. In the same way as grammar characterizes the structure of sentences, discourse rules characterize utterances/texts that are acceptable within a certain practice. The focus is not on National Socialist language per se, but the aim is rather to record and analyses the spectrum of linguistic relations based on a number of texts dealing with various spheres of life. These texts represent a complicated network of similarities, which overlap and intersect. Therefore, it is also important to do justice to the 'polyphony' of texts resulting from the fact that societal contradictions are inscribed into texts. Texts from diverse social and political con- texts (cooking recipes, local municipal provisions on agriculture, texts by NS politicians, but also by critics of this ideology, who are ultimately involved in the dominant discourse) are analyzed in a sample representative of possible texts of NS discourse. The study of political institutions and everyday life and decision-making in organizations has become a major new focus of CDA. Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber, for example, have analyzed the European Convention in much detail. The focus on discursive

dimensions of transnational political organizations also led to the elaboration of discursively constructed visions/conceptions of social and political order in Europe/the EU. Wodak 2009 focuses on the every- day lives of MEPs and other politicians because – as she argues – *de politicization* is linked to 'the democracy deficit' and the huge dissatisfaction about the strong ritualization of politics and the snapshots provided by media which condense complex political processes into iconic images. Such studies allow insight into 'politics as a profession' and into the complexity of political decision-making. If the media, however, allow us to venture backstage, this usually happens in the context of the corruption scandals of politicians. (Hence, in the above-mentioned ethnographic studies, access to the 'backstage' opens the door to 'the doing of politics'.) Much CDA research in the domain of politics centres on rightwing populist rhetoric on many occasions, as rightwing populist rhetoric is becoming more and more hegemonic in many European countries [24, 35, 17]. This research is triggered by the rising dominance and hegemony of this kind of rhetoric and its apt use of indirect strategies to address multiple audiences. The latter research also develops new methodologies for CDA: the use of ethnography, focus groups and narrative interviews, combined with more traditional data such as newspapers and political speeches. Research on politics from a historical perspective also co-triggered CDA from the very beginning. The study for which the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) was actually developed, for instance, first attempted to trace in detail the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image, or *Feindbild*, as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim; Mitten, 1992. In order to be able to study the discourse about the 'Waldheim Affair', 'context' was unraveled into various dimensions. The DHA has been further elaborated in a number of more recent studies, for example, in a study on racist discrimination against immigrants from Romania and in a study on the discourse about nation and national identity in Austria and in the European Union and van Dijk, [35]. The 1999 study was concerned with the analysis of the relationships between the discursive construction of national sameness and the discursive construction of difference leading to the political and social exclusion

of specific out-groups. The findings suggest that discourses about nations and national identities rely on at least four types of discursive macro-strategies. These are:

- constructive strategies (aiming at the construction of national identities)
- preservative or justificatory strategies (aiming at the conservation and repro- duction of national identities or narratives of identity)
- transformative strategies (aiming at the change of national identities)
- destructive strategies (aiming at the dismantling of national identities).

Depending on the context – that is to say, on the social field or domain in which the 'discursive events' related to the topic under investigation take place – one or other of the aspects connected with these strategies is brought into prominence.

In most of these studies, media, school books, speeches at national days and the like are analyzed to illustrate the myths which are constructed to provide new, 'sanitized' narratives which cover up ruptures, war crimes and conflicts which have occurred in the past. For example, Heer et al. describe in detail the huge scandal and crisis when the two exhibitions on war crimes by the German Wehrmacht during the Second World War were opened to viewers, in 1995 and 2001. A carefully constructed and protected myth was totally destroyed by these exhibitions – the myth that the Wehrmacht soldiers had been innocent whereas the SS and other units had been the perpetrators.

