

Sudan University of Science and Technology

College of Graduate Studies

College of Languages

**Analyzing BBC and Sudanese Social Media Coverage of the
Sudanese December Revolution from CDA Perspective**

**تحليل تغطية بي بي سي ومواقع التواصل الإجتماعي في السودان للثورة السودانية
(ديسمبر) من منظور التحليل النقدي للخطاب**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for M.A Degree
in English Language (Linguistics)**

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Dedication

To those who have sacrificed their lives for a better Sudan.

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Abstract

This study deals with BBC and Sudanese social media coverages of the December revolution from (CDA) perspective to arrive at conclusions regarding the scope and depth of the two coverages. The samples of this study are taken only from reports done in Sudan by BBC correspondents in addition to materials taken from local social media coverage. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been adopted in this study as it has the ability to shed light on hidden ideologies and power relations. The study also adopted content analysis as a method for analyzing data drawn from videos and audios of BBC and local social media. Checklist has been designed as an instrument for data collection. The check list contains two dimensions namely: one is political dimension and the other is economic dimension, in addition to ideology and power relations. The main findings revealed that BBC coverage was limited in terms of the scope and that was due to its underqualified correspondents who were sent to cover Sudanese revolution. Whereas social media coverage was informative, due to the knowledge and the communicative skills social media activists have. The use of pronouns, similes and sloganeering by social media drew a clear line between the protestors and the regime as well as portraying a lively picture of the suffering of the Sudanese people. The study recommends that BBC should only send correspondents who have the skills and the knowledge needed to cover important events such as the Sudanese revolution. Also the study suggests conducting studies on poetry and other literary forms which played and still playing a vital role on the course of the revolution.

ABSTRACT (Arabic Version)

تناولت هذه الدراسة تغطية قناة البي بي سي وتغطية وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في السودان لثورة ديسمبر من منظور التحليل النقدي للخطاب بغرض الوصول الي نتائج تتعلق بمدى كفاءة وشمولية تلك التغطيات الإعلامية. اخذت عينات الدراسة من تقارير بي بي سي التي أُجريت في السودان بالإضافة الي بعض الفيديوهات التي انتشرت في وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في السودان والتي تناولت ثورة ديسمبر وما صاحبها من احداث. إختار الباحث منهج التحليل النقدي للخطاب بغرض تحليل الايدولوجيا المتضمنة في الخطاب وكشف علاقات القوى. إستخدم الباحث منهج تحليل المضمون لتحليل العينات من فيديوهات وملفات صوتية وقد صمم الباحث قائمة فحص لجمع بيانات للدراسة. إحتوت القائمة على بعدين هما: البعد السياسي والبعد الإقتصادي وما يتفرع منهما من أبعاد بجانب الايدولوجيا وعلاقات القوى. كشفت نتائج الدراسة ان تغطية بي بي سي الإعلامية لم تكن شاملة ذلك بسبب ضعف التغطية من قبل المراسلين وقلة خبرتهم المهنية بخلاف نشاط مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي الذين امتلكوا مهارات التواصل والمعرفة المطلوبة لتوظيف شعارات الثورة والإستفادة من الأساليب البلاغية كالتشبيه وإستخدام الضمائر لخلق حد فاصل بين المحتجين والنظام الحاكم ورسم صورة حية لمعاناة الشعب. وقد أوصت الدراسة بضرورة إبتعاث القنوات الإعلامية مراسلين ذوي كفاءة لتغطية الأحداث التاريخية مثل الثورة السودانية. كما أوصت الدراسة بإجراء بحوث في الشعر والاشكال الأدبية الأخرى التي لعبت دورا كبيرا في مسار الثورة السودانية.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

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Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study:

Sudanese December revolution (2019) started as small walkouts demand for very basic needs such as bread but, as protests spread out it gradually adopted more political demands which were justice, peace and freedom and the ultimate goal of the revolution turned to be the deposition of the regime rather than limited economic reforms. As media coverages are not mere reflections of events, it is rather selective which means media whether traditional (TV, radio) or new media such as social media adopt policies and ideologies directly affect the perspectives through which they choose to look at events with language, "we create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality" Suzie Lauraitzen. (2008). In real life as well "our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world, identities, and social relation but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them". (Marianne jorgnesn.2002.12). This leads the study to consider some factors that are present in most social media coverage while they are often absent in traditional media. Some of those factors are the moral and the emotional involvement of social media activists in the events they are covering. At the beginning of the revolution many of the influential social media activist were put in prison as they were considered as threats to the regime; they were leading the revolution to its final goal. Unlike what the regime wanted other activist took over and continued covering and documenting the crimes. This study draws its material from the media coverages of the revolution done by BBC and Sudanese social media namely YouTube and WhatsApp. Both of the coverages played vital roles in the course of the revolution,

yet they were not of the same importance as most of BBC and many other media took its material from Sudanese social. This study is a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which focuses on the scope and depth of BBC coverage in addition to analyzing ideology and power relations of the discourses. The analysis of the videos taken as sample from both BBC social media will focus on political and economic dimensions.

1.2 Statement of the Study Problem:

BBC is a well-known broadcasting corporation that claims neutrality and efficiency in all its media coverage. BBC has highly qualified correspondents all over the world in addition to its huge human and material resources. However, the researcher noticed that BBC coverage of the Sudanese revolution was far from being perfect. Whereas, Sudanese social media seemed more effective. This has prompted the researcher to analyze BBC and local social media coverage of the Sudanese revolution to find out what were the areas and dimension included or excluded in both coverages. The study tries to shed light on the short comings and the privileges of the BBC media and local social media coverages in regard to political and economic dimensions from CDA perspective.

1.3 Objectives of the study:

1. To discover the scope and the depth of BBC coverage the Sudanese December revolution regarding the political and economic dimensions.
2. To discover the scope and the depth of Sudanese social media of the Sudanese December revolution regarding the two dimension.
3. To identify ideological expressions used by both BBC and Sudanese social media coverages.

1.4 Questions of the Study:

1. To what extent did BBC cover the political and the economic dimensions in its media coverage of the Sudanese revolution?

2. To what extent did local social media cover the political and economic dimensions in its media coverage of the Sudanese revolution?

3. What are the ideological expressions used by the both BBC and Sudanese social media discourse?

1.5 Hypotheses of the study:

1. BBC has not fully covered the political and economic dimensions in its media coverage of the Sudanese revolution.

2. Sudanese social media have fully covered the political and economic dimensions in its media coverage of the Sudanese revolution.

3. There are ideological expressions used by both BBC and Sudanese social media coverages.

1.6 Significance of the study

Students of linguistics, mass media and teachers can benefit from this study as it provides theoretical framework and applied examples that help in better understanding of discourses. The importance of this study is that it aims at making audiences aware of the importance of critical thinking as it is a tool by which a more insight look can be achieved by bringing to the surface the ideologies and power relation of discourses regarding the Sudanese revolution. This study deals critically with BBC and local social media discourses in order to arrive at logical conclusions.

1.7 Limits of the study:

This study focuses on BBC and Sudanese social media coverages of the Sudanese revolution. The researcher analyzed only videos that have been done by BBC correspondents who have been sent to Sudan to cover the December revolution. Any other material rather than that were left out.

1.8 Methodology of the study:

This study adopts a variety of CDA approaches to analyze extracts from BBC world service and from Sudanese social media. This study uses a tool designed especially for the analysis of the videos. The tool consists of two parts: one political dimension with its sub dimension and the other is economic dimension with its sub dimensions. The researcher also used van Dijk conceptual square in analyzing the ideologies of BBC and local social media discourses.

van Dijck ideological square:

1. Emphasizing good things about us
2. Deemphasizing bad things about us
3. Emphasizing bad things about Others
4. Deemphasizing good things about Others

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Previous Studies

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Previous Studies

2.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. Part one reviews the literature related to the study topic such as definition of critical discourse analysis CDA, while part two discusses recent previous studies.

