Western VS. Muslim Media on the Civil War in Syria

An Empirical Analysis of Huntington's Clash of Civilizations

Master thesis by Dianne Akkerhuis

Utrecht University
Master International Relations
Supervisor(s): Dr. David Onnekink, Dr. Peter Malcontent
Student number: 3458660
1 August 2013

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Photo on front cover:

Freedom House, 'Opposition protest in Idlib in support of the Free Syrian Army', http://www.flickr.com/photos/69684588@N07/6875269463, last visited 9th January 2013.

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction

> 'The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.'[1]

> Samuel P. Huntington

The Civil War in Syria can be considered a clash of civilisations. Syria is diverse. Its population, for example, can be divided in different cultures and religions. Most people, no less than 75 per cent are Sunni Muslim, another 15 per cent belong to other Muslim minorities, including Druze, Alawite, Shia and Ismali. Approximately 10 per cent of the people is Christian, varying in Orthodox, Catholic, Maronite, Syriac and Protestant Christians.[2] The Syrian uprisings by the Sunni majority started in January 2011 when they protested against the Alawite ruling elite.[3] The conflict escalated and by March 2013 neighbouring countries are confronted with over one million Syrian refugees who fled from their unsafe home country.[4] Since 2011, the conflict has transformed to a civil war, and today the numbers of people suffering or being killed are still rising. Therefore, it is questioned what actions the international community will and should take and how international players (e.g. the European Union, the United States, the Arab League) respond to the clash of peoples in Syria.

Samuel Huntington's hypothesis on the Clash of Civilizations might provide insight into the international response. His thesis states that after the Cold War, conflicts and wars will erupt between different civilisations. The basis of a civilisation is its religious and cultural background. And thus, according to Huntington, dissimilar religions are the main causes for conflicts between civilisations. Huntington's hypothesis is considered as the truth by many politicians and leaders over the world, for example, former American President George W. Bush and former terrorist leader Osama Bin Laden. Therefore, it might be used as a basis for constructing foreign policies.[5] Also, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Tony Blair recognises a clash of civilizations, moreover, he concludes 'the situation we face is [...] war'.[6] As they play(ed) key roles in world politics, it can be questioned to extent Huntington's hypothesis is present in world politics.

However, can Huntington's hypothesis be considered a fact? Huntington himself wrote that it is a 'hypothesis', not a fact. Therefore, his hypothesis should be tested in order to find evidentiary support. Huntington wrote articles and books on the Clash of Civilizations in the 1990s, since, other scholars have responded. Giacomo Chiozza, for example, tested Huntington's thesis and concluded after analysing conflicts from 1946 to 1997 that 'state interactions across

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[1] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, p. 22.

[2] Stephen Starr, *Revolt in Syria. Eye-witness to the uprising*, London: Hurst & Company, 2012, p. 2.

[3] The uprisings in Syria will be elaborated on in chapter 2 that provides an outline of the conflict.

[4] UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, 'Number of Syrian refugees reaches 1 million mark', http://www.unhcr.org/513625ed6.html, last visited 25th March 2013.

[5] Emran Qureshi and Michael A. Sells, 'The New Crusades', New York: Columbia University Press (2003), pp. 1-2; Steven Mufson, 'The Way Bush Sees the World', *Washington Post*, Sunday 17th February 2002, B01.

[6] Tony Blair, 'A Battle for Global Values. The Roots of Extremism', http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/62271/tony-blair-a-battle-for-global-values, last visited 4th February 2013.

the civilizational divide are not more conflict prone'.[7] Moreover, his study and measurements show that the first eight years after the Cold War do not support Huntington's thesis.[8] Hence, Chiozza concludes that differences in civilizations are unlikely to be the fundamental cause of conflict in post-Cold War conflicts. Chiozza's study does not provide the empirical support to Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis, consequently it should not be the basis for foreign policy.[9]

However, other scientists assert a conflict between civilizations exist. For example, Emran Qureshi and Michael A. Sells acknowledge a conflict between the Western World and Islam. According to Qureshi and Sells, a large percentage of Westerners see Muslims as an enemy, and Muslims are hostile toward many Western policies.[10] They state that 'the essence of Islam as a religion is inherently violent in nature; and that, therefore, violent attacks against the West are inevitable and [these attacks] are provoked not by any particular grievances or set of circumstances but by the very existence of Western civilization'.[11] Qureshi and Sells thus claim Islam as a religion to be the basis of conflict between the West and Muslim civilizations.

This research: research question and methodology

Based on above studies, it can be concluded that it is uncertain whether Huntington's Clash of Civilizations is merely a hypothesis or reality. Therefore, this study aims to test his hypothesis and contribute to related scientific debate. As most studies were published on the Clash of Civilizations during the 1990s and (early) 2000s, this research aims to provide an insight into the current state of affairs. Therefore a present-day topic is studied: the civil war in Syria. This war, initially referred to as the Syrian uprising, started in March 2011 as part of the Arab Spring. This paper analyses the run-up to the Syrian Civil War from January 2011 to May 2013.

As the conflict has recently developed, merely a limited amount of scholars have studied this topic. Consequently, not many studies, papers and books have been published. This is the major reason for using media as a tool to analyse the Syrian Civil War. Furthermore, different news media can be used to analyse the conflict, for example Western and Muslim media, which can also provide insight in a possible cultural or religious clash between Western and Muslim media. As Huntington makes a distinction between Western and Muslim civilizations, this paper accordingly researches Western and Muslim media. The main research question this paper attempts to answer is:

To what extent can a clash in reports on the Syrian Civil War by Western and Muslim media be identified?

This question is answered by analysing publications, articles, statements, and views of both Western and Muslim media on the Civil War in Syria. For this research four news media have

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[7] Giacomo Chiozza, 'Is there a Clash of Civilizations? Evidence from Patterns of International Conflict Involvement 1946-97', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2002), p. 711.
[8] Ibidem.
[9] Giacomo Chiozza, 'Is there a Clash of Civilizations? Evidence from Patterns of International Conflict Involvement 1946-97', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2002), p. 732.
[10] Emran Qureshi and Michael A. Sells, *The New Crusades. Constructing the Muslim Enemy*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, p. 4.
[11] Ibidem.

been selected, two Western media and two Muslim media, these include *BBC*, *CNN*, *Al Arabiya English* and *Al Jazeera English,* respectively.

The research methodology used for this research is discourse analysis, which includes a word analysis which identifies positive and negative words and phrases used, hence it provides insight into the tone used by the media. For example, when an author uses rebels for a group of persons, the point of view of the author and the tone of the text can be interpreted rather negative compared to using freedom fighters for the same group of persons. The textual analysis is complemented by semiology, which 'draws on semiotics and focuses attention on signs and sign systems in texts and how readers might interpret (decode) those signs.'[12] 'Semiology […] exposes the ideological, latent meaning behind the surface of texts, allowing us to grasp the power relations within them" […]. The essential concepts of semiotics and semiology are that words and images are signs that 'stand for' or 'signify' something else beyond their obvious manifest meaning and relate to one another to form codes or code systems – collectives of signs that produce certain meanings.'[13] This research thus uses discourse analysis and semiology as research method to analyse images and signs, as well as photos and (short) movies used by media in order to find meanings of texts. The results of this analysis are compared with elements of Huntington's Clash of Civilizations hypothesis, which clarifies whether his hypothesis can be assumed as reality or not regarding reporting on the Syrian Civil War by Western and Muslim media.

Social & scientific relevance

As explained above, this research is a practical analysis of Huntington's hypothesis. The results of this research therefore attempt to contribute to the question to what extent a Clash of Civilizations is present in society. In addition, this research indirectly has social relevance. Research by Diana Mutz and Joe Soss showed that media influence opinions of consumers of news, and consequently bring about change in policy.[14] By analysing newspapers Mutz and Soss identified that these newspapers brought about change in individual and mass public opinions with regard to the topics that were discussed in the newspapers. Therefore, should a difference in reporting be identified in Western and Muslim media, this research attempts to contribute to people's awareness of different, and possibly subjective, reporting by Western and Muslim media.

Outline of this paper

As mentioned above, this study is an empirical test of Huntington's thesis. It hopes to shine new light on the Clash of Civilizations debate by analysing and comparing Western to Muslim media. However, as this paper analyses publications on the Syrian Civil War, first this conflict is briefly outlined in chapter 2. Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach of this research and relates the *Clash of Civilizations* to Western and Muslim media. This chapter commences with a description of Huntington's hypothesis in section 3.1, and it elaborates on Western and Muslim media utilised for this research in section 3.2. Subsequently in chapter 4 Western and Muslim media are analysed per medium and topic. Three topics have been selected for this analysis and

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[12] Jim Macnamara, (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6 (1), p. 15.

[13] Idem, p. 16.

[14] Diana C. Mutz and Joe Soss, 'Reading Public Opinion. The influence of news coverage on perceptions of public sentiment', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 431-451.

each section analyses four articles by the BBC, CNN, Al Arabiya English and Al Jazeera English respectively. Section 4.1 includes analysis of media reporting on the Syrian regime's response to the early uprisings in the city of Deraa. The following section (4.2) examines articles reflecting the Friends of Syria meeting that took place in Istanbul April 1st, 2011. And section 4.3 evaluates Western and Muslim media reports on the alleged use of chemical weapons by the Assad troops. Each section provides a brief summary and comparison of the findings per topic. The final results of the Western and Muslim media are reviewed and compared in the conclusion. This chapter closes this research report by answering the research question and defining to what extent a difference or clash can be identified in reporting on the Syrian Civil War by Western and Muslim media.

2. The Syrian Civil War

This chapter attempts to provide a summary of the Syrian Civil War in order to gain an understanding of the conflict, the views of the protestors, the Syrian regime, and the international community.

2.1. First Demonstrations

In January and February 2011, as part of the Arab Spring, first demonstrations were held against the Assad regime. Amongst them a group of young students, who wrote on numerous walls "the people want the regime to fall" and "It's your turn, doctor", referring to President Bashar Al Assad, a western educated doctor.[15] Consequently, they were arrested and harmed for their graffiti paintings throughout the city of Deraa.[16] A big 'Day of Rage' was planned on 4th or 5th February in order to show that the people 'had enough of the repression, corruption, cronyism, arbitrary rule, and stagnant societies of the autocrats'.[17][18] This day, which eventually took place on 15 March, is considered to be the first day of the Syrian Civil War. Multiple demonstrations were held simultaneously in various Syrian cities, including Homs, Baniyas, Latakia, Raqqa and Hama, and Qamishli. This 'Day of Rage' was followed by brutal reactions by Syrian Security Forces by which roughly 50 people were killed.[19]

In the meantime protesters gathered, such as in the Omari mosque in Deraa. Protests continued and after a few months opposition forces – comprising civilian volunteers and defected soldiers – were organised. In April 2011 the Syrian Army was ordered to open fire on protestors. A new phase of the Syrian Civil War commenced when on 25 April the city of Deraa was besieged by the Syrian security forces. Many people were killed and suffered wounds in head, neck and chest. Medical personnel who wanted to help the wounded were being attacked, as well as people from other towns that tried to help the people in Deraa. Four weeks later, several mosques in the city were daubed with graffiti texts, such as 'Your God is Bashar' and 'There is no God but Bashar'.[20] The people became aware that no Muslim soldier would write such texts and therefore it was concluded that this must be done by Alawi schematics.

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[15] New York Times, 'A Faceless Teenage Refugee Who Helped Ignite Syria's War', http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/09/world/middleeast/a-faceless-teenage-refugee-who-helped-ignite-syrias-war.html?_r=1&, last visited 5th March 2013; CBS News, 'The Syrian Teen Who Helped Spark an Uprising', http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503543_162-57398137-503543/the-syrian-teen-who-helped-spark-an-uprising/, last visited 5th March 2013; Stephen Starr, *Revolt in Syria. Eye-witness to the uprising*, London: Hurst & Company, 2012, pp.4-6.

[16] Fouad Ajami, *The Syrian Rebellion*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2012, p. 73.

[17] Human Rights Watch, 'World Report 2012. Events of 2011', http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/wr2012.pdf, last visited 5th March 2013.

[18] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, p. 92.

[19] Al Jazeera English, 'Scores killed on Syria's 'day of rage'', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/201142993412242172.html, last visited 5th March 2013.

[20] Fouad Ajami, *The Syrian Rebellion*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2012, pp. 74-75; Human Rights Watch, 'World Report 2012. Events of 2011', http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/wr2012.pdf, last visited 5th March 2013; Stephen Starr, *Revolt in Syria. Eye-witness to the uprising*, London: Hurst & Company, 2012, pp.4-6.

President Bashar al Assad – belonging to the Alawi minority himself – tried to prevent more trouble from happening by making concessions and providing speeches. He reached out to peoples with different kinds of cultural backgrounds, such as conservative Muslims and stateless Kurds. He closed the only casino in the country and reversed a decision that banned teachers wearing a *niqab* (i.e. an Islamic veil that covers a woman's face except her eyes).[21] He also granted citizenship to thousands of stateless Kurds. As a result Kurds were able to apply for jobs and facilities provided by the government.[22] Next to these concessions, Assad delivered three speeches. On 30 March the first speech was given before the parliament where he alleged that there was a conspiracy coming from other parts of the world against Syria. But he stated that Syria was different compared to other Arab countries where the Arab Spring took place. Assad acknowledged that there were certain needs to be addressed, 'but the regime was well on its way toward dealing with them'.[23] In his second speech in mid-April, Assad attempted to convince the people that he was back again, as the reformer he stressed, which should result in a better future. His third speech was held at Damascus University on 20 June and was nationally broadcast. He stated that he 'was "working on getting the military back to their barracks as soon as possible", but then warned that the government would "work on tracking down everyone who shed blood or plotted in shedding the blood of the Syrian people, and will hold them accountable"'.[24]

Internationally Assad attempted to portray the Syrian regime as it was interested in a political solution on 31 May 2011. He announced that 'the formation of a committee to set up a basis for national dialogue. Assad also offered a pardon for all political crimes committed before 31 May 2011, including to all members of political movements, even the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood.'[25] That day opposition groups met at *The Syrian Conference for Change* in Antalya, Turkey. This conference was organised by the National Organisation for Human Rights located in Egypt and aimed at establishing a united opposition.[26]

2.2. The creation of a stronger opposition

Protests continued in various cities throughout Syria, as well as shootings on protestors and civilians, leading to approximately 3500 deaths by November 2011, according to *Human Rights Watch*.[27] Amongst these deaths also military personnel and policemen who refused to shoot unarmed protestors. This resulted in the foundation of the Free Syrian Army (FSA) on 27 July 2011.[28] This FSA consists of defected soldiers and volunteers of the Syrian Army. This FSA is to be

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[21] Al Arabiya News, 'Syria reverses ban on Islamic face veil in schools', http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/04/06/144466.html, last visited 5th March 2013.

[22] CNN World, 'Stateless Kurds in Syria granted citizenship', http://articles.cnn.com/2011-04-07/world/syria.kurdish.citizenship_1_kurdish-region-kurdish-identity-stateless-kurds?_s=PM:WORLD, last visited 5th March 2013.

[23] Fouad Ajami, *The Syrian Rebellion*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2012, pp. 76-77.

[24] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, p. 114.

[25] Idem, p. 111.

[26] Idem, pp. 111-113.

[27] Human Rights Watch, 'World Report 2012. Events of 2011', http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/wr2012.pdf, last visited 5th March 2013.

[28] Al Jazeera English, 'Ranks of Free Syrian Army 'gaining strength'', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/12/20111226171260898.html, last visited 5th March 2012.

'the corner stone of the future Syrian Army that consists of all Syrians regardless of their religion, sectarian or ethnic origin, belief, or inclination, and regardless of their different traditions and cultures. It is an Army for all, whose purpose and only reason of existence is to defend and protect Syria and the Syrians. It is also the only Military Force that assumes the responsibility of removing this Criminal Regime.'[29] Further clashes between the Syrian forces and the opposition continued. As David Lesch calls the regime's security strategy 'the "whack-a-mole" approach', he continues, 'wherever serious protests pooped up in a particular city or region, the elite and most loyal units of the military and security forces were sent to whack them down.'[30]

2.3. Involvement of the international community

It seemed that the international community, including the United States, the European Union, and the Arab League, did not know what position to take the first months during the Syrian Civil War. During the Arab Spring the West applauded the uprisings by the people in the region. It was believed that governments should in principle serve their people(s), as this is a fundamental right, and this was not the case in Middle Eastern and North African countries. However, in the past the West accepted autocratic rulers in the Middle East and North Africa. It was considered as a stable region and therefore there was no drastic need to put pressure on human rights broken by Arabic regimes.[31] However Syria's situation changed drastically and on 18 August 2011 President Obama called Syria's Assad to resign.[32] Shortly after Obama's call, European Union countries followed.[33] When a number of opposition groups organised themselves together by establishing the Syrian National Council (SNC) in Istanbul, Turkey on 2 October 2011, the international community encouraged their cooperation.[34]

While the SNC was initiated abroad, other local groups originated, so called Local Coordination Committees (LCCs) and an alternative national opposition group to the SNC, namely the National Coordination Bureau for Democratic Change (NCB).[35] LCCs 'took responsibility for meeting, planning and organizing events on the ground within their own communities'.[36] The NCB aimed to gradually change the Syrian regime and hence it did not opt for an immediate fall of the government. Moreover, one of their options was to engage in dialogue with the Assad regime. It can thus be concluded that the Syrian opposition is divided on various stands. Also with regard to the issue of foreign intervention. Whilst the SNC is an advocate, the NCB is antagonistic.[37]

The Arab League (AL) seemed reasonably aloof to this point, however in October and November 2011, they played a role in AL mediation and initiatives. On 11 November an

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[29] Free Syrian Army, 'Official Homepage of the Free Syrian Army', http://www.free-syrian-army.com, last visited 5th March 2013.
[30] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 103-104.
[31] Human Rights Watch, 'World Report 2012. Events of 2011', http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/wr2012.pdf, last visited 5th March 2013.
[32] Al Jazeera English, 'Obama calls on Syria's Assad to step aside', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/08/2011818125712354226.html, last visited 5th March 2013.
[33] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 164-165.
[34] Idem, pp. 167-168.
[35] Idem, pp. 171-173.
[36] LCC Syria, 'About the LCCS', http://www.lccsyria.org/about, last visited 26th March 2013.
[37] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 171-173.

emergency meeting was held in Cairo. It was at this meeting that eighteen out of twenty-two members of the AL voted in favour of Syria's membership suspension. Furthermore, they called for further sanctions against the Syrian regime and withdrawal of their ambassadors.[38] By mid-December 2011 the AL threatened to take the Syrian concern to the UN Security Council, shortly after the Syrian regime agreed on AL monitors to observe whether earlier commitments were adhered to, to be exact, whether the violence ended and whether political prisoners were being released.[39] As a result of its observer mission in Syria, the AL made a new attempt and proposed a plan at the UN Security Council on 4 February 2012. The involved the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad and the creation of a national united Syrian government leaded by Syria's vice-president. However, the plan was vetoed by Russia and China and thus failed to be passed.[40]

The Syrian Civil War continued, many civilians were killed or fled to neighbouring countries. As *Human Rights Watch*[41] reported:

> *'Syria's uprising turned increasingly bloody in 2012 as the government's crackdown on anti-government protests developed into an entrenched armed conflict. Government forces and pro-government militia known as shabeeha continue[d] to torture detainees and commit extrajudicial killings in areas under their control. Some opposition forces ha[d] also carried out serious abuses like kidnapping, torture, and extrajudicial executions. According to opposition sources, 34,346 civilians had been killed in the conflict [...]. The spread and intensification of fighting have led to a dire humanitarian situation with hundreds of thousands displaced internally or seeking refuge in neighboring countries.'*

The rising numbers of deaths and refugees were inducements for the international community for another attempt to end the conflict. In February 2012 another constitution was passed in a UN referendum and May parliamentary elections.[42] Consequently, a plan was developed to end further escalation of the Syrian conflict.[43] Further actions were taken. In March, for example, Kofi Annan met with Assad in Damascus to discuss the so-called Annan plan, that included a ceasefire. 14th of April the UN Security Council approved to send 300 unarmed UN observers to monitor a "very shaky ceasefire".[44] Three months later the UN Secretary-General reported to the Security Council reported that the situation in Syria was 'rapidly deteriorating'.[45] The mission was extended for thirty days only '"in the event that the Secretary-General report(ed) and the Security Council confirms the cessation of the use of heavy weapons and a reduction in the level of violence sufficient by all sides" to allow the UNSMIS monitors to

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[38] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 184-187.
[39] Idem, p. 188.
[40] Idem, pp. 193-194.
[41] Human Rights Watch, 'World Report 2013', http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/syria, last visited 5th March 2013.
[42] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, p. 233.
[43] United Nations, 'UNSMIS United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria', http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unsmis/background.shtml, last visited 26th March 2013.
[44] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, p. 227.
[45] United Nations, 'UNSMIS United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria', http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unsmis/background.shtml, last visited 26th March 2013.

implement their mandate.' As the use of heavy weapons and violence was still very present in Syria, the observer mission ended on 19 August 2012.[46]

On the same day when Annan discussed his plan with Assad, a Friends of Syria meeting was held in Istanbul, Turkey. This meeting was supported by the United States and Turkey, and was led by Saudi Arabia and Qatar. During the meeting Gulf Arab States promised to financially support the opposition in order to strengthen a more militant line.[47] Discord in the opposition was (re)identified as the SNC and the FSA attended the meeting, the NCB was absent. Disagreement amongst the SNC opposition was also an inducement for head of SNC, Burhan Ghalioun, to step down 17 May. Local Coordination Committees threatened to leave the SNC should Ghalioun be elected again as SNC head. LCC stated 'that the "deteriorating situation in the SNC is an impetus for us to take actions, which could begin with a freeze (of its membership in the SNC) and end with a withdrawal if errors are not solved and demands for reform go unmet". The LCC further said that the "errors" consisted of "a total absence of consensus between the SNC's vision and that the revolutionaries [i.e. the LCC members], a marginalization of most LCC representatives, and a monopolization of decision-making by influential members of the executive committee"'.[48]

The conflict between the divided opposition and the Syrian regime continued. Moreover, by March 2013 the conflict aggravated as symptoms of chemical weapons were presented to the world via various media.[49] As a result, UN officials were invited to discuss the use of chemical weapons with the Syrian regime. The outcome of this productive meeting was a joint statement on the issue. The UN stated: 'discussions were thorough and productive and led to an agreement on the way forward'.[50] The specific output of the meeting with the Syrian government was not described. In conclusion, the end of the Syrian conflict was not present by July 2013 and about 100,000 people had been killed and approximately 6 million Syrians were displaced. The UN also stated that 6,8 million people 'require urgent humanitarian assistance'.[51]

This historical background briefly described events during the Syrian conflict from March 2011 to July 2013. The clash between the Syrian people and the regime started with peaceful protests against the Assad regime and evolved to a civil war. Next chapter describes the methodological approach. These chapters serve as the basis for research analysis.

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[46] United Nations, 'UNSMIS United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria', http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unsmis/background.shtml, last visited 26th March 2013.
[47] David W. Lesch, Syria. *The Fall of the House of Assad*, USA: Yale University Press, 2012, p. 229.
[48] Idem, p. 230.
[49] See the articles on the alleged use of chemical weapons by supporters of the Assad regime, these items are analysed in section 4.3.
[50] UN News Centre, 'Talks on chemical weapons probe "productive" – UN and Syria jointly say', http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45510&Cr=Syria&Cr1=#.UfrLK9JM_D5, last visited 30th July 2013.
[51] Ibidem.

3. Methodological Approach

Before testing Huntington's thesis by analysing Western and Muslim media, this chapter first briefly provides insight in the methodological approach. Should a clash between Western and Muslim news media be identified in following chapters, first differences in text and visuals should be noticed. In order to identify these differences, the different news media will be described and categorised in Western and Muslim media. One of the questions this chapter aims to answer is: What kind of texts and visuals can be expected from the different media, based on Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*? In order to answer this sub-question, first the *Clash of Civilizations* is clarified in section 3.1. Subsequently, in section 3.2 critique on Huntington by Edward Said is described. The different news media are introduced and categorised in section 3.3. This chapter also stipulates the research methodology. Hence, the research methods discourse analysis and content analysis are explained and clarified in section 3.4. This will be the basis of the media analysis described in following chapters.

3.1. The Clash of Civilizations

In his article *The Clash of Civilizations?* Samuel Huntington states that the next pattern of conflict in the world after the Cold War will be between civilizations.[52] Former conflicts took place between kings or peoples or ideologies, but future clashes and conflicts will take place between cultural entities, namely the natures of civilizations, according to Huntington. He explains that cultural entities can be nations, regions, villages, groups of different civilizations, ethnic and religious groups as they all have 'distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity'.[53] These civilizations can overlap, blend and/or include sub-civilizations. For example, a village in North Italy can have a typically Northern Italy culture, different compared to the culture of a village in Sicily. However, one Italian culture can be identified comparing with other European cultures. Also, a European culture can be distinguished from a Chinese culture or an American culture. Even though the lines between these cultures can be vague, they are real, according to Huntington.[54]

Huntington identified the following major civilizations: Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilizations. According to Huntington, these civilizations (will) clash due to several causes or reasons.[55] The first cause he identified is that civilizations differ as they have different historical backgrounds, cultures, traditions, and religions.[56] Not only are these differences real, they are also basic and fundamental. Differences do not necessarily imply conflict nor violence. However, Huntington stated that these 'differences among civilizations have generated the most prolonged and the

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[52] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations, Or, The West Against the Rest?', http://www.soliya.net/download/Clash_of_Civilizations.pdf, last visited 16th January 2013.
[53] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, p. 24; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2011 edition, pp. 41-54.
[54] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, pp. 23-24.
[55] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations, Or, The West Against the Rest?', http://www.soliya.net/download/Clash_of_Civilizations.pdf, last visited 16th January 2013.
[56] Ibidem.

most violent conflicts'.[57] Secondly, he affirmed that the world is decreasing whilst interactions between persons of different civilizations are increasing.[58] Consequently, people become more and more rapidly aware of commonalities within civilizations and especially disparities between civilizations. He states 'Global politics is being reconfigured along cultural lines. Peoples and countries with similar cultures are coming together. Peoples and countries with different cultures are coming apart.'[59] The third cause of a future clash between civilizations is the weakening of identities of nation states as a result of economic modernisation and social change in the world. According to Huntington, religion plays an important role in clashes of civilizations as religion will fill in the gap of national identities. This will result in stronger religious identities transcending national boundaries and uniting civilizations.[60] The fourth cause relates to the 'return-to-the-roots-phenomenon' in non-Western civilizations. As there used to be a trend of Westernisation of non-Western countries, nowadays a trend of de-Westernisation and indigenisation of elites is taking place.[61] Fifth, Huntington asserted that religion – more than ethnicity – 'discriminates sharply and exclusively among people' as a person can be both half-French and half-Arab but it is relatively difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim. Therefore Huntington assumed that cultural characteristics will be more fixed, more resolute and hence less easily compromised than political and economic characteristics.[62] A final cause for clashes between civilizations is related to increasing economic regionalism. According to Huntington, 'Successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilization consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization.' He continued by giving examples of the European Community and Japan. The former entity 'rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity' and the later 'faces difficulties in creating a comparable economic entity in East Asia because it is a society and civilization unique to itself.'[63]

Next to stipulating the causes for clashes of civilizations,

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[57] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, p. 25.

[58] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, p. 25.

[59] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2011 edition, p. 125.

[60] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations, Or, The West Against the Rest?', http://www.soliya.net/download/Clash_of_Civilizations.pdf, last visited 16th January 2013.

[61] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993, pp. 24-26.

[62] Idem, p. 27.

[63] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations, Or, The West Against the Rest?', http://www.soliya.net/download/Clash_of_Civilizations.pdf, last visited 16th January 2013.

Huntington identifies core states within civilisations. These core states can carry out an 'ordering function' to its member states as it is perceived as a cultural kin.[64] Should a core state be absent in a culture, for example the absence of an Islamic core state, this could entail problems. Examples of core states are France and Germany, which are the core states of the European Union. However, when questioning to what extend Germany and France are core states of Europe and thus surrounding European countries, a problem arises when defining the Eastern border of Europe. This question is later answered as he states 'Europe ends where Western Christianity ends and Islam and Orthodoxy begin'.[65] He thus seems to draw a dividing line, or fault line, between religions and not specifically countries.