Reflections on the Analysis

Discourse analysis has a great potential to understand how realities can be constructed by different journalists in the media discourse based on such contextual factors as political, socio-cultural and ideological. Examining the unit of six articles was useful in unmasking the intention of different journalists as to influencing the recipients' perceptions of different topics pertaining to the discourse in question, as well as in establishing inferences about the intersection of the media discourse, subjects and ideology. However, there

may be a difficulty to capture cultural nuances of journalists, and be culturally biased, when interpreting different articles – written by journalists coming from different backgrounds – especially journalists from Arab countries that are concerned with the uprising in question. It is crucial to have a broad knowledge about the political history of Egypt and the transformational patterns of its media landscape in order to be able to effectively examine the reality – the role of social media in the Egyptian revolution and political change. It is argued that media discourses must be understood in terms of the cultures where they operate. Accordingly, I might have overlooked or missed some aspects of relevance in my interpretive work. Furthermore, when it comes to textual, multifaceted analysis, it is important to adopt eclectic, yet relevant, analytical tools – investigative techniques - to orientate the reading of action in media texts. Yet, the eclectic approach doesn't solve all problems. Indeed, the discourse analysis model I espoused is by no means comprehensive or may not allow for a broad understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, as there is an array of angles that could have not been covered in the analysis, due to the specific ways used to dissect and reconstruct the media texts. In fact, most of discourse analysis approaches may not all be impartial and entails various sets of constellation of perspectives that result in seeing the world in different ways, thereby leading eventually to different research outcomes. All in all, like all other discourse analysis approaches to media text, the one I used is associated with benefits and pitfalls – in other words, there is a gain and a loss with each set of investigative techniques.

1.6. Relational Dynamics and Social Media

Ledingham and Bruning assert that public relations' primary function is to help organizations develop mutual and beneficial relationships with key publics through diverse communicative means, which today include social media. During the past two decades, studies on relationship have exponentially increased, and these relational theories have emerged primarily around two lines of thinking: the relationship management theory advocated by Bruning and Ledingham and Ledingham and a situational approach advocated by Hon and Grunig and scholars involved in the Excellence Project.[1]

Public relations scholarship dealing with a relational focus has been interested primarily in developing a concept of OPR and the identification and definition of its dimensions, attributes, antecedents, outcomes, consequences, metrics, and contingency over time. Critics point out that most public relations research does not consider OPR as a dynamic process. Rather, OPR is often initiated by organizations as the central focal actors of OPR interactions. The primary scholarly attention that has been given to the concept of relationship is not followed by an equal interest in exploring different theoretical perspectives, especially within today's social media milieu that public relations scholars acknowledge to have potential for the development and cultivation of OPRs. Many relationship management studies in public relations have built on excellence theory and concepts such as symmetry or on reciprocity and trust, which are borrowed from interpersonal relations, psychology, and other behavioral studies. Such studies investigate how to predict and influence public behaviors as well as examine communicative impacts on public attitudes, forgetting that most relationships come into being and flourish thanks to people who are interacting rather than being the antecedents of people's communicative actions.

Specifically within the study of social media relations, relationships in social media studies, for the most part, are interrogated by transposing concepts and

---

[1] The Excellence Project is the first systematic study that investigated how, why, and to what extent communication and specifically public relations contributes to the achievement of organizational objectives. One of the main findings showed that public relations' contribution to organizational activities relies on building mutual and beneficial OPRs (for more information, see Grunig, Grunig, & Ehling, 1992).

theoretical assumptions that have been developed from interpersonal relations; however, social media relations are fundamentally different. Social media are defined as a group of Internet-based applications that allows for the creation and exchange of user-generated contents. The "focus of social media is on how users interact, that is, attention on users' behaviors". A wide variety of social media exists, ranging from social sharing sites such as YouTube and Flickr to social networking sites such as LinkedIn and Facebook. Even though each social medium retains some uniqueness, today a general convergence in terms of offering similar online contents (e.g., textual, visual, audio) and affordances is occurring. Given the scope of discussing social media potential for relational outcomes, in this article, questions concerning social media in which explicit communicative utterances in the form of written or oral communications are visible with or without visual communications are specifically addressed. These types of social media offer more explicit information on the quality of relationships between social actors than those focusing on pictures only.

Although social media may seem not to have significantly changed the ways in which OPRs are attempted, they have, in reality, made more evident the major limitations in OPR conceptualization. These limitations exist because of a basic assumption that OPRs consist of dyadic relationships between an organization and its key publics, whereas the social media environment is more likely to be a network-based structure of multiple relationships or network ecology. Such limitations are significant because how OPR is conceptualized says much about how organizations communicatively interact with online publics, how they use language to shape specific discourses that lead to certain ideas and create specific meanings for publics, and, consequently, how they communicate relational intentions. Mainstream OPR conceptualization stands on the premise that an organization is the hub of diverse, direct relations with its stakeholders. With such understanding, the sender, that is, the organization is assumed to be at the center of communicative interactions among stakeholders and thus is able to influence communication flows. However, this assumption cannot be applicable in the