2.1 Part One: Literature review

Language is used to express feeling, thought, beliefs and so on, yet expressing something through the medium of language does not mean reflecting it as it is. The same language can be used differently by different people for different purposes. That is because languages are subjected to various factors which affect the production and the interpretation of discourse. Discourses have the power to maintain, change or direct social or political events.

2.2 Definitions of discourse

Fairclough, (2003:3) defines discourse as a specific view of language in action. Discourse is a part of social life and it is strongly connected to other parts which in general constitute the social world. In this sense discourse is one aspect of many that help in building the social reality.

According to Van Leeuwen, (2008: 6) discourse is the social understanding of social practices. This definition is based on the idea of representation of social practices by discourses. Philips and Jorgeson, (2002: 1) state that people subject to certain patterns of utterance when they participate in different social activities.

From the above definitions it becomes clear that discourse is not only the spoken language, but the spoken discourse is only what is seen from the iceberg, under that there are networks of connection which direct the discourse and help in interpreting it.

2.3 Critical and social sciences

Fairclough, (2012:78-79) explains that critical social sciences do not describe societies as it is, it rather analyze its current state and what societies should be like in the future. The analysis focuses on the chances that could be taken to change societies for the better. Ideas and concept are important parts of discourse because they have the power which can be used in favor of the dominant social groups. Discourses represent social events, social practices, and social behavior in a way that affect social life in helping keeping existing forms or in changing them.

2.4 Critical linguistics

Wodak and Meyer (2001:2) state that critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis are often used interchangeably and they consider language as a social practice and it pays special attention to the role that context plays in using language. In addition, critical discourse analysis pays extra attention to the relations between language and power.

critical science in each domain asks further questions, such as those of responsibility, interests, and ideology. Instead of focusing on purely academic or theoretical problems, it starts from prevailing social problems, and thereby chooses the perspective of those who suffer most, and critically analyses those in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems. (van Dijk, 1986: 4)

2.5 Critical Discourse Analyses (CDA)

Wodak and Meyer, (2001:5) state that critical discourse analysis shifted the attention from formal aspect of language which can be taken apart from specific stances of language use to the role of language in structuring power relation in society

Baker and Ellece, (2011:26) define (CDA) as:

"An approach to the analysis of discourse which views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways that ideologies and power relations are expressed through language".

So questions like who is benefited? Who is suffering? And even who is doing the analysis? Are so important in such analysis.

Weiss and Wodak, (2003: 13) state that written or spoken discourses are considered social practices and (CDA) assumed that there is a relationship between events, institution and social structures and that discourse affects the social life as well as being affected by it.

2.6 Basic Assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis

Wodak and Meyer point out that basic assumptions of critical discourse analysis are:

- 1- Language is a social phenomenon
- 2- Individuals, social groups and institution have their own meaning and values which are expressed in language systematically
- 3- Readers/ hearers are active recipients of discourse
- 4- There are common characteristics between the language of science and the language of institutions

The above assumptions include three basic relations that should be taken into consideration in performing critical discourse analysis. The relation between the interlocuer and discourse, the relationship between discourse and the reader/hearer and the relationship between discourse and the social life. Wodak and Meyer (2001:2)

2.7 Political Discourse Analysis

Fairclough and Fairclough, (2012: 217) define political discourse as the critical analysis of the political discourse by focusing on the production and contestation of political power through political discourse.

Dahlberg and Phelan, (2011: 41) state regarding the importance of political discourse that:

"Discourse theory, at its core, a theory of politics: of the hegemonic formation of social relation- of discourses- that necessarily involves hierarchies of power and relation of inclusion and exclusion".

Dahlberg and Phelan, (2011: 41) expatiate that forms of mediation play an important role in the contestation of power. Forms of mediation start from body language to mass media representation. In this respect discourse theory can be thought of as an approach to researching media which is used as a tool of politics.

Thus politics and discourse can hardly be separated from each other that discourses are always political in the general sense. As power is an important aspect of politics it is important to analyze discourse putting into consideration power relations as it forms the basis of the political scene.

2.8 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Power

Van Dijck, (2008: 28) states that the difference between discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis is that, discourse analysis is restricted for textual analysis, while critical discourse analysis includes the sociological perspective which deals critically with the way power distributed in society.

Van Dijck, (2008: 28) expatiates that critical discourse analysis:

"studies the way social power, abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political context".

people exercise power through discourse and the aim of (CDA) is to break down the discourse in order to identify the powerful and the powerless and to raise questions such as why the powerful are powerful and why the powerless are powerless as well as investigating the social factors which lead to the current state regarding power distribution in society.

Wodak and Meyer, (2001: 2) state regarding the relation between power and language that since it is possible to talk about battles and to recreate the scene through discourse, this acknowledge the strong relation that established between language and power.

Van Dijck, (2008:249) explains dominance as the inequality in gender, political, cultural that resulted from the exercise of power by elites or institutions. Van Dijck expatiates that in order to produce a dominant discourse there must be consensus:

"It is necessary that the representations are shared by other members of a group in order to legitimize this form of discourse". (Van Dijck, 1993:262)

dominant discourse does not concern with right and wrong rather than it is a manifestation of an implied agreement between those who are benefited from such types of discourse.

2.9 Hegemony

Baker and Ellece, (2011: 55) state that in any society people subject to a dominant person, institution or a social group. This subjection is due to power distribution, as hegemony reflects the exercise and monopoly of power by certain social actors. In addition, hegemony demands the presence of two elements namely: the dominant and the dominated, such impedance relation is maintained because the dominated do not realize their rights or the dominated could have access to some kinds of economical means. An important point to be mentioned here is that the dominated could reach a point where they only look at the world from the perspective of the dominant, at this point it becomes so difficult to make the dominated aware of the imbalanced relation that should be reformed.

2.10 Discourse and Ideology

Andrea Mayer, (1988: 10) state that one of the main goals of critical discourse analysis is to put to the surface the unseen ideologies implied and promoted in institutional and everyday discourse.

Fairclough, (1995: 14) defines ideology regarding its function

"Ideology meaning is in the service of power"

Mayer. A (2008: 11) expatiates in this regard that ideology guides and directs the way people see and interpret the world around them. Moreover, ideology is in

favor of the powerful social groups who use ideology to legitimize practices and behaviors which serve their interest.

2.11. Discourse and Knowledge

Wodak and Meyer, (2001: 33) define knowledge as:

"All kinds of contents which make up a consciousness and/or all kinds of meanings used by respective historical persons to interpret and shape surrounding reality".

In this respect knowledge is a cultural aspect that it is affected by place, time and people.

The knowledge and values shared by a particular society could subject to criticism as it is constituted of narratives. A main aim of critical discourse analysis is to identify the type of knowledge of discourse in order to point out the shortcomings of such knowledge.

Wodak and Meyer, (2001: 35) point out that the function of knowledge, societal knowledge plays a key role in the formation of individuals and societies.

2.12 Spoken and Written Discourse

According to Yule, (1983: 4) spoken and written discourse are different in many ways. Regarding the manner of production, it is clear that they make use of different qualities and have different demands on language users. The speaker has access to qualities the writer does not have, such as voice quality effects, facial expression, postural and gestural systems. The way the speaker delivers his message play an important role in conveying and communicating the ideas and feeling to the audience. Thus the same word could have different effects if it is used by two speakers with different communicating qualities.

Yule, (1984: 4) expatiates that speakers and writers face challenges in regard to the circumstances they go through in producing discourse. Speakers are under more pressure than writers as the communicative system they use is demanding. Speakers do not have much time to think and to react to unexpected question or reactions of audiences. The writer on the other hand has enough time to rethink and rewrite his statements.

The medium writers use provides more chances regarding accuracy as writers have time to look up words in dictionaries and to go through materials related to what they are writing about.

2.13 Discourse and Intertextuality

Intertextuality plays a core concept in the process of production and interpretation of written and spoken discourses. Regarding the production of discourse, in expressing ideas or emotions people are always affected or inspired by what they read or heard. People may choose deliberately to quote or borrow words or they might do so unconsciously. That is because discourses cannot be understood isolated from other related discourses.