Besides marking a fault line in Europe, including a dividing line between Western and Islamic civilizations, Huntington asserts that future conflicts will be along the fault lines of civilizations.[66] Fault lines were also present in the past, Huntington asserts, for example, that relations have been stormy for centuries between the West and Islam.[67] It is therefore not surprising that these cultures vary significantly. Huntington states 'The structure of political loyalty among Arabs and Muslims generally has been the opposite of that in the modern West. For the latter the nation state has been the apex of political loyalty. Narrower loyalties are subordinate to it and are subsumed into loyalty to the nation state. Groups transcending nation states – linguistic or religious communities, or civilizations – have commanded less intense loyalty and commitment.' Huntington continues 'the "two fundamental original and persisting structures," as Ira Lapidus has observed, have been the family, the clan, and the tribe, on the one hand, and the "unities of culture, religion, and empire on an ever-larger scale," on the other.'[68] Huntington claims that 'the nation state has been less significant' compared to 'the principal foci of loyalty and commitment, and the *ummah* [i.e. the Islamic community]'.[69] Moreover, 'in the Arab world, existing states have legitimacy problems because they are for the most part the arbitrary, if not capricious, products of European imperialism, and their boundaries often did not even coincide with those of ethnic groups such as Berbers and Kurds. [...] In addition, the idea of sovereign nation states is incompatible with belief in the sovereignty of Allah and the primacy of the *Ummah*'.[70] As the features of Islam and with it its differences with Western societies presented by Huntington, provide insight in the differences between Western and Muslim cultures, these can be further defined. Therefore these characteristics and principles of both Western and Islamic societies are further elaborated on below in section 3.3 where Western and Muslim media are clarified. The following section (3.2) first provides critique on Huntington's hypothesis.

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[64] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2011 edition, p. 156.
[65] Idem, p. 158.
[66] Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations, Or, The West Against the Rest?', http://www.soliya.net/download/Clash_of_Civilizations.pdf, last visited 16th January 2013.
[67] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2011 edition, p. 209.
[68] Idem, p. 174.
[69] Idem, p. 175.
[70] Idem, p. 175.

3.2. Comments on Huntington's hypothesis by Edward Said

Edward Said seems to disagree with Huntington. Huntington divides the world in religions and cultures, such as Christianity and Islam. However, Said analyses it differently when he elaborates on Islam: 'the term "Islam" [...] seems to mean one simple thing' but, he continues, 'in no really significant way is there a direct correspondence between the "Islam" in common Western usage and the enormously varied life that goes on within the world of Islam, with its more than 800,000,000 people, its millions of square miles of territory principally in Africa and Asia, its dozens of societies, states, histories, geographies, [and] cultures.'[71] Said seems to disagree with Huntington as he identified a 'tremendous lag between academic descriptions of Islam (that are inevitably caricatured in the media) and the particular realities to be found within the Islamic world' as it seems impossible to use the concept of "Islam" to understand African, Middle Eastern and Asian countries (e.g. Morocco, Syria and Indonesia).

In his book *Covering Islam* Edward Said analysed how the West, and the Americans specifically, responded to the Islamic world and how they perceived Islam. He explains that from the end of the eighteenth century until the 1970s a general thought of Orientalism was present. This was an 'imaginative and het drastically polarized geography dividing the world in two unequal parts, the larger, "different" one called the Orient, the other, also known as "our" world, called the Occident or the West.' [72] Said explained that this way of thinking (i.e. seeing Islam as a competitor to Christianity) came into being due to fear and hostility.[73]

Said identified several problems in the media covering Islam. Said argued that (Western) people are being misled by subjective reporting due to e.g. reporter's lack of knowledge of a region, country and language. It is mainly because of this lack of knowledge that 'the reporter takes hold of what is nearest at hand, usually a cliché or some bit of journalistic wisdom that readers at home are unlikely to challenge.'[74] As this paper explores Huntington's hypothesis, it makes a distinction in Western and Muslim media. This study also attempts to tackle subjective reporting. In order to do so, the terms Western and Muslim media are clarified in subsequent section.

3.3. Western and Muslim Media

This paper makes a distinction between Western and Muslim media, however, what do these terms mean? Which media are used for this research and to what extend are the media Western or Muslim? In order to answer these questions, these terms will be defined.

Western can refer to Western civilisation, entailing Western values, historical background and culture(s). In his article *What is Western Civilization?*, Professor Lawrence Birken acknowledged the difficulty to define the term as more definitions have been used in history.[75] However, Western civilisation, according to James Kurth and other scholarly interpreters of the West, is based on three different traditions that separately provided and/or developed aspects

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[71] Edward Said, *Covering Islam, How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, London and Henly: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, p. x.
[72] Idem, p. 4.
[73] Idem, pp. 3-5.
[74] Idem, 1981, pp. xi-xii.
[75] Lawrence Birken, 'What is Western Civilisation?', *The History Teacher*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1992), pp. 451-461.

and values of Western culture. Firstly, the classical cultures of Greece and Rome contributed to the 'Western concept of liberty under law'.[76] Secondly, Christianity, further contributed to the liberty under law concept as it put obedience to Christ higher than obedience to a ruler such as Ceasar. Also, the struggle between the Holy Roman Church and the Roman Empire contributed to the idea of limited power of a ruler and separation of powers. And thirdly, the Enlightenment of the modern era, further developed ideas and values of liberal democracy and free markets.[77] Thus, it can be assumed that the term Western refers to a mixture of values, the liberty under law concept, Christianity, separation of powers, and liberal democracy.

Muslim, on the other hand, mainly refers to the world religion Islam, that was 'founded in Arabia in the seventh century by the prophet Muhammad'. In Arabic Islam means surrender, which refers to the central principle of the religion, namely to surrender 'and submit yourself completely to the will of Allah' (i.e. God). His will or his commandments are written in the holy scriptures, which includes the Koran.[78] The Koran was written in the seventh century in Arabic and it forms the basis for e.g. Islamic law.[79]

Comparing both terms, it can be concluded that Muslim is solely based on religion, in contrast to the term Western. Furthermore, the liberty under law, and the separation of powers, liberal democracy and free markets are concepts that are not present in Islam. Furthermore, other studies show the following with regard to Western and Muslim civilisations: 'Compared with Western nations, Islamic societies prove highly conservative on issues of sexuality and gender equality, including support for egalitarian roles for women in the home, workforce and public sphere. Islamic societies are also far less tolerant towards issues of sexual liberalization, as manifested in their attitudes towards abortion, divorce and homosexuality. Not surprisingly, Islamic societies are also strongly religious in their values, while by comparison most Western countries are almost always more secular.'[80] As the terms Western and Muslim have been compared and defined, the following paragraphs 1) analyse the different media used for this research and 2) describe what kind of texts and visuals can be expected from the different media, based on Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*?.

BBC

The *BBC* is the *British Broadcasting Corporation* and its headquarter is located in London, United Kingdom. The *BBC* was originally created as a radio station in 1922. Over the years it has developed to 'the world's leading public service broadcaster'.[81] It currently broadcasts multiple TV and radio programmes and maintains a news website in various languages. 'Its mission is to enrich people's lives with programmes that inform, educate and entertain'.[82] The *BBC* aims to be

[76] James Kurth, 'Western Civilization, Our Tradition', *The Intercollegiate Review*, (Fall 2002/Spring 2004), p. 5.

[77] Idem, pp. 5-6.

[78] Felicity Crawl, et. al., *Illustrated Dictionary of the Muslim World*, Selangor Darul Ehsan: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 2011, p. 23.

[79] Felicity Crawl, et. al., *Illustrated Dictionary of the Muslim World*, Selangor Darul Ehsan: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 2011, p. 23.

[80] Pippa Noris and Ronald F. Inglehart, 'Muslim Integration into Western Cultures: Between Origins and Destinations', *Political Studies*, Vol. 60, p. 230. This is also based on other studies, e.g. Inglehart, R. and Norris, P. 'Islam and theWest: A "Clash of Civilizations" ', Foreign Policy, 135 (March/April, 2003), pp. 62-70.

[81] BBC, 'About the BBC', http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whoweare/ataglance, last visited 25th March 2013.

[82] Ibidem.

'open and transparent' in, for example, publishing information and programme statements.[83] The *BBC* maintains a number of separate ventures across the world some of which help fund *BBC* public services', including *BBC World Service*, *BBC World News*, *BBC Worldwide* and *BBC Monitoring*. *BBC Worldwide* is also known as *BBC World* and is the '*BBC*'s main commercial arm'.[84] For this research articles and programmes provided via the BBC website are utilised, namely http://www.bbc.co.uk.

As the *BBC* is a British broadcasting organisation, it can be categorised as a (European) Western broadcasting organisation. As mentioned earlier, the *BBC* aims to be open and transparent, which are features of Western culture. However, as the *BBC*, and specifically the international section *BBC Worldwide*, are commercially connected, possibly investors can influence the content of *BBC* programmes and publications. As the *BBC* is categorised as a Western medium, it can be assumed that Western principles and values – including Christian values, separation of powers, free market, and liberal democracy – are present in the organisation and manner of presenting news. Also, considering the *Clash of Civilizations* perspective, the organisation possibly identifies the differences cultural features compared to Western cultural characteristics. These differences can be present in texts and programmes about Islam and Muslim societies, which also includes Syria.

CNN

CNN is an American news network which is part of the company *Turner Broadcasting System* which is located in Atlanta. The company was established in 1970 and its news channel *CNN* was originated four years later. The company grew abundantly during the 1990s.[85] The *Turner Broadcasting System* states to 'target audiences with content that is compelling, specific and relevant', furthermore, 'CNN, the original 24-hour news network, delivers the most comprehensive, nonpartisan news and analysis to global audiences across all platforms. CNN Worldwide's networks and businesses, include CNN/US, HLN, CNN International, CNN en Español, CNN.com, CNN Airport Channel, CNN Radio and CNN Newsource.'[86] For this research articles and programmes provided via the CNN news website are used, that is to say, via http://edition.cnn.com.

CNN is an American news network, and thus it can be categorised as an (American) Western broadcasting organisation. Similar to the *BBC*, it can be assumed that Western principles and values – including Christian values, separation of powers, free market, and liberal democracy – are present in the news network and manner of presenting news. As mentioned above, the *CNN* aims to deliver nonpartisan news and analysis, which can be identified as a feature of Western culture. However, *CNN* – similar to the *BBC* – is owned by a commercial company, hence, investors could possibly influence the content of its programmes and publications. Similarly to the *BBC*, *CNN* possibly identifies the cultural differences between Western and Muslim societies. These differences can be present in texts and programmes about Islam, Muslim cultures and societies, including Syrian society.

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[83] BBC, 'About the BBC', http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whoweare/ataglance, last visited 25th March 2013.
[84] Ibidem.
[85] Turner Broadcasting System, 'Company history', http://www.turner.com/company#/company/history, last visited 1st April 2013.
[86] Turner Broadcasting System, 'Company overview', http://www.turner.com/company#/company/overview, last visited 1st April 2013.

Al Arabiya English

Al Arabiya English, also referred to as http://english.alarabiya.net, is a news website. Its headquarter is located in Dubai, United Arab Emirates.[87] The English website is part of other *Al Arabiya* news websites in other languages. The first website was established in 2004, after the creation of the TV channel in 2003. The English news website was originated in 2007, and websites in other languages followed. The website is thus recently new.[88] As the English website states, all websites 'offer an Arab perspective on the news while encouraging engagement by our readers through comments and user-generated content. It seeks to reach a non-Arab international audience, as well as expatriates living in the Middle East and North Africa, in order to deepen understanding of Arab societies, cultures and economies.' It also states to be 'a pioneer in online journalism in the Arabic speaking world and aspires to be the most reliable source of news and analysis about the Middle East catering to readers all over the world.'[89]

As *Al Arabiya English* is an Arabian news website, with its headquarter located in the United Arab Emirates, it can be assumed that this organisation has an Arabian background and Arabian values. As these refer to Islam and Islamic principles, this medium can be categorised as a Muslim news medium. As its aim is to deepen the understanding of Arab societies, it can be concluded that its news focuses on Arabic countries and societies, which also includes Syria. Considering *Al Arabyia English* publications from a Clash of Civilisations perspective, it can be assumed that Western concepts, such as liberty under law, and the separation of powers, liberal democracy and free markets are concepts that are not positively viewed by the news website's publishers. Hence, this negative view on Western principles can be expected in programmes and publications by *Al Arabiya English* on for example, the Civil War in Syria.

Al Jazeera English

Al Jazeera English is an international news channel, and has its own news website http://www.aljazeera.com, and its headquarter is located in Doha, Qatar. *Al Jazeera English* is part of the *Al Jazeera Network* that was established fifteen years ago 'as the first independent news channel in the Arab world dedicated to covering and uncovering stories in the region'.[90] The network currently embraces more than twenty channels in various languages. *Al Jazeera English* was launched in 2006 and it claims to tell 'stories that other networks do not. As the "Voice of the South", the channel covers under-reported regions and events across the world through a spirit of journalism that is honest, courageous and distinctive.'[91]

Al Jazeera English' headquarter is located in Qatar, (partly) because of this it can be categorised as a Muslim news medium. However, as it states to be an international news channel, this can be questioned. As it asserts to be dedicated at covering and uncovering stories in the Arab region distinctively, it gives the impression that it is different compared to other international (e.g. Western) news media. Based on this and its location, *Al Jazeera English* is categorised as a medium with a Muslim background. From a Clash of Civilisations perspective, it can be assumed that Western concepts, such as liberty under law, and the separation of powers, liberal democracy and free markets are concepts that are not per se positively viewed by the

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[87] Al Arabiya, 'Contact', http://english.alarabiya.net/tools/contact-us.html, last visited 25th March 2013.

[88] Al Arabiya, 'About Al Arabiya', http://english.alarabiya.net/tools/about.html, last visited 25th March 2013.

[89] Ibidem.

[90] Al Jazeera English, 'About us', http://www.aljazeera.com/aboutus/2009/10/2009103081456514230.html, last visited 25th March 2013.

[91] Ibidem.

news website's publishers. Hence, this negative view on Western principles can be expected in programmes and publications on, for example, the Syrian Civil War, by *Al Jazeera English*.

In conclusion, the BBC and CNN are categorised as Western media, and Al Arabiya English and Al Jazeera English as Muslim media. As the media have been introduced above, the following section explains the research methodology used for this study.

3.4. Research Methodology: Discourse Analysis

It was chosen to analyse the media output by topic, event and/or period during the civil war in Syria. The following topics (also outlined in chapter 2) have been selected:

1. First demonstrations and response of Syrian Government/Army (January-April 2011)
2. The Friends of Syria Meeting in Istanbul (1 April 2012)
3. Suspicion about use of chemical weapons (April-May 2013)

Per topic, one article of each medium has been chosen to analyse and compare with the other three media. These articles were selected per topic. Furthermore, the articles selected were published in the same period of the event. The first articles describe the protests in Deraa and the response by the Syrian regime. The demonstrations in Deraa erupted 15 March 2011, so the articles that are analysed for this researched were published between 16 and 28th March 2011. The articles covering the Friends of Syria Meeting took place on 1 April 2012. The articles are all published on the same date because this was a one-day event. The final articles that evaluating the alleged use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime, were all published end of April to early May 2013.

The topics/events above are analysed by discourse analysis which 'tends to be better at revealing *latent* or hidden meanings.'[92] As mentioned in the introduction, this research analyses the content of media publications by means of qualitative analysis, namely discourse analysis. This includes a textual analysis which identifies positive and negative words and phrases used. This (textual) part of the discourse analysis is similar to narratology. 'Narratology […] focuses on the narrative or story-telling within a text with emphasis on meaning that may be produced by its structure and choice of words.'[93] The textual analysis is complemented by a visual analysis, which is similar to semiology. Discourse analysis provides insight in the tone of the texts and the hidden meanings of the texts. This is similar to semiology, which 'draws on semiotics and focuses attention on signs and sign systems in texts and how readers might interpret (decode) those signs.'[94] 'Semiology […] exposes the ideological, latent meaning behind the surface of texts, allowing us to grasp the power relations within them" […]. The essential concepts of semiology are that words and images are signs that "stand for" or "signify" something else beyond their obvious manifest meaning and relate to one another to form codes or code systems – collectives

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[92] David Hesmondhalgh, 'Discourse analysis and content analysis' in: *Analysing Media Texts*, Berkshire: Open University Press, 2006, p. 121.
[93] Jim Macnamara, (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6 (1), p. 15.
[94] Ibidem.

of signs that produce certain meanings.'[95] This research thus uses discourse analysis and semiology as research methods to analyse images and signs, as well as photos and (short) movies used by media in order to find meanings of texts.

When analysing media texts, Teun van Dijk's and Norman Fairclough's critical discourse methods are applied.[96] Van Dijk's discourse analysis method contains textual analysis. Similar to Van Dijk's method, this research analyses the headline, the macrostructure of the text, the text itself, and the visual elements independently. In his book *Discourse and Context. A sociocognitive approach*[97], next to textual analysis, Van Dijk elaborated on the importance of context, that is to say the social and cultural environments of language and discourse, and for example, 'the role of discourse in the (re)production of social inequality' [98]. This research however is not able to include full cultural and social analyses due to time restrictions. However, elements of contextual analysis by Professor of Linguistics at Lancaster University Norman Fairclough are included in this study. Fairclough namely analyses representations, identities and relationships separately in order to analyse the text critically.[99] Similar to Fairclough, this research analyses representations, identities and relationships separately. When analysing the articles multiple questions are answered per category. These questions are stipulated in appendix 2.

First each article is analysed separately by means of textual and visual analysis as explained above. Based on the answers of the questions (outlined in appendix 2), the following sub-questions are answered:

1. **How does the article represent the conflict and involved actors (e.g. president Assad, the rebels, FSA, SNC, international community)?**
   The answers to this question will embrace the questions based on Fairclough's questions regarding, presentation, identities and relationships (see appendices 2 and 3). It also includes some elements of Van Dijk's analysis as it discusses the thematic line, based on the headline, macrostructure, lexicon, metaphors and visual elements of the article. This question is essential as its answer serves as the basis for analysing perspective and objectivity in respectively questions 2 and 3.

2. **From which perspective is the article written?**
   This question attempts to define whether the article reflects Assad's, the rebels' and/or the international community's viewpoint(s) by analysing the article's lexicon, the use of quotation marks and metaphors.

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[95] Jim Macnamara, (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6 (1), p. 16.
[96] David Hesmondhalgh, 'Discourse analysis and content analysis' in: *Analysing Media Texts*, Berkshire: Open University Press, 2006, pp. 120-154.
[97] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Discourse and Context. A sociocognitive approach*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
[98] Idem, pp 216-217.
[99] David Hesmondhalgh, 'Discourse analysis and content analysis' in: *Analysing Media Texts*, Berkshire: Open University Press, 2006, pp. 120-154.

3. To what extent are the articles objective/subjective?

In order to answer this question, objective and subjective should be defined. For this research, objective texts avoid personal comments, identify both the pros and the cons and aim to inform the reader. On the contrary, subjective texts include the author's personal opinion. A personal opinion can be recognised by analysing the choice of words (for example, positive or negative words, irony and rhetorical questions) that set the tone of the text. Moreover, when one-sided argumentation is recognised, the text is identified as subjective. The author's implicit opinion can be recognised when only one-sided sources are used. For that reason, the extent of objectivity of a text will be defined by analysing the sources and the tone of the text.

Subsequently, per subject the answers to these questions are compared in each sub-conclusion. The sub-conclusions, provide answers to the questions specified below:

1. To what extent do the content of the articles differ?
2. From which perspectives are the articles written? I.e. does the article reflect Assad's, the rebels' and/or the international community's viewpoint(s)?
3. To what extent are the articles objective?

By answering these questions, the differences and comparisons of media texts are first identified and then compared per subject.

Finally, the conclusion clarifies whether a clash can be identified in media reporting. Moreover, it answers the question whether Huntington's hypothesis can be assumed as reality (or not) with regard to Western and Muslim media that reported on the civil war in Syria. As the methodological approach is explained, next chapter presents the results of the media analyses.

4. Media Analysis

This chapter studies Western (i.e. BBC and CNN) and Muslim media (Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera) according to various topics, namely:

1. First demonstrations and response of Syrian Government/Army (January-April 2011)
2. The Friends of Syria Meeting in Istanbul (1 April 2012)
3. Suspicion about use of chemical weapons (April-May 2013

The content of the articles, the perspectives (i.e. viewpoints) and degrees of objectivity are explored. This analysis is based on raw analysis material[100] based on discourse analysis methods of Van Dijk and Fairclough. Each section of this chapter provides a sub-conclusion per subject. The sub-conclusions include a comparison of content, perspectives and objectivity. The following sub-questions are answered per subject: 1) To what extent do the *content* of the articles differ?, 2) From which *perspectives* are the articles written? I.e. does the article reflect Assad's, the rebels' and/or the international community's viewpoint(s)?, and 3) To what extent are the articles *objective*? As the organisation of this chapter and research was previously clarified, the various articles are examined here.

4.1. Response to the uprising by the Syrian Government (March 2011)

As earlier described in chapter 2, March 2011 first demonstrations took place. This section analyses four articles on the response of the Syrian regime to the demonstrations in the town of Deraa (also called Daraa). These articles, which are analysed below, were published via the websites of BBC, CNN, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera respectively in this period and embrace this topic. This section concludes with a sub-conclusion discussing the articles' similarities and differences regarding content, perspective and objectivity.

4.1.1. BBC

BBC's article 'Middle East unrest: Three killed at protest in Syria'[101] was published at BBC's website shortly after the first demonstrations, namely on 18th March 2011. The article discusses the unrest in Syria and critique of Assad's severe intervention during the demonstrations. The article includes text and two images. Their content, perspective and objectivity are analysed below.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict
This BBC article states that (at least) three people were killed during protests in Deraa by Syrian security forces. The main line of the text is that President Bashar al-Assad is suppressing its people as he is not tolerating peaceful demonstrations and acts aggressively. This image is

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[100] See also Appendix 2 for raw media analyses.
[101] BBC, 'Middle East unrest: Three killed at protest in Syria', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12791738, last visited 8th June 2013.

created in the first paragraph of the article, which states 'security forces <u>clamped down on</u> a protest rally.' The metaphor in this sentence indicates that the security forces acted more strict, imposed controls, and used force to stop the protest rally. The third paragraph confirms the main argument, it states 'President Bashar al-Assad, whose Baath party has <u>dominated</u> politics for nearly 50 years, <u>tolerates no dissent</u>'. This sentence implies that the Baath party and Bashar al-Assad are oppressing politics and the Syrian people.

Considering the macrostructure of the text and the (sub-)headings it can be concluded that the protest rally in Deraa, Syria, including lethal action taken by Assad's security forces, is topicalised. The first three paragraphs were identified as the introduction of the article. These paragraphs explain the heading and the main argument: 'They [i.e. protesters] were killed by security forces as protesters demanded political freedom and an end to corruption, eyewitnesses and activists told foreign media'. These foreign media, including Syria's state news agency Sana, international news agency Reuters, Agency France Presse (AFP) and the international/American Associated Press news agency, are quoted later in the middle of text (i.e. the development of the text).

The concluding paragraph of the article indicates that more than three people were killed as it states: 'Mazen Dawrwish, a prominent Syrian activist in Damascus, was quoted by the Associated Press news agency as saying that at least five people were shot and killed. He was citing eyewitnesses and hospital officials at the scene.'

The text is accompanied by two images. The first image is a photo of Assad and the second image is a map of Syria. The former image draws attention as it is located in the right corner of the article. It highlights that 'President Bashar al-Assad inherited power from his father in 2000' as this is commented underneath his photo. Analysing the comment and the photo, Assad is presented as a rather strict ruler as he is pointing his finger. The latter pinpoints the capitol Damascus and the town Deraa, where the protests occurred. Considering the text, it is concluded that these images provide background information on the article.

Analysing perspective
Analysing how the conflict is represented by means of the text and the images, it is concluded that Assad is represented as a dominant ruler that suppresses its people by using violence. The protestants are represented as the victims, and the international community, in this case, the UN and the US, is represented as a kind of teacher or judge that tells what is acceptable and what not. This is also emphasised when analysing the use of quotations.

Quotation marks are regularly used in the text to cite spokespersons of the White House and the UN, and the media mentioned above. By means of these quotations the author seems to highlight the visions of the US/U.N., Syria/Syrian state television, and other international news agencies (i.e. Reuters, AFP and AD) on Syrian force's reaction to the protests in Deraa. The first

examples is 'the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon said the "use of lethal force against peaceful demonstrators and their arbitrary arrests" were "unacceptable", according to a spokesman'. Analysing the adjectives in this sentence, 'lethal force', 'peaceful demonstrations', and 'arbitrary arrests' it is noticed that 'lethal' and 'peaceful' show a fair contrast. This emphasises the UN criticism regarding Assad's policy towards the demonstrators.

Another example is 'Syria's state news agency Sana said violence and "acts of sabotage" had broken out at a demonstration in Deraa on Friday, prompting security forces to intervene'. In this sentence 'acts of sabotage' is cited only and therefore these words are highlighted in the text. This can imply that the author distances himself from the text, however it is also noticed that the use of these words are vague as it is unsure what acts of sabotage are.

Final statement that is analysed here is a statement by a victim that informed the AFP: 'He told AFP that "many" of the wounded had been "snatched by security forces" from hospital and moved to unknown places.' The word 'snatched' implies that the wounded had been illegally arrested or taken by the security forces. Furthermore it is noticed that the tone of this sentence is very negative.

When analysing the content of the text and the images together with these quotations it can be concluded that this text is written from the point of view of the international community and the protesters.

Analysing objectivity
When examining objectivity, it can be concluded that numbers are used in the text, however these do not suggest precision and objectivity due to the use of adverbs, examples are 'at least three protesters have been shot dead'; 'Baath party has dominated politics for nearly 50 years'; 'They had been among "several thousand" demonstrators chanting "God, Syria, Freedom" and anti-corruption slogans', and 'at least five people were shot and killed'.

Furthermore, no research, opinion polls etc. were used to suggest precision and objectivity. Moreover, when analysing the sources used in the text, it is striking that mainly foreign sources are utilised, such as the White House national security council spokesperson, UN spokesperson, and international news agencies Reuters, AFP and AP. The only local source that was used for this article is Syria's state news agency Sana. This indicates a strong unbalance and creates a rather subjective article written from a foreign point of view.

4.1.2. CNN

The article 'Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city'[102] was published at the CNN's website, 28th March 2011. The article elaborates on the force used by the Syrian government against protesters and critique by the international community. Next to the text, this article contains several visuals, including one photo underneath the headline, one table with story highlights and two small video clips.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict
When analysing this CNN article, a metaphor in the heading is directly identified. The heading states 'Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city'. The word 'flood' is a metaphor

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[102] CNN, 'Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city',
http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/03/28/syria.unrest/index.html, last visited 8th June 2013.

and implies that security troops/forces are present abundantly in the city of Daraa. Indirectly this implies that the inhabitants of the town of Daraa, were powerless or at least overwhelmed by the security forces. The word 'flood' is repeated in the first sentence of the article, this highlights that that the residents of the city do not make a stance against the security forces.

When investigating the macrostructure of the text, it is noticed that the first two paragraphs introduce the subject of the article:

> **(CNN)** -- Syrian security forces flooded the restive cities of Daraa and Latakia on Monday, patrolling the streets, protecting government buildings and in at least one case clashing with protesters, according to witnesses.
>
> Both cities have been the scene of violent clashes between protesters and security forces in recent days, with at least 37 deaths since last week, according to the U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Two cities are mentioned in the introduction, Daraa and Latakia. These cities are elaborated on later (i.e. in the development part of the text).

The development of the article contains various quotations by several witnesses, state news agency Sana and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. For example, the sixth paragraph states 'Syria's state-run news agency said the government denied firing on protesters, calling the allegations "completely false."' As the last two words are only highlighted, this can be interpreted that the author is distancing himself from this citation. Another example is the citation of a witness in the ninth paragraph: 'We do not understand who these men are but government officials say they are members of a "foreign group" [...] We all think they are lying about this because every time one of them is captured and handed over to the police he is released.' 'Foreign group' is quoted in a citation of a witness, however, this suggests that the witness (and perhaps also the author) distances himself from the quote. The is later confirmed as he says that 'they are lying'.

The fifteenth paragraph Syrian state-run news agency is quoted: 'In Latakia, government blamed "armed gangs" who seized police weapons on the violence last week that led to the death there.' This is a quote, but again the author seems to distances himself as only these words are highlighted by means of quotation marks.