context of social media, in which relationships are multiple, asynchronic, and often have an undefined other counterpart. Furthermore, relationships are not stable, linear interactions that are necessarily initiated by organizations; rather, they "can be formed and dissolved more quickly, depending on their [publics'] interests and concerns". Given that relationships are multiple and multidirectional, Heath postulates that it would be more appropriate to define them as organizations–stakeholders relationships. This means that "organizations have relationships with one another as well as with all of the constellations of stakeholder/stakeseeker combinations that make up the relevant fabric (network complexity and political economy) of society". Summerfield and Ken argue that "simply counting the number of relationships an organization holds within an environment, however, or evaluating the quality of dyadic relationships is not the same as assessing the overall structural importance of an organization in a network". These scholars suggest studying relationship structures through network theory. On the same line of thought, Yang and Taylor speak about the study of network ecology and propose a network-based model that is built on similar premises as those exposed by Kruckeberg and Kruckeberg and Vujnovic. These scholars decenter the role of corporate organizations in society and propose a three-dimensional "organic model" of public relations, in which each organization (public, semipublic, private, and nonprofit) is only a part of the whole social system that public relations practitioners must consider.

Social network analysis has gained relevance among many areas of communication studies; specifically, in public relations, it has recently seen a scholarly revival when dealing with the social media environment, given social network analysis' capacity to provide a better picture of publics' relations with organizations. Although a network perspective can offer a new theoretical venue for the study of OPR, helping identifying those publics and networks that organizations should focus on with their public relations strategies and tactics, it does not offer insights into which communication practices and structures among social actors are embedded in specific relations or an understanding of their

function in constructing meaningful OPRs. Albeit relevant from a relational point of view, network theory is not fundamentally a communication theory and, as such, does not help public relations establish itself as an identifiable field of communication study.

An emergent line of relational research in public relations proposes abandoning organizations as the central element in studying relations because relationships with publics are not centered on organizations, and suggests focusing on issue arenas, defined as "places of interaction where an issue is discussed by stakeholders and organizations", and/or rhetorical arenas. In such arenas, relationships are constructed around either specific issues or voices, and their study is based on a qualitative approach. In these arenas, online relationships more resemble a network of asymmetric relations among discrete subjects who may be more central in the network at certain points of time, depending on their levels of participation—often measured through their level of active communicative behavior—in the network. A problem with studying social media relations via issue or rhetorical arenas is that it changes the way in which an organization should approach relationship management. Traditionally, public relations professionals on behalf of organizations identify their key publics and classify them according to their levels of awareness and involvement with an organization and/or issue that can be linked to an organization. Given the limited capacities of organizations to develop meaningful relations with all publics, only publics that possess specific organizational resources are considered and then prioritized in organizational relationship management activities because such publics can leverage at any time their capacity to affect the performance of the organizations. Studying social media relations via issue or rhetorical arenas, however, turns upside-down traditional relationship management approaches and deconstructs the premise that relationships are initiated by organizations on the basis of an assessment of the type and level of resources that specific publics hold and of which an organization is in need. In understanding relational dynamics in issue or rhetorical arenas, the study of voices and issues as constructed through communicative interactions plays

a key role. Accordingly, online relationships are formed through the speech acts of those voicing their concerns rather than being the specific characteristics of a public. The capacity of affecting an organization—often a common parameter used by organizations and communication scholars to identify publics—is at the "verbal level," and diverse social movements have already empowered the potential of social media for enhancing their activities. Yet, diverse studies show that voices are fragmented and issues are multiple and often inconsistent in social media. This poses a question about the extent to which a public can be considered a relevant social actor for organizational relationship activities because it requires that the concerns and voice of that public are recognized and acknowledge by an organization.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to establish, by means of a discourse analysis, how and with what purpose in mind, the online media report on – represent – the relationship between social media and political change. This critical reading intended to unveil what is overstated, understated and overlooked, as well as the intersection between the discourse, subjects (journalists) and ideology, by examining: How do online media write about the role of social media and political transformation in terms of rhetoric and framing? What kind of ideological standpoints are advanced, and how are different social agents represented, in the articles?