Tannen et al, (2001: 56) state in regard to the role of intertextuality that:

"The concept of intertextuality affords discourse analyst important insight into language and social interaction that the examination of isolated speech events does not".

Tannen et al, (2001: 56) expatiate more on the importance of textuality that it provides ways to relook and analyze the relation between power and authority in discourse. Though comparing and researching texts take more time, it provides the writer with insight to the social formation larger than those of immediate interaction.

2.14 Representation of Space and Time in Discourse

According to Fairclough, (2003:151) space and time are social concepts and they are constructed differently in different societies and any change in these constructions means a social change. Moreover, space and time cannot be dealt with separately they are interconnected. The relationship between local and global is a relationship between space and time. In any social order there will be different spaces and times that exist side by side.

Van Leeuwen, (2008:76) states in this respect that the relationship between time and society:

"There is a correspondence, a correlation between a society's economy, the way it organizes work, the means it uses for the production of goods and service, and the way time is represented in the collective consciousness, a representation that every individual receives, internalizes and accepts almost always with no problem".

So the way time is represented in discourse reveals not only the date of the events but it tells more about the history the present and how different times are implied in discourse.

Van Leeuwen, (2008: 88) indicates that the way spaces and places are seen is connected to the way in which spaces is used in performing social practices. Moreover, spaces and locations influence the way local and other types of identities is produced through discourse. Through the use of certain dialects or language varieties people create a sense of belonging to a place or to a specific social group or even to a social class.

Gee, (2001: 28) expatiates that discourse includes situated identities which means identities linked to space and time, so discourse promotes certain ways of acting,

interacting, feeling, valuing, gesturing, dressing, thinking, believing, speaking and listening.

A key question here is how does discourse represent the others? As discourse is situated, the way the other is pictured will always be controversial. People are subjected to their social values, feeling and ideologies, therefore, discourse will always be relatively subjective. The researcher will try to answer these question in the applied chapter of this research.

2.15 Mediation

As mentioned in Fairclough, (2003: 30) there are type of communications so much like ordinary conversation such as using a telephone makes distant people co-present in time. Other types of media are different from ordinary life such as printing. Yet books are written by one or limited number of authors, they are read by indefinite number of readers. The act of reading a book makes it possible to but different social events in contact.

Texts and speeches are mediated through the use of different mass media such as radio, television, telephone and printed media. The type of media used has its effect on the message delivered to the audience as it allows the user to make use of its characteristics and deny the user the use of the privileges of other types of media. In this respect, when analyzing discourse critically one should pay attention to the medium used and ask questions such as, was the medium used suitable and convenient? And to what degree did the writer, speaker make the most out of the medium and could overcome its shortcomings? And most importantly we should focus on the reasons behind choosing a specific medium as some media may serve certain ideologies.

Fairclough, (2003: 30) states that a significant aspect of power in modern societies is the capability to control the process of mediation.

Controlling the process of mediation is so important that it enables who is in power to send to the audiences the messages which help in keeping current state. Media can be controlled by using different techniques such as framing that is to make people think and react the way you want without being aware of it.

In this sense meanings are made with medias alongside language. Thus discourse sends multimedia messages and in order to understand those messages all medias used in building up the discourse must be put into consideration.

2.16 What is Media Discourse

According to Gee and Hanford, (2012: 441) it is the spoken or written interactions that take place through a broadcast platform and this discourse targets non-present audience.

Gee and Hanford, (2012: 441) expatiate that media discourse is manufactured in contrast with every day spontaneous interactions. As the media discourse is manufactured, it is so crucial to breakdown the elements of which the discourse is consisted. Media discourse is a multi-layer discourse, in analyzing such discourse, ideologies behind it must be recognized as well as power relations.

The importance of applying critical discourse analysis on media discourse comes from the fact that media discourse is manufactured with well-defined goals. This discourse targets consumer who are not so often well aware of the influence of such discourse on their lives. Making clear the ideologies and agenda behind media discourse, enables the consumer to take critical stance towards the messages being sent to him rather than being a passive consumer.

2.17 Time, Space and Media

Gee and Hanford, (2012: 84) state that time is an important factor in the process of interpretation as well as in the process of producing meanings. One will get different meanings if reread the same book years apart.

There are many factors affect the process of making meanings out of texts, film or any other input. Time is one of the key factors that has its influence when dealing with discourse. Time interacts with many other factors such as the psychological statue of individuals, the environment and the backgrounding information. The interaction of time with other variables result in different meaning of the same text.

2.18 Context

Van Dijck, (2009: 1) states that context is a key factor in understanding discourse.

Wodak and Meyer, (2001: 67) recognizes four levels of contexts which are used in discourse:

- 1- Language or text
- 2- The intertextual and the relationship between utterance, texts, genres and discourse
- 3- The context of situation
- 4- Historical context

Context plays a vital role in the process of interpretation of discourses as the same sentences may have different meanings in different contexts.

2.19 Representation as Recontextualization

Fairclough, (2003: 138) states that when representing a social event, one is associating it within the context of another social event. In other words, recontextualizing it.

According to Fairclough. N, (2003: 138) recontextualization of social events is subjected to particular principles. These principles underlie the differences in the ways particular social event is represented. In representing social event some elements are filtered, excluded and included. These principles influence the ways in which social events are represented, explained and evaluated. There are important concepts regarding recontextualization:

- Presence

Presence or absence of some elements

- Abstraction

Degree of abstraction from concrete events

- Arrangement

The order of events

- Additions

What is added in representing social event

Representing social events includes choosing some elements of a social event and ignoring others which means representing is selective. Thus representing includes

framing social events in order to convey particular meanings and to make the desired impact on the targeted audience.

2.20 Modality

Fairclough, (2003: 165) defines modality as the commitments people make towards what they say in regard to what is true and what is necessary.

Fairclough. N, (2003: 166) adds that modality plays an important role in the process of making personal and social identities, as texturing statements is strongly connected to the texturing of identities. Thus the commitment we make is a significant part of our identity. In this sense it is considered as part of the process of setting up self-identity.

Modality can be a starting point in doing critical discourse analysis as it shows the ways in which people build or express their identities through the use of language. Moreover, comparing the texture of discourse with the texture of identity is an interesting idea which reveals so much about the both.

2.21 Implicature

According to Yule, (1983: 34) refers to the implied meanings or the suggested meaning rather than the direct meanings.

Baker and Ellece, (2011: 59-60) stated that in order to understand the implied meanings, readers or hearers must take the context in consideration in order to decode the implicature, yet the implicatures we make do not always reflect the truth.

Many statements contain implied meanings, meanings that cannot be understood from the literal meaning of sentences rather than focusing on the clues that lead to the suggested or the implied meanings. Implicatures can be of great use in context where it is not permitted to express certain opinions, thoughts or feelings.

2.22 Types of Meanings

According to Fairclough, N, (2003: 27) there are three major types of meanings which are: representations, actions and identifications.

"Meanings which a text has as a part of the action in social events (actional), meanings which appertain to the representation of the world in texts (representational), and meanings which appertain to the textual construction of people's identities (identificatory). These three types or aspects of meaning are always co-present in texts". Fairclough, (2003:225)

Fairclough, N, (2003: 27) states that representation meaning has to do with ideas (ideational). While actional meanings sees texts as a way of in social events. Identificatory meanings has to do with the interpersonal function.

Representing an event means choosing some elements and ignoring others according to the ideology of the actor. Thus representing social event cannot be seen as mirroring them, it is rather a process of personalization of events.

2.23 Part two: Previous Studies

This part presents and discusses five recent studies.