The concluding paragraph cites US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who criticised Syria's government: 'Certainly we deplore the violence in Syria [...] We call as we have on all of these governments during this period of the Arab awakening, as some have called it, to be responding to their people's needs, not to engage in violence, permit peaceful protests and begin a process of economic and political reform.'

The article is complemented with various visuals. One photo is emphasised as it is located underneath the headline. The photo is an image of dozens of young people protesting. The young people seem to be yelling and are putting their hands in the air. One of the protestants has a knife in his hand. Others are holding a banner that shows images of three men, two of these man are probably dead as the photos of two dead people are shown underneath the photos of the men.

Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city

By **the CNN Wire Staff**

March 28, 2011 -- Updated 1615 GMT (0015 HKT)

At least 37 people have died in violent protests since last week in Daraa, the U.N says.

Furthermore, one table with story highlights is located underneath the photo, and two video clips are placed on the left side of the text. One is a short video that explains that Syria's emergency laws are lifted, the other shows one man talking in Arabic, a presenter that interviews the older brother of the man who was talking in Arabic. It is suggested that his younger brother is accused of being a spy. Later it is explained that the younger brother declared to be spying and sold pictures and information about Syria to Israel. The two video clips are indirectly linked with the text as the topic is also the unrest in Syria, however, these videos do not focus on the protests and the violent action taken by the Syrian security forces. The main visual element, the photo underneath the headline, visualises the topic of the article, namely dozens of protesters on the street.

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- **NEW:** Witness: Syrian security forces move to disperse protesters in Daraa

- **NEW:** Mysterious black-shirted men terrorize residents in Latakia, witness says

- Daraa is extremely tense, according to a witness

- U.N.: At least 37 people have died in clashes between protesters and security forces

Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that the main argument of the text is that the Syrian government is using illegal force against civilians. With regard to the representation of the conflict it can be concluded that the Syrian government is represented as oppressive and violent; the protesters are represented as the oppressed, and the international community, in this case, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and especially US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, is represented as a kind of teacher or judge that tells what is acceptable and what not. The main argument is that the Syrian government used force against civilians and protesters, which is unjustified.

Analysing perspective

Based on above content analysis, it can be concluded that the article describes the protests mainly from the viewpoint of the demonstrators and the international community. The article starts with a citation from a local witness and concludes with comments on Assad's troops using force against civilians. When examining quotations, it is striking that local witnesses are frequently cited and used as sources. Also, the author seems to distance himself from quotes by Syrian state television, as analysed above. The concluding paragraphs, that includes citations from US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, confirms the critique on Assad's attitude towards demonstrators.

Analysing objectivity

No research results are utilised to support objectivity, however, numbers are used: 'at least 37 deaths' are based on UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights; about 100 protesters, about 30 minutes, hundreds of government troops are based on quotations from witnesses, and 10 security force members and civilians and two gunmen were based on statements by the Syrian state-run news agency Sana. Most of these numbers do not suggest precision because of the adverbs 'at least' and 'about', and 'hundreds'.

When counting the sources, two unknown witnesses and one witness 'who identified himself only as Adbullah' are calculated, one political dissident (i.e. Aman Aswad), the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Syrian state-run news agency Sana, and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Despite the fact that 'CNN could not independently confirm the accounts because the Syrian government has yet to grant access to the network' the opinion of the Syrian state is less mentioned compared to the witnesses. The international community is (similar to the Syrian state) mentioned twice, however, as the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is quoted in the introduction, and Hillary Clinton's critique on the Syrian government is cited in the concluding paragraphs, the author seems to have a preference for the viewpoint of the international community/the demonstrators and is therefore rather subjective.

4.1.3. Al Arabiya

The article 'Syria forces killed 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack'[103] was issued via Al Arabiya's website, 23th March 2011. The article explains the attack against protesters by Syrian forces, the background of the Syrian conflict, and the comments of the international community towards Assad's aggressive actions. The article consists of text, multiple statements and three images, which are examined below.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict

This article discusses two issues. The introduction and the two sub-headings (i.e. 'Latest in string of uprisings' and 'Assad's reforms') topicalised Bashar al-Assad's battle with its growing protests after the uprisings and reforms of other Arab Spring countries. However, the headline, the image underneath the headline (showing dozens of men protesting) and the text itself more focus on the Syrian forces that killed protesters in Deraa.

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[103] Al Arabiya English, 'Syria forces killed 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack', http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/03/23/142656.html, last visited 8th June 2013.

As mentioned above, the article contains two sub-headings in bold. The first states 'Latest in string of uprisings' which seems to refer to Syria being the latest country of the Arab Spring. The second sub-heading states 'Assad'a reforms'. Probably a spelling mistake was made here, it seems this should be 'Assad's reforms' as his reform's so far are explained below. The sub-headings, which are part of the development of the article, suggest to provide background information on the mosque attack by Syrian forces that resulted in the death of six protesters and on the uprisings in Syria in general. However, when reading the text below the sub-headings the macrostructure of the text is not clear. For example, the text below the sub-heading 'Latest in string of uprisings' elaborates on various (sub-)topics regarding the uprisings and the sensitive situation in Deraa, including the focal point of the uprisings Deraa, an AFP photographer who's equipment was confiscated by Syrian authorities, the way in which Bashar al-Assad became the president of Syria, the death of Dr. Mahamid during the protests in Deraa, protests in Deraa and nearby town Nawa, demands of the protesters, Assad's path of reform and modernisation, and a campaigner that was arrested. As the macrostructure is not very clear, it can only be concluded that the author highlights the topics of the sub-headlines, namely that Syria is the latest country in string of uprisings, and Assad's reforms.

Next to the sub-headings a quotation is highlighted on the side of the article. The citation draws attention to what happened in Deraa, namely, that a doctor was shot by a sniper, telephone networks were disrupted, and locals were able to get to a mosque nearby the Jordanian border where they had Jordanian mobile phone lines.

> " Dr Mahamid was shot by a sniper. The phone networks have been disrupted but we got through to people near the mosque on Jordanian mobile phone lines "
>
> *A Deraa resident*

The text is complemented with one big photo that is placed underneath the headline. Also two small images are utilised that give an impression of protesting youth. The photo shows dozens of men on the streets at what looks like (peaceful) protests. Men and youngsters (also men) that are protesting against the regime. The images give an impression of the protests in Deraa, which are described in the article. However, no severe circumstances are displayed (such as dead people), which are described extensively in the text.

In this article, the uprisings are presented in the context of the Arab Spring and their related uprisings. Assad's forces are represented as the only ones using violence against innocent civilians. Assad is compared with former leaders of Tunisia and Egypt, that are represented as autocratic leaders. For example in the first sentence of the article which states 'After popular revolutions succeeded to topple Tunisia's president Zine El Abedine Ben Ali and forced Egypt's strongman Hosni Mubarak to step down, Syria is currently battling with its growing protests challenging President Bashar al-Assad's Baathist rule.' The sentence includes the metaphor 'topple', which is related or similar to overthrow and move down. It also provides information on the former leaders as you can for example topple a statue or a building, it gives the impression that these leaders used to be very strong, had firm standpoints, and a hard attitude. Hence these characteristics are similar to characteristics of authoritarian or totalitarian leaders. Also the word 'topple' provides information on the manner the leaders' positions came to an end. They were overmastered in a certain manner by means of the revolutionaries.

Youths walk near a portrait of Syria's President Bashar al-Assad, at a square in Deraa

Syrian news agency Sana is represented as an unreliable news agency. Deraa is represented as the town that was the focal point of the rallies. The Syrian economy is represented as a corrupt economy marked by Rami Makhlouf, a cousin of Assad who is said to be a 'business tycoon controlling key companies'. The residents of Deraa are represented as the victims, for example, Doctor Mahamid, who tried to help the victims of an attack by Syrian forces, was killed by a sniper. The EU is represented as the third party disapproving Assad's violent actions.

Protesters march during a demo in the town of Inkhel in the southern region of Hauran

The actors described above are in a way presented that they are related with each other. Sana seems to be the speaker of the Syrian regime as it is a state news agency. A relationship is set up between Rami Maklouf and president Bashar al-Assad, because Maklouf is Assad's cousin. Furthermore contradicting relationships is identified between the residents of Deraa and the Syrian regime (incl. Assad), and the EU and the Syrian regime (incl. Assad).

Analysing perspective
With regard to the perspective, several quotations seem to clarify the articles point of view with regard to the Syrian protests. Throughout the article, quotation marks are frequently used to cite Syrian news agency Sana, local residents and political dissidents, protesters, and EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton. Some quotations are ambiguous as these also seem to be used by the author to distance himself from the quotation and or to put emphasise the expressions. For example, 'armed gang' is quoted in the third paragraph of the text. This paragraph responds to the statement in the second paragraph that claims that six people were killed by Syrian forces 'on Wednesday in an attack on a mosque in the southern city of Deraa'.

> Syrian forces killed at least six people on Wednesday in an attack on a mosque in the southern city of Deraa, site of unprecedented protests, residents said.
>
> Syria blamed an "armed gang" for violence which erupted near the mosque in Deraa and said that only four people died, SANA news agency reported.

The author seems to distance himself from this quotation as he only highlights or cites "armed gang". Furthermore in the sentences the author used the adverb 'only', which provides superfluous information on the statement of Sana news agency. The word 'only' can be interpreted negatively, in other words, the quote can be interpreted as a lie.

In the concluding paragraphs cited Catherine Ashton. The second last sentence states:

> The crackdown has resulted in the deaths of several demonstrators, wounded persons and arbitrary detentions "which is unacceptable", the statement said.

This statement can also be interpreted ambiguously. At first 'which is unacceptable' seems a quotation. However, it can also imply that the author wants to highlight the words of Catherine Ashton.

As the author seems to distance himself from the quotation by the state's news agency, and the author seems to highlight the comments of Catherine Ashton on the violence used by Assad troops, this article is written from the viewpoint of the rebels.

Analysing objectivity

Regarding objectivity, it is noticed that numbers are used. At first these numbers suggest precision, however, when analysing the sources, the sources do not seem fully trustworthy. For example, the headline states 'Syria forces kill 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack'. Later in the text, in the second paragraph, the source of this statement is clarified, namely residents. As these residents are not identified and no (reliable) organisation is mentioned, the source is not fully trustworthy. In subsequent paragraphs, the Syrian official news agency is quoted that states that four people were killed. Based on this, it can be concluded that people were killed, however, the number is uncertain, however it can be assumed that at least four people were killed during a protest at a mosque in Deraa.

The following sources are utilised for this article:

- Deraa residents,
- Official Syrian news agency Sana,
- International news agency Reuters,
- A political activist,
- Lebanon's al-Manar television,
- The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights,
- Washington (i.e. the White House or the US government),
- EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton.

Local residents were frequently cited throughout the article. Quotes by Syrian news agency Sana and Catherine Ashton were put emphasis on as these occupy four and three paragraphs, respectively. Other sources were less emphasised as these were mentioned once. As local

residents and witnesses were used mostly, an unbalance is identified. Based on this unbalance, the use of various ambiguous sources and quotations, this article is categorised as subjective.

4.1.4. Al Jazeera

The Al Jazeera article 'Violence erupts at protests in Syria'[104] was published online 18th March 2011. The article describes the views of the Syrian government and the witnesses regarding the violence that occurred during protests in Deraa, Homs and Banyas. This section analyses the full article, including the main text and one video.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict
The Al Jazeera article describes the violence in the three Syrian towns of Deraa, Banyas and Homs. The confrontations erupted after a 200-strong protest in Damascus that was forcefully broken up by baton-wielding plain-clothes Syrian police. The latter triggered a video on the Facebook group The Syrian Revolution 2011, The video showed a man being dragged out of the Omayyed mosque in central Damascus. The Facebook group called for protests to mark Friday as a "day of dignity" earlier. The confrontations between protestors and the police during the protests were heavy; hundreds of protestors were injured and at least three people were killed by security forces.

With regard to content analysis, the comment below the headline is emphasised by means of bold letters. The comment states: 'Reports of violence as residents of three towns fill the streets in demonstrations against the government.' One sub-title quotes Syrian state news agency Sana that asserts that "acts of sabotage' broke out at a protest. The latter statement is rather vague use of words, as these acts are not defined.

The text is complemented with a video located underneath the headline. The video provides the reader/viewer images and footage of the protests discussed in the article. Additionally, in contradiction with the text, the video clearly states the three towns where violence erupted, namely Deraa, Banyas and Homs. Also, the video starts with a voice-over stating 'Syria has not managed to suppress the demonstrators..'. This can imply that it had suppressed demonstrators before, however, this is ambiguous. Furthermore, the word 'suppress' indirectly implies that Syria's government has suppressive characteristics. Finally, the video explains the footage that was found on the internet (also mentioned in the article), which is not a fully reliable source.

The following identities are set up in the video and in the text: Syrian people on the streets/protesters/infiltrators, witnesses, security forces/Syrian Police/troops, state news agency Sana, government supporters, and Bashar al-Assad and Hafez al-Assad. The following relationships are identified between the actors described here. The Syrian people on the streets/protesters/infiltrators/witnesses are conflicting with Syrian security forces/Syrian police/troops. Former actors appear to have a similar standpoint on the demonstrations. Their point of view is thus contradicting with the point of view of Syrian security forces/Syrian Police/troops, state news agency Sana, Government supporters, Bashar al-Assad and Hafez al-Assad.

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[104] Al Jazeera English, 'Violence erupts at protests in Syria', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/201131817214964640.html, last visited 8th June 2013.

Analysing perspective

When analysing perspective, quotation marks are considered. In this text, quotation marks are mainly utilised to cite witnesses, Syrian state news agency Sana and the Facebook group *The Syrian Revolution 2011*, for example:

- Thousands of anti-government demonstrators in Deraa who chanted 'God, Syria, Freedom'.
- The Syrian state news agency Sana that said 'acts of sabotage' had broken out at the protest. The news agency was quoted again:

'Acts of sabotage'

The state news agency SANA said "acts of sabotage" had broken out at the protest, which prompted the security forces to intervene.

"Infiltrators took advantage of a gathering of citizens near the Omari Mosque in the city of Deraa on Friday afternoon to provoke chaos through acts of violence which resulted in damage to private and public property," the agency reported.

"The infiltrators also set cars and shops on fire, which obliged security forces to intervene in order to protect citizens and property. They were also attacked by the infiltrators before the latter dispersed."

- Finally, the Facebook group *The Syrian Revolution 2011* was quoted. It 'earlier called for protests to mark Friday as a "day of dignity"'.

Considering these quotations and the rest of the text and video, two point of views of the violence are identified. First, the view of witnesses: thousands were calling "God, Syria, Freedom" and accused president Bashar al-Assad's family of corruption. Security forces intervened. These troops were reinforced with helicopter troops that landed in the city's football stadium.

The second standpoint, is the one of state's news agency Sana which stated that "'acts of sabotage' had broken out at the protests, people provoked chaos through acts of violence," which resulted in damage in private and public property. The protestors set cars and shops on fire, therefore the security forces were urged to 'intervene in order to protect citizens and property.' The 'forces were also attacked by the infiltrators.'

Analysing objectivity

As viewpoints of both the rebels and the Syrian regime are pointed out clearly and both extensively, this article seems objective. However, the video explains the footage that was found on the internet (also mentioned in the article). As this is not a fully reliable source, this article is categorised as rather objective.

4.1.5. Sub-conclusion

Comparing content & representations of the conflict

Comparing the articles above, it can be concluded that even though the media covered stories on the reaction of the Assad regime towards the demonstrations held in Deraa, the focus of the articles are quite similar. With regard to the Western media, their content, focus and main

arguments are rather similar as the articles by the BBC and CNN both cover the protests extensively. These articles also criticise Assad's severe policy towards the protesters. Content of the Al Arabiya article is similar to the articles of the Western media, however, this article also provides backgrounds information of the protests in Syria. The content of the article published by Al Jazeera differs, as the latter article mainly describes the violent protests in three Syrian towns, and the stances of the rebels and the Syrian regime, respectively.

Comparing perspectives

When analysing the standpoints of the articles, it is noted that the BBC's and CNN's articles mainly wrote from the perspective of the Syrian civilians/victims and the international community. The article from Al Arabiya was mainly written from the perspective of the rebels. As mentioned above, the article published by Al Jazeera described both points of views, namely that of the demonstrators and the Syrian regime.

Comparing objectivity

With regard to analysing objectivity of the articles on the protests in Deraa and the severe reaction of the Syrian forces, it is concluded that the BBC and CNN were rather subjective. BBC's article was mainly based on foreign sources, and CNN's article was mainly based on undefined sources. The article published by Al Arabiya is categorised as subjective because of the use of merely statements of victims and witnesses. Finally, Al Jazeera's article is categorised as rather objective thanks to its balance in sources and quotations by Sana, the state's news agency, and local residents.

The sub-conclusion can be summarised in the following table:

Medium	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
BBC	Middle East unrest: Three killed at protest in Syria	Three people killed by Syrian security forces and comments on lethal actions by Syrian regime	Syrian civilians and victims/ international community	rather subjective +/-
CNN	Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city	Force used by the Syrian regime against protesters and critique on severe actions by Assad regime	Demonstrators and international community	rather subjective +/-
Al Arabiya	Syria forces killed 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack	Background of protests in Syria, and comments towards Assad's aggressive actions	Rebels	subjective -
Al Jazeera	Violence erupts at protests in Syria	Viewpoints of the Syrian government and the rebels regarding the violence during protests at three Syrian towns	Syrian regime and demonstrators	Rather objective +

4.2. The Friends of Syria Meeting (1 April 2012)

The Friends of Syria meeting (also called the Istanbul summit) took place in Istanbul, 1st April 2012. During this meeting, which was attended by more than 70 country representatives, various measures were discussed to support the Syrian opposition by means of providing aid and communication equipment, paying salaries of FSA soldiers and by intensifying measures against the Assad regime. This section analyses four articles published by BBC, CNN, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera, respectively and concludes with a comparison of these articles.

4.2.1. BBC

'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria'[105] is an article published by the BBC on April 1st 2012 and concerns the Istanbul summit. In this piece, the Istanbul summit is represented as a meeting where more than 70 Western and Arab countries discuss the Syrian conflict and look for solutions. Most aim to increase pressure on Damascus by supporting the opposition, however, as the article mentioned, the international community appears divided on the subject. Iraq attended the summit, but clarified that it was opposed to arming the opposition. Russia, China and Iran are also critical on the meeting, as they did not even attend the 'Friends of Syria' gathering. Consequently, the Syrian regime seems to have little fear from the Istanbul meeting. The Syrian state television described the summit as the '"enemies of Syria" meeting'. Next to the text, the article includes various images and a video, which are analysed below.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict
The headline and the first four paragraphs introduce the topic, namely ministers from Western and Arab countries sought to increase pressure on Syria at the Friends of Syria meeting in Istanbul. The development elaborates on the pressure that the US and Turkey put on the Syrian regime by means of various citations. It is said that 'Nearly a week has gone by, and we have to conclude that the regime is adding to its long list of broken promises' and that the 'Syrian regime should not be allowed at any cost to manipulate this [Annan] plan to gain time'. The main argument is highlighted by means of 'we cannot wait' quotes by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Some words, for example 'dubbed' and 'balked', that are used in this article reveal the point of view of the author, who seems to be convinced that the Assad regime is conducting crimes and should be stopped and therefore the opposition should be supported. The final paragraphs give the reader concluding thoughts on the numbers of people that were killed the past few days and since March 2011. Indirectly this supports the main argument that, because the numbers can be reason to take action and to put pressure on or threaten the Assad regime.

Some words are emphasised by means of capital and/or bold letters, such as the sub-headline 'We cannot wait' at first seems to attract the reader's attention because it is vague at first. However, when continuing reading the text it is noted that the sub-headline refers to a quotation by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who stated '"Nearly a week has gone by, and we have to conclude that the regime is adding to its long list of broken promises." […] Mrs Clinton called for a unified response on renewed action against Damascus should it fail to implement the Annan plan, saying "we cannot sit back and wait any longer".' This sub-headline can indirectly be

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[105] BBC, 'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17576134, last visited 29th June 2013.

interpreted as either a threat to the Assad regime or as a must as it is stated that the international community or the US will intervene when the Assad regime does not implement the Kofi Annan Plan.

Furthermore it is striking that quotation marks are frequently used in the text. Most refer to quotations by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, BBC correspondent Jim Muir, Burhan Ghalioun (leader of the SNC), French Foreign minister Alain Juppe, head of Arab League Nabil al-Arabi, Iraqi Foreign Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, and Syrian foreign ministry spokesman Jihad al-Makdissi. Most remarkable citations and use of quotation marks are:

- 'The "Friends of the Syrian People" summit' in the second sentence of the article. As this is not a quotation; quotation marks are used to highlight the name of the summit and the group of countries supporting the people in Syria (including the rebels);
- 'The "enemies of Syria" meeting' is highlighted in the ninth line of the article. This is a citation from the Syrian state television and it can be interpreted ambiguously. First this can be interpreted as a regular citation, however, it can also implicitly reveal the author's opinion.
- '"we cannot sit back and wait any longer"' is said by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. This is an important citation, because this threat to Assad's regime is the main argument of the article, and is repeatedly stated (see also sub-headline 'we cannot wait', and other quotation in seventh line of the article).
- "security corridors" was mentioned by Mr. Ghalioum, the leader of the SNC and these words can be categorised as military jargon. Later in the sentence it is explained what he means, namely corridors 'to allow the delivery of aid to civilians'.

The piece of writing is complemented with various visuals, namely one video clip right on the top, which is an interview with UK Foreign Secretary William Hague who was at the summit and explains the current situation in Syria; one photo of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan, the photo states 'Mrs Clinton and Mr Erdogan are both sceptical about Syria's intentions on the Annan plan'. At the bottom of the article, a photo reportage of the Syrian Civil War is located. The photos (complemented with explanations) provide background information on the conflict in Syria. The main text is also complemented with an analysis of the situation by BBC correspondent in Beirut Jim Miur. The visuals and the analysis underline that no easy solutions exist. Furthermore, the photo description of Clinton and Erdogan

Mrs Clinton and Mr Erdogan are both sceptical about Syria's intentions on the Annan plan

Syria in turmoil

What's happening in Syria?

The Syrian government has been trying to suppress an uprising inspired by events in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The UN says thousands have been killed in the crackdown, and that many more have been detained and displaced. The Syrian government says hundreds of security forces personnel have also died combating "armed terrorist gangs".

1/9

highlight that 'Mrs Clinton and Mr Erdogan are both sceptical about Syria's intentions on the Annan plan'. The video clip and the photo of Clinton and Erdogan are merely a representation of the text. The analysis and the photo report provides extra information on the conflict.

Analysing perspective

A few words/metaphors in the development of the text are striking as these enlighten the author's point of view on the issue, who seems to be a supporter of the Syrian opposition. The fourth sentence, for example, states 'Damasucs dubbed the summit the "enemies of Syria" and has declared its victory over rebel fighters.' The word 'dubbed' is striking here, because instead of dubbed the author could also have used the word called, which sounds more neutral compared to dubbed. The verb 'to dub' in this context has a negative tone, which implicitly exposes the author's opinion. Another striking word is 'balked' in the eighth sentence which states that 'Russia and China have balked at Security Council resolutions and were pointedly absent in Istanbul.' To balk is another negative word that sets a negative tone, and therefore also this word reveals the author's perspective.

Analysis

Jim Muir
BBC News, Beirut

The Istanbul meeting faces a mass of dilemmas, contradictions and complexities, with no clear way forward.

Western leaders talk of the need to step up pressure on the regime and support the opposition. But they have no intention of intervening militarily in any way, or even backing the rebels with weaponry.

The opposition is divided, and many of its fighters on the ground have been crushed by a ruthless crackdown. It is under pressure to accept the peace plan of Kofi Annan. The rebels know that in any talks, the balance of power will be heavily against them.

So there's little reason to hope for a swift end to the violence other than on the regime's terms. It clearly believes it has little to fear from the Istanbul gathering.

Analysing objectivity

Some numbers are used, however, these do not necessarily suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility, for example: 'Violence continued on Sunday, with more than 10 people reported killed, a day after more than 60 people died across the country'; 'Our correspondent says that in the latest violence, activists reported attacks by security forces in areas near the Iraqi border to the east, and the Jordanian frontier to the south. The UN believes at least 9,000 people have died in the year-long revolt against Mr Assad's rule.'

Throughout the article various sources are used and multiple international players are quoted, including US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, BBC Correspondent Jim Muir, SNC leader Nurhan Ghalioun, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, head of Arab League Nabil al-Arabi,Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, Syrian foreign ministry spokesman Jihad al-Makdissi, and the UN. As multiple sources are utilised, this item seems objective, however, as evaluated above, the author's opinion is identified, this article is categorised as rather subjective.

4.2.2. CNN

The CNN article 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens'[106] was published via its news website on April 1st 2012. In short, the thematic line of the piece of writing is that Assad is failing in implementing Annan's peace plan. As a result, the numbers of victims and deaths are still rising. The international community should therefore support the opposition in its fight against the Assad regime.

The text of the article is complemented with five videos and one column with 'story highlights'. One video clip is located underneath the headline and it covers a report on the Istanbul summit by CNN correspondent Ivan Watson. Also, four small videos are located on the side of the text. The videos consider 1) the violence in Syria despite a cease-fire call, 2) Hillary Clinton who states that the international community is making progress on Syria during an interview, 3) Clinton who states that the US will support the Syrian opposition in a speech, and 4) Clinton who states to be seeking for solutions for the Syrian question. The major video is a representation of what is mentioned in the text. The four small videos complement the text with their visuals.

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- **NEW:** 80 die in Syria, including 21 in both Homs and Idlib, an opposition group says
- Rebel Free Syrian Army members will be paid, an opposition leader says
- He solicits international support to stop the killing and help citizens in need
- Several nations voiced support and offered aid for the opposition at a conference

Analysing content & representation of the conflict

Considering the macrostructure of the text it is noticed that the international support to the opposition is topicalised in the heading. The international support is also mentioned in the first (introductory) paragraph, but it mainly highlights the strengthening of the Syrian opposition as it states 'The once-fractured Syrian opposition appeared to take major steps forward Sunday, with the Syrian National Council earning international recognition and vowing to pay members of its fighting force who are battling President Bashar al-Assad's own troops.'

The development of the text is divided in six arguments or parts. First, after the introductory paragraph, SNC leader Burhan Ghalioun is quoted and elaborated on. He underlines that the 'Syrian opposition needs the international community's help to address ongoing violence'. Second, the text elaborates on the international community's answer to his plea and the measurements the international community will take to support the Syrian people. This is mainly by providing $12 million in aid. Subsequently, the SNC states that this is not enough and more help is needed for the refugees, but also to pay the Free Syrian Army. Fourth, the author goes into detail in the death rates in Syria and states the numbers according to the rebels (to be specific, Local Coordination Committees), Syrian state television Sana, and the UN. Next, the Annan plan has been described. These three paragraphs (the 25th to 27th) are identified as the fifth part of the development of the text. The sixth part of the development embraces US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's speech. She stressed that al-Assad's troops were not implementing the Annan peace plan and therefore sanctions against the Syrian regime should be taken. The final two paragraphs include statements of Sana, who labelled the summit 'the "Conference of the enemies of Syria"'. When analysing the macrostructure of the text, it can be

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[106] CNN, 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens', http://edition.cnn.com/2012/04/01/world/meast/syria-unrest, last visited 29th June 2013.

concluded that the headline, the introduction and the development of the article topicalise the international support for the opposition. The final two paragraphs, leave the reader with concluding thoughts on Syrian state television's thoughts (which implicitly is the Syrian regime's point of view as Sana is state-owned[107]) on the Friends of Syria meeting.

Throughout the item, Syria is represented as a country in war. The many deaths are described by SNC leader Ghalioun, Local Coordination Committees, Syrian state television Sana and the UN. Mainly in Hillary Clinton's statements, the Syrian regime is represented as a regime that is not keeping their promises and continues fighting despite the promise to accept the Annan peace plan. Turkey (Erdogan) and the US (Clinton) are represented as the pioneers of the Group of the Friends of the Syrian People because of their statements that disapprove the use of violence by the Syrian regime against its own people. On the contrary, Iran, China, Russia and Iraq are represented as the opponents and supports of Assad's regime. Sana, the Syrian Arabic News Agency, is represented as the voice of the Syrian government. However, the authors seem to distance themselves from the quotations, and therefore they are negatively represented in the article.

