

# The Verses

Almighty God Allah said:

"Whatsoever is on it (the earth) will perish (26). And the face of your Lord full of Majesty and Honour will remain forever (27). Then which of the blessings of your Lord will you both (jinn and men) deny? (28)"

(Surat 55. Ar-Rahman Part 27 Page: 729)

# Dedication

I dedicate this simple and humble project

To:

My dearest mother, father, brother, nephews, nieces, sisters and their  
husbands and especially Mastora.

To

My nuclear family, namely my beloved wife ( Mahasin) and my two  
lovely sons( Mahill and Hussam).

To

All Oppressed Masses

# Acknowledgement

In the Name of God Most Merciful, Most Compassionate

In the first place, all my thanks to almighty God Allah the sustainer of all. My thank and my gratefulness to my venerated supervisor Dr. Abdulgadir Mohammed Ali Adam for his guiding, advising, encouraging and his continuous limitless supporting. My thank and gratefulness are due to Dr. Mohammed Ali Ahmed for his excellent and appreciated understanding as well as his supporting to this project to see the light. My thank is extended to Dr. Hillary Marino Pitia for his appreciating and motivating me. Dr. Omer Haiban Hagana for his limitless aids. My thank is due to my sister Bothyna Osman for her truly aid and her exerted effort in printing this project. My thank is extended to Dr. Bushari Abdoon Bushra and Dr. Tag Elsir Hassan Bashoum for their endless motivating and encouraging me, teacher Madina Mohammed Mohammed and our great Aunt Saaeda Cogour for their truly aids, seminar attendants, friends, brothers, sisters, colleagues, students, relatives especially my dearest Uncle, AL-Hag Ali Ibrahim's family and my dearest Aunt Aisha Mohammed Albasheer's family and everyone who gave me a hand directly or indirectly.

# Abstract

This study aims to analyze Governmental and Non-Governmental Power Struggle Discourse Produced by Arab World Media during (2011-2012). It aims at demonstrating how powerful group can control less- powerful group in terms of access to the power. To bring to light that media discourse highlight power struggle between the dictatorial governments and oppressed masses and in the service of the powerful elite and state; therefore, discourse has been abused to control people's minds, beliefs and actions and in the interest of dominant groups and against the interest or will of others.

The analysis concentrates on such linguistic means such as critical linguistic approach which is represented in nominalization, the use of pronouns, and diverse lexical choices. These means have been chosen as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that they are closely related to the three functions that language is said to perform, namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual as stated by (Halliday, 1975:17).

As well as the analysis also concentrates on such linguistic means such as top down and bottom up approaches which are represented in causative group which referred to as top down in the investigation of the cause; whereas effective group which referred to as bottom up in the investigation of the effect. These means have been chosen also as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that all of them are closely related to the three types of constrains such as content( what is said), relations(the social relations that people express in the discourse) and the subjects (subject positions people can occupy).The critical discourse analysis is used to respond to such problems. Language is said to perform, namely action and reaction. The approach is concerned with the analysis of how ideologies mediated through discourse are embodied in linguistic cause and effect perspectives.

The result of analysis has demonstrated that the meanings which people convey by writer or speaker actually do not correspond to what they claim to be saying. Moreover, it has demonstrated that the political elites do not adjust their political discourses which lead to actions processes of individual actors who are regarded as part and parcel from group actions and social reaction processes. These are exemplified in unequal power relation between dictatorial governments which refer to as causative groups and oppressed masses which refer to as effective groups in the investigation of cause and effect.

## ملخص البحث

هدفت هذه الدراسة الى تحليل خطاب صراع السلطة الحكومي وغير الحكومي الذي تنتجه وسائل إعلام العالم العربي خلال عامي (٢٠١٢-٢٠١١). كما تهدف هذه الدراسة الى إثبات كيفية سيطرة المجموعة القوية على المجموعة الضعيفة في الوصول الى السلطة . لإثبات أن الخطاب الإعلامي يقر بأن هنالك صراع على السلطة بين الحكومات الدكتاتورية والشعوب المقهورة وهو يخدم النخبة المسيطرة والدولة ، بناءً على ذلك اوسينة إستخدام الخطاب للسيطرة على عقول ، معتقدات وتصرفات الشعب ، كما وظف لصالح المجموعات المسيطرة وضد مصلحة أو رغبة الآخرين.