1/ Gulam (2010) conducted a study entitled: **'Talking to the Desert' Discourse, Power, and Libyan Geopolitics 1969-2009**, Cardiff University, Cardiff School of Journalism. This study examines Libyan geopolitical discourse over the 40 years from 1969 to 2009 — that is, the period following the revolution which brought

Muammar Al-Qaddafi to the leadership of that country. It asks how and why Libyan geopolitical discourse changed over this period. To answer this question, it reviews the scholarly literature bearing on Qaddafi and Libya's international and strategic relations; it analyses 188 speeches delivered by Qaddafi; it examines interviews, books and documents by him; and it draws on interviews conducted by the author with Libyan political commentators. It hypothesizes that, in response to threats to Libyan sovereignty and survival, Qaddafi repeatedly shifted Libyan geopolitical discourse in a way that amounted to a tactically polyvalent responsive-defensive strategy. In sustaining the hypothesis, it makes several findings. It methodically establishes that Qaddafi was the progenitor of Libyan geopolitical discourse. It reveals the ideational content of Qaddafi's discourse in terms of its lexicology, placing him within the Arab nationalist lexicon derived from Nasserism. It demonstrates that Qaddafi used, mainly, three verbal discursive strategies in constructing and reconstructing Libyan geopolitical discourse - lexical reiteration, presupposition and indexical plus visual imagery and symbolism. It argues a three-stage periodization of Libyan geopolitical discourse: Pan-Arab, Pan-African and Libya as a nation-for itself. These changes at geopolitical level, however, never challenged Qaddafi's and Libya's commitment to their Arab identity. It finds that discursive change came as a response to threats to Libyan sovereignty or security and was intended to defend Libya against, or mitigate, these threats. It reveals subtleties in his view of Libyan security as a means to unite Arab and African worlds, rather than preferring one over the other. That is to say, Qaddafi's move towards Africa implied a rejection of Arab governments but not of the Arab world, of which he continued to consider himself and Libya a part. And, finally it finds that, although discourses appeared sometimes to be mutually or internally contradictory, they were intended to serve the same strategy: namely to

protect Libyan sovereignty and security. That is to say, discursive change served a tactically polyvalent responsive-defensive strategy.

2\ Al Kharusi (2016) conducted a study entitled: **Ideologies of Arab media and politics: a critical discourse analysis of Al Jazeera debates on the Yemeni revolution**, University of Hertfordshire. This study aimed to uncover the ideological intentions in the formulation and circulation of hegemonic political ideology in TV political debates that occurred in the 2011- 2012 Yemen revolution, examining the question of *how ideology was used as a tool of hegemony*. The corpus of the study consisted of fifteen debates (73915 words) from four live debate programs (The Opposite Direction, In Depth, Behind the News and the Revolution Talk) staged at Al Jazeera Arabic TV channel between 2011 and 2012. Al Jazeera was selected as the focus of this study because of its position as the most popular TV in the Arab world and due to its strong presence during the Arab revolutions. Two debate sides were identified: government, representing the president Ali Abdullah Saleh and his regime, and protesters, who represented the discontent populace gathering squares who demanded the abdication of the president. Data were also obtained from interviews conducted with the Al Jazeera staff who managed the debates. Analysis was conducted on the verbal discourse aspects of four debates, one debate from each program, using critical discourse analysis: aspects from the van Leeuwen's (2008, 2009) Social Actor Network model, supplemented by additional linguistic features. The results were triangulated using computer-assisted corpus analysis for the entire corpus, the fifteen debates. AntConc (version 3.2.4w) was used to process the keyword lists, word concordances and collocations. The results of the analysis were then compared with the interviews with AJ staff. The main study finding was that although results of the critical discourse analysis correlated with those of the

computer-assisted corpus analysis, they differed to a marked degree from the perceptions of Al Jazeera staff. Also, evident is that Al Jazeera and the protesters had similar ideological intentions, including glorifying the revolution and inciting protests, which was not the case with the government speakers. Overall, the findings show that Al Jazeera displayed evident bias, excluding the government from its debates in a way that runs counter to its mission statement and the tenets of objective journalism. The findings of this study illustrate the powerful role that language plays in shaping ideological media intentions and influencing the media audience.

3/ Youssef (2012) conducted a study entitled: **A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION**, university of Orebro, school of humanities. The study aims at answering questions related to the kind of frames employed in four newspapers; namely, *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*, in light of the *protest paradigm*, in addition to the way the same four newspapers tried to explore and identify the characteristics of *war* and *peace journalism*, according to Galtung's dichotomous model, not to mention to trace how the four newspapers in hand depicted the protesters. To achieve this, two methods were applied in this research; notably, *frame analysis*, and *critical discourse analysis*. A sample of 60 news articles and editorial pieces was thoroughly examined and taken from the aforementioned four newspapers. The derived *non-random* samples were covering the events of the Egyptian Revolution from the eruption on January 25, till February 17, 2011; means one week after toppling the regime and the resignation of the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011. The study revealed that the national newspapers; *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, were more prone to accentuate protesters' acts of violence, albeit *Al-Ahram* showed a propensity

toward using official sources at the expenses of voicing protesters, compared to *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. However, *The Telegraph's* and *The Washington Post's* coverage was more shifting away from the *protest paradigm*. Similarly, the national newspapers in hand, were leaning more towards *war-reporting*; resorting to victimizing language in addition to a language of good and bad dichotomous, not to mention to abstain from exposing the untruth of all parties involved. However, *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* were adhering to *peace-reporting*; using extensively people sources and exposing the black and whites of all parties in the problem, in addition to taking the side of protesters and depicting them positively. From the findings, the study may reach a conclusion that the more a newspaper's coverage adheres to the *protest paradigm*, the more it inclines to *war-reporting*. On the other hand, the more a newspaper's coverage shifting away from the *protest paradigm*, the more it conforms to *peace journalism*.

this study deals with the frames employed by the Egyptian newspapers in covering the Egyptian protest. So this study uses two methods frame analysis and critical discourse analysis. This study concludes that Al Ahram and Al Masri Al youm newspapers, were more prone to accentuate protesters act as violence. Al beit Al hram showed a propensity toward using official sources at the expenses of voicing protesters. The language used by those newspapers showed different perspectives and different interests though all the newspapers were covering the same event.

4/ Mustafa (2016) conducted a study entitled: **Obama as a political Orator: A critical Discourse Analysis**, Sudan University of Science and Technology, College of Languages. This study deals with a Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's inaugurations speech. To investigate the linguistics and grammatical elements which are used in Obama's inauguration speech. The study adopted eclectic method; descriptive analytical method, observational method and

qualitative method. The researcher uses a number of instruments to collect data from different sources; recorded video, a script and note taking technique. The study concluded that Barack Obama has been effective in his political career by virtue of his wonderful rhetorical abilities. The choice of expression in Obama's inauguration speech is investigated regarding lexical classes, syntactic classifications, figures of speech, and context and cohesion: Nouns or NP are used as a part of the discourse are simple, however Obama uses some words, for example, the economy, energy, education, vitality and a solid national resistance. Adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. Obama uses multiple illocutionary acts by using helping verb "will" that mean extremely solid determinations also use coordinating conjunction to connect some main clauses. Obama uses repeated compounding and complex sentences to explain his ideas. The figures of speech used are generally metaphor and synecdoche, metonymy, and simile. Cohesive

linkages are made by the use of pronouns, ellipsis, redundancies of words and phrases. The study recommended that Students of linguistics should make discussions about different speech practices and strategies. Also the study suggests conducting more similar studies on critical discourse analysis on some Politian's speech

5/ Aldadah (2018) conducted a study entitled: **CDA analysis of Jerusalem Conflict in BBC and AJE**, Örebro University, School of Humanities. This study aims at finding how BBC and AJE media represented the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The study examines the news website, which reported the recent escalation of Jerusalem conflict in December 2017, where US President Trump have recognized Jerusalem as Israeli capital, and declared to move the US embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem.

The study uses qualitative research, where it investigated the impact of ideology on media discourse by means of critical discourse analysis (DHA, Topoi, and Social actor's representation). CDA was carried out for a sample of 8 news articles published on the websites of two networks: The British Broadcasting Corporation World news "BBCWN" and the Middle Eastern Qatari owned "Al Jazeera English". The articles were chosen within the month of December 2017.

Articles were analyzed by means of the two-level analysis method, including the thematic and in-depth analysis. On the first, entry-level analysis, I focus on contents of texts and outline the discourse topics. While in the second phase I analyze the means of discursive strategies and the representation of social actors utilized throughout the text.