Analysing perspective

The short citations in the text are striking as the authors seem to distance themselves from the text or highlight the words. The first words cited are from SNC member Adib Shishakly, who highlights that the support of the international community so far 'is not enough'. Because this is a very short citation, the authors seem to underline that the international community is not providing enough help to solve the situation in Syria or that this is an appeal of the SNC to international actors.

The second short citation is from Syria's directorate-general for antiquities and museums who 'blamed "terrorist groups" for targeting and, in some cases damaging world heritage sites in Damascus, Aleppo, Old Bosra, Palmya and elsewhere, according to Sana report.' By emphasising the words 'terrorist groups' the authors highlight the manner of reporting about the rebels (i.e. they call them terrorist groups) by the Syrian news agency and they underline the opinion of the state. Moreover, they seem to distance themselves from this quotation by Sana, because the rest of the article and the article's main argument focus on the international support of the opposition, the SNC and LCCs.

The authors again give the impression to distance themselves from quotations by president Al-Assad and Syrian state TV. For example, the article states that 'Last week, Al-Assad pledged to implement the plan brokered by Annan and vowed to "spare no effort" to ensure its success.' Shortly after this citation, Hillary Clinton was cited six times. She stressed for example that 'the Syrian president was "adding to its long list of broken promises" by failing to implement the Annan peace plan.'

The final quotations by Syrian state TV Sana are also striking. These state:

> 'Syrian State TV carried some of the Istanbul speeches live, labeling the meeting the "Conference of the enemies of Syria."
>
> "It is great that the conference is taking place on April 1 because it is April Fools' Day," the Syrian news anchor said, accusing the

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[107] Sana, 'About Sana', http://Sana.sy/eng/article/27.htm, last visited 29th June 2013.

attendees of serving Israeli interests and Erdogan of carrying out
Clinton's bidding."'

Again, the authors distance themselves from the quotations as they later in the sentence clarify that the Syrian news anchor accused the attendees of 'serving Israeli interests and Erdogan of carrying out Clinton's bidding'. The word 'accusing' is important here, as it illustrates that the authors disagree with the statements by the Syrian State TV.

Analysing objectivity
The various citations from, for example, SNC leader Burhan Ghalioun, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, SNC member Adib Shishakly, one LCC opposition group, Syrian state television Sana, and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton show that various sources are utilised to compile the piece of writing. However, the use of citations illustrate the authors point of views, which results in a rather subjective text.

Next to the use of sources, the use of numbers should also be considered in order to analyse objectivity. In this article, numbers are used to point out that the numbers of victims and death people are still mounting. For example, Local Coordination Committees (LCCs) stated that 80 people were killed around the country on Sunday, and Sana reported that five military and law enforcement members were buried Sunday. The article stated that 'CNN cannot independently confirm reports from inside Syria because the government severely restricts access by international journalists', but the UN 'estimates at least 1 million have been affected and more than 9,000 have died since the unrest began. Opposition activists put the death toll at more than 10,000 people'. The use of numbers are explained in the piece itself, this contributes to the objectivity of the article. Analysing objectivity of the article (including use of sources and numbers), this item is categorised as rather subjective.

4.2.3. Al Arabiya

The article '"Friends of Syria" recognize SNC as "a legitimate representative" of Syrians'[108] was published at the website of Al Arabiya English, 1 April 2012. The text elaborates on the Friends of Syria that recognised the SNC as a legitimate representative of all Syrians during the Istanbul summit. Assad has not implemented Annan's peace plan, and the "Friends" will support the SNC and the FSA by paying the salaries of opposition fighters for three months and by supplying non-lethal equipment to the opposition. However, the Istanbul summit had produced little (according to Middle East expert), and 'Western and Arab sanctions on Syria have failed so far to soften the government's crackdown on its opponents.' Just before the meeting, Assad's regime declared victory over the rebels [...] and said it had no plans to immediately withdraw troops', and the bloodshed continues. The piece of writing is accompanied by one video. The video shows US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who states that the deadline was said to stop the killing in Syria, the support of the international community to the Syrian opposition.

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[108] Al Arabiya English, '"Friends of Syria" recognize SNC as "a legitimate representative" of Syrians', http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/04/01/204594.html, last visited 29th June 2013.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict

Throughout the article Assad is represented as the Syrian president who is not keeping his promises to the UN and the Arab League, as he is not implementing the six-point plan by Kofi Annan, because he did not withdraw his troops and did not allow humanitarian access in the country.[109] The international community is represented as the 'Friends' of Syria. They are described as being a 'chronic disunity' (first sentence in the article). Also it is stated that the 'Istanbul meeting had produced little', 'they have very limited amount of leverage that they can place on the Assad regime', and 'Western and Arab sanctions on Syria have failed so far to soften the government's crackdown on its opponents'. Based on these descriptions it can be concluded that they are represented as a disunited international player that lacks the will/unity/strength to intervene in Syria and stop Assad and his regime. The Free Syrian Army and the Syrian National Council are described as the 'loosely organized armed opposition to Assad'.

The first two paragraphs are considered the introduction of the article. The two introductory paragraphs set the tone of the article. These paragraphs state:

> 'The "Friends of Syria" on Sunday recognized the opposition Syrian National Council (SNC) as a legitimate representative of all Syrians, and <u>"noted"</u> it as the main opposition interlocutor with the international community - <u>wording that fell short of full recognition of a group hampered by chronic disunity.</u>
>
> The group made <u>no mention of supporting or arming the rebel Free Syrian Army</u> (FSA), as advocated by some Gulf Arab states, but said it would "continue to work on additional appropriate measures with a view to the protection of the Syrian people."'

When analysing these sentences, it is noticed that the tone is rather negative. The words underlined demonstrate the author's disappointment in the outcome of the Friends of Syria meeting or the international community's support to the SNC and the FSA.

The development elaborates on President Bashar al-Assad and its regime that (still) has not implemented Annan's six-point peace plan yet. It also cites Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, who states 'We will not let the Syrian regime misuse another opportunity, which is the last chance for the situation in Syria'. This sentence, the article states, is interpreted by Gulf States 'to fund, if not arm, the FSA' and by the United States and others 'to allow supplies of non-lethal equipment to the loosely organized armed opposition to Assad'. The text further describes the support of the international community to the SNC and the FSA.

Next, the tone of the text is again quite negative when Middle East expert Chris Phillips is quoted, he said:

> '[...] the <u>Istanbul meeting had produced little</u>.'
>
> "<u>It's another damp squib</u> from the international community, reflecting the fact that <u>their hands are tied</u>," he said, citing divisions over arming the rebels between the West and Arab

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[109] See analysis of quotations in same section.

League hawks such as Qatar and Saudi Arabia.'

"They have a very limited amount of leverage that they can place on the Assad regime," Phillips said, noting that the group's endorsement of Annan's plan had effectively dropped previous Arab and Western demands for Assad's removal.'

The author then provides his conclusion: 'Western and Arab sanctions on Syria have failed so far to soften the government's crackdown on its opponents. Ahead of the gathering, Assad's regime declared victory over rebels and again voiced support for Annan's plan, but kept up its shelling of rebel positions and said it had no plans to immediately withdraw troops.' The author also provides some concluding thoughts in the concluding paragraphs that mention the number of people killed since the uprising began.

Analysing perspective

The introductory paragraph highlights the word 'noted' by means of quotation marks. This is a quotation, however, the author's opinion is explained as the sentence concludes with 'wording that fell short of full recognition of a group hampered by chronic disunity'.

❝ We will not let the Syrian regime misuse another opportunity ❞
Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu

The author highlights one quotation by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu. This quotation is important, according to the author. He explains:

'Gulf states are likely to interpret the phrase as a license to fund, if not arm, the FSA, while the United States and others will see it as allowing supplies of non-lethal equipment to the loosely organized armed opposition to Assad.'

The use of this citation illuminates the article's support to the Syrian opposition. In addition, the former quotations analysed above show the negative tone of the piece of writing. The negative tone throughout the article reveals the author's disappointment in the international community regarding their support to the Syrian opposition.

Analysing objectivity

The quotation and the negative tone throughout the article reveal the author's opinion. However, when analysing objectivity also the use of numbers should be analysed. The article asserts the following regarding support to the opposition by the international community: 'Gulf states have pledged to provide $100 million dollars to pay for the salaries of opposition fighters for three months', and 'about $500,000 dollars was already sent to fighters inside Syria last week'.

Regarding the number of death people, the following numbers are mentioned in the article: last Sunday 'at least 73 people were killed' and '9,000 people dead since the uprising began in March last year, according to the UN.' The numbers contribute to the item's objectivity,

however, as the author's point of view is present throughout the piece of writing, this article is categorised as subjective.

4.2.4. Al Jazeera

The article 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC'[110] was published by Al Jazeera English on 1 April 2012. The item includes text, one photo and one video clip, these are analysed below. The article's topic is the Friends of Syria meeting in Istanbul. In the text the following actors are discussed: the SNC, which is represented as the legal representative to all Syrians; the Friends of Syria, that are represented as a group of more than 70 countries supporting the Syrian opposition (incl. The SNC and the FSA). The Syrian government (and its troops) are displayed as a strong authoritarian regime; on the contrary, the Syrian opposition and the Syrian people are displayed as vulnerable and fragile.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict
The thematic line of the text is that during the Friends of Syria meeting in Turkey, the international community decided to intensify their support to the opposition in its fight against Assad, because Assad is not keeping his promises (i.e. he has not implemented the six-point plan by Kofi Annan) and more than 9,000 people have died in the year since the start of the conflict. The headline and the introductory paragraphs first highlight that the Friends of Syria recognised the SNC as the legitimate representative of all Syrians. The development of the text it is clarified that, during the Istanbul summit, the Friends of Syria discussed ways to put pressure on Syrian President Bashar al-Assad 'to end violence and to support the Syrian opposition'. It is the moral obligation of the international community to act, according to Turkish PM Erdogan. Various sanctions to the Syrian regime were discussed, e.g. 'sending aid to those in need, despite Syrian efforts to block it', non-lethal support such as communications gear and medical aid to an increasingly armed opposition', to hold 'Syrian leaders and security forces to account for suspected abuses amid allegations of murder, torture and indiscriminate shelling of civilian areas'.

The following is emphasised by means of bold letters and quotation marks. 'Moral obligation', this refers to the obligation of the international community to act and thus to intervene; 'Enemies of Syria', instead of calling them the Friends of Syria, Sana, the Syrian state news agency called them the 'enemies of Syria'. It also stated that 'the meeting in Istanbul was "a series of related circles of conspiracy against Syria as the participants in it are enemies of Syria"'; 'True to form' refers to the Syrian regime that stays true to 'form [...] "making a deal and then refus(es) to implement it", Clinton said.'

As stated above, the text is complemented with a photo and a video. The photo is located underneath the heading and shows international (Western and Arab) officials greeting each other (and shake hands) at the meeting in Istanbul. The comment below the image states: 'Western and Arab nations in Istanbul sought to exert more pressure on Syrian President Bashar al-Assad [Reuters]'. The video includes the speech by SNC leader Burhan Ghalioun. Both issues visualised on the photo and in the video are also represented in the text.

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[110] Al Jazeera English, 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/04/20124113351659274.html, last visited 29th June 2013.

Burhan Ghalioun: Do not prolong the catastrophe

Analysing perspective

The item's perspective is illuminated via several striking words. The fourth paragraph, for example, asserts 'Earlier on Sunday, Burhan Ghalioun, the SNC head, had urged the international community to take serious action to halt the government's deadly crackdown on an anti-government uprising'. 'Deadly' and 'crackdown' are very strong words indicating that the opposition did not make a stance against the government forces. These words seem to indicate that the author is supporting the opposition. Because the author could have also used the words repressive action instead of deadly crackdown , for example. Other striking words are 'crushing' and 'swept', those are used in one of the concluding paragraph that states:

> 'More than 9,000 people, UN officials estimate, have died in the
> year since Assad's forces began crushing pro-democracy protests
> inspired by revolutions that have swept the leaders of Tunisia,
> Egypt, Libya and Yemen from power.'

The word 'crushing' (similar to previous words 'deadly crackdown') indicates that the Syrian people, the opposition and protesters were powerless compared to the government regime. As a result, the Syrian regime and troops are displayed as powerful, vigorous and dominant. Other former Arab leaders, on the other hand, are displayed as unsteady or weak, because they are 'swept [...] from power'. The other Arab oppositions are therefore indirectly represented as strong and powerful. The author could have also formulated this sentence differently by using, for example, stopping instead of crushing, and removed instead of swept. This would have contributed to the objectivity of the text.

Analysing objectivity

The words 'deadly crackdown', 'crushing' and 'swept [...] from power' therefore indicate a slightly subjective author. However, the use of sources and numbers are also considered when analysing objectivity of an article. The subsequent numbers are mentioned:

> 'The second "Friends of Syria" meeting opened with more than 70
> representatives discussing ways to pressure Syrian President
> Bashar al-Assad to end violence and to support the Syrian
> opposition.'

'<u>More than 9,000 people</u>, UN officials estimate, have died <u>in the</u>
<u>year</u> since Assad's forces began crushing pro-democracy protests
inspired by revolutions that have swept the leaders of Tunisia,
Egypt, Libya and Yemen from power.'

The numbers utilised are not very precise due to the adverbs 'more than'. However, throughout
the article various sources are mentioned and quoted, including SNC head Burhan Ghalioun,
Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Syrian state news agency Sana, the Qatar Prime
Minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim Al Thani, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and the UN (see
passage above). Most of these are representatives of the Friends of Syria group. Only the UN,
another organisation that represents the international community, and Sana are not regarded as
'Friends'. In the Syrian conflict, several parties are involved. These include advocates of Assad and
the Syrian regime (including the military and Sana), and supporters of the Syrian opposition
(including the SNC and the FSA). The international community, including the UN, the Arab League
and the Friends of Syria group, are considered bystanders of the conflict. The latter group vaguely
support the opposition by for example supplying communications equipment, however they did
not specifically intervened and stopped the conflict. When separating these parties and
comparing them with the sources used in the piece of writing, it can be concluded that the article
mainly includes quotations from parties that support the opposition. Taking this, and the use of
words, into account, this article is categorised as rather subjective.

4.2.5. Sub-conclusion

Comparing content & representations of the conflict
Evaluating the articles that reported on the Friends of Syria meeting that took place in Istanbul, 1
April 2012, the following can be concluded. The content of the articles are similar. All pieces
stated that the Friends of Syria group were intensifying their support to the Syrian opposition and
all reported that the group was divided on the subject. Therefore, according to the four articles, it
was difficult to strongly intervene (i.e. act militarily). The focus of the articles, however, slightly
differ. The item 'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria' by the BBC advocates that
the international community should intervene, however, due to is disunity, it is not able to do so.
CNN's article 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens' softly
praises that the intensification of the international community's support to the Syrian opposition.
The piece published by Al Arabiya, 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC as "legitimate representative"
of Syrians', elaborated on the Western and Arab sanctions to the Syrian regime that failed, and it
also indirectly represented the FSA as the weak Syrian opposition that is loosely organized. The
author therefore seemed rather disappointed in the international community and the Syrian
opposition. The final article, '"Friends" of Syria recognise SNC' by Al Jazeera, indirectly argues
that the 'Friends of Syria' should (and also will) intensify support to the Syrian opposition.

Comparing perspectives
It is striking that all four articles are mainly describing the perspective(s) of the Syrian opposition
and/or the international community (i.e. the Friends of Syria). BBC's item was written from the
perspective of the SNC and the FSA. Both CNN's and Al Jazeera's articles were written from the
point of views of the opposition and the Friends of Syria group. Al Arabiya's article was most

different compared to the other articles, because of its prominent negative text. The piece of writing mainly provided critique on the lack of support to the Syrian people (including the SNC and the FSA) by the international community. Moreover, it (indirectly) remarked that the Syrian opposition is weak, it mentioned for example that the opposition is loosely organised.

Comparing objectivity

The four articles mainly elaborated on the point of views of the international community and their support to the Syrian opposition. This is not unusual, because the Friends of Syria meeting was an international gathering. In general, however, in order to provide a balanced overview of the situation, more attention could have been given to the stands of the countries that did not attend the Istanbul summit and the position of the Syrian regime. Both Western and Muslim articles utilised multiple sources for quotations by the international community. Sources from the Syrian government or Syrian state television Sana, on the contrary, were not or rarely mentioned. Articles published by the BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera are therefore categorised as rather subjective. The Al Arabiya publication is categorised as subjective due to its negative tone throughout the article.

The sub-conclusion can be summarised in the following table:

Medium	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
BBC	Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria	The international community must intervene, but cannot because it is divided on the issue	Syrian opposition	Rather subjective +/-
CNN	Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens	Syrian opposition supported by international community	International Community / Syrian opposition	Rather subjective +/-
Al Arabiya	Friends of Syria recognize SNC as "legitimate representative" of Syrians	Western and Arab sanctions to the Syrian regime have failed / the opposition is loosely organised	Syrian people (victims)	Subjective -
Al Jazeera	"Friends" of Syria recognise SNC	Friends of Syria should and will intensify support to the Syrian opposition	Syrian opposition / International Community	Rather subjective +/-

4.3. Suspicion about use of chemical weapons (April-May 2013)

In April and May 2013 the international community, as well as the Syrian opposition, were suspicious about use of chemical weapons by troops of the Syrian regime against its civilians. This section analyses four articles on this subject from the BBC, CNN, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera respectively. As described in the sub-conclusion, this (sub-)analysis shows that each news provider puts emphasis on various (sub-)topics, all articles are written from different view points, and they differ in degree of objectivity.

4.3.1. BBC

The article 'Syria crisis: "Strong evidence" of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb' was published at BBC's website in the period when the Free Syrian Army, the Syrian National Council and the international community suspected Assad for using chemical weapons in its conflict with the rebels, namely 16th May 2013. The article elaborates on the use of chemical weapons by Assad's troops against Syrian civilians and besides the text the article contains various visuals, such as a video clip, two photos, a table with background information of Syria's alleged chemical weapons, and citations which are analysed below.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict

BBC's article 'Syria crisis: "Strong evidence" of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb'[111] strongly suggests that Assad's troops used chemical weapons against civilians. This argument is first explained in a video clip underneath the heading. The video includes footage filmed by civilians, i.e. people with constricted pupils, vomiting and more; a doctor that explains the symptoms of chemical poison, and the garden where the device with chemical canister landed. The text below the video clip mainly describes what was mentioned in the video.

The main argument is repeated in the second section: 'Doctors, eyewitnesses and victims insist this was a chemical attack. There have been similar claims elsewhere in the country but the Syrian government says it did not and will not use such weapons.' Later in the texts doctors are quoted who conclude that there is strong evidence that chemical weapons have been used.

The text is complemented with highlighted quotations, a separate table with background information on Syria's chemical

Syria's chemical weapons

- The CIA believes Syria has had a chemical weapons programme "for years and already has a stockpile of CW agents which can be delivered by aircraft, ballistic missile, and artillery rockets"

- Syria is believed to possess mustard gas and sarin, a highly toxic nerve agent

- The CIA also believes that Syria has attempted to develop more toxic and more persistent nerve agents, such as VX gas

- A report citing Turkish, Arab and Western intelligence agencies put Syria's stockpile at approximately 1,000 tonnes of chemical weapons, stored in 50 towns and cities

- Syria has not signed the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) or ratified the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC)

Sources: CSIS, RUSI

weapons programme and stocks, two images, and a map of Syria with locations pinpointed where these chemical attacks took place. Based on the text and these complementary images, it

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[111] Ian Pannel, BBC News, 'Syria crisis: "Strong evidence" of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22551892, last visited 19 May 2013.

can be concluded that the article mainly focuses on Syria's chemical weapons, the victims of the chemical attacks and the symptoms of these.

"You'd lose all senses. You'd feel like you were dead"

Mohammed Khatib

Local resident

"The symptoms she displayed - unconsciousness, vomiting, pinpoint pupils - they all correspond to poison gas exposure"

Dr Jumaa Samadi

Mohammed Khatib's sister, who survived, was taken to hospital with a distended tongue and frothing at the mouth

The Khatib family says a device landed in their garden

Analysing perspective

This article uses two kinds of narrative modes, namely first (or multiple persons) narrative, e.g. 'We cannot verify the images,' and third person narrative, e.g. 'He is too afraid to return to the house.' Based on the first sentence of the article, 'we' seems to refer to the BBC, most probably the BBC Correspondent Team in Syria. The rest of the people (i.e. he, she, they) seems to be the outgroup(s), including doctors, eyewitnesses, victims and the Syrian government. The main characters are the BBC (Correspondent Team in Syria), the victims (i.e. the Khatib family) and Dr. Jumaa Samadi as they are quoted various times (and more compared to other persons/actors) in the article. Based on this, it can be concluded that the ingroup and outgroup (i.e. illustration of 'we' vs. 'them') are not very much emphasised, however, these are present.

The article mainly reflects the viewpoint of the Syrian civilians and victims that suffered from the chemical attacks by Assad. Even though the text states it is uncertain whether the Syrian government used chemical weapons in an attack or not, it is represented in a way that the Syrian government used chemical weapons against civilians. For example, the third paragraph states: 'Shortly after midday on 29 April, the town of Saraqeb came under attack from government military positions about five miles (8km) away.' The article asserts this several times, by quoting the doctor that helped the victims and by quoting a chemical weapons expert. Only one sentence states the opposite, namely 'The Syrian government says it did not and will not use chemical weapons.' The article concludes with a plea to the rest of the world: 'For most Syrians the real issue is not how people were killed, it is death itself; the crowded graveyards, the inexorable tide of the homeless and the relentless destruction of the country and what they see as the indifference of the world to their plight.'

Analysing objectivity

The article uses multiple sources, including the footage (video made by local residents), quotes of one of the victims, quotes of a British expert, quotes of a local doctor who helped the victims, and the *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS) and the (British) *Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)*, that are mentioned with regard to the background information on Syria's chemical programme and stock. Considering these sources, it should be noticed that the article does not include sources from the Syrian government. Furthermore, the footage was from locals who gave it to the BBC, which is not very reliable. The local doctor's view is supported with the opinion of the British expert, which seems rather objective.

4.3.2. CNN

The article 'Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing' was published at CNN's website 3rd May 2013. The article elaborates on Obama's policy towards the Syrian conflict, and specifically the suggested use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime. Its content, including text, video clip and other small visuals, are analysed in this section.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict

The article 'Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing'[112] describes the civil war in Syria as an appalling situation where it is said that chemical weapons were used by the Syrian regime. The article starts with the first video clip which comprises a speech of Obama explaining US policy on Syria, and specifically clarifying that no military action has been taken yet because he does not know all the facts. The story highlights are emphasised on the side of the article.

The author of the article replies on the content of the video clip described above: many people – both Syrians and Americans – are 'frustrated' that Obama or the 'US has not intervened more decisively', i.e. has taken military action. Obama's policy towards the conflict is emphasised, by means of for example the table with story highlights, and by means of other descriptions. He is said to be 'reluctant to commit himself to ending the carnage or even enforce his own warning about chemical weapons' (first sentence). Furthermore, Senator John McCain is quoted: "The president has not wanted to engage in Syria'.

Besides the text, a photo report, including twenty images with descriptions, illustrates the latest (military) activities of the Syrian conflict. Three other video clips are published underneath the photo report. The first of these three clips is named with 'Jordan, US prepare to respond to Syria' and includes a report by a reporter in Jordan that describes the terrible situation of refugees and people in Syria. The second video clip is named 'US seeks facts on sarin use in Syria' and shows US Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel explaining that they are (re)searching the facts on the use of the chemical weapon sarin in Syria. The last of three clips is called 'US rethinking arms to Syrian rebels' and shows Secretary Hagel telling that the US is rethinking sending arms to Syrian rebels.

Analysing perspective

Based on the text and visuals, it can be assumed that the article describes the Syrian civil war from the viewpoint of (some) Americans (and Syrians) that are waiting for Obama to intervene more decisively and thus take military action in Syria. However, the author asserts that the US, and Obama specifically, do not want to intervene in Syria and take military action. Furthermore critique on Obama's is provided as he is not keeping his word as Assad and his forces crossed his so-called "red line" by using chemical weapons and Obama is not taking serious action. This is emphasised by, for example, 'Obama is still reluctant to commit himself to

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- U.S. President Barack Obama said the use of chemical weapons in Syria would be a "red line."

- American officials now say there is evidence the Syrian regime has used chemical weapons.

- But Obama says he needs "the facts" before taking action

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[112] Jonathan Mann, CNN International, 'Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing', http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/03/us/mann-obama-syria, last visited 19 May 2013.

ending the carnage'. Critique on Obama's policy is also provided by means of a quote from Senator McCain: "The president has not wanted to engage in Syria', and the final paragraph: 'There is no obvious reason to doubt that the president, like many Americans, is appalled by the bloodshed in Syria.'

Analysing objectivity

One opinion poll by the New York Times/CBS News was used. At first, this seems to improve the article's reliability, however, this research is not specified and no source of this poll was provided.

With regard to objectivity, it was noticed that quotations by both Obama and McCain were utilised in this article. At first sight this seems objective, however, as the reader is mainly provided with critique on Obama, this article is rather subjective. This is also emphasised by the various metaphors and quotations utilised in the article. For example, 'crossing the red line' and 'game changer' are metaphors used by Obama. The former metaphor is used when Obama explains his boundary and with it Assad's limitations. In other words, Should Assad 'cross the line' and in this case use chemical weapons the US will intervene. 'Game changer' is also a metaphor used by Obama. It does not imply that a game is played by the US and the Syrian regime, however it changes the conflict. By using these quotations, the author seems to be distancing himself from Obama's policy. This is further emphasised in the second last paragraph, which starts with 'Americans have no appetite for more overseas campaigns.' Two metaphors are underlined here. This sentence implies that, according to the opinion poll, Americans do not want to involve and take military action in another distant conflict abroad.

4.3.3. Al Arabiya

The article 'FSA investigates residents' claims of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr'[113] was published by Al Arabiya at its website on 4 May 2013. However, as this article was updated on 5 May 2013, the latter article was analysed. The article elaborates on the alleged use of chemical weapons by troops supporting Bashar al-Assad. And next to the text, this article includes one image, these are both examined for this study.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict

The article 'FSA investigates residents' claims of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr'[114] asserts that the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah is fighting for the Assad regime. Furthermore it is said to be using artillery shells containing fatal Mustard Gas against activists and civilians in the area.

The following groups are identified: Residents in Syria's flashpoint town of Qusayr; Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, incl. its fighters and chief Hassan Nasrallah. Nasrallah talks about his group and his fighters which indicates an ingroup designator; Free Syrian Army, incl. spokesperson Louay Almokdad; the Assad regime; Lebanese youth.

The following relationships are set up:
- A contrast between Hezbollah and the rebels/Free Syrian Army is identified as a conflict between the two is described by FSA spokesperson Louay Almokdad.

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[113] Al Arabiya, 'FSA investigates residents' claims of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr', http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2013/05/04/FSA-accuses-Hezbollah-of-using-chemical-weapons-in-Qusayr-.html#, last visited 19th May 2013.
[114] Ibidem.

- Hezbollah is supporting Assad's army;
- The Free Syrian Army is the army of the rebels and these are related with each other;
- Hassan Nasrallah is the chief of Hezbollah, obviously the group and the chief are related with each other;
- Louay Almokdad is the spokesperson of the FSA, again it seems evident that spokesperson and FSA are related;
- The Lebanese youth are described to suffer from sectarian excuses by Hezbollah to join the fight in the Syrian war.

People run for cover after what activists said was shelling by forces loyal to Syria's President Bashar al-Assad in Raqqa province, eastern Syria May 3, 2013. (Reuters)

The text of the article is complemented with a photo that shows people running for sources loyal to Bashar al-Assad. However, it is striking that a photo of eastern Syria is added to the article, as in the main text chemical attacks in Qusayr, a town in western Syria, is mentioned.

Analysing perspective

Considering the macrostructure of the text and the use of words the article is written from the viewpoint of the Free Syrian Army. With regard to the macrostructure, the following is noticed. The article begins with a statement based on information received from the spokesperson of the Free Syrian Army. This can be identified as the introduction which presents the main argument of the article, namely Hezbollah used artillery shells containing fatal Mustard Gas in Syria. Next paragraphs, illustrate and explain the main argument by means of quotations mainly by spokesperson of the FSA and chief of Hezbollah. The two concluding paragraphs express the view of the spokesperson of the FSA, which seems to be that Hezbollah should not involve in the conflict.