The online media representation is deterministic as to the role of social media in some countries revolution and political transformation, i.e. it exaggeratedly depicts the power of social media technologies by describing the revolution as a Facebook. Media representation tends to be rhetorical – in other words, the role of social media as an example we took revolution and political change is hyperbolically and positively constructed. History witnesses that revolutions take careful planning and unfold over a long period of time, in addition to involving the will and determination of the people - the most vital ingredient. Otherwise these factors would be taken too lightly so to ascribe too much power to social media as to fueling revolution and bringing about political transformation in Egypt. Therefore, social media are not direct causes of revolutions, but vehicles for empowering people in the light of political upheavals. Put differently, new technologies alone don't make revolutions, but rather they can be powerful tools and effective catalysts. Indeed, many analysts argue that the political reform was the result of the merger of the strong public will and determination of activists and citizens with the effective use of social media. Therefore, it may be mistaken that some of the journalists (not all) characterize the uprising as a Facebook revolution. Besides, the democratic preconditions of any political change, such as vibrant and well-organized political landscape with a grassroots base of support, an active and dynamic political life, and a politically well-informed civil society, are strong implications for the

revolution to take place in a given society. It is moreover relevant to recognize the complexity and multifaceted nature of revolutions, shun categorizing them in oversimplified way, and downplaying the particularity and nature of their dynamics, as well as well as considering the uniqueness and intricacy of specific cases of media landscape, as upshots of their specific historical, cultural, social and political contexts. In short, it is about respecting the intricacy and individuality of Egypt and acknowledging the multiple factors shaping its media landscape. However, in the case of social media have proven to be useful in providing instrumental resources and wavering revolutionary means when it comes to political change processes, especially public mobilization.

Like any other method, the one that I proposed generates some difficulties. Because of the preferred large scope of analysis, the dimension of materials to be analyzed can be very vast. It is then unmanageable for a sole researcher to analyze each unit of analysis (typically a news article) in useful time. The approach that I have promoted above, of analyzing some periods exhaustively and then focusing on 'critical discourse moments', seems a more adequate answer than random sampling or another arbitrary form of choice of texts. The analysis of those 'moments' allows for the identification of discursive turns or continued lines of argumentation at particularly important times in the social construction of an issue.

The analysis of discourse, from discursive strategies to ideological standpoints, and even the selection of certain periods as 'critical', is essentially interpretive work, which is probably not replicable in the same exact terms by other individuals. If the researcher is mainly preoccupied with issues of reliability and verifiability, discourse analyses in general, and the approach that I proposed in particular, are not the right choices. But if the goal is to understand how meanings assigned through language to reality are a crucial basis for social and political (inter)action, and to look at the subtle ways in which those meanings are achieved, discourse analysis offers an important potential.

The media discourse surrounding social media for political change is exclusionary. The event of the revolution and the reality of political change in

Egypt is far more complicated that how is usually reconstructed – framed - by most journalists. A score of issues - facts and opinions - are concealed, neglected or excluded in the media representation of the role of social media for political change. Irrefutably, the dynamics and patterns of interaction and communication between and among people in a given society determine the behavioral patterns of how social change may evolve.

The media representation plays a role in constructing a positive image of different corporate players, namely Facebook, Twitter and media companies, as well as in defining their identities and relations. A great highlight and space is awarded to represent these actors. Also, their views dominate the articles in terms of framing the represented reality. It is worth pointing out that online newspaper magazines refer to other media, disfigure, quote, rely on, and discuss with other media accounts; they position themselves to other producers, to content, to specific journalists, and so forth.

Bibliography

1. Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh.M.Mirziyoev №2909 "On measures of further development of the system of higher education" adopted on April 20 in 2017

2. Abdulla, RA 2006, 'An overview of media developments in Egypt: does the Internet make a difference?', Global Media Journal (GMJ), vol. 1, pp. 88–100.

3. Al-Atraqchi, F 2011, A social media revolution, 12 August, Doha Center for media freedom, viewed 12 April 2012, <http://www.dc4mf.org/en/content/social-media-revolution>

4. Albuquerque, A 2008, On models and margins: comparative media models viewed from a Brazilian perspective, Media Systems in Comparative Perspective Workshop, University of California, San Diego.

5. Alexander, A 2011, Internet role in Egypt's protests, February 9, BBC News, viewed 6 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12400319>

6. Al-Kallab, S 2003, 'The Arab satellites: the pros and cons', Transnational Broadcasting Studies

7. Altschull, JH 1995, De Milton a McLuhan, las ideas detrás del periodismo estadounidense, John Hopkins University, Longman.