The thematic analysis revealed that, both BBC and AJE have covered the incident similarly in general look. However, in-depth analysis showed that each network had portrayed the images of Israelis and Palestinians differently. On contrast of AJE, BBC tends to perceive Palestinians as a threat and the Israeli one as victims of the Palestinian violation. Moreover, the analysis revealed that each network had different ideologies and aims. The study concludes that AJE articles was biased pro-Palestinians, while BBC articles was biased pro-Israelis.

What is common in all the above studies is the key role that language (discourse) plays both politically and socially, yet my study focus more on the ideological dimension that is how other are pictured and represented, in particular how the Sudanese revolution is represented and viewed in BBC world service local social media.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the method adopted to answer the study questions. Quantitative and qualitative analysis and CDA will be used to analyze the data of this research.

3.1 Methodology

This is a CDA study that employs content analysis to reduce the data to the most relevant data. To uncover the ideology in hidden the BBC discourse, this study uses van Dijck conceptual square.

3.1.1 Content analysis

Content analysis can be done in different ways by different scholars. Some scholars conduct content analysis in eleven steps, other do it in more or less steps. in this study I am following Neumann, (2011) who thinks the process of doing content analysis consists of six steps:

1. Formulate the study question and texts to be studied
2. Decide on units of analysis
3. Develop sampling plan
4. Construct coding categories and recording for social media content
5. Coding validity and reliability check
6. Data collection and analysis. Neumann, (2011).

In content analysis defining and formulating the problem is key therefore, it is the first step of conducting a research. After defining the problem comes the definition of the questions to be addressed. Then comes the second step which deals with population and sampling. Samples of this study are taken from BBC and social media coverages of the Sudanese revolution. Videos, recordings of BBC and of social local media are the main source of data of this research. In choosing the data the study will consider the questions to be answered. Then come the other four steps of content analysis.

3.2 Tools and data collection

Data collection is based on The instruments designed especially for this research. two instruments have been constructed to collect data for this research they are namely: one political dimension and the other is economic dimension plus ideology. The source of data of this study is BBC world service and local social media, mainly the reports done by BBC correspondents in Sudan as parts of BBC coverage of the Sudanese December revolution.

3.3 Analyzing data

This study adopts a variety of Critical discourse analysis (CDA) approaches to analyze the data collected from BBC and Sudanese social media coverages of the Sudanese revolution. Content analysis is used to reduce data to the most relevant data which will help in answering the study questions. The conceptual square of van Dijck is also used to analyze ideological expressions depicted in the Sudanese revolution.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis of data collected through the study instruments and qualitative content analysis. The two dimensions are namely 1/ political and the other is economic dimension, in addition to ideology.

The samples of this study are taken from six videos, three videos from BBC parts of its media coverage of the Sudanese revolution, and three videos from Sudanese social media covering the Sudanese revolution.

The data of this chapter are extracts from BBC three video, and three videos from local social media. Video taken from BBC which appear in the following titles:

1/ Dying for a revolution BBC news

2/ A day in Sudan's protest BBC Africa

3/ Has an internet black out killed Sudan's revolution BBC news

The videos from local social media are:

1/ Hakama from the sit-in site, WhatsApp

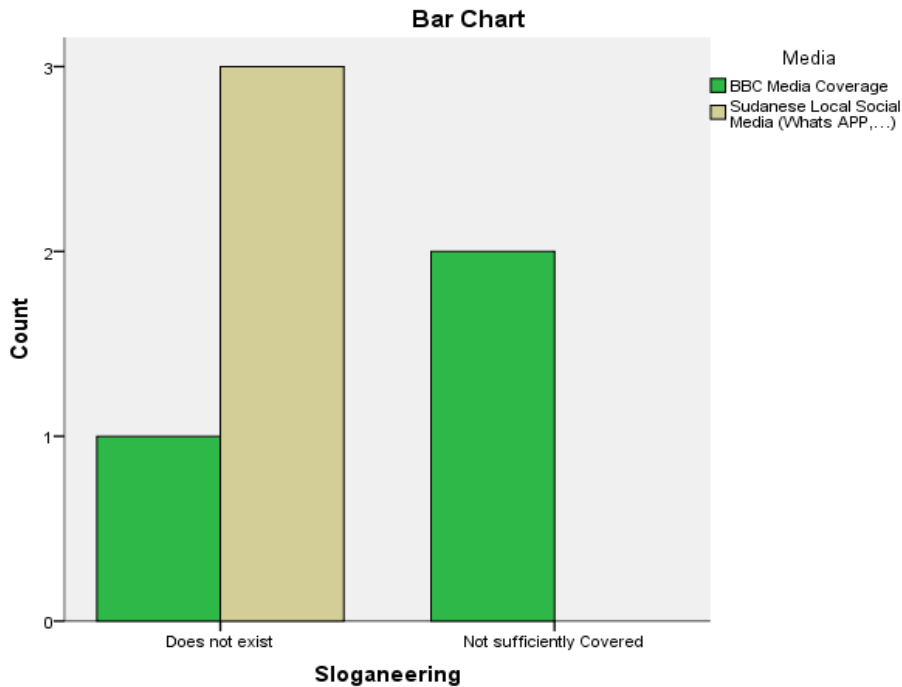
2/ Al Hibir Yousif, WhatsApp

3/ Yousif Al Koda, YouTube

1/Sloganeering

Table (4.1) percentages of Political Dimension- Sloganeering:

Sloganeering * Media .			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Sloganeering	Does not exist	Count	1	3	4
		% within Media	33.3%	100.0%	66.7%
		% of Total	16.7%	50.0%	66.7%
	Not sufficiently Covered	Count	2	0	2
		% within Media	66.7%	.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	33.3%	.0%	33.3%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



Graph (4.1)

In analyzing the following slogans of the Sudanese revolution two aspects are put into consideration: ideology and power relation as one of the main goals of the study is to display ideology behind the discourse which is not always noticed by normal audiences.

1/ (We took to the streets against those who steal our money)

This was one of the earliest slogans chanted by protestors across Sudan. Even before analyzing this slogan it is clear that the economic crisis Sudanese people are going through is a key aspect of the Sudanese revolution. Analyzing this slogan ideologically we can see that protestors draw a clear line between them and the regime by using the pronoun "We" excluding the regime. So protestors represent themselves positively as they were the people whose money was stolen, while the regime was represented negatively as thieves and robbers. Using a word such as (against) in the slogan portrays that there are two opposing groups, protestors as a group and the regime as another group.

Regarding power relation between the two groups namely: the protestors and the regime, it is obvious that there is an unequal power relation between the two groups. The regime took all the money from protestors yet the protestors do not say that they will take the money back instead of saying so the protestors took to the street as an objection. The protestors face the excessive power of the regime with the power of expression. Words versus actual force

2/ (blood for blood, we will not accept compensations)

In this slogan protestors ask for justice from those who killed the protestors. Protestor represent themselves positively while representing the regime negatively. Protestors represent themselves as victims and the regime as a murderer who killed

the protestors just because they took to the streets asking for their rights. Even though protestors are poor, as their money was taken, yet they say that they will not accept money or any kind of compensation rather than justice, therefore protestors are restoring their dignity as they ask for real justice, soul for a soul.

As for power relation, still there is no equal power relation between the protestors and the regime. The regime kills and tortures the protestors, yet the protestors have no weapon other than standing united asking for justice. Though there is an unequal power relation, yet the protestors have gone one step further from the position where they were in the first slogan. In the first slogan people took to the street to object, to say enough is enough rather than asking for justice or for their money.

3/ (you arrogant and racist we are all Darfour)

When protestors started to gain more ground, the regime decided to use another weapon to divide them, that weapon was ideology. The regime portrayed the Darfourian protestors as traitors who adopt foreign agenda. By using ideology, the regime wanted to reestablish the picture of who is in the group and who is out, by doing so the regime sides himself with one group of protestors against other protestors (Darfourian students). The regime aimed at ending the revolution by portraying itself and some protestors positively while portraying the rest of protestors negatively, this was racial based ideology. The protestors were aware of the goals of the regime that they responded to the regime plan through the slogan above that "We" are all Darfourian. The use of the pronoun "We" indicate the awareness of protestors. By doing so the protestors come together united against the regime. The regime failed by using racial ideology to include itself within some protestors while excluding other.