Regarding the use of words, it is striking that military jargon is used regularly, for example 'flashpoint town',[115] which indicates a place at which violence might be expected to

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[115] Other military words used in the article are: fatal Mustard Gas, chemical weapons, armed opposition, Lebanese militant group, ally, two-year conflict, Hezbollah fighters, killed, (indirectly) jihadi duties, chief,

begin because of the army's presence. In this case, the use of military words confirms that the article is written from the perspective of the FSA.

Analysing objectivity

The former section identified that the article is written from the viewpoint of the FSA. With regard to objectivity, it is noticed that various sources are vaguely mentioned in the article, such as 'some residents', 'opposition sources', and 'activists'. The only concrete person that is stated is spokesperson of the Free Syrian Army Louay Almokdad. These actors are either alleging or confirming that chemical attacks were done by Lebanese militant group Hezbollah.

Subsequently, Hezbollah responded to the former claim. In the article, Hezbollah chief Hassan Nasrallah is quoted several times. These quotations include various (hyperbolic) metaphors underlined in this paragraph. '<u>Syria's friends</u> would not let Assad's embattled regime fall' and 'Syria has <u>true</u> friends in the region who will not allow Syria to <u>fall into the hands of</u> the United States, Israel and "takfiri" groups' (written in the sixth and seventh paragraph respectively). This sentence implies that Hezbollah is a true friend or a true ally of Assad. The later metaphor 'fall <u>into the hands of</u> the United States, Israel and "takfiri" groups' can be interpreted as that Hezbollah will not let Assad's regime be controlled by the US, Israel or impure Muslim groups. 'Takfir' is a Muslim who is declared impure, that author of the article explains that he refers to 'Sunni Muslims fighting to overthrow Assad.'

Earlier, ambiguity is present in the fifth paragraph which is written in the third person and states:

> 'Hezbollah denies taking part in Syria's two-year conflict –
> which has killed at least 70,000 people, according to the U.N.
> However, the group – an ally of the Assad regime – has held
> regular funerals of Hezbollah fighters, who – it said – were
> killed serving their "jihadi duties".'

Analysing this sentence, it is first striking that 'an ally of the Assad regime' is highlighted, without a source is being referred to. Furthermore, 'jihadi duties' is highlighted with quotation marks. At first sight, it seems that Hezbollah is quoted. With this sentence, the author indicates that Hezbollah is fighting for Assad as they are executing their 'jihadi duties' (i.e. fighting for religion). Finally, the author is taking distance from what is stated as 'jihadi duties' is emphasised by quotation marks.

The article concludes with another quotation by the spokesperson of the FSA, it again includes a metaphor: '"Hezbollah is using these <u>sectarian excuses</u> <u>to drag</u> Lebanese youth into the Syrian conflict," Almokdad said.' Sectarian excuses imply that the reasons for sending/pushing Lebanese youth into the conflict are not true. To drag implies that the youth are in a way powerlessness against their own leader(s).

With regard to objectivity it can be concluded that the use of (some) words undermine the objectivity of the article. Furthermore, statements and quotations are not always supported with clear sources, which also undermines the objectiveness of the article.

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protect, destroyed, bombing, and the Syrian conflict. Also religious or Islamic terminology is used, such as jihadi duties, takfiri groups, Sunni Muslims, holy Shiite shrine of Sayida Zeinab, and sectarian.

4.3.4. Al Jazeera

The Al Jazeera article 'Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons'[116] is examined for this research. The article was published at Al Jazeera's website, 26th April 2013, and it covers the possible use of chemical weapons in the Syrian conflict. Next to the text, the article includes two video clips, that are analysed in this section.

Analysing content & representation of the conflict
The article 'Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons'[117] draws attention to the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime and (possible) actions taken by the international community, and especially by the US and the U.K. Its heading is explained in the comment below that states 'UK prime minister backs US spy agencies' assessment that Damascus likely to have used Sarin gas against civilians.' Other sub-headings, i.e. '"growing evidence"' and 'positive test sample', and a small video at the bottom of the text also draw attention to this argument.

Further analysing the article, it is noticed that the article starts with a video clip, which is located underneath the heading and the comment. The video shows compelling evidence of the nerve agent Sarin as people suffering from the symptoms are filmed, this is confirmed in the video by a chemical expert. Next, U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron is quoted, the US Defence Secretary Chuck Hagel explains that the US is rethinking its possible actions. Then, President Obama explains what he meant with the "red line" in his former speech. The reporter concludes the video clip by stating that Obama is coming a step closer to his own definition to when the US will get involved.

Analysing perspective
When analysing the text, the following actors are identified: the US, incl. its spy agencies, US National Security Council (spokesperson: Caitlin Hayden) and President Obama, the US/Obama Administration; Syria, incl. the regime (Damascus), two Syrian officials; the U.K., incl. its Prime Minister David Cameron, British military scientists, the government; the U.N., incl. its leader Ban Ki-moon, U.N investigation team, spokesman Martin Nesirky.

Al Jazeera talks to Ralf Trapp, chemical weapons expert

As all parties' (i.e. actors described above) opinions are shared, it is difficult to identify a perspective. However, the article mainly focuses on the proof of use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime and following actions by the international community (mainly on the U.K. and the US). Therefore it can be concluded that the article was written from the point of view from the international community.

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[116] Al Jazeera, 'Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons',
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/04/20134251651595335.html, last visited 19 May 2013.
[117] Ibidem.

Analysing objectivity

The article uses various sources and quotations with regard to the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime, such as spokesperson of the US National Security Council Caitlin Hayden and Syrian official Sharif Shehadeh. Regarding the actions that the international community will take, US President Barack Obama, Britain's Prime Minister David Cameron, and U.N. leader Ban Ki-moon are quoted. As various sources are used, this article seems objective.

The objectiveness of the article is confirmed when considering use of words and the tone of the article. For example, when analysing the first sentence of the article: 'The US has said that Syria has <u>probably</u> used chemical weapons against rebel forces <u>on a "small scale,"</u> but <u>emphasised that intelligence services were still not 100 percent sure</u>.' The words underlined in the sentence confirm the precise reporting on the conflict and happenings.

4.3.5. Sub-conclusion

Comparing content & representations of the conflict

Comparing the articles above, it can be concluded that even though the media covered stories on the alleged chemical attacks in Syria, the focus of the articles differ. With regard to the Western media, their content, focus and main arguments vary enormously as the BBC's article focuses on the use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime and the CNN's article focuses on Obama's policy towards the Syrian regime. When analysing the Muslim media, also a strong difference in content is identified. Where Al Arabiya's main argument is that Hezbollah is fighting using chemical weapons and is supporting the Syrian regime in its fight against the rebels, Al Jazeera's article mainly focuses on the possible use of chemical weapons in Syria and the possible reaction by the international community (US, U.K, and the U.N.)

Comparing perspectives

When analysing the viewpoints from the authors of the articles, it is noted that the BBC's article mainly wrote from the perspective of the Syrian civilians and victims. The CNN's article was largely written from the viewpoint of the Syrian people, however, it also contains elements of the perspective of America. Al Arabiya's article was (clearly) written from the perspective of the Free Syrian Army. The article published by Al Jazeera the perspectives of the international community, the Syrian people and the Syrian regime were covered relatively equally.

Comparing objectivity

With regard to analysing objectivity of the articles on possible use of chemical weapons in Syria, the following is concluded. Various sources were used for the BBC's article, however sources from the Syrian government were not utilised. Furthermore, the footage was handed to the BBC by locals, which is not very reliable. Only the local doctor's view is backed by a British expert, therefore the article of the BBC can be categorised as rather subjective. The CNN article seems rather objective at first sight, however, as the reader of this article is mainly provided with critique on Obama's policy, this article is categorised as subjective. The article published by Al Arabiya is categorised as very subjective due to its unclear use of sources, and the use of words, metaphors and quotations. On the other hand, Al Jazeera's article is categorised as rather objective thanks to its use of multiple sources and quotations, its use of words that create an tone and image of the conflict.

The sub-conclusion can be summarised in the following table:

Medium	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
BBC	Syria crisis: "strong evidence" of chemical attacks in Saraqeb	Chemical weapons' use by Assad	Syrian civilians/victims	rather subjective +/-
CNN	Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing	Obama's policy towards Syria lacks action	Syrian (and American) people	Subjective -
Al Arabiya	FSA investigates residents' claim of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr	Hezbollah is using chemicals and is fighting with the Assad regime	Free Syrian Army	very subjective --
Al Jazeera	Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons	Use of chemical weapons in Syria and possible response of the I.C.	I.C.; Syrian people; Syrian regime (to a lesser extent)	rather objective +

5. Conclusion

This study was an empirical analysis of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations. It analysed and compared Western with Muslim media that published articles on the Syrian Civil War in order to answer the main research question:

To what extent can a clash in reports on the Syrian Civil War by Western and Muslim media be identified?

Before answering this question, the Syrian Civil War was briefly outlined in chapter 2. Chapter 3, the methodological approach, provided a description of the Clash of Civilizations hypothesis and defined the research methodology. In total four media were selected: two Western media, BBC and CNN, and two Muslim media, Al Arabiya English and Al Jazeera English. Articles by the media were analysed and compared by three sub-topics, namely 1) the early uprisings in the Syrian municipality of Deraa (March to April 2011), 2) the Friends of Syria meeting in Istanbul (1 April 2012), and 3) the alleged use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime (May 2013).

      Research methodology used for this study was qualitative research, and discourse and semiology analyses were based on methods by Fairclough and Van Dijk. The articles were examined on A) representation of the conflict and relating events, i.e. how it represented the conflict, events and involved actors, B) perspective, i.e. which perspective(s) does the article reflect, for example, Assad's, the rebel's or the international community's viewpoint(s)?, and C) objectivity. In this conclusion, the results will first be presented per category, later the media will be analysed separately.

Content & representations of the conflict
The first articles that were analysed considered the early demonstrations in Deraa and the response by the Syrian government. Comparing the reporting by Western and Muslim media, it can be concluded that even though the media covered the reaction of the Assad regime towards the demonstrations held in Deraa, the focus of the articles were not divergent. With regard to the Western media, their content, focus and main arguments were rather similar as the articles by the BBC and CNN both cover the protests extensively. These articles also provided critique on Assad's severe policy towards the protesters. The Al Arabiya article discussed the same items as the Western media, however, this article also provided background information of the protests in Syria. The content of the article published by Al Jazeera differed though. The latter medium largely described the protests and the violence in three Syrian towns, the point of view of the rebels, and the perception of the Syrian regime.

      In examination of the articles that reported on the Friends of Syria meeting that took place in Istanbul, 1 April 2012, it was concluded that the content of the articles were comparable. All media stated that the Friends of Syria group were intensifying their support to the Syrian opposition and all reported that the group was divided on the subject. According to the both Western and Muslim media, it was difficult to strongly intervene and act militarily. The focus of the articles, however, slightly varied. The item 'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria' by the BBC advocates that the international community should have intervened, however, due to is disunity, it was not able to do so. CNN's piece 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens' subtly praised the intensification of the international

community's support to the Syrian opposition. The article published by Al Arabiya, 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC as "legitimate representative" of Syrians', discussed the Western and Arab sanctions to the Syrian regime that failed. Furthermore, it indirectly represented the FSA as the weak Syrian opposition that was loosely organised. As a result, the author appeared rather disappointed in the international community and the Syrian opposition. The Al Jazeera piece '"Friends" of Syria recognise SNC' indirectly argued that the 'Friends of Syria' wanted and should have intensified support to the Syrian opposition.

The final articles concerned the possible use of chemical weapons by supporters of the Assad regime. This analysis concluded that the focus of the articles were divergent. With regard to the Western media, their content, focus and main arguments differed a lot as the BBC's article was focused on the use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime and the CNN's article elaborated on Obama's policy towards the Syrian regime. When analysing the Muslim media, also a strong difference in content is identified. Where Al Arabiya's main argument was that Hezbollah was using chemical weapons and that the group was supporting the Syrian regime in its fight against the rebels, Al Jazeera's article was mainly focused on the possible use of chemical weapons in Syria and the possible reaction by the international community (US, U.K, and the U.N.).

Perspectives

When analysing the standpoints of the articles on the first demonstrations, it was observed that the articles published by Western media mainly wrote from the perspective of the Syrian civilians/victims and the international community. The article from Al Arabiya was mainly written from the standpoint of the rebels. Al Jazeera was the sole medium that described both points of views, namely that of the demonstrators and the Syrian regime.

It was striking that all articles on the Istanbul summit mainly described the perspective(s) of the Syrian opposition and/or the international community (i.e. the Friends of Syria). BBC's item was written from the perspective of the SNC and the FSA. Both CNN's and Al Jazeera's articles included the point of views of the opposition and the Friends of Syria group. Al Arabiya's article deviated the most compared to the other articles, because of its prominent negative piece of writing. The text mainly provided critique on the lack of support to the Syrian people (including the SNC and the FSA) by the international community. Moreover, it (indirectly) stressed that the Syrian opposition was weak by calling the opposition loosely organised.

When analysing the viewpoints from the authors of the articles on the alleged use of chemical weapons, it was noticed that the BBC's article mainly considered the perspective of the Syrian civilians and victims. CNN's article largely elaborated on the viewpoint of the Syrian people, however, it also contained elements of the perspective of America. Al Arabiya's article (clearly) stressed the perspective of the Free Syrian Army. The article published by Al Jazeera covered the perspectives of the international community, the Syrian people, and the Syrian regime relatively balanced.

Objectivity

With regard to analysing objectivity of the articles on the protests in Deraa and the severe reaction of the Syrian forces, it was concluded that the BBC and CNN were rather subjective. BBC's article was primarily based on international sources, and CNN's article was largely based on undefined sources. The Al Arabiya piece was categorised as subjective due to the utilisation of

mostly statements of victims and witnesses. Finally, Al Jazeera's article was categorised as rather objective because of its balance in sources and quotations by Sana, the state's news agency, and local citizens.

The four articles covering the Friends of Syria meeting in Istanbul largely described the point of views of the international community and their support to the Syrian opposition. This was not unusual, because the Friends of Syria meeting was an international gathering. In addition, however, the stands of the countries that did not attend the Istanbul summit and the position of the Syrian regime could have been elaborated on (more). This would have displayed a balanced overview of the situation that included both main parties of the conflict. Both Western and Muslim articles used numerous sources for quotations by the international community. Sources from the Syrian government or Syrian state television Sana, on the contrary, were not or seldom mentioned. Articles published by the BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera were therefore categorised as rather subjective. The Al Arabiya publication was categorised as subjective due to its negative tone throughout the article.

With regard to analysing objectivity of the articles on the suspected exploitation of chemical weapons in Syria, the following was concluded. Multiple sources were used for the BBC's article, however sources from the Syrian government were not utilised. Furthermore, the footage was handed to the BBC by locals, therefore this was not very reliable footage. Only the local doctor's view was backed by a British expert, hence the BBC article was categorised as rather subjective. The CNN article seemed rather objective at first sight, however, as the reader of this article was mainly provided with critique on Obama's policy, this article was categorised as subjective. The article published by Al Arabiya was very subjective due to its unclear use of sources, and the use of words, metaphors and quotations. In contrast, Al Jazeera's article was categorised as rather objective thanks to its use of multiple sources and quotations, its use of words that create an tone and image of the conflict.

Western vs. Muslim media?

The former paragraph analysed the results per category (e.g. content, perspective and objectivity), however, this research sorted the media in Western and Muslim media in order to analyse whether these media reported according to Huntington's division in cultures. Accordingly, Western cultural aspects could have been identified in the articles published by Western media. For example, the liberty of law concept, Christianity, separation of powers, and liberal democracy. Furthermore, a few identical characteristics were described by the Western media. The BBC claimed to be open and transparent, for example, and CNN aimed at delivering nonpartisan news and analysis. These are both features of Western culture, and thus interesting to evaluate on.

Considering the results of the Western media it is striking that most articles published by the BBC and by CNN present the point of view of the opposition and the international community. The Western media were expected to openly write about the Syrian Civil War, however, it can be concluded that these media were not entirely open and nonpartisan due to the fact that they did not (fully) cover the point of view of the Assad regime and the Allawite ruling elite. As a result, most of the articles were categorised as rather subjective. The findings per Western medium are stipulated below.

Western media

Topic	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
Response to the uprising	Middle East unrest: Three killed at protest in Syria	Three people killed by Syrian security forces and comments on lethal actions by Syrian regime	Syrian civilians and victims/ international community	rather subjective +/-
The Friends of Syria Meeting	Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria	The international community must intervene, but cannot because it is divided on the issue	Syrian opposition	rather subjective +/-
Suspicion about use of chemical weapons	Syria crisis: "strong evidence" of chemical attacks in Saraqeb	Chemical weapons' use by Assad	Syrian civilians/victims	rather subjective +/-

CNN

Topic	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
Response to the uprising	Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city	Force used by the Syrian regime against protesters and critique on severe actions by Assad regime	Demonstrators and international community	rather subjective +/-
The Friends of Syria Meeting	Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens	Syrian opposition supported by international community	International Community / Syrian opposition	rather subjective +/-
Suspicion about use of chemical weapons	Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing	Obama's policy towards Syria lacks action	Syrian (and American) people	subjective -

In contrast to aspects of Western culture, it was learned that Muslim culture is solely based on religion. Western concepts, such as the liberty under law, the separation of powers, liberal democracy and free markets are not present in Islam, and thus not in Muslim culture. The items published by Muslim media therefore could have displayed a different, to be exact an Arab perspective on news regarding the Syrian Civil War. Al Jazeera for example asserted to cover under-reported stories with an 'honest, courageous and distinctive' journalism spirit.[118]

Evaluating the content of the articles published by the Muslim media, it is remarkable that Al Arabiya's content differed compared to the other media. In general, the tone, the use of words and the use of quotations illuminated the author's opinion (who was in favourite of the rebels and the Syrian opposition). As a result, the Al Arabiya articles were (very) subjective. Al Jazeera published distinctive articles. The findings show that the content and the perspectives of

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[118] Al Jazeera English, 'About us', http://www.aljazeera.com/aboutus/2009/10/2009103081456514230.html, last visited 25th March 2013.

the articles were more or less similar to the other Western and Muslim media reports on the Syrian Civil War. However, compared to the articles by the other three media, Al Jazeera's items illustrated to be more objective and two out of three Al Jazeera articles were categorised as rather objective. See the tables below for an overview of the results per Muslim medium.

Muslim media

Al Arabiya

Topic	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
Response to the uprising	Syria forces killed 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack	Background of protests in Syria, and comments towards Assad's aggressive actions	Rebels	subjective -
The Friends of Syria Meeting	Friends of Syria recognize SNC as "legitimate representative" of Syrians	Western and Arab sanctions to the Syrian regime have failed / the opposition is loosely organised	Syrian people (victims)	subjective -
Suspicion about use of chemical weapons	FSA investigates residents' claim of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr	Hezbollah is using chemicals and is fighting with the Assad regime	Free Syrian Army	very subjective --

Al Jazeera

Topic	Article	Content, i.e. Focus/main argument	Perspective	Objectivity
Response to the uprising	Violence erupts at protests in Syria	Viewpoints of the Syrian government and the rebels regarding the violence during protests at three Syrian towns	Syrian regime and demonstrators	rather objective +
The Friends of Syria Meeting	"Friends" of Syria recognise SNC	Friends of Syria should and will intensify support to the Syrian opposition	Syrian opposition / International Community	rather subjective +/-
Suspicion about use of chemical weapons	Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons	Use of chemical weapons in Syria and possible response of the I.C.	I.C.; Syrian people; Syrian regime (to a lesser extent)	rather objective +

The results of this research aimed to be relevant for both scientific and social reasons. First it tested Samuel Huntington's hypothesis on whether a Clash of Civilizations was present in Muslim and Western societies by analysing the different media. Hence it hoped to contribute to its related scientific debate. Second, this research might be of social relevance. By analysing newspapers Diana Mutz and Susan Soss identified that these newspapers brought about change

in individual and mass public opinions on the topics discussed in the newspapers. [119] As their research concluded that media influence opinions of consumers of news, and consequently bring about change in policy, this research attempted to raise people's awareness of different, in some cases subjective and in others objective, reporting by Western and Muslim media.

However, while this qualitative research presented several insights into the differences between Western and Muslim media reporting on the Syrian Civil War, some limitations existed. First, this study focused on the media only when conducting a practical analysis of Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*. The media is just one aspect or result of cultural outings of civilisations and in order to gain full insight more features should be examined. When considering a clashes between civilisations, one could examine and compare foreign policies of countries with people that have different cultural backgrounds. Second, it should be noted that this research only provided insight in the different media that reported on the Syrian Civil War. In order to gain a full understanding of the differences and comparisons of Muslim and Western media reporting, other topics should be analysed in future research.

And finally, in total only four media, four sub-topics, and sixteen articles were analysed and compared. Even though these provided some insights in the differences and similarities of the output of Western and Muslim media, future research is recommended to 1) study other media with Western and Muslim backgrounds, but also media that have different cultural origins, 2) analyse other sub-topics regarding the Syrian Civil War, and 3) test the outcomes of this research by means of quantitative analysis methods in order to conclude whether the outcomes can be generalised.

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[119] Diana C. Mutz and Joe Soss, 'Reading Public Opinion. The influence of news coverage on perceptions of public sentiment', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 431-451.

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7. Appendices

Appendix 1: Overview of dominant religious communities in Syria[120]

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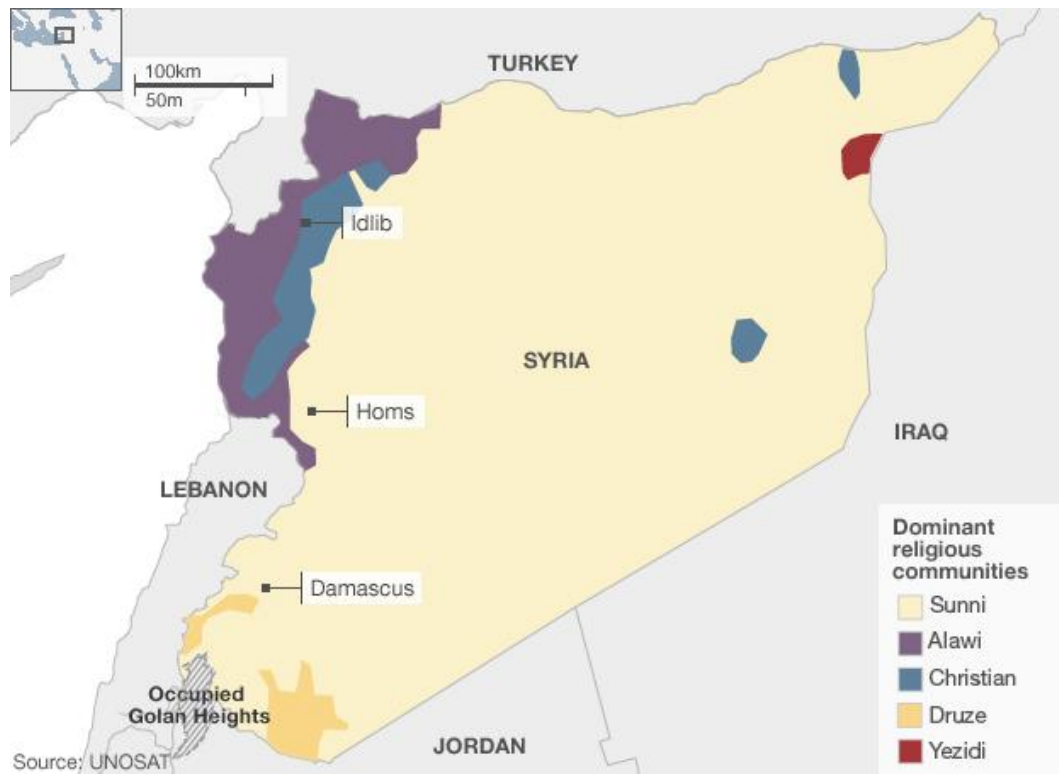
[120] BBC, http://news.bbcimg.co.uk/media/images/59072000/jpg/_59072547_4_2.jpg, last visited 29th June 2013.

Appendix 2: Questions for raw media analyses

A. Questions sorted by headline, macrostructure, text and visuals similar to Van Dijk's discourse analysis:

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. **Headline**
   a. What is the topic?
   b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
   c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?

2. **Macrostructure of the text**
   a. What is topicalised?
   b. What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?
   c. Are metaphors used?
   d. Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?

3. **The text itself**
   a. Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?
   b. Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?
   c. What is the thematic line of the text?
   d. What kind of jargon/terminology is used?
   e. Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?

4. **Visual elements**
   a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?
   b. What is topicalised?
   c. Are metaphors used?
   d. Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?

B. Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?
2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.
3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

Appendix 3: Raw media analyses

3.1 Media analysis 1:

Response to the uprising by the Syrian Government (March 2011)

Raw material of media analyses, including analyses of the following articles:
- 'Middle East unrest: Three killed at protest in Syria' by *BBC*, 18th March 2011
- 'Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city' by *CNN*, 28th March 2011
- 'Syria forces kill 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack' by *Al Arabiya*, 30th March 2011
- 'Violence erupts at protests in Syria' by *Al Jazeera*, 18th March 2011.

3.1.1. BBC:

Middle East unrest: Three killed at protest in Syria

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. Headline
 	
     a.   What is the topic?
         Protesters were killed in Syria
 	
     b.   Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
         Yes: 'At least three protesters have been shot dead in the south Syrian city of Deraa as security forces clamped down on a protest rally.'
 	
     c.   Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
         No.
 	
 2. Macrostructure of the text
 	
     a.   What is topicalised?
         The first three paragraphs were identified as the introduction of the article. These paragraph explain the heading and the argument is also stated: 'They [i.e. protesters] were killed by security forces as protesters demanded political freedom and an end to corruption, eyewitnesses and activists told foreign media'.
         These foreign media, including Syria's state news agency *Sana*, international news agency *Reuters*, *Agency France Presse* (AFP) and the international/American *Associated Press* news agency, are quoted later in the middle of text (i.e. the development of the text).
         The last paragraph indicates that more than three people were killed as it states: 'Mazen Dawrwish, a prominent Syrian activist in Damascus, was quoted by the Associated Press news agency as saying that at least five people were shot and killed. He was citing eyewitnesses and hospital officials at the scene.'
         Considering the macrostructure of the text and the (sub-)headings it can be concluded that the protest rally in Deraa, Syria, including lethal action taken by Assad's security forces, is topicalised.
 	
     b.   What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?

The sub-title 'Hundreds injured'

    c.   Are metaphors used?
        Yes. The comment below/the first paragraph of the introduction states 'security forces <u>clamped down on</u> a protest rally.' Which indicates that the security forces acted more strict, imposed controls, and used force to stop the protest rally.
        The second last paragraph cites the AFP 'the wounded had been "<u>snatched</u> by security forces" from hospital' The word 'snatched' implies that the wounded had been illegally arrested or taken by the security forces.

    d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?
        Not recognised.

3.   **The text itself**
    a.   Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)
        As explained above.

    b.   Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?
        See above.

    c.   Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?
        No.

    d.   Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?
        No.

    e.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?
        The third paragraph of the article 'President Bashar al-Assad, whose Baath party has <u>dominated</u> politics for nearly 50 years, <u>tolerates no dissent</u>' implies that the Baath party and Bashar al-Assad are oppressing politics and the Syrian people.

    f.   Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?
        Quotation marks are regularly used in the text to cite spokespersons of the White House and the UN, and the media mentioned above. By means of these quotations the author seems to highlight the visions of the US/U.N., Syria/Syrian state television, and other international news agencies (i.e. Reuters, AFP and AD) on Syrian force's reaction to the protests in Deraa.
        Examples are 'the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon said the "use of lethal force against peaceful demonstrators and their arbitrary arrests" were <u>"unacceptable"</u>, according to a spokesman'; 'Syria's state news agency Sana said violence and <u>"acts of sabotage"</u> had broken our at a demonstration in Deraa on Friday, prompting security

forces to intervene', and 'He told AFP that **"many"** of the wounded had been **"snatched by security forces"** from hospital and moved to unknown places.'

g. What is the thematic line of the text?
The main line of the text is that President Bashar al-Assad is suppressing its people as he is not tolerating peaceful demonstrations and acts aggressively.

h. What kind of jargon/terminology is used?
No specific jargon is identified.

i. Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?
Not really. The following numbers are used in the text:

- **'At least three protesters have been shot dead';**
- **'Baath party has dominated politics for nearly 50 years';**
- **'They had been among "several thousand" demonstrators chanting "God, Syria, Freedom" and anti-corruption slogans';**
- **'at least five people were shot and killed'.**
However, no research, opinion polls etc. were used to suggest precision and objectivity. Moreover, when analysing the sources used in the text, it is striking that mainly foreign sources are utilised, such as the White House national security council spokesperson, UN spokesperson, and international news agencies Reuters, AFP and AP. The only local source that was used for this article is Syria's state news agency Sana. This indicates a strong unbalance and perhaps biased author.