يركز التحليل على الوسائل اللغوية مثل طريقة اللغويات التطبيقية الممثلة في الاسماء والضمائر ، والمفردات . هذه الوسائل تم اختيارها كأدوات أساسية للتحليل بغرض أنها مرتبطة ارتباط وثيق بثلاث وظائف ، على اساس أن اللغة تؤدي الى وجه الخصوص فكرياً ، ازدواجياً ونصياً كما قال هولندي في سنة (١٧ : ١٩٧٥).

كما يركز التحليل على الوسائل اللغوية مثل نظرية السيطرة ويشار إليها المجموعة المسببة أي الفاعلة التي يشار إليها بالسيطرة في التحقق من السبب ؛ حيث أن المجموعة المتأثرة أي التي وقع عليها الفعل يشار إليها بالمقاومة في التحقق من الاثر بهذه الوسائل ايضاً تم اختيارها كأدوات اساسية للتحليل بغرض انها مرتبطة ارتباط وثيق بأنواع المحددات الثلاث مثل المحتوي( أي ما يقال)، العلاقات ( أي العلاقات الإجتماعية التي يعبر عنها الشعب في الخطاب) و وكلاء الحدث (أي المكانة التي يشغل وكيل الحدث)، علماً بأن تحليل الخطاب نقدياً إستخدم لحل مثل هذه المشاكل . تستخدم اللغة على وجه الخصوص للتعبير عن الفعل ورد الفعل . تعني هذه الطريقة بتحليل كيفية نقل الافكار عبر الخطاب والتي جسدت في المنظورين اللغوبين الفاعل والمفعول به.

أثبتت نتيجة التحليل بأن المعاني التي ينقلها الكاتب او المتحدث، في الواقع لا تتطابق مع ما يقال . إضافة الى ذلك، أثبتت بأن النخب السياسية لا تضبط خطاباتها التي تؤدي الى عمليات فعلية على مستوي الافراد الذين يعتبروا جزءاً لا يتجزأ من الافعال الجماعية وعمليات ردة الفعل الإجتماعي . وهي ممثلة في عدم المساواة بين الحكومات الدكتاتورية والتي يشار إليها بالمجموعات المسببة والشعوب المقهورة التي يشار إليها بالمجموعات المتأثرة.

# Table of Contents

| <u>No</u>    | <u>Subjects</u>  | <u>Page No</u> |
|--------------|--|----------------|
|              | The Verses   | <b>I</b>       |
|              | Dedication   | <b>II</b>      |
|              | Acknowledgement  | <b>III</b>     |
|              | Abstract   | <b>IV</b>      |
|              | Arabic Abstract  | <b>V</b>       |
|              | Table of Contents  | <b>VI</b>      |
|              | <b><u>CHAPTER ONE</u></b><br><b>INTRODUCTION</b>                           |                |
| <b>1.0</b>   | Background of the Study  | <b>1</b>       |
| <b>1.1</b>   | Statement of the Problem   | <b>7</b>       |
| <b>1.2</b>   | Objectives of the Study  | <b>7</b>       |
| <b>1.3</b>   | Questions of the Study   | <b>8</b>       |
| <b>1.4</b>   | Hypotheses of the Study  | <b>8</b>       |
| <b>1.5</b>   | Significance of the Study  | <b>9</b>       |
| <b>1.6</b>   | Limits of the Study  | <b>10</b>      |
| <b>1.7</b>   | Methodology of the Study   | <b>10</b>      |
| <b>1.8</b>   | Summary of the Chapter   | <b>10</b>      |
|              | <b><u>CHAPTER TWO</u></b><br><b>LITERATURE REVIEW AND PREVIOUS STUDIED</b> |                |
|              | <b>PART ONE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND</b>                                    |                |
| <b>2.0</b>   | Introduction   | <b>11</b>      |
| <b>2.1</b>   | What Is Critical Discourse Analysis?                                       | <b>11</b>      |
| <b>2.2</b>   | The notion of discourse  | <b>13</b>      |
| <b>2.3</b>   | The Power of Discourse and the Discourse of Power                          | <b>15</b>      |
| <b>2.4</b>   | Ideology and power   | <b>16</b>      |
| <b>2.5</b>   | Power as control   | <b>22</b>      |
| <b>2.5.1</b> | Control of public discourse  | <b>24</b>      |
| <b>2.5.2</b> | Mind control   | <b>27</b>      |
| <b>2.6</b>   | Power as Domination  | <b>30</b>      |
| <b>2.7</b>   | Power as Capacity  | <b>35</b>      |
| <b>2.7.1</b> | Dominant Ethnicity: From Background to Foreground                          | <b>36</b>      |
| <b>2.7.2</b> | The Two Sides of Dominant Ethnicity Indigenoussness and Power              | <b>39</b>      |
| <b>2.7.3</b> | Expansive and Restrictive Strategies                                       | <b>41</b>      |