Regarding power relation in this slogan, the protestors seem powerful than before by refusing division as well as to be in one group with the regime. This time the decision was made by the protestors which meant that they are getting stronger.

4/ (Oh people of Khartoum revolt against the dictatorship)

This is one of the slogan that was chanted in the early days of the revolution. It is a call for people of Khartoum and all people to revolt against dictatorship. We notice that the word "against" is used repeatedly in many slogans which postulate the kind of relationship between protestors and the regime. By using the word "against" protestors put themselves in the opposite side of the regime. Protestors portray themselves positively as people looking for salvation from the dictatorship while they picture the regime as a dictatorship, torturing and killing protestors simply because they took to the street to ask peacefully for change. This slogan shows the awareness of people that they are not only revolting because of the economic hardship moreover, they revolt to change the whole system of governance.

It is clear in the slogan above that there is an unequal power relation. Protestors are suppressed by the regime without a chance to express their free will. People are governed by a regime they did not want and the regime rule against the people will. The regime has no mandate from the people which suggests that in addition to the problem of governance the regime is morally corrupted.

5/ (Freedom, peace, justice revolution is the choice of people)

This slogan was the heart and the essence of the revolution, it is what the protestors stand for. People revolt for freedom, peace and justice which meant the absence of these basic principles in the reality. People suffered from injustice, war and violation of their basic rights. Here protestors chose the revolution as the only way

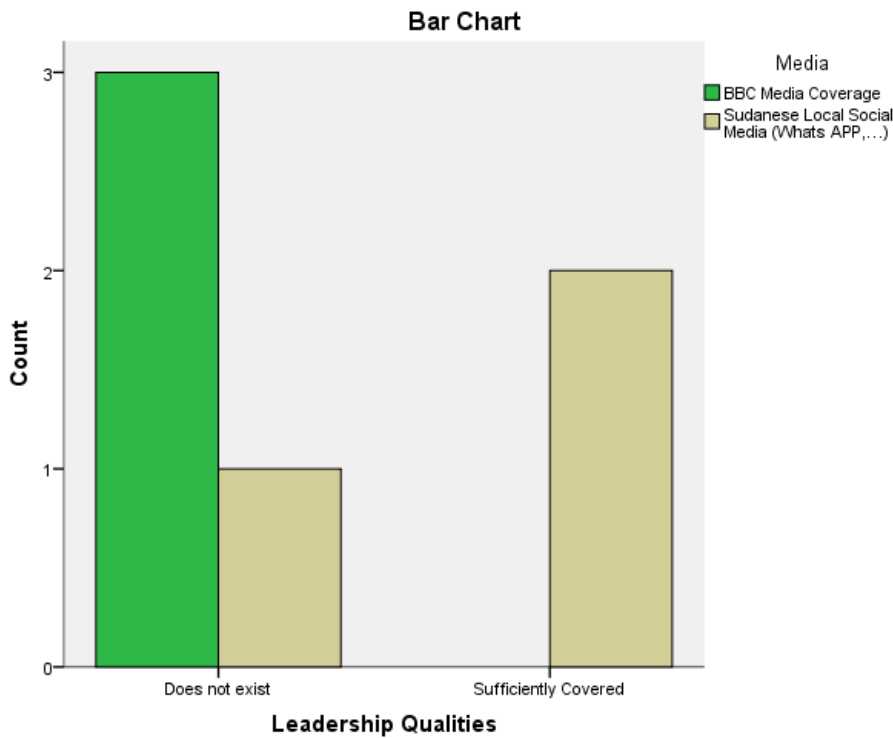
to bring back their freedom from those who took it. There is no explicit mention of the regime in this slogan yet the absence of these basic rights in the real life is caused by the regime. Protestor portray themselves positively as they struggle for their rights against the regime who is portrayed negatively as the enemy of the people.

Regarding power relation in this slogan, the power relation between the people and the regime is far from being equal that people are not listen to, they are not allowed to express their thoughts through any mean, so people chose to revolt against the regime. People exercised another kind of power against the regime the power of unity and by getting rid of all the fears. People were ready to stand in the face of a regime never hesitated to shoot his own people. Death was what people fear from by overcoming it power relation became more balanced and less equal.

2/ Leadership qualities

Table (4.2) Percentages of Political Dimension- Leadership Qualities

Leadership Qualities * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Leadership Qualities	Does not exist	Count	3	1	4
		% within Media	100.0%	33.3%	66.7%
		% of Total	50.0%	16.7%	66.7%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	2	2
		% within Media	.0%	66.7%	33.3%
		% of Total	.0%	33.3%	33.3%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



Graph (4.2)

This sub-dimension has been sufficiently covered in Al Hakama video, whereas it does not exist in BBC coverage, here the following extract:

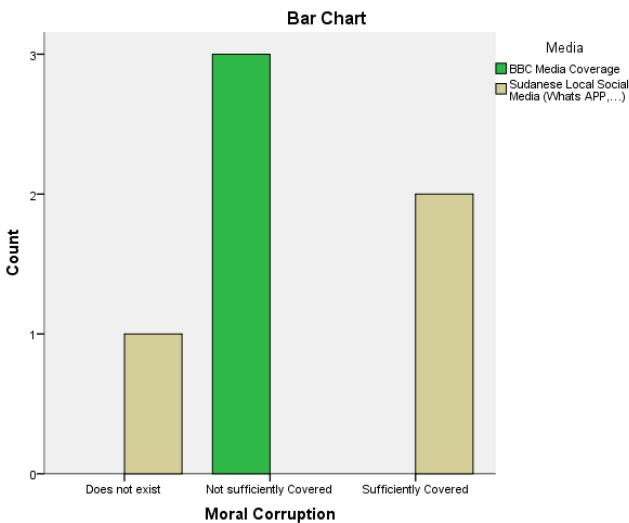
"I want a problem solver president, but his like a light rain to an arid land"

This statement clearly questioning the characteristics of the presidents picturing him as a leader who has no capacity to take the right decisions, moreover he is no longer in control of his own regime. The absence of real leader has a destructive impact on Sudan at all levels. Therefore, dealing with leader who is unqualified to govern give insight look on the roots of Sudan's current crisis.

3/ Moral corruption

Table (4.3) Percentages of Political dimension- Moral Corruption

Moral Corruption * Media .			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Moral Corruption	Does not exist	Count	0	1	1
		% within Media	.0%	33.3%	16.7%
		% of Total	.0%	16.7%	16.7%
	Not sufficiently Covered	Count	3	0	3
		% within Media	100.0%	.0%	50.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	.0%	50.0%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	2	2
		% within Media	.0%	66.7%	33.3%
		% of Total	.0%	33.3%	33.3%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



Graph (4.3)

This sub dimension is covered sufficiently in AL Hibir video, here is the following extract: *"The rule of AL Keizan (the ruling party) is a hybrid of organized crimes and corruption "*

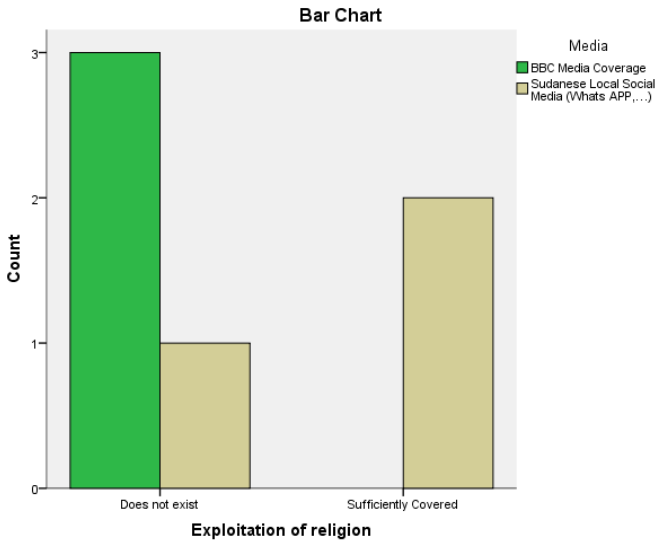
This extract is from AL Hibir Yousif video that emphasizes the bad things about Al Keizan (ruling party) that they are criminals and corrupt. By doing so Al Hibir distinguishes this regime from other regimes that governed Sudan from one hand, and from the Sudanese people in general from the other hand. It is an ideological division, as the regime is corrupt by nature which suggests that there is no hope of reforming it.