4. **Visual elements**
   a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?
   Yes. One image with the comment: 'President Bashar al-Assad inherited power from his father in 2000' and one map of Syria where Damascus and Deraa are highlighted:

   b. What is topicalised?
   The images highlight Syria, Deraa (i.e. the town where to protests took place), and its President Bashar al-Assad.

   c. Are metaphors used?
   No.

   d. Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?
   The images complement the text. The images provide background information on Syria, namely how President Bashar al-Assad came into power (i.e. he inherited it from his father in 2000) and a map of Syria that shows where the protests have taken place, namely in Deraa, south of Syria.

C. Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?
   - **Assad is represented as a dominant ruler that suppresses its people by using violence.**
   - **The protestants are represented as the victims.**
   - **The international community, in this case, the UN and the US, is represented as a kind of teacher or judge that tells what is acceptable and what not.**

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.
   The following identities are set up:
   - **Assad is represented as a dominant ruler that suppresses its people by using violence.**
   - **The protestants are represented as the victims.**
   - **The international community, in this case the UN and the US, is represented as a kind of teacher or judge that tells what is acceptable and what not.**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?
   - **Protesters vs. Assad and its security forces/Syrian regime;**
   - **UN and US vs. Assad and its regime.**

3.1.2. CNN:

Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. **Headline**
   a. What is the topic?
      Assad's security forces overpower the city of Daraa.

   b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
      No, however, the first paragraph explains the heading:
      'Syrian security forces flooded the restive cities of Daraa and Latakia on Monday, patrolling the streets, protecting government buildings and in at least one case clashing with protesters, according to witnesses.'

   c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
      Not specifically, however, a metaphor is identified in the heading: 'Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces <u>flood</u> city'. The word 'flood' implies that security troops/forces are present abundantly in the city of Daraa.

2. **Macrostructure of the text**
   a. What is topicalised?
      The first two paragraphs introduce the subject of the article.

'Syrian security forces flooded the restive cities of Daraa and Latakia on Monday, patrolling the streets, protecting government buildings and in at least one case clashing with protesters, according to witnesses.

Both cities have been the scene of violent clashes between protesters and security forces in recent days, with at least 37 deaths since last week, according to the U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.'

Two cities are mentioned in the introduction, Daraa and Latakia. These cities are elaborated on in the development part of the text.

The article concludes with two paragraphs that quote US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who criticized the Syrian government over the violence which it used.

    b.   What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?
The headline and a table with story highlights on the left of the article.

    c.   Are metaphors used?
No.

    d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?
No.

3. **The text itself**

    a.   Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)
Words from a military register were used on a regular basis, e.g. troops, Syrian security forces, restive cities, patrolling the streets, violent clashes, security forces, tearing down, fired shots, water cannons, army, opened fire, injuries, firing on protestors, weapons, terrorized, government troops, killed, wounded, clashes, armed gangs, seized police weapons, violence, deaths, security force members, gunmen, and violence.

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- **NEW:** Witness: Syrian security forces move to disperse protesters in Daraa

- **NEW:** Mysterious black-shirted men terrorize residents in Latakia, witness says

- Daraa is extremely tense, according to a witness

- U.N.: At least 37 people have died in clashes between protesters and security forces

    b.   Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?
A military lexicon, as mentioned above.

    c.   Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?
No.

    d.   Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?
No, however a contrast is established between Syrian security forces and the Syrian people, in this case the residents of Daraa and Latakia.

    e.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?

In the heading: 'Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces <u>flood</u> city'. The word 'flood' implies that security troops/forces are present abundantly in the city of Daraa. This is also stated in the first sentence, in which protesters are mentioned as well. Therefore this sentence (and the headline) imply that the residents of the city do not make a stance against the security forces.

f.   Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?
Yes, for example, the sixth paragraph states 'Syria's state-run news agency said the government denied firing on protesters, calling the allegations "completely false."'
Seventh paragraph quotes political dissident Aman Aswad: 'People are sitting at home scared, watching the updates on TV.'
The ninth paragraph quotes another witness: 'We do not understand who these men are but government officials say they are members of a "foreign group" [...] We all think they are lying about this because every time one of them is captured and handed over to the police he is released.' 'Foreign group' is quoted in a quote by a witness, however, this suggests that the witness (and perhaps also the author) distances himself from the quote. The is later confirmed as he says that 'they are lying'.
The fifteenth paragraph Syrian state-run news agency is quoted: 'In Latakia, government blamed "armed gangs" who seized police weapons on the violence last week that led to the death there.' This is a quote, however, the author seems to distances himself as only these words are highlighted by means of quotation marks.
The concluding paragraph cites US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who criticised Syria's government: 'Certainly we deplore the violence in Syria [...] We call as we have on all of these governments during this period of the Arab awakening, as some have called it, to be responding to their people's needs, not to engage in violence, permit peaceful protests and begin a process of economic and political reform.'

g.   What is the thematic line of the text?
The Syrian government has used force against civilians and protesters, which is unjustified.

h.   What kind of jargon/terminology is used?
Military jargon, as mentioned above.

i.   Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?
No research results are utilised to support objectivity, however, numbers are used: 'at least 37 deaths' are based on UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights; about 100 protesters, about 30 minutes, hundreds of government troops are based on quotations from witnesses, and 10 security force members and civilians and two gunmen were based on statements by the Syrian state-run news agency Sana. Most of these numbers do not suggest precision because of the words 'at least' and 'about' and 'hundreds'.
Further analysing objectivity, it is striking that local witnesses are frequently cited and used as sources. When counting the sources, two unknown witnesses and one witness 'who identified himself only as Adbullah' are calculated, one political dissident (i.e. Aman Aswad), the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Syrian state-run news agency Sana, and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Despite the fact that

'CNN could not independently confirm the accounts because the Syrian government has yet to grant access to the network' the opinion of the state is less mentioned compared to the witnesses. The international community is (similar to the Syrian state) mentioned twice, however, as the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is quoted in the introduction, and Hillary Clinton's critique on the Syrian government   is cited in the concluding paragraphs, the author seems to have a preference for the viewpoint of the international community.

4. **Visual elements**
   a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?
      Yes. One photo is highlighted as it is located underneath the headline. The photo is an image of dozens of young people protesting. The young people seem to be yelling and are putting their hands in the air. One of the protestants has a knife in is hand. Others are holding a banner that shows images of three men, two of these man are probably dead as the photos of two dead people are shown underneath the photos of the men.

Witness: Daraa tense as troops, security forces flood city

By the CNN Wire Staff
March 28, 2011 -- Updated 1615 GMT (0015 HKT)

At least 37 people have died in violent protests since last week in Daraa, the U.N says.

Furthermore, two video clips are placed on the left side of the text. One is a short video that explains that Syria's emergency laws are lifted, the other shows one man talking in Arabic, a presenter that interviews the older brother of the man who was talking in Arabic. It is suggested that his younger brother is accused of being a spy. Later it is explained that the younger brother declared to be spying and sold pictures and information about Syria to Israel.

   b. What is topicalised?
      The main visual element is the photo underneath the headline. Therefore this photo including dozens of protesters on the street are topicalised by means of visuals.

   c. Are metaphors used?
      No.

   d. Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in

the text?

The image complements the text as it visualises the protests mentioned in the text. The two video clips are indirectly linked with the text as the topic is also Syria, however, these videos do not focus on the protests and the violent action taken by the Syrian security forces.

D. Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?
   - **The Syrian government is represented as oppressive and violent;**
   - **The protestants are represented as the oppressed;**
   - **The international community, in this case, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and especially US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, is represented as a kind of teacher or judge that tells what is acceptable and what not.**

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.
   - **The Syrian government is represented as oppressive and violent;**
   - **The protestants are represented as the oppressed;**
   - **The international community, in this case, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and especially US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, is represented as a kind of teacher or judge that tells what is acceptable and what not.**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?
   - **The Syrian government vs. the Syrian people;**
   - **US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton vs. the Syrian government.**

3.1.3.   Al Arabiya:

Syria forces kill 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1.   Headline

    a.   What is the topic?

    Syrian forces killed 6 protesters during an attack in a mosque in Deraa.

    b.   Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?

    No.

    c.   Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?

    No.

2.   Macrostructure of the text

    a.   What is topicalised?

    The introductory paragraph states:

    'After popular revolutions succeeded to topple Tunisia's president Zine El Abedine Ben Ali and forced Egypt's strongman Hosni Mubarak to step down, Syria is currently battling with its growing protests challenging President Bashar al-Assad's Baathist rule.'

    The introduction and the sub-headings (i.e. 'Latest in string of uprisings' and 'Assad's reforms') topicalised Bashar al-Assad's battle with its growing protests after the uprisings and reforms of other Arab Spring countries. However, the headline, the image underneath the headline (showing dozens of men protesting) and the text itself more focus on the Syrian forces that killed protesters in Deraa.

    b.   What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?

    The article contains two sub-headings in bold. The first states 'Latest in string of uprisings' which seems to refer to Syria being the latest country of the Arab Spring. The second sub-heading states 'Assad'a reforms'. Probably a spelling mistake was made here, it seems this should be 'Assad's reforms' as his reform's so far are explained below. The sub-headings, which are part of the development of the article, suggest to provide background information on the mosque attack by Syrian forces that resulted in the death of six protesters and on the uprisings in Syria in general. However, when reading the text below the sub-headings the macrostructure of the text is not clear. For example, the text below the sub-heading 'Latest in string of uprisings' elaborates on various (sub-)topics regarding the uprisings and the sensitive situation in Deraa, including the focal point of the uprisings Deraa, an AFP photographer who's equipment was confiscated by Syrian authorities, the way in which Bashar al-Assad became the president of Syria, the death of Dr. Mahamid during the protests in Deraa, protests in Deraa and nearby town Nawa, demands of the protesters, Assad's path of reform and modernisation, and a campaigner that was arrested. As the macrostructure is not very clear, it can only be concluded that the author highlights the topics of the sub-headlines, namely that Syria is the latest country in string of uprisings, and Assad's reforms.

Next to the sub-headings a quotation is highlighted on the side of the article. The citation draws attention to what happened in Deraa, namely, that a doctor was shot by a sniper, telephone networks were disrupted, and locals were able to get to a mosque nearby the Jordanian border where they had Jordanian mobile phone lines.

    c.   Are metaphors used?

Yes, in the first sentence: 'After popular revolutions succeeded to topple Tunisia's president Zine El Abedine Ben Ali and forced Egypt's strongman Hosni Mubarak to step down, Syria is currently battling with its growing protests challenging President Bashar al-Assad's Baathist rule.'

The sentence includes the metaphor 'topple', which is related to overthrow and move down. It also provides information on the former leaders as you can for example topple a statue or a building, it gives the impression that these leaders used to be very strong, had firm standpoints, and a hard attitude. Hence these characteristics are similar to characteristics of authoritarian or totalitarian leaders. Also the word 'topple' provides information on the manner the leaders' positions came to an end. They were overmastered in a certain manner by means of the revolutions.

    d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?

No.

3.   The text itself

    a.   Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)

Two types of register are identified, namely a military and a political register. For example, attack, shot by a sniper, and use of live ammunition can be categorised as military. Path of reform and modernization, nationalization, economic liberalization are more related with a political register.

    b.   Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?

…

    c.   Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?

No.

> 66 Dr Mahamid was shot by a sniper. The phone networks have been disrupted but we got through to people near the mosque on Jordanian mobile phone lines 99
>
> *A Deraa resident*

    d.   Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?

Us and them are not utilised, therefore no clear contrast is identified.

    e.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?

The first sentence: 'After popular revolutions succeeded to topple Tunisia's president

Zine El Abedine Ben Ali and forced Egypt's strongman Hosni Mubarak to step down, Syria is currently battling with its growing protests challenging President Bashar al-Assad's Baathist rule.'

The sentence includes the metaphor 'topple', which is related or similar to overthrow and move down. It also provides information on the former leaders as you can for example topple a statue or a building, it gives the impression that these leaders used to be very strong, had firm standpoints, and a hard attitude. Hence these characteristics are similar to characteristics of authoritarian or totalitarian leaders. Also the word 'topple' provides information on the manner the leaders' positions came to an end. They were overmastered in a certain manner by means of the revolutionaries.

f. Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author takes distance from the text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?

Quotation marks are frequently used to cite Syrian news agency Sana, local residents and political dissidents, protesters, and EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton.

Some quotations are ambiguous as these also seem to be used by the author to distance himself from the quotation and or to put emphasise the expressions. For example, 'armed gang' is quoted in the third paragraph of the text.

Syrian forces killed at least six people on Wednesday in an attack on a mosque in the southern city of Deraa, site of unprecedented protests, residents said.

Syria blamed an "armed gang" for violence which erupted near the mosque in Deraa and said that only four people died, SANA news agency reported.

This paragraph responds to the statement in the second paragraph that claims that six people were killed by Syrian forces 'on Wednesday in an attack on a mosque in the southern city of Deraa'. The author seems to distance himself from this quotation as he only highlights or cites "armed gang". Furthermore in the sentences the author used the adverb 'only', which provides superfluous information on the statement of Sana news agency. The word 'only' can be interpreted negatively, in other words, the quote can be interpreted as a lie.

In the concluding paragraphs cited Catherine Ashton. The second last sentence states:

The crackdown has resulted in the deaths of several demonstrators, wounded persons and arbitrary detentions "which is unacceptable", the statement said.

This statement can also be interpreted ambiguously. At first 'which is unacceptable' seems a quotation. However, it can also imply that the author wants to highlight the words of Catherine Ashton.

g. What is the thematic line of the text?

Two thematic lines are documented. The introduction and the sub-headings (i.e. 'Latest in string of uprisings' and 'Assad's reforms') topicalised Bashar al-Assad's battle with its growing protests after the uprisings and reforms of other Arab Spring countries. However, the headline, the image underneath the headline (showing dozens of men protesting) and the text itself more focus on the Syrian forces that killed protesters in Deraa.

h. What kind of jargon/terminology is used?

Two types of register are identified, namely a military and a political register. For example, attack, shot by a sniper, and use of live ammunition can be categorised as military. Path of reform and modernization, nationalization, economic liberalization are more related with a political register.

i. Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?

Numbers are used, which at first suggest precision, however, when analysing the sources, the sources do not seem fully trustworthy. For example, the headline states 'Syria forces kill 6 protesters in Deraa mosque attack'. Later in the text, in the second paragraph, the source of this statement is clarified, namely residents. As these residents are not identified, no reliable organisation is mentioned, the source is not fully trustworthy. In subsequent paragraphs, the Syrian official news agency is quoted that states that four people were killed. Based on this, it can be concluded that people were killed, however, the number is uncertain, however it can be assumed that at least four people were killed during a protest at a mosque in Deraa.

When analysing the sources, it is noted that the following sources are utilised for this article:

- **Deraa residents**
- **Official Syrian news agency Sana**
- **International news agency Reuters**
- **A political activist**
- **Lebanon's al-Manar television**
- **The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights**
- **Washington (i.e. the White House or the US government)**
- **EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton**

Local residents were frequently cited throughout the article. Quotes by Syrian news agency Sana and Catherine Ashton were put emphasis on as these occupy four and three paragraphs, respectively. Other sources were less emphasised as these were mentioned once.

4. **Visual elements**
    a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?
    Yes, one photo is placed underneath the headline. The photo shows dozens of men on the streets at what looks like (peaceful) protests.

Also two small images are utilised that give an impression of protesting youth.

Protesters march during a demo in the town of Inkhel in the southern region of Hauran

Youths walk near a portrait of Syria's President Bashar al-Assad, at a square in Deraa

b. What is topicalised?
Men and youngsters (also men) that are protesting against the regime.

c. Are metaphors used?
No.

d. Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?
The images give an impression of the protests in Deraa, which are described in the article. However, no dead people are shown on the images, which are described extensively.

E. Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships
1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?

In this article, the uprisings are presented in the context of the Arab Spring and their related uprisings.

Assad's forces are represented as the only ones using violence against innocent civilians.

Assad is compared with former leaders of Tunisia and Egypt, that are represented as autocratic leaders.

Syrian news agency Sanaa is represented as an unreliable news agency.

Deraa is represented as the town that is the focal point of the rallies.

The Syrian economy is represented as a corrupt economy marked by Rami Makhlouf, a cousin of Assad who is said to be a 'business tycoon controlling key companies'.

The residents of Deraa are represented as the victims, for example, Doctor Mahamid who tried to help the victims of an attack by Syrian forces. This doctor was killed by a sniper.

The EU is represented as the third party disapproving Assad's violent actions.

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.

   Assad is compared with former leaders of Tunisia and Egypt, that are represented as autocratic leaders.

   Syrian news agency Sana is represented as an unreliable news agency.

   Deraa is represented as the town that is the focal point of the rallies.

   Rami Makhlouf, cousin of Assad, is set up as a corrupt business tycoon.

   The residents of Deraa are represented as the victims, for example, Doctor Mahamid who tried to help the victims of an attack by Syrian forces. This doctor was killed by a sniper.

   The EU is represented as the third party disapproving Assad's violent actions.

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

   Sana seems to be the speaker of the Syrian regime.

   A relationship is set up between Rami Maklouf and president Bashar al-Assad. Maklouf is Assad's cousin.

   Residents of Deraa vs. Syrian regime (incl. Assad).

   EU vs. Syrian regime (incl. Assad).

3.1.4. Al Jazeera:

Violence erupts at protests in Syria

1. **Headline**
   a. What is the topic?
   Violence erupted at protests against the government in three Syrian towns.

   b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
   Yes, it states: 'Reports of violence as residents of three towns fill the streets in demonstrations against the government.'

   c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
   No.

2. **Macrostructure of the text**
   a. What is topicalised?
   The confrontations between hundreds of protesters and Syrian security forces.

   b. What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?
   The comment below the headline is emphasised by means of bold letters. The comment states: 'Reports of violence as residents of three towns fill the streets in demonstrations against the government.'
   One sub-title quotes Syrian state news agency Sana that asserts that "acts of sabotage' broke out at a protest.

   c. Are metaphors used?
   No metaphors are used, however 'acts of sabotage' is very vague and undefined. It is therefore hyperbolically used.

   d. Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?
   As defined above.

3. **The text itself**
   a. Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)
   A military register is used frequently, e.g. security forces, troops, intervene, violence, infiltrators, baton-wielding plain-clothes Syrian police, and water cannon.

   b. Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?
   A military lexicon, as explained above.

   c. Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?
   No.

   d. Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us"

group, as opposed to "them"), such as   the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?

No, however a clear contrast is established between the demonstrators and the Syrian forces.

e. Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?

…

f. Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?

Yes, mainly to cite witnesses, Syrian state news agency Sana and the Facebook group *The Syrian Revolution 2011.*

- **Thousands of anti-government demonstrators in Deraa who chanted 'God, Syria, Freedom'.**
- **The Syrian state news agency Sana that said 'acts of sabotage' had broken out at the protest. The news agency was quoted again:**

'Acts of sabotage'

The state news agency SANA said "acts of sabotage" had broken out at the protest, which prompted the security forces to intervene.

"Infiltrators took advantage of a gathering of citizens near the Omari Mosque in the city of Deraa on Friday afternoon to provoke chaos through acts of violence which resulted in damage to private and public property," the agency reported.

"The infiltrators also set cars and shops on fire, which obliged security forces to intervene in order to protect citizens and property. They were also attacked by the infiltrators before the latter dispersed."

- **Finally, the Facebook group *The Syrian Revolution 2011* was quoted. It 'earlier called for protests to mark Friday as a "day of dignity"'.**

g. What is the thematic line of the text?

Violence erupted at protests in Syria.

h. What kind of jargon/terminology is used?

As explained above, a military register is used.

i. Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?

No.

4. **Visual elements**
   a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?

   One video is located underneath the headline and the comment. The video provides the reader/viewer images of the protests discussed in the article.

   b. What is topicalised?

   The violence in Deraa, Homs and Banyas during demonstrations.

   c. Are metaphors used?

   No.

d. Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?

The video is more or less representation of what is mentioned in the text. However, unlike the text, the video clearly states the three towns where violence erupted, namely Deraa, Banyas and Homs. Also, the video starts with a voice-over stating 'Syria has not managed to suppress the demonstrators..'. This can imply that it had suppressed demonstrators before, however, this is not certain. Furthermore, the word 'suppress' indirectly implies that Syria's government has suppressive characteristics.

Finally, the video explains the footage that was found on the internet (also mentioned in the article), which is not a fully reliable source.

F. Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?

   Violence in Deraa, Banyas and Homs erupted after a 200-strong protest in Damascus that was forcefully broken up by baton-wielding plain-clothes Syrian police. The latter triggered a video on the Facebook group The Syrian Revolution 2011, The video showed a man being dragged out of the Omayyed mosque in central Damascus. The Facebook group called for protests to mark Friday as a "day of dignity" earlier.

   The confrontations between protestors and the police during the protests were heavy; hundreds of protestors were injured and at least three people were killed by security forces.

   Two views of the violence are represented:

   1) **The view of witnesses: thousands were calling "God, Syria, Freedom" and accused president Bashar al-Assad's family of corruption. Security forces intervened. These troops were reinforced with helicopter troops that landed in the city's football stadium.**

   2) **The view of state's news agency Sana: "'acts of sabotage' had broken out at the protests, people provoked chaos through acts of violence," which resulted in damage in private and public property. The protestors set cars and shops on fire, therefore the security forces were urged to 'intervene in order to protect citizens and property.' The 'forces were also attacked by the infiltrators.'**

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.

   - **Syrian people on the streets/protesters/infiltrators**
   - **Witnesses**
   - **Security forces/Syrian Police/troops**
   - **State news agency Sana**
   - **Government supporters**
   - **Bashar al-Assad and Hafez al-Assad**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

- **Syrian people on the streets/protesters/infiltrators/witnesses vs. Security forces/Syrian Police/troops.**
- **The following seem to have a similar standpoint on the demonstrations: Security forces/Syrian Police/troops, state news agency Sana, Government supporters, Bashar al-Assad and Hafez al-Assad.**
- **In contradiction, these actors have a different point of view and thus seem to be related: Syrian people on the streets/protesters/infiltrators and witnesses.**

3.2. Media analysis 2: Friends of Syria Meeting, Istanbul (1 April 2013)

Raw material of media analyses, including analyses of the following articles:
- 'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria'[121] by *BBC*, 1 April 2013
- 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens'[122] by *CNN*, 1 April 2013
- '"Friends of Syria" recognize SNC as "a legitimate representative" of Syrians'[123] by *Al Arabiya English*, 1 April 2013
- 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC'[124] by *Al Jazeera English*, 1 April 2013

3.2.1.   BBC:

'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria'[125]

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. **Headline**
     a. What is the topic?
     Istanbul summit (i.e. Friends of Syria meeting)
 	
     b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
     Yes, it states 'Foreign ministers from more than 70 Western and Arab countries have sought to increase pressure on Syria at a key meeting in Istanbul.'
 	
     c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
     No.
 	
 2. **Macrostructure of the text**
     a. What is topicalised?
     The first paragraph and the headline introduce the topic, namely that 70 foreign ministers from Western and Arab countries sought to increase pressure on Syria at the Friends of Syria meeting in Istanbul.
 	
     b. What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?
     The sub-headline 'We cannot wait' at first seems to attract the reader's attention

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[121] BBC, 'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17576134, last visited 29th June 2013.

[122] Jill Dougherty and Ivan Watson, CNN, 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens', http://edition.cnn.com/2012/04/01/world/meast/syria-unrest, last visited 29th June 2013.

[123] Al Arabiya English, '"Friends of Syria" recognize SNC as "a legitimate representative" of Syrians', http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/04/01/204594.html, last visited 29th June 2013.

[124] Al Jazeera English, 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/04/20124113351659274.html, last visited 29th June 2013.

[125] BBC, 'Istanbul summit tries to increase pressure on Syria', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17576134, last visited 29th June 2013.

because it is vague at first. However, when continuing reading the text it is becomes clear that the sub-headline refers to a quotation by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who stated '"Nearly a week has gone by, and we have to conclude that the regime is adding to its long list of broken promises." […] Mrs Clinton called for a unified response on renewed action against Damascus should it fail to implement the Annan plan, saying "we cannot sit back and wait any longer".' This sub-headline can indirectly be interpreted as either a threat to the Assad regime or as a must as it is stated that the international community or the US will intervene when the Assad regime does not implement the Kofi Annan Plan.

Furthermore, the video clip on the right top is emphasised, however, this is analysed below.

c.   Are metaphors used?

Not in the sub-heading, however, a few words/metaphors in the development of the text are striking. The fourth sentence states 'Damasucs dubbed the summit the "enemies of Syria" and has declared its victory over rebel fighters.' The word 'dubbed' is striking here, because instead of dubbed the author could also have used the word called, which sounds more neutral compared to dubbed. The verb 'to dub' in this context has a negative tone, which implicitly exposes the author's opinion.

Another striking word is 'balked' in the eighth sentence which states that 'Russia and China have balked at Security Council resolutions and were pointedly absent in Istanbul.' To balk is another negative word that sets a negative tone, and therefore also this word reveals the author's perspective.

d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?

No.

3.   **The text itself**

a.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?

b.   Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?

Yes, quotation marks are frequently used in the text. Most refer to quotations by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, BBC correspondent Jim Muir, Burhan Ghalioun (leader of the SNC), French Foreign minister Alain Juppe, head of Arab League Nabil al-Arabi, Iraqi Foreign Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, and Syrian foreign ministry spokesman Jihad al-Makdissi.

Striking citations and use of quotation marks are stipulated below:

- **'The "Friends of the Syrian People" summit' in the second sentence of the article. As this is not a quotation; quotation marks are used to highlight the name of the summit and the group of countries supporting the people in Syria (i.e. the rebels);**
- **'The "enemies of Syria" meeting' is highlighted in the ninth line of the article. This is a citation from the Syrian state television and it can be interpreted ambiguously. First this can be interpreted as a regular citation, however, it can also implicitly reveal the author's opinion.**
- **'"we cannot sit back and wait any longer"' is said by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. This is an important citation, because this threat to Assad's regime is the main argument of the article, and is repeatedly stated (see also sub-headline 'we cannot wait', and other quotation in seventh line of the article).**

- "security corridors" was mentioned by Mr. Ghalioum, the leader of the SNC and these words can be categorised as military jargon. Later in the sentence it is explained what he means, namely corridors 'to allow the delivery of aid to civilians'.

c. What is the thematic line of the text?

The headline and the first four paragraphs introduce the topic, namely ministers from Western and Arab countries sought to increase pressure on Syria at the Friends of Syria meeting in Istanbul. The development elaborates on the pressure that the US and Turkey put on the Syrian regime by means of various citations. It is said that 'Nearly a week has gone by, and we have to conclude that the regime is adding to its long list of broken promises' and that the 'Syrian regime should not be allowed at any cost to manipulate this [Annan] plan to gain time'. The main argument is highlighted by means of 'we cannot wait' quotes by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Some words, for example 'dubbed' and 'balked', that are used in this article reveal the point of view of the author, who seems to be convinced that the Assad regime is conducting crimes and should be stopped and therefore the opposition should be supported. The final paragraphs give the reader concluding thoughts on the numbers of people that were killed the past few days and since March 2011. Indirectly this supports the main argument that, because the numbers can be reason to take action and to put pressure or threaten the Assad regime.

d. What kind of jargon/terminology is used?

As explained above.

e. Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?

The final sentences state:

'Violence continued on Sunday, with <u>more than 10 people reported killed</u>, a day after <u>more than 60 people died across the country</u>.

Our correspondent says that in the latest violence, activists reported attacks by security forces in areas near the Iraqi border to the east, and the Jordanian frontier to the south.

The UN believes <u>at least 9,000 people have died in the year-long revolt against Mr Assad's rule</u>.

4. **Visual elements**
   a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?

   The article is complemented with various visuals, namely one video clip right on the top, which is an interview with UK Foreign Secretary William Hague who was at the summit and explains the current situation in Syria; one photo of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan, the photo states 'Mrs Clinton and Mr Erdogan are both sceptical about Syria's intentions on the Annan plan'.

Mrs Clinton and Mr Erdogan are both sceptical about Syria's intentions on the Annan plan

At the bottom of the article, a photo reportage of the Syrian Civil War is located. The photos (complemented with explanations) provide background information on the conflict in Syria.