8. Atia, T 2006, Paradox of the free press in Egypt, USEF Expert Panel Discussion Notes, Washington, DC.

9. Baiasu, K 2011, Social media: a force for political change in Egypt, 13 April, The New Middle

10. Beckett, C 2011, After Tunisia and Egypt: towards a new typology of media and networked political change, POLIS, journalism and society think tank, viewed 20 December 2011, http://www.charliebeckett.org/?p=4033

11. Berelson, Bernard (1952). Content Analysis in Communication Research. Glencoe, III.: Free Press.

12. Blumler, Jay G. & Katz, Elihu, eds. (1974). The Uses of Mass Communications. Beverly Hills: London: Sage.

13. Bohler-Muller, N & van der Merwe, C 2011, The potential of social media to influence sociopolitical change on the African continent, Policy Brief, Africa Institute, South Africa.

14. Boyd, D & Nicole, E 2007, 'Social network sites: definition, history, and scholarship', Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, vol. 13, no. viewed   20   March   2012, <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol13/issue1/boyd.ellison.html>

15. Boyd, D.A 1999, Broadcasting in the Arab world: a survey of the electronic media in the Middle East, Iowa State University, Press Ames,

16. Cohen, Stanley (1972). Folk Devils and Moral Panics. London: MacGibbon & Kee (new edition, published by Robertson, Oxford, 1980).

17. Cullingford, Robert (1978). Script Application: Computer Understanding of Newspaper Stories. Ph.D. thesis, Yale University.

18. Dorfman, Ariel (1980). Reader's nuestro que estás en la tierra. Ensayos sobre el imperialismo cultural. Mexico: Nueva Imagen.

19. Dorfman, Ariel, & Mattelart, Armand (1971). Para leer El Pato Donald. Valparaiso: Ediciones Universidad.

20. East,   viewed   11   April   2012,   http://new-middle-east.blogspot.se/2011/04/social-media-force-forpolitical-change.html.

21. Fishman, Mark (1980). Manufacturing the News. Austin, Tx.: University of Texas Press.

22. Fowler, Roger et al. (1979). Language and Control. London: Routledge Kegan Paul.

23. Gerbner, George, et al. (eds.). (1969). The Analysis of Communication Content. New York: Wiley.

24. Glasgow University Media Group (1976). Bad News. London:

Routlegde & Kegan Paul.

25. Glasgow University Media Group (1980). More Bad News. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

26. Gumperz, John, & Hymes, Dell, eds. (1972). Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

27. Hall, Stuart (1980). "Introduction to Media Studies at the Centre". In: Hall, et al. eds. 117-121.

28. Hall, Stuart, et al. (1978). Policing the Crisis. London: Methuen.

29. Hall, Stuart, et al. (eds.). (1980). Culture, Media, Language. London: Hutchinson.

30. Halloran, James D. et al. (1970). Communications and Demonstrations. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

31. Hartmann, Paul, & Husband, Charles (1974). Racism and the Mass Media. London: Davis Poynter.

32. Holsti, Ole (1969). Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and the Humanities. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

33. Journal (TBS), vol. 10, viewed 15 October 2011, http://www.arabmediasociety.com

34. Kress, Gunther, & Hodge, Robert (1979). Language as Ideology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

35. University of Amsterdam. Dept. of General Literary Studies, Section of Discourse Studies. Unpublished Report for UNESCO.

36. Van Dijk, Teun A. (1984a). Prejudice in Discourse. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

37. Van Dijk, Teun A. (1984b). Structures of International News. A Case Study of the World's Press.

38. Van Dijk, Teun A. (1986). News as Discourse. New York: Longman.

39. Van Dijk, Teun A., & Kintsch, Walter (1983). Strategies of Discourse Comprehension. New York: Academic Press.

40. Van Dijk, Teun, A. (ed.). (1985). Handbook of Discourse Analysis. 4 vols. London: Academic Press.

Web sides

41. http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/resources/working_paper/noframe_2b_recen. htm

42. http://www.google.com/search?q=Theory+of+Predicate&hl=en&lr=

43. http://www.pupress.princeton.edu/predicate and their use/chap4.pdf

44. http://www.poetrymagic.co.uk/literary-theory/a-summing-up.html