Regarding power relation in the above statement, obviously there is an unequal power relation that the regimes abuse the power by committing criminal acts. The regime commits criminal acts to achieve its own interests. By doing so the regime governed a country with a mentality of a criminal organization.

4/ Exploitation of religion

Table (4.4) Percentages of Political Dimension- Exploitation of Religion

Exploitation of religion * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Exploitation of religion	Does not exist	Count	3	1	4
		% within Media	100.0%	33.3%	66.7%
		% of Total	50.0%	16.7%	66.7%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	2	2
		% within Media	.0%	66.7%	33.3%
		% of Total	.0%	33.3%	33.3%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



Graph (4.4)

"The December revolution has put an end to the exploitation of religion"

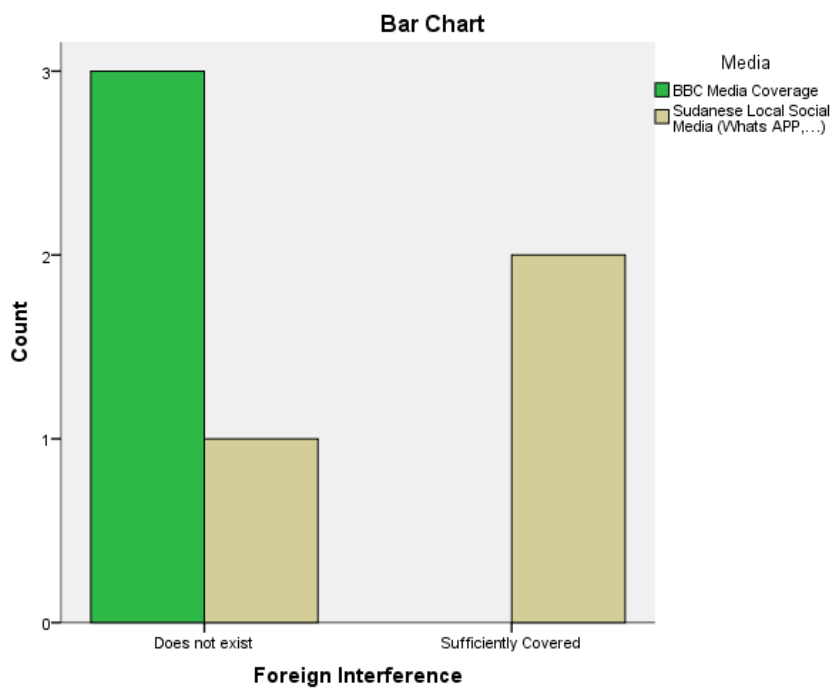
The defunct regime came to power through a military coup to save people (as they said) from the economic hardship people were going through. Later on it was known that the coup was led by the Muslim brotherhood. The regime ruled for nearly thirty years, during this time the regime used religion as a mean to subjugate the people and to demonize the opposition and most importantly to maintain in power. The religion was no more than a cover to the moral and economic corruption of the defunct regime. the following extracts clearly features this

"all the corruption made was in the name of religion, it is not for god it is for power and statues"

5/ Foreign Interference

Table (4.5) Percentages of Political Dimension- Foreign Interference

Foreign Interference * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Foreign Interference	Does not exist	Count	3	1	4
		% within Media	100.0%	33.3%	66.7%
		% of Total	50.0%	16.7%	66.7%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	2	2
		% within Media	.0%	66.7%	33.3%
		% of Total	.0%	33.3%	33.3%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



Graph (4.5)

"According to the president orders the Sudanese troops were dispatched to Yemen"

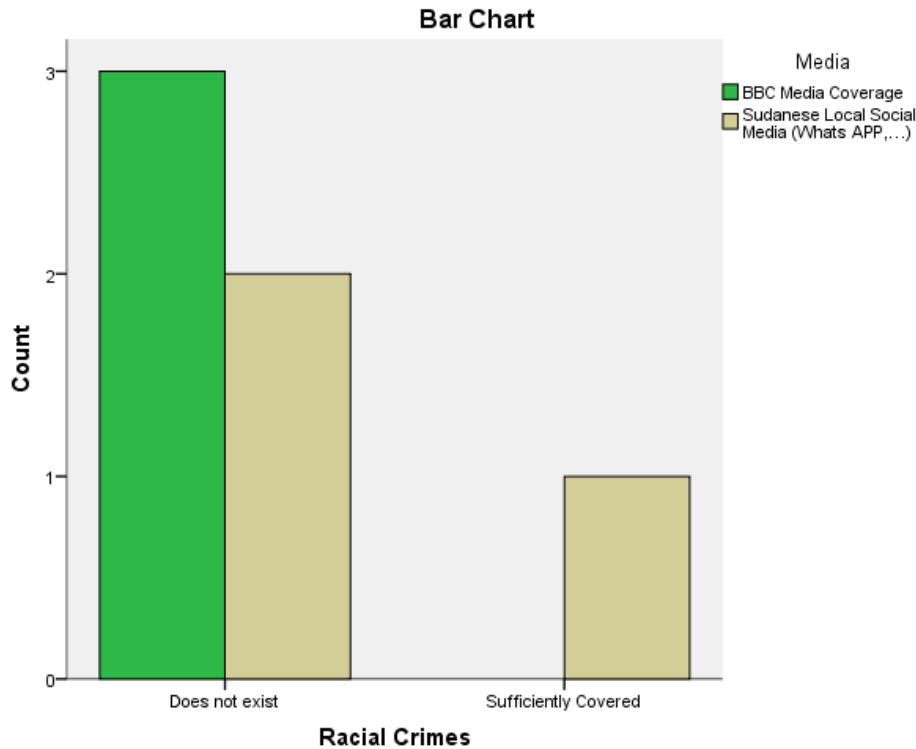
This extracts from Al Hibir Yousif shows the interference of the regime in other countries. The intervention in Yemen was not for humanitarian reasons, it was to stand with one side of the war against the other side which worsen the war and increased its destructive impact.

Regarding power relations, it is clear that the power is in the hand of the president alone when have orders to intervene in Yemen. There were not independent institutions to be blamed for taking part in a war that does not serve the interest of Sudanese people, it served the interests of the regime by providing him millions of dollars.

6/ Racial Crimes

Table (4.6) Percentages of Political Dimension - Racial Crimes

Racial Crimes * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Racial Crimes	Does not exist	Count	3	2	5
		% within Media	100.0%	66.7%	83.3%
		% of Total	50.0%	33.3%	83.3%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	1	1
		% within Media	.0%	33.3%	16.7%
		% of Total	.0%	16.7%	16.7%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



graph (4.6)

"Al Bashir acknowledged the killing of ten thousand civilians in Darfour"