Syria in turmoil

What's happening in Syria?

The Syrian government has been trying to suppress an uprising inspired by events in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The UN says thousands have been killed in the crackdown, and that many more have been detained and displaced. The Syrian government says hundreds of security forces personnel have also died combating "armed terrorist gangs".

1/9

The article is also complemented with an analysis of the situation by BBC correspondent in Beirut Jim Miur.

Analysis

Jim Muir
BBC News, Beirut

The Istanbul meeting faces a mass of dilemmas, contradictions and complexities, with no clear way forward.

Western leaders talk of the need to step up pressure on the regime and support the opposition. But they have no intention of intervening militarily in any way, or even backing the rebels with weaponry.

The opposition is divided, and many of its fighters on the ground have been crushed by a ruthless crackdown. It is under pressure to accept the peace plan of Kofi Annan. The rebels know that in any talks, the balance of power will be heavily against them.

So there's little reason to hope for a swift end to the violence other than on the regime's terms. It clearly believes it has little to fear from the Istanbul gathering.

b.   What is topicalised?
The visuals and the analysis underline that no easy solutions exist. Furthermore, the photo description of Clinton and Erdogan highlight that 'Mrs Clinton and Mr Erdogan are both sceptical about Syria's intentions on the Annan plan'.

c.   Are metaphors used?
No.

d.   Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?
The video clip and the photo of Clinton and Erdogan are merely a representation of the text. The analysis and the photo report provides extra information on the conflict.

Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships
1.   How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*? **The Istanbul summit is represented as a meeting where more than 70 Western and Arab countries discuss the Syrian conflict and look for solutions. Most aim to increase pressure on Damascus by supporting the opposition, however, the international community appears divided on the subject. Iraq attended the summit, but clarified that it was opposed to arming the opposition. Russia, China and Iran are also critical on the meeting, as they did not even attend the 'Friends of Syria' gathering. Consequently, the Syrian regime seems to have little**

fear from the Istanbul meeting. The Syrian state television described the summit as the '"enemies of Syria" meeting'.

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.

   - **The so-called 'Friends of the Syrian People', i.e. foreign ministers from more than 70 Western and Arab countries.**
   - **Russia, Iran and China**
   - **Syrian regime / Damascus / Bashar al-Assad**
   - **Kofi Annan / UN-Arab League**
   - **US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton**
   - **Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan**
   - **BBC Correspondent in Beirut Jim Muir**
   - **Burhan Ghalioun, leader of the SNC**
   - **French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe**
   - **Head of the Arab League Nabil al-Arabi**
   - **UN Security Council**
   - **Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki**
   - **Syrian foreign minister spokesman Jihad al-Makdissi**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

   Identities and actors are categorised as follows:

   - **International actors that attempt to stop the violence in Syria through intervention and supporting the opposition:**
   - **The so-called 'Friends of the Syrian People', i.e. foreign ministers from more than 70 Western and Arab countries, Kofi Annan / UN-Arab League, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, UN Security Council, and Head of the Arab League Nabil al-Arabi**
   - **International actors that do not want to intervene in the conflict in Syria: Russia, Iran and China, Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki**
   - **Local actors: Syrian regime / Damascus / Bashar al-Assad and Syrian foreign minister spokesman Jihad al-Makdissi vs. Burhan Ghalioun, leader of the SNC**
   - **Other: BBC Correspondent in Beirut Jim Muir**

3.2.2. CNN:

'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens'[126]

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. Headline
 	
    a. What is the topic?
       Syrian opposition gets help to fight regime by means of aid
 	
    b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
       No, however, a video clip is located underneath the headline. The video has a comment and states 'Moves to isolate Syrian regime'
 	
    c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
       No.
 	
2. Macrostructure of the text
 	
    a. What is topicalised?
       When analysing the macrostructure of the text it is noticed that the international support to the opposition is topicalised in the heading. The international support is also mentioned in the first (introductory) paragraph, but it mainly highlights the strengthening of the Syrian opposition as it states 'The once-fractured Syrian opposition appeared to take major steps forward Sunday, with the Syrian National Council earning international recognition and vowing to pay members of its fighting force who are battling President Bashar al-Assad's own troops.'
       The development of the text is divided in six arguments or parts. First, after the introductory paragraph, SNC leader Burhan Ghalioun is quoted and elaborated on. He underlines that the 'Syrian opposition needs the international community's help to address ongoing violence'.
       Second, the text elaborates on the international community's answer to his plea and the measurements the international community will take to support the Syrian people. This is mainly by providing \$12 million in aid.
       Subsequently, the SNC states that this is not enough and more help is needed for the refugees, but also to pay the Free Syrian Army.
       Fourth, the author goes into detail in the death rates in Syria and states the numbers according to the rebels (to be specific, Local Coordination Committees), Syrian state television Sana, and the UN.
       Next, the Annan plan has been described. These three paragraphs (the 25th to 27th) are identified as the fifth part of the development of the text.
       The sixth part of the development embraces US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's speech. She stressed that al-Assad's troops were not implementing the Annan peace plan and therefore sanctions against the Syrian regime should be taken.
       The final two paragraphs include statements of Sana, who labelled the summit 'the "Conference of the enemies of Syria"'.
       When analysing the macrostructure of the text, it can be concluded that the headline, the introduction and the development of the article topicalise the international

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[126] Jill Dougherty and Ivan Watson, CNN, 'Empowered Syrian opposition group gets help to fight regime, aid citizens', http://edition.cnn.com/2012/04/01/world/meast/syria-unrest, last visited 29th June 2013.

support for the opposition. The final two paragraphs, leave the reader with concluding thoughts on Syrian state television's thoughts (which implicitly is the Syrian regime's point of view as Sana is state-owned[127]) on the Friends of Syria meeting.

    b.   What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?
        The 'story highlighs' section.

    c.   Are metaphors used?
        No.

    d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?
        No.

3.   The text itself

    a.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?
        Only striking quotations are used, see below.

    b.   Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- **NEW:** 80 die in Syria, including 21 in both Homs and Idlib, an opposition group says
- Rebel Free Syrian Army members will be paid, an opposition leader says
- He solicits international support to stop the killing and help citizens in need
- Several nations voiced support and offered aid for the opposition at a conference

Quotation marks are mainly used for citations from SNC leader Burhan Ghalioun, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, SNC member Adib Shishakly, one LCC opposition group, Syrian state television Sana, and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

The short citations in the text are striking as the authors seem to distance themselves from the text or highlight the words. The first words cited are from SNC member Adib Shishakly, who highlights that the support of the international community so far 'is not enough'. Because this is a very short citation, the authors seem to underline that the international community is not providing enough help to solve the situation in Syria or that this is an appeal of the SNC to international actors.

The second short citation is from Syria's directorate-general for antiquities and museums who 'blamed "terrorist groups" for targeting and, in some cases damaging world heritage sites in Damascus, Aleppo, Old Bosra, Palmya and elsewhere, according to Sana report.' By emphasising the words 'terrorist groups' the authors highlight the manner of reporting about the rebels (i.e. they call them terrorist groups) by the Syrian news agency and they underline the opinion of the state. Moreover, they seem to distance themselves from this quotation by Sana, because the rest of the article and the article's main argument focus on the international support of the opposition, the SNC and LCCs.

The authors again give the impression to distance themselves from quotations by president Al-Assad and Syrian state TV. For example, the article states that 'Last week, Al-Assad pledged to implement the plan brokered by Annan and vowed to "spare no effort" to ensure its success.' Shortly after this citation, Hillary Clinton was cited six times. She stressed for example that 'the Syrian president was "adding to its

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[127] SANA, 'About SANA', http://Sana.sy/eng/article/27.htm, last visited 29th June 2013.

long list of broken promises" by failing to implement the Annan peace plan.'
The final quotations by Syrian state TV Sana are also striking. These state:

Syrian State TV carried some of the Istanbul speeches live, labeling the meeting the "Conference of the enemies of Syria."

"It is great that the conference is taking place on April 1 because it is April Fools' Day," the Syrian news anchor said, accusing the attendees of serving Israeli interests and Erdogan of carrying out Clinton's bidding.

> **Again, the authors are distancing themselves from the quotations as they later in the sentence clarify that the Syrian news anchor accused the attendees of 'serving Israeli interests and Erdogan of carrying out Clinton's bidding'. The word 'accusing' is important here, as it illustrates that the authors disagree with the statements by the Syrian State TV.**

    c.   What is the thematic line of the text?
In short, the thematic line of the article is that Assad is failing in implementing Annan's peace plan. As a result, the numbers of victims and deaths are still rising. The international community should therefore support the opposition in its fight against the Assad regime.

    d.   What kind of jargon/terminology is used?
N/A

    e.   Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?
Numbers are used to point out that the numbers of victims and death people are still mounting. For example, Local Coordination Committees (LCCs) stated that 80 people were killed around the country on Sunday, and Sana reported that five military and law enforcement members were buried Sunday. The article stated that 'CNN cannot independently confirm reports from inside Syria because the government severely restricts access by international journalists', but the UN 'estimates at least 1 million have been affected and more than 9,000 have died since the unrest began. Opposition activitsts put the death toll at more than 10,000 people'.

  4. **Visual elements**
    a.   Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?
One video clip is located underneath the headline and it covers a report on the Istanbul summit by CNN correspondent Ivan Watson.
Also, four small videos are located on the side of the text. The videos consider 1) the violence in Syria despite a cease-fire call, 2) Hillary Clinton who states that the international community is making progress on Syria during an interview, 3) Clinton who states that the US will support the Syrian opposition in a speech, and 4) Clinton who states to be seeking for solutions for the Syrian question.

    b.   What is topicalised?
The international community that at the Friends of Syria meeting seek for solutions to the Syrian conflict.
See answer above.

<div style="border:1px solid #000; padding:10px;">

    c.   Are metaphors used?
No.

    d.   Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?
The major video is a representation of what is mentioned in the article.
The four small videos complement the text with their visuals.

</div>

Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

<div style="border:1px solid #000; padding:10px;">

Analysing representation, identities and relationships

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?
Syria is presented as a country in war. The many deaths are described by SNC leader Ghalioun, Local Coordination Committees, Syrian state television Sana and the UN.
In the article, and mainly in Hillary Clinton's statements, the Syrian regime is represented as a regime that is not keeping their promises and continues fighting despite the promise to accept the Annan peace plan.
Turkey (Erdogan) and the US (Clinton) are represented as the pioneers of the Group of the Friends of the Syrian People because of their statements that disapprove the use of violence by the Syrian regime against its own people.
On the contrary, Iran, China, Russia and Iraq are represented as the opponents and supports of Assad's regime.
Sana, the Syrian Arabic News Agency, is represented as the voice of the Syrian government. However, the authors seem to distance themselves from the quotations, and therefore they are negatively represented in the article.

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.
See answer above.

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?
The SNC is calling for the international community's support.
Sana is represented as the voice of the Assad regime.

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3.2.3. Al Arabiya:

'"Friends of Syria" recognize SNC as "a legitimate representative" of Syrians'[128]

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. Headline
 	
    a. What is the topic?
 	
    The Friends of Syria (i.e. a lot of international players) recognise the SNC as a legitimate representative of Syrians.
 	
    b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
 	
    No, however, a video is placed underneath the headline. The comment underneath the headline states: 'Syrian National Council (SNC) President Burhan Ghalioun speaks during a news conference at the "Friends of Syria" conference in Istanbul April 1, 2012.'
 	
    c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
 	
    No.
 	
2. Macrostructure of the text
 	
    a. What is topicalised?
 	
    The first two paragraphs are considered the introduction of the article. The two introductory paragraphs set the tone of the article. These paragraphs state:
 	
    'The "Friends of Syria" on Sunday recognized the opposition Syrian National Council (SNC) as a legitimate representative of all Syrians, and <u>"noted"</u> it as the main opposition interlocutor with the international community - <u>wording that fell short of full recognition of a group hampered by chronic disunity.</u>
 	
    The group made <u>no mention of supporting or arming the rebel Free Syrian Army</u> (FSA), as advocated by some Gulf Arab states, but said it would "continue to work on additional appropriate measures with a view to the protection of the Syrian people."'
 	
    When analysing these sentences, it is noticed that the tone is rather negative. The words underlined demonstrate the author's disappointment in the outcome of the Friends of Syria meeting or the international community's support to the SNC and the FSA.
 	
    The development elaborates on President Bashar al-Assad and its regime that (still) has not implemented Annan's six-point peace plan yet. It also cites Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, who states 'We will not let the Syrian regime misuse another opportunity, which is the last chance for the situation in Syria'. This sentence, the article states, is interpreted by Gulf States 'to fund, if not arm, the FSA' and by the United States and others 'to allow supplies of non-lethal equipment to the loosely organized armed opposition to Assad'. The article further describes the support of the international community to the SNC and the FSA.
 	
    Next, the tone of the text is again quite negative when Middle East expert Chris

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[128] Al Arabiya English, '"Friends of Syria" recognize SNC as "a legitimate representative" of Syrians', http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/04/01/204594.html, last visited 29th June 2013.

Phillips is quoted, he said:

'[…]   the   Istanbul   meeting   had   produced   little.

"It's another damp squib from the international community, reflecting the fact that their hands are tied," he said, citing divisions over arming the rebels between the West   and   Arab   League   hawks   such   as   Qatar   and   Saudi   Arabia.

"They have a very limited amount of leverage that they can place on the Assad regime," Phillips said, noting that the group's endorsement of Annan's plan had effectively dropped previous Arab and Western demands for Assad's removal.'

The author then provide his conclusion: 'Western and Arab sanctions on Syria have failed so far to soften the government's crackdown on its opponents.

Ahead of the gathering, Assad's regime declared victory over rebels and again voiced support for Annan's plan, but kept up its shelling of rebel positions and said it had no plans to immediately withdraw troops.'

The author also gives some concluding thoughts in the concluding paragraphs that mention the number of people killed since the uprising began.

    b.   What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?
        A citation by Turkish Foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu is emphasised next to the text:

        Also one subheading is written in bold: 'Signs of direct intervention'.

    c.   Are metaphors used?

    d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?
        No.

3.   The text itself
    a.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?

    b.   Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?
        The introductory paragraph highlights the word 'noted' by means of quotation marks. This is a quotation, however, the author's opinion is explained as the sentence concludes with 'wording that fell short of full recognition of a group hampered by chronic disunity'.
        The author highlights one quotation by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu (see above). This quotation is important, according to the author. He explains:

> 'Gulf states are likely to interpret the phrase as a license to fund, if not arm, the FSA, while the United States and others will see it as allowing supplies of non-lethal equipment to the loosely organized armed opposition to Assad.'

    c. What is the thematic line of the text?

The Friends of Syria recognise SNC as a legitimate representative of all Syrians. Assad has not implemented Annan's peace plan, and the "Friends" will support the SNC and the FSA by paying the salaries of opposition fighters for three months and by supplying non-lethal equipment to the opposition. However, the Istanbul summit had produced little (according to Middle East expert), and 'Western and Arab sanctions on Syria have failed so far to soften the government's crackdown on its opponents.' Just before the meeting, Assad's regime declared victory over the rebels [...] and said it had no plans to immediately withdraw troops', and the bloodshed continues.

    d. What kind of jargon/terminology is used?

Military register, e.g. withdraw troops, declare victory, non-lethal equipment.

    e. Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?

The article states the following regarding support to the opposition by the international community: 'Gulf states have pledged to provide $100 million dollars to pay for the salaries of opposition fighters for three months', and 'about $500,000 dollars was already sent to fighters inside Syria last week´.

Regarding the number of death people, the following numbers are mentioned in the article: last Sunday 'at least 73 people were killed' and '9,000 people dead since the uprising began in March last year, according to the UN.'

4. **Visual elements**
       a. Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?

Yes, one video is used to complement the text. The video shows US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who states that the deadline was said to stop the killing in Syria, the support of the international community to the Syrian opposition.

    b. What is topicalised?

The support of the international community to the Syrian opposition.

    c. Are metaphors used?

No.

    d. Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?

It complements the text.

Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships
1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?

> **Assad is represented as the Syrian president who is not keeping his promises to the UN and the Arab League, as he is not implementing the six-point plan by Kofi Annan, because he did not withdraw his troops and did not allow humanitarian access in the country.**
>
> **The international community is represented through the Friends of Syria. They are described as being a 'chronic disunity' (first sentence in the article). Also it is stated that the 'Istanbul meeting had produced little', 'they have very limited amount of leverage that they can place on the Assad regime', and 'Western and Arab sanctions on Syria have failed so far to soften the government's crackdown on its opponents'. Based on these descriptions it can be concluded that they are represented as a disunited international player that lacks the will/unity/strength to intervene in Syria and stop Assad and his regime.**
>
> **The Free Syrian Army and the Syrian National Council are described as the 'loosely organized armed opposition to Assad'.**

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.
   See above.

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?
   Friends of Syria, FSA, SNC vs. Bashar al Assad, Syrian regime

3.2.4. Al Jazeera:

'"Friends" of Syria recognise SNC'[129]

Analysing headline, macrostructure, the text and visuals

1. **Headline**
    a. What is the topic?
    Friends of Syria recognise SNC as the legal representative of the Syrian people.
 	
    b. Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?
    Yes, it states: Friends of Syria group announces that Syrian National Council is the "legitimate representative" of all Syrians'.
 	
    c. Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?
    No.
 	
2. **Macrostructure of the text**
    a. What is topicalised?
    The headline and the introductory paragraphs first highlight that the Friends of Syria recognised the SNC as the legitimate representative of all Syrians. The development of the text it is clarified that, during the Istanbul summit, the Friends of Syria discussed ways to put pressure on Syrian President Bashar al-Assad 'to end violence and to support the Syrian opposition'. It is the moral obligation of the international community to act, according to Turkish PM Erdogan. Various sanctions to the Syrian

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[129] Al Jazeera English, 'Friends of Syria recognize SNC', http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/04/20124113351659274.html, last visited 29th June 2013.

regime were discussed, e.g. 'sending aid to those in need, despite Syrian efforts to block it', non-lethal support such as communications gear and medical aid to an increasingly armed opposition', to hold 'Syrian leaders and security forces to account for suspected abuses amid allegations of murder, torture and indiscriminate shelling of civilian areas'.

     b.   What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?

The following is emphasised by means of bold letters and quotation marks:

- **'Moral obligation', this refers to the obligation of the international community to act and thus to intervene.**
- **'Enemies of Syria', instead of calling them the Friends of Syria, Sana, the Syrian state news agency called them the 'enemies of Syria'. It also stated that 'the meeting in Istanbul was "a series of related circles of conspiracy against Syria as the participants in it are enemies of Syria".'**
- **'True to form' refers to the Syrian regime that stays true to 'form [...] "making a deal and then refus(es) to implement it", Clinton said.'**

     c.   Are metaphors used?

Yes, the words 'deadly crackdown', 'crushed' and 'swept [...] from power' are used. These words are analysed below (see 3.a.)

     d.   Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?

No.

3. **The text itself**
        a.   Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?

The following words are striking:

- **The fourth paragraph states 'Earlier on Sunday, Burhan Ghalioun, the SNC head, had urged the international community to take serious action to halt the government's <u>deadly crackdown</u> on an anti-government uprising'. 'Deadly' and 'crackdown' are very strong words indicating that the opposition did not make a stance against the government forces. These words seem to indicate that the author is supporting the opposition. Because the author could have also used the words repressive action instead of deadly crackdown , for example.**
- **Other striking words are 'crushing' and 'swept', those are used in one of the concluding paragraphs that states:**

'More than 9,000 people, UN officials estimate, have died in the year since Assad's forces began <u>crushing</u> pro-democracy protests inspired by revolutions that have <u>swept</u> the leaders of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen from power.'

The word 'crushing' (similar to previous words 'deadly crackdown') indicates that the Syrian people, the opposition and protesters were powerless compared to the government regime. As a result, the Syrian regime and troops are displayed as powerful, vigorous and dominant. Other former Arab leaders, on the other hand, are displayed as unsteady or weak, because they are 'swept [...] from power'. The other Arab oppositions are therefore indirectly represented as strong and powerful. The author could have also formulated this sentence differently by using, for example, stopping instead of crushing, and removed instead of swept. This would have

contributed to the objectivity of the text. The words 'deadly crackdown', 'crushing' and 'swept [...] from power' therefore indicate a slightly subjective author.

    b.   Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?
The following is emphasised by means of bold letters and quotation marks:

- **'Moral obligation', this refers to the obligation of the international community to act and thus to intervene.**
- **'Enemies of Syria', instead of calling them the Friends of Syria, Sana, the Syrian state news agency called them the 'enemies of Syria'. It also stated that 'the meeting in Istanbul was "a series of related circles of conspiracy against Syria as the participants in it are enemies of Syria".'**
- **'True to form' refers to the Syrian regime that stays true to 'form [...] "making a deal and then refus(es) to implement it", Clinton said.'**

    c.   What is the thematic line of the text?
The thematic line of the text is that during the Friends of Syria meeting in Turkey, the international community decided to intensify their support to the opposition in its fight against Assad, because Assad is not keeping his promises (i.e. he has not implemented the six-point plan by Kofi Annan) and more than 9,000 people have died in the year since the start of the conflict.

    d.   What kind of jargon/terminology is used?

    e.   Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?
The subsequent numbers are mentioned:

- **'The second "Friends of Syria" meeting opened with more than 70 representatives discussing ways to pressure Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to end violence and to support the Syrian opposition.'**
- **'More than 9,000 people, UN officials estimate, have died in the year since Assad's forces began crushing pro-democracy protests inspired by revolutions that have swept the leaders of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen from power.'**

4. **Visual elements**
    a.   Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?
    One photo is used underneath the heading:

The image shows international (Western and Arab) officials greeting each other (and shake hands). The comment below the image states: 'Western and Arab nations in Istanbul sought to exert more pressure on Syrian President Bashar al-Assad [Reuters]'

Also one video is used to complement the text. The video includes the speech by SNC leader Burhan Ghalioun:

Burhan Ghalioun: Do not prolong the catastrophe

b.   What is topicalised?
      The photo topicalises Western and Arab officials meeting in Istanbul.
      The video concerns SNC leader Ghalioun's speech to the 'Friends of Syria'.

c.   Are metaphors used?
      No.

d.   Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?
      The photo is a representation of what is mentioned in the text.
      The video is complementing the text as it provides the full speech of Ghalioun. Only a few phrases are stated in the text.

Questions similar to Fairclough's discourse analysis:

Analysing representation, identities and relationships
1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*? • **The SNC is represented as the legal representative to all Syrians.** • **The Friends of Syria are represented as a group of more than 70 countries supporting the Syrian opposition (incl. The SNC and the FSA).** • **The Syrian government (and its troops) are displayed as a strong authoritarian regime; the Syrian opposition and the Syrian people in contradiction are displayed as vulnerable and fragile.** 2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community. • **The SNC is represented as the legal representative to all Syrians.** • **The Friends of Syria are represented as a group of more than 70 countries supporting the Syrian opposition (incl. The SNC and the FSA).** • **The Syrian government (and its troops) are displayed as a strong authoritarian regime; the Syrian opposition and the Syrian people in contradiction are displayed as vulnerable and fragile.** 3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.? **The Friends of Syria support the Syrian opposition.** **Syrian state television Sana is related to the Syrian regime.** **Friends of Syria and Syrian opposition (i.e. FSA and SNC) vs. Syrian regime (incl. Sana).**

3.3. Media analysis 3:

Suspicion about use of chemical weapons (April-May 2013)

Raw material of media analyses, including analyses of the following articles:
- 'Syria crisis: "Strong evidence" of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb' by *BBC,* 16th May 2013
- 'Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing' by *CNN,* 3rd May 2013
- 'FSA investigates residents' claims of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr' by *Al Arabiya,* 4th May 2013
- 'Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons' by *Al Jazeera,* 26th April 2013

3.3.1.   BBC:

Syria crisis: 'Strong evidence' of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb[130]

Article by the BBC, published 16th May 2013.

Analysing headline, macrostructure, text and visuals
1.   Headline
a.   **What is the topic?** **Strong evidence of chemical attacks in Syria.**
b.   **Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?** **No, however the first paragraph is written in bold and explains the heading.**
c.   **Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?** **No.**
d.   **Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?** **Not in the heading.**
e.   **Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)** **To a certain extent a military register is used, e.g. chemical attacks.**
f.   **Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?** **…**
2.   Macrostructure of the text
a.   **What is topicalised?** **Chemical attacks (that have most probably taken place in Syria)**
b.   **What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital or bold letters?** i.   **Sub-headings: 'Crossing the red line', 'Withered plants' and '"Strong evidence",**

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[130] Ian Pannel, BBC News, 'Syria crisis: "Strong evidence" of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22551892, last visited 19 May 2013.

albeit incomplete'.

ii. **Syria's chemical weapons and the symptoms of exposure to chemical weapons from point of view of a local victim and a doctor:**

Syria's chemical weapons

- The CIA believes Syria has had a chemical weapons programme "for years and already has a stockpile of CW agents which can be delivered by aircraft, ballistic missile, and artillery rockets"
- Syria is believed to possess mustard gas and sarin, a highly toxic nerve agent
- The CIA also believes that Syria has attempted to develop more toxic and more persistent nerve agents, such as VX gas
- A report citing Turkish, Arab and Western intelligence agencies put Syria's stockpile at approximately 1,000 tonnes of chemical weapons, stored in 50 towns and cities
- Syria has not signed the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) or ratified the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC)

Sources: CSIS, RUSI

How to investigate

Syria's chemical weapons stockpile

"You'd lose all senses. You'd feel like you were dead"

Mohammed Khatib

Local resident

"The symptoms she displayed - unconsciousness, vomiting, pinpoint pupils - they all correspond to poison gas exposure"

Dr Jumaa Samadi

iii. **The Syrian conflict in general:**

More on This Story

Syria conflict

Features and analysis

Qusair's strategic importance
The western Syrian town of Qusair has become a fiercely contested battleground between the forces of President Bashar al-Assad and rebel fighters.

Chemical attacks	Bloodiest days
Unwinnable war	Q&A: Israeli strikes
No easy answers	Chemical stockpile
Israel's 'red line'	Guide to conflict
Obama's options	Chemical weapons probe
Guide to opposition	Assessing claims

Profiles

Al-Nusra Front	Who are the Alawites?
President's inner circle	Profile: Moaz al-Khatib
Bashar al-Assad	Profile: Syria's Baath Party

Around the web

BBC Arabic website	Syrian state news agency Sana
Revolution 2011 on Facebook	Human Rights Observatory (Arabic)

Syria conflict

Qusair's strategic importance

Chemical attacks

Unwinnable war

No easy answers

c. **Are metaphors used?**

Yes, the sub-heading: 'Crossing the red line?'. The metaphor is not explained in the article, however, it refers to Obama speech where he explains his boundary of use of chemical weapons and with it Assad's limitations according to Obama. In other words, Should Assad 'cross the line' and in this case use chemical weapons the US will intervene.

d. **Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?**

Yes, the argument that most probably chemical weapons are used by Assad's troops is repeated. First in the video clip, than it is explained in the text. The second section starts with the following paragraph that repeats the argument: 'Doctors, eyewitnesses and victims insist this was a chemical attack. There have been similar claims elsewhere in the country by the Syrian government says it did not and will not use such weapons.' Later in the texts doctors are quoted who conclude that there is strong evidence that chemical weapons have been used.

e. **Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?**

Ingroup-outgroup is not (extremely) emphasised, however, it is present. This article uses two kinds of narrative modes, namely first (or multiple persons) narrative, e.g. '<u>We</u> cannot verify the images,' and third person narrative, e.g. '<u>He</u> is too afraid to return to the house.' Based on the first sentence of the article, 'we' seems to refer to the BBC, most probably the BBC Correspondent Team in Syria. The rest of the people (i.e. he, she, they) seems to be the outgroup that includes doctors, eyewitnesses, victims and the Syrian government.

3. **The text itself**
    a. **Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?**
    ...

    b. **Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?**
    Yes, to quote an activist, one of the victims, the doctor who treated the victims, and a former commanding officer of the British Army's Chemical Counter Terrorist Regiment who now runs a firm that specialises in the study of chemical weapons.

    c. **What is the thematic line of the text?**
    As the heading states: 'Syria crisis: "Strong evidence" of chemical attacks, in Saraqeb'

    d. **What kind of jargon/terminology is used?**
    ...

    e. **Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?**
    No.