|          |   |     |
|----------|---|-----|
| 2.8      | Types of Conflicts in Africa  | 43  |
| 2.8.1    | Inter-State Conflicts   | 47  |
| 2.8.2    | Internal Conflicts  | 48  |
| 2.8.3    | A Rebellion to Overthrow a Government   | 48  |
| 2.8.4    | Secessionist Rebellion  | 51  |
| 2.8.5    | Coup d'état   | 52  |
| 2.8.6    | Cold-War Sustained Conflicts  | 52  |
| 2.8.7    | Many-Sided Conflicts to Seize State Power   | 53  |
| 2.8.8    | Rural Conflicts over Resources  | 56  |
| 2.8.9    | Urban Violence and Conflict   | 58  |
| 2.9      | Explaining the Causes of African Conflicts  | 59  |
| 2.9.1    | Historical Legacies   | 65  |
| 2.9.2    | Internal Factors:   | 65  |
| 2.9.3    | The Pre-Colonial Period   | 69  |
| 2.9.4    | The Colonial Period   | 70  |
| 2.10     | Electronic Government   | 71  |
| 2.11     | Auto-Regulation of Technology   | 74  |
| 2.12     | Governance and 'Soft Power'   | 77  |
| 2.12.1   | Managing Actions as a Technique of 'Soft Power'   | 80  |
| 2.12.2   | Managing Actions  | 81  |
| 2.12.3   | Typology of Managing Actions  | 84  |
| 2.12.4   | Classification of Managing Action   | 85  |
| 2.12.4.1 | [1] Overseer  | 85  |
| 2.12.4.2 | [2] Leader  | 87  |
| 2.12.4.3 | [3] Facilitator   | 89  |
|          | PART TWO: PREVIOUS STUDIES  | 92  |
|          | Summary of the Chapter  | 101 |
|          | <b><u>CHAPTER THREE</u></b><br><b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b>                                      |     |
| 3.0      | Introduction  | 102 |
| 3.1      | Research Methods, Tools and Sample of the Study.  | 103 |
| 3.2      | Critical Linguistic Approach.   | 104 |
| 3.2.1    | Nominalization as Part of the Ideational Function   | 105 |
| 3.2.2    | Pronominalization as Part of the Interpersonal Function   | 106 |
| 3.2.2.1  | First person singular and plural pronouns   | 106 |
| 3.2.3    | Lexicalization as Part of the Textual Function  | 107 |
| 3.3      | Top down and Bottom up Approaches   | 107 |
|          | Summary of the Chapter  | 108 |
|          | <b><u>CHAPTER FOUR</u></b><br><b>DATA CLASSIFICATION, DESCRIPTION,<br/>ANALYSIS AND RESULTS</b> |     |
| 4.1      | Nominalization as Part of the Ideational Function   | 109 |

|            |   |            |
|------------|---|------------|
| <b>4.2</b> | Pronominalization as Part of the Interpersonal Function   | <b>125</b> |
| <b>4.3</b> | Lexicalization as Part of the Textual Function  | <b>131</b> |
| <b>4.4</b> | Conclusion  | <b>140</b> |
| <b>4.5</b> | Top down and Bottom up Approaches   | <b>143</b> |
| <b>4.6</b> | Conclusion  | <b>151</b> |
|            | <b><u>CHAPTER FIVE</u></b><br><b>SUMMARY OF RESULTS,</b><br><b>RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION</b> |            |
| <b>5.1</b> | Findings  | <b>153</b> |
| <b>5.2</b> | Recommendations   | <b>157</b> |
| <b>5.3</b> | Conclusion  | <b>159</b> |
|            | References  | <b>162</b> |