4. **Visual elements**
    a. **Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?'**
    Yes, one video and three images are used. The article starts with a video clip that describes the following:
        i. **The use of chemical weapons would be a red line for Britain and the US and raise the spectre for international intervention;**
        ii. **Saraqeb came under attack of chemical weapons;**
        iii. **Footage is shown, taken by a local activist. This shows a helicopter dropping a container with white smoke. Next, people with breathing problems and who are vomiting are filmed in the hospital. One woman was unconscious and died later that day. Her sons were also treated in the hospital it was said. The doctors described these are symptoms of a chemical attack. One son described what he felt (it was terrible, you couldn't breathe and feel your senses, he couldn't see for days).**
        iv. **Nephew shows the house where the device was said to have landed. Samples are taken from here and were sent to Turkey, Britain, France and America for testing.**
        v. **A doctor confirms that the symptoms that these people suffered, are symptoms**

also identified when poisoned by chemicals, however, the evidence should be tested.

vi. The video finishes with the view of the abandoned house of the family of the woman who died. The voice over says that the family does not dare to return. A British expert who studied the evidence said that this is strong but incomplete evidence that shows a nerve gas has been used.
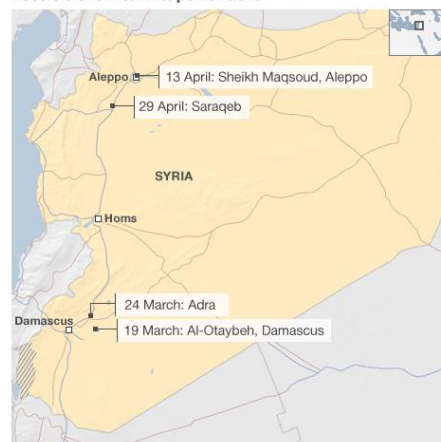

The Khatib family says a device landed in their garden

Mohammed Khatib's sister, who survived, was taken to hospital with a distended tongue and frothing at the mouth

Images:

Possible chemical weapon attacks

b. **What is topicalised?**
The people suffering from a (what seems to be a) chemical attack

c. **Are metaphors used?**
No metaphors are identified.

d. **Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?**
The first video is a representation of what is mentioned in the text.
The second video below is complementing the text as it shows extra information on the subject. It supports the statement that strong evidence has been used during the civil war in Syria.

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?

Even though the text states it is uncertain whether the Syrian government used chemical weapons in an attack or not, it is represented in a way that the Syrian government used chemical weapons against civilians. For example, the third paragraph states: 'Shortly after midday on 29 April, the town of Saraqeb came under attack from government military positions about five miles (8km) away.' The article asserts this several times, by quoting the doctor that helped the victims and by quoting an chemical weapons expert. Only one sentence states the opposite, namely 'The Syrian government says it did not and will not use chemical weapons.'

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.

The following identities can be identified:

- **The BBC, including its Correspondent Team in Syria;**
- **The Syrian government;**
- **Eyewitnesses;**
- **Patients/victims;**
- **Doctors;**
- **Activist;**
- **Obama;**
- **Mohammed Khatib – victim;**
- **Mohammed Khatib's mother Miriam – victim;**
- **Britain, France, Turkey and America;**
- **Mohammed Khatib's wife – victim;**
- **Miriam's nephew Maed Barish;**
- **Dr. Jumaa Samadi;**
- **Hamish de Bretton-Gordon (former officer of the British Army's Chemical Counter Terrorist Regiment;**
- **The U.N.;**
- **Syrians.**

The main characters are the BBC (Correspondent Team in Syria), the Khatib family and Dr. Jumaa Samadi as they are quoted various times (and more compared to other persons/actors) in the article.

Ingroup-outgroup is not (extremely) emphasised, however, it is present. This article uses two kinds of narrative modes, namely first (or multiple persons) narrative, e.g. 'We cannot verify the images,' and third person narrative, e.g. 'He is too afraid to return to the house.' Based on the first sentence of the article, 'we' seems to refer to the BBC, most probably the BBC Correspondent Team in Syria. The rest of the people (i.e. he, she, they) seems to be the outgroup(s), including doctors, eyewitnesses, victims and the Syrian government.

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

- **The Syrian government (incl. Military) vs. Syrian people (incl. Doctors, civilians, victims, activists);**
- **The BBC (Correspondents) writing on the situation of the Syrian people;**
- **Outsiders of the conflict that are involved on the sidelines: U.N., Britain, France, Turkey, America.**

3.3.2. CNN:

Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing[131]

Article published by CNN, 3rd May 2013.

Analysing headline, macrostructure, text and visuals

1. Headline

    a. **What is the topic?**
Obama waiting to take action in Syrian Civil War.

    b. **Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?**
No, but underneath the headline a video clip of a speech by Obama is posted, with the following comment: 'Obama clarifies "game changer" comments'.

    c. **Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?**
No, however, as a question mark is present, implying that it is unsure whether chemical weapons are used in Syria.

    d. **Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?**
Not specifically in the headline, however the word 'still' can be interpreted negatively, i.e. the narrator seems to wait for Obama to take action and intervene in the Syrian civil war.

    e. **Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)**
A military register is identified in following words: intervened, chemical weapons, opposition groups, intelligence analysts, chemical agent Sarin, war zone, fighting, bloodshed, war, and conflict.

    f. **Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?**
No specific lexicon is recognised.

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- U.S. President Barack Obama said the use of chemical weapons in Syria would be a "red line."

- American officials now say there is evidence the Syrian regime has used chemical weapons.

- But Obama says he needs "the facts" before taking action

2. Macrostructure of the text

    a. **What is topicalised?**
US President Barack Obama

    b. **What is emphasised by means of capital letters?**
The block with STORY HIGHLIGHTS is highlighted.
Also, the word READ is emphasised by capital letters, moreover it is a link to another news story heading 'Exclusive: Syrian minister blames rebels for chemical weapons.'

    c. **Are metaphors used?**
Yes, 'crossing the red line' and 'game changer' are metaphors used by Obama. The former metaphor is used when Obama explains his boundary and with it Assad's limitations. In other words, Should

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[131] Jonathan Mann, CNN International, 'Chemical weapons in Syria? Why Obama still needs convincing', http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/03/us/mann-obama-syria/, last visited 19 May 2013.

Assad 'cross the line' and in this case use chemical weapons the US will intervene. 'Game changer' is also a metaphor used by Obama. It does not imply that a game is played by the US and the Syrian regime, however it changes the conflict.

Also, the second last paragraph starts with 'Americans have <u>no appetite for</u> more overseas <u>campaigns</u>.' Two metaphors are underlined here. This sentence implies that, according to the opinion poll, Americans do not want to involve and take military action in another distant conflict abroad.

d. **Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?**
No.

e. **Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?**
To a certain extent. The following actors are identified:
- Obama, his opinion/actions are emphasised by, e.g. 'his <u>own</u> warning' in the first sentence, and later in the text 'Obama's <u>own</u> words.'
- US is emphasised by Obama's quotation in the second sentence '<u>We</u>'ve organized [...], <u>we</u> are the largest [...], <u>we</u> have worked [...], <u>we</u>'ve been simply bystanders[...].'
- Senator John McCain is mentioned and quoted in the text and it is stated that he is 'disappointed' and that he has a 'prominent Republican voice on military issues' compared to Obama.
- The American people are mentioned in a New York Times/CBS News poll.
- And others, e.g.:
- US allies Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the rebels, Washington, the Syrian regime, Syrian people (i.e. Syrians), and the U.N.

3. **The text itself**
   a. **Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?**
   ...

   b. **Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?**
   - 'The US has offered a range of <u>"non-lethal"</u> aid to Syria's rebels.' → it is unsure whether this is a quotation by representatives of the White House or whether the author takes distance from the text.
   - 'Obama's own words suggested that he might, when he warned in August that the use or transport of chemical weapons would be a <u>"red line."</u>' → as the sentence itself clarifies, these are Obama's words and thus it is a quotation.
   - 'Getting <u>"the facts"</u> from a war zone in a hostile sovereign state hasn't been easy.' → this is also a quote. These are words by Obama in the first video clip of the article.

   c. **What is the thematic line of the text?**
   The US, and Obama specifically, does not want to intervene in Syria and take military action. Moreover, Obama is not keeping his word as Assad and his forces crossed his so-called "red line" by using chemical weapons and Obama is not taking serious action. This is emphasised by the following words:
   - '<u>Obama is still reluctant</u> to commit himself to ending the carnage'

- **Quote by McCain:** "<u>The president has not wanted</u> to engage in Syria'
- '<u>There is no obvious reason to doubt that the president</u>, like many Americans, <u>is appalled by the bloodshed in Syria</u>.'

d. **What kind of jargon/terminology is used?**
Colloquial and political jargon is used, for example the statements by senator McCain. His statement is also quite hyperbolic.
Next, military terminology is used, such as intervene, chemical weapons, fighting, conflict and bloodshed.

e. **Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?**
Yes, one opinion poll is mentioned almost at the end of the article. It is not a substantial research executed by a research centre or something of the sort, and it is the only element in the text that truly supports Obama's opinion. However,

4. **Visual elements**
   a. **Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?**
   Four video clips and one photo report are added to the article. The article in a way begins with the first video clip which comprises a speech of Obama explaining US policy on Syria, and specifically clarifying that no military action has been taken yet because he does not know all the facts.

People run for cover after what activists said was shelling by forces loyal to Syria's President Bashar al-Assad in Syria's Raqqa province, on May 3.

Syrian civil war in photos

On the left side a photo report on the Syrian civil war is published. The photo report contains twenty photos with captions explaining the visuals and with it the civil war.

Three other video clips are published underneath the photo report. The first of these three clips is named with 'Jordan, US prepare to respond to Syria' and includes a report by a reporter in Jordan that describes the terrible situation of refugees and people in Syria. The second video clip is named 'US seeks facts on sarin use in Syria' and shows US Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel explaining that they are (re)searching the facts on the use of the chemical weapon sarin in Syria. The last of three clips is called 'US rethinking arms to Syrian rebels' and shows Secretary Hagel telling that the US is rethinking sending arms to Syrian rebels.

It can be concluded that the visuals provide the article with primary sources. The article replies on the content of the videos, mainly on the first video clip. The photos provide additional (background) information of the conflict in Syria.

   b. **What is topicalised?**
   The first video 'Obama clarifies "game changer" comments'.

   c. **Are metaphors used?**
   No.

   d. **Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?**
   The text is responding on the video where Obama's explanation his thoughts and actions concerning the civil war and the use of chemical weapons.

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?

   The civil war in Syria is described as a horrible situation. Words to describe the civil war in Syria are 'the carnage' (first sentence), 'deaths of about 70,000 people' (fifth paragraph).

   Many people – both Syrians and Americans – are 'frustrated' that Obama or the 'US has not intervened more decisively', i.e. has taken military action.

   Obama is described as being 'reluctant to commit himself to ending the carnage or even enforce his own warning about chemical weapons' (first sentence). Also McCain is quoted: "The president has not wanted to engage in Syria'. The concluding sentence of the article states that 'there is no obvious reason to doubt that the president, like many Americans, is appalled by the bloodshed in Syria.'

   To put it very simple, and it is not stated in the article like this, but it can be assumed that the author of the article represents the world as follows: Americans and Syrians are waiting for Obama to intervene more decisively and thus take military action in Syria.

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.

   The following actors are identified:
   - **Obama, his opinion/actions are emphasised by, e.g. 'his <u>own</u> warning' in the first sentence, and later in the text 'Obama's <u>own</u> words.'**
   - **US is emphasised by Obama's quotation in the second sentence '<u>We</u>'ve organized [...], <u>we</u> are the largest [...], <u>we</u> have worked [...], <u>we</u>'ve been simply bystanders[...].'**
   - **Senator John McCain is mentioned and quoted in the text and it is stated that he is 'disappointed' and that he has a 'prominent Republican voice on military issues' compared to Obama.**
   - **The American people are e.g. mentioned in a New York Times/CBS News poll.**
   - **And others, e.g.: US allies Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the rebels, Washington, the Syrian regime, Syrians (i.e. the Syrian civilians), and the U.N.**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

   The following relationships are set up:
   - **Relationship(s) presented by Obama in the second paragraph: the international community is headed by the US, strengthening the opposition against the Syrian regime;**
   - **In the fourth paragraph presents the relationship between the US and its allies Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Jordan;**
   - **Fifth paragraph shows the relationship between Syrian and American people vs. The US (i.e. Obama administration/the White House);**
   - **The eighth paragraph indicates the relationship of the White House vs. the Syrian regime;**
   - **Eleventh paragraph shows the relationship of the U.N. vs. Syrian regime;**
   - **Twelfth and thirteenth paragraphs set the relationship between President Barack Obama and / vs. Senator John McCain;**

- **Syria is compared with Iraq and Afghanistan, where America still is involved after years. This relationship is set up in the fourteenth and fifteenth paragraphs.**

3.3.3. Al Arabiya:

FSA investigates residents' claims of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr[132]

Article published by Al Arabiya, 4th May 2013.

Analysing headline, macrostructure, text and visuals

2. **Headline**

    a. **What is the topic?**
    Free Syrian Army is investigating residents' claims of use of chemical weapons in Qusayr.

    b. **Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?**
    No, however the headline is specified in a photo underneath it. The photo says: 'People run for cover after what activists said was shelling by forces loyal to Syria's President Bashar al-Assad in Raqqa province, eastern Syria May 3, 2013.'

    c. **Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?**
    No.

    d. **Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?**
    No metaphors are identified in the heading.

    e. **Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)**
    Chemical weapons is used in the heading, this can be a military register.

    f. **Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?**
    Chemical weapons refer to military lexicon.

3. **Macrostructure of the text**

    a. **What is topicalised?**
    The Libanese militant group Hezbollah is said to be fighting for the Assad regime and it is said to be using artillery shells containing fatal Mustard Gas against activists and civilians in the area.

    b. **What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital letters?**
    Nothing.

    c. **Are metaphors used?**
    Yes. The first 'jihadi duties' is stated in the fifth paragraph. This can be interpreted as a metaphor, and the author seems to suggest this is a metaphor as it is highlighted by means of quotation marks. Analysing the whole sentence, 'jihadi duties' can be interpreted as fighting.

[132] Al Arabiya, 'FSA investigates residents' claims of chemical weapons' use in Qusayr', http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2013/05/04/FSA-accuses-Hezbollah-of-using-chemical-weapons-in-Qusayr-.html#, last visited 19th May 2013.

Considering the whole article, '**Syria's friends**' and '**Syria has true friends**' (written in the sixth and seventh paragraph respectively) can be interpreted as Assad's allies.

'Fall <u>into the hands of</u> the United States, Israel and "takfiri" groups' means controlled by them.

Last sentence of the article: '"Hezbollah is using these <u>sectarian excuses</u> <u>to drag</u> Lebanese youth into the Syrian conflict," Almokdad said.' Sectarian excuses imply that the reasons for sending/pushing Lebanese youth into the conflict are not true. To drag implies that the youth are in a way powerlessness against their own leader(s).

    d. **Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?**
No.

    e. **Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?**
No clear contrast between us and them is established, however the following groups are identified:
- **Residents in Syria's flashpoint town of Qusayr;**
- **Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, incl. its fighters and chief Hassan Nasrallah. Nasrallah talks about his group and his fighters which indicates an ingroup designator;**
- **Free Syrian Army, incl. spokesperson Louay Almokdad;**
- **The Assad regime;**
- **Lebanese youth.**

A contrast between Hezbollah and the Free Syrian Army is identified as a conflict between the two is described by FSA spokesperson Louay Almokdad.

4. **The text itself**
    a. **Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?**
Last sentence of the article: '"Hezbollah is using these <u>sectarian excuses</u> <u>to drag</u> Lebanese youth into the Syrian conflict," Almokdad said.' Sectarian excuses imply that the reasons for sending/pushing Lebanese youth into the conflict are not true. To drag implies that the youth are in a way powerlessness against their own leader(s).

    b. **Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?**
Yes, in the third paragraph 'investigating the reports' is quoted. However, it can also imply that the author distances himself from the quote as only these few words are quoted.
Also, quotation marks are used to stress 'jihadi duties' in the fifth paragraph. This sentence is unclear as it is unsure whether this is stated by the U.N which is noticed in the sentence before. However, this sentence can also suggest that Hezbollah fighters were killed during their fight in Syria, where they executed their 'jihadi duties'. Reason to believe this is, is suggested proof presented the same sentence: the regular funerals of Hezbollah fighters.
Next, Hezbollah leader Nasrallah is quoted: 'Syria has true friends in the region who will not allow Syria to fall into the hands of the United States, Israel and "takfiri"

groups.' In this sentence 'takfiri' is stressed with extra quotation marks. This implies that the author takes distance from the quote by Nasrallah, and as a *takfir* is a Muslim who is declared impure or an unbeliever,[133] the author does not seem to agree that these people are impure or a takfir. Furthermore the author noticed that these comments by Hezbollah's chief 'were the strongest indication yet that his group was ready to get more substantially involved to rescue Assad's government.'

Later in the article the reason for Hezbollah leader Nasrallah to join Assad in his fight is suggested. Hezbollah leader Nasrallah is again quoted in the article: 'if the shrine [of Sayida Zeinab, the shrine of the Sunnis] is destroyed, things will get out of control.' The latter sentence explains the reason for Nasrallah to support the Assad regime. The (unknown) author also mentions and refers to 'the 2006 bombing of the Shiite al-Askari shrine in the Iraqi city of Samarra.'

c. **What is the thematic line of the text?**
   The Lebanese militant group Hezbollah is supporting the Assad regime in its fight and is using chemical weapons against residents and rebels.

d. **What kind of jargon/terminology is used?**
   Military terminology is used, for example flashpoint town (indicating a place at which violence might be expected to begin because of the army's presence), fatal Mustard Gas, chemical weapons, armed opposition, Lebanese militant group, ally, two-year conflict, Hezbollah fighters, killed, (indirectly) jihadi duties, chief, protect, destroyed, bombing, and the Syrian conflict.
   Also religious or Islamic terminology is used, such as jihadi duties, takfiri groups, Sunni Muslims, holy Shiite shrine of Sayida Zeinab, and sectarian.

e. **Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?**
   Only the number of people killed, i.e. 70,000, according to the U.N.
   Other: the number of funerals of Hezbollah fighters was not provided, it is indicated with 'regular', which is very vague.

5. **Visual elements**
   a. **Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?**
      Yes, one photo is used. The photo shows people on the streets (running towards the viewer) in Raqqa. Behind them a lot of smoke is seen.

   b. **What is topicalised?**
      As the comment underneath the photo clarifies, people are running for 'shelling by

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[133] About.com, 'takfir', http://atheism.about.com/library/glossary/islam/bldef_takfir.htm, last visited 20th May 2013.

> forces loyal to Syria's President Bashar al-Assad.'
>
> c. **Are metaphors used?**
>   **Not on the picture.**
>
> d. **Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?**
>   **The image shows one of the elements mentioned in the text, however, no specific groups (e.g. rebels, Hezbollah fighters, the FSA or Assad forces) can be identified who are responsible for the fighting and smoke which is seen in the back of the photo, civilians are looking at the smoke and walking and running away from it.**

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?
    In this article the Syrian civil war is represented as a war not only between Assad and the rebels (incl. the FSA), but also between Lebanese militant group Hezbollah. Hezbollah is represented as a sectarian group that 'drags Lebanese youth into the Syrian conflict.'

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.
    The following groups are identified:
    - **Residents in Syria's flashpoint town of Qusayr;**
    - **Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, incl. its fighters and chief Hassan Nasrallah. Nasrallah talks about his group and his fighters which indicates an ingroup designator;**
    - **Free Syrian Army, incl. spokesperson Louay Almokdad;**
    - **The Assad regime;**
    - **Lebanese youth.**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?
    The following relationships are set up:
    - **A contrast between Hezbollah and the rebels/Free Syrian Army is identified as a conflict between the two is described by FSA spokesperson Louay Almokdad.**
    - **Hezbollah is supporting Assad's army;**
    - **The Free Syrian Army is the army of the rebels and these are related with each other;**
    - **Hassan Nasrallah is the chief of Hezbollah, and therefore they are related with each other;**
    - **Louay Almokdad is the spokesperson of the FSA, and thus they are related;**
    - **The Lebanese youth are described to suffer from sectarian excuses by Hezbollah to join the fight in the Syrian war.**

3.3.4.   Al Jazeera:

Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons[134]

Article published by Al Jazeera, 26th April 2013.

Analysing headline, macrostructure, text and visuals
1.   Headline
a.   **What is the topic?**   **Possible/probable use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime.**
b.   **Is the headline specified in a comment underneath it?**   **Yes, the comment states 'UK prime minister backs US spy agencies' assessment that Damascus likely to have used sarin gas against civilians.' This explains the heading, it seems that the UK prime minister (and US spy agencies are or) is suspicious about the Syrian regime using chemical weapons against civilians.**
c.   **Is it a rhetoric theme/topic?**   **No.**
d.   **Is hyperbolic use of metaphors present?**   **No, not in the headline. Metaphors are present in the article, these are described below.**
e.   **Is a type of register used? Register refers to language associated with a particular social situation or subject matter, e.g. so army and invasion are both taken from a military register)**   **Not really in the headline, however later in the text a military register is used as explained below.**
f.   **Which lexicon is used, i.e. what vocabulary is used? This refers to lexicalisation, e.g. how are people/events named, what are they associated with (crime, illegal, threat)?**   **No specific lexicon is identified yet.**
2.   Macrostructure of the text
a.   **What is topicalised?**   **Proof of the use of chemical weapons (possibly) by the Syrian regime, and to a lesser extent the possible next steps taken by the international community.**
b.   **What is emphasised by means of e.g. capital letters?**   **Sub-headings are present and written in bold: 'Growing evidence' and 'positive test sample'.**
c.   **Are metaphors used?**   **Yes, 'crossing the red line' and 'game-changer' are metaphors used by Obama and in this case also by UK PM David Cameron. The former metaphor is used when Cameron explains his and the international boundary and with it Assad's limitations. In other words, should Assad 'cross the line' and in this case use chemical weapons the**

[134] Al Jazeera, 'Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons',
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/04/20134251651595335.html, last visited 19 May 2013.

international community will intervene. The latter metaphor 'Game changer' is a metaphor used by Obama. It does not imply that a game is played by the US and the Syrian regime, however it changes the conflict.

d. **Is rhetorical repetition present (i.e. is rhetoric repeated)?**
The heading, the comment and sub-headings repeat and confirm the use of chemical weapons in Syria.

e. **Has a clear contrast between Us and Them been established by e.g. using an ingroup designator (i.e. this refers to words that indicate membership of some kind of "us" group, as opposed to "them"), such as the possessive pronoun "our"? Is ingroup-outgroup emphasised elsewhere in the text?**
No words like 'us' and 'them' are utilised in the headings, however a clear contrast can be recognised between Damascus (i.e. the Syrian regime) and others including the U.K. and the US.
Later in the text Syrian official Sharif Shehadeh is quoted: he 'called the US claims "lies" and likened them to false accusations that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction ahead of the US invasion of that country.'
Another contrast is identified in the final sentences of the article, this is a contrast between the U.N. and the Assad regime.

3. **The text itself**
   a. **Which words are used and what do they imply (e.g. invaded and swamped can imply powerlessness)?**
   ...

   b. **Are quotation marks used and what does this imply? E.g. 'illegal' might be interpreted that the author take distance from the his text, however, can this distance really be identified when analysing the rest of the texts, headings, structure, etc?**
   Yes, first "small scale" is highlighted with quotation marks in the first paragraph. This is ambiguous as it can be interpreted as either somebody of the US is cited or the author takes distance from the text or both.
   Next, US National Security Council spokesperson Caitlin Hayden is quoted three times. This seems to be used to confirm the topic of the article that the Syrian regime used chemical weapons.
   A third example is the use of quotation marks when citing Syrian official Sharif Shehadeh who called the US claims "lies". As the author only quotes "lies", this can also be interpreted in a way that the author takes distance from Shehadeh's words.
   Fourthly, UK prime minister Cameron is cited twice. First he confirms Obama's words, namely he agrees that the use of chemical weapons is a "red line" for the international community. Next quotation provides information on Cameron's stand on how the international community will or should likely act: "What we need to do, and we're doing some of this already, is shape that opposition, work with them, train them, mentor them, help them so we put the pressure on the regime and so we can bring this to an end."
   Last quotation's used are made by U.N. spokesman Martin Nesirky who stated that the U.N. "takes seriously the assessment presented," however he adds "the United Nations is not in a position to comment on assessments based on national intelligence information." This citation seems to take a bit of distance to the US findings. This shows a different perspective compared to the US and British opinions.

c. **What is the thematic line of the text?**
US, U.K and U.N. suspect the Syrian regime in using chemical weapons against civilians. This was pronounced to be the "red line" for the international community (at least for the US and the U.K.). As Obama stated that the use of chemical weapons would 'change the game' and would have consequences, it is questioned what these consequences are or will be. Cameron clarified that response would 'likely be political, rather than military.'

d. **What kind of jargon/terminology is used?**
A military register and/or terminology is identified in following words: spy agencies, (nuclear, biological and) chemical weapons, opposition groups, intelligence community, weapons of mass destruction, invasion, chemical arms, and national intelligence.
To a small extent, a medical register is used, for example: physiological samples, convulsions, respiratory failure and death.

e. **Are numbers used as a rhetorical device to suggest precision and objectivity, and hence credibility?**
No, however different people are quoted that could increase credibility, namely US National Security Council spokesperson Caitlin Hayden, Syrian official Sharif Shehadeh, U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron, and U.N. spokesperson Martin Nesirky.

4. **Visual elements**
   a. **Are photos, signs, logos or other images used?**
   Yes, two video clips are added to the article. The first is located underneath the heading and the comment, and thus the article actually starts with a video clip that shows compelling evidence of the nerve agent Sarin as people suffering from the symptoms are filmed. Also a chemical expert is confirming this. Next, U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron is quoted, the US Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel explains that the US is rethinking its possible actions. Then, President Obama explains what he meant with the "red line" in his former speech. The reporter concludes the video clip by stating that Obama is coming a step closer to his own definition to when the US will get involved.
   Almost at the bottom of the article, another video clip where chemical expert Ralf Trapp explains what is seen on the video where people are being treated for poisoning in a local hospital.
   Next to the text below the first video clip a live blog is keeping the reader up to date with latest events happening in Syria.

   b. **What is topicalised?**
   The use of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime and (possible) actions taken by the international community, and specifically by the US and the U.K.

   c. **Are metaphors used?**
   Not in the video.

   d. **Does the image complement the text or is it a representation of what is mentioned in the text?**
   The first video is a more or less a representation of what is mentioned in the text. However some spokespeople are differently in the text, e.g. Caitlin Hayden is quoted and not Obama. Also the text adds a spokesperson of the U.N. This person is not presented in the video.

The last video is complementing the text as it shows another expert explaining what is seen on the video clip with film of poisoned people.

MIDDLE EAST

Suspicion grows over Syria chemical weapons

UK prime minister backs US spy agencies' assessment that Damascus likely to have used sarin gas against civilians.

Last Modified: 26 Apr 2013 16:52

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The US has said that Syria has probably used chemical weapons against rebel forces on a "small scale," but emphasised that intelligence services were still not 100 percent sure.

1. How is the world – in this case, the Syrian Civil War and relating events, relationships, and others – *represented*?

   It is presented that since March at least two times chemical weapons have been used, probably by the Syrian regime. As Cameron (and Obama) stated that Syria crossed the "red line", the international community will most likely respond. However, Syria denies to have used chemical weapons and accuses the US of lying. Syria asked for a U.N. investigation, but refused to let a team in the country as they want to investigate both possibilities: the use of chemicals by the opposition *and* by the regime. Assad only allows to investigate possible use of chemical weapons by the rebels.

2. What *identities* are set up for those involved in the programme or story? With regard to this study, for example Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, other protesters and "third parties" such as the international community.

   The following actors are identified:

   - **The US, incl. its spy agencies, National Security Council (spokesperson) and President Obama, the US/Obama Administration;**
   - **Syria, incl. the regime (Damascus), two Syrian officials;**
   - **The U.K., incl. its Prime Minister David Cameron, British military scientists, the government;**
   - **The U.N., incl. its leader Ban Ki-moon, U.N investigation team, spokesman Martin Nesirky.**

3. What *relationships* are set up between those involved, in this case Assad, rebel groups, the FSA, etc.?

   The following relationships are set up in the article:

   - **US spy agencies and Syrian opposition groups;**
   - **US vs. Syria → in the fifth paragraph a Syrian official is cited who uses strong military words against the U.S;**
   - **US and U.K. → the second section of the article (below the sub-heading 'Growing evidence') shows the relationship between the US and the U.K.**
   - **The last paragraphs show the relationship between the U.N. and the Assad regime.**