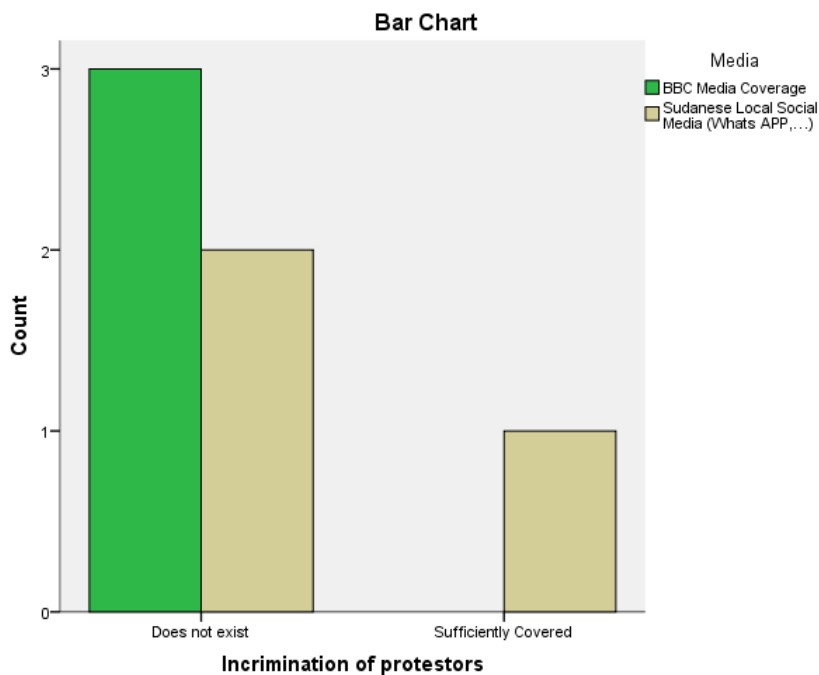
This extract from Al Hibir Yousif features the racial crimes committed by the defunct regime against its people. The regime killed so many people throughout the thirty years of its rule. These crimes are based on ideology as the regime looked at the citizens of Darfour as outsiders, out of the group to which the regime belongs to. this led the regime to deemphasize the good characteristics of the people of Darfour and emphasizing the good characteristics of the regime and his supporters. In other words, the regime used ideology to legalize the killing of some civilians. Moreover, the killing was not only in Darfour it was all over Sudan

"hundreds of thousands were slain across Sudan during thirty years of their rule"

7/Incrimination of Protestors

table (4.7) Percentages of Political Dimension – Incrimination of Protestors

Incrimination of protestors * Media .			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Incrimination of protestors	Does not exist	Count	3	2	5
		% within Media	100.0%	66.7%	83.3%
		% of Total	50.0%	33.3%	83.3%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	1	1
		% within Media	.0%	33.3%	16.7%
		% of Total	.0%	16.7%	16.7%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

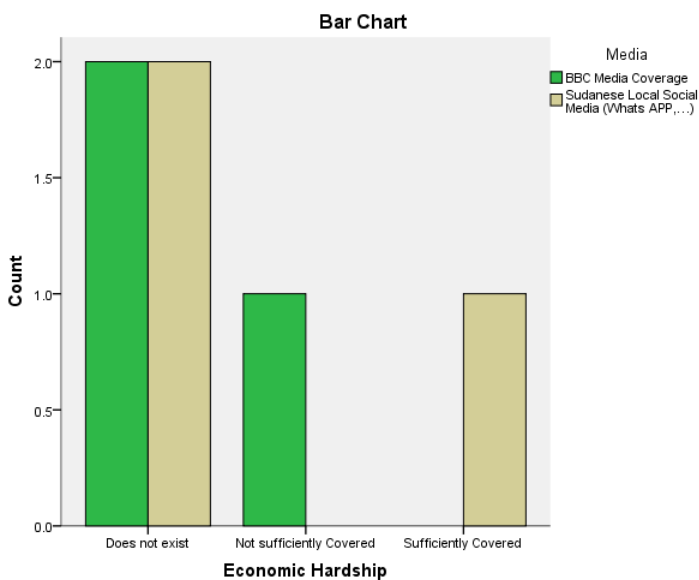


Graph (4.7)

8/ Economic Hardship

Table (4.8) Percentages of Economic Dimension – Economic Hardship

Economic Hardship * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Economic Hardship	Does not exist	Count	2	2	4
		% within Media	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%
		% of Total	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%
	Not sufficiently Covered	Count	1	0	1
		% within Media	33.3%	.0%	16.7%
		% of Total	16.7%	.0%	16.7%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	1	1
		% within Media	.0%	33.3%	16.7%
		% of Total	.0%	16.7%	16.7%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%



Graph (4.8)

The following extract is from Al Hakama video spots light on the economic crisis caused by the corruption of the regime.

"men and women were made to form long queues as train to get their basic needs, while children at home are crying with tears pouring down"

This statement deals with the people suffering in getting bread. Men and women had to stand in queues for hours to get some bread for their crying children. People (were made to) stand in queues which meant that the regimes is responsible of the economic hardship, they will not stand in queues unless they are forced to. The regime causes the economic hardship through the mismanagement of public fund in addition to corruption.

Rhetorical Structure

Hakama used similes twice to emphasize the suffering of women and men who were stand in along queue as along as a train while crying children pouring tears like rain. These similes made the statement more expressive of the economic and humane state of people and their families.

9/ Mismanagement of Public Fund

Hakama states that **"after thirty years of the rule of Al Bashir, people are left penniless and he made youth desert marriage"**

This signals the sever economic state of the people and of the youth in particular, that they are no longer able to cover the expenses of marriage that they deserted it.

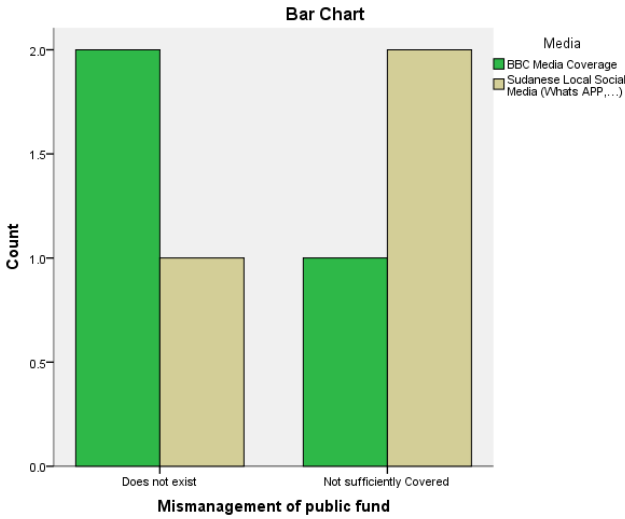
After thirty years of the rule of Al Keizan most of Sudan's major farm and industrial projects were destroyed. Infrastructures were severely damaged through mismanagement. The regime wanted to control Sudan from the beginning (the

military coup) that they got rid of all qualified senior employees and put instead of them underqualified members of the regime which was one of the reasons that in the end led to the collapsing of the economy in Sudan.

Before the rule of Keizan Sudan has good transportation infrastructures, Sudan rail ways, Sudan air lines, and Sudan maritime lines. Now most of these companies are nearly bankrupt in addition to many other projects.

Table (4.9) Percentages of Economic Dimension- Mismanagement of Public Fund

Mismanagement of public fund * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Mismana gement of public fund	Does not exist	Count	2	1	3
		% within Media	66.7%	33.3%	50.0%
		% of Total	33.3%	16.7%	50.0%
	Not sufficiently Covered	Count	1	2	3
		% within Media	33.3%	66.7%	50.0%
		% of Total	16.7%	33.3%	50.0%
Total		Count	3	3	6
		% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

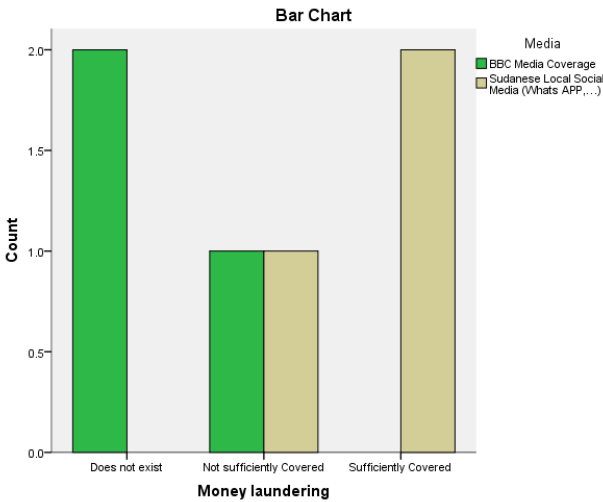


Graph (4.9)

10/ Money laundering

Table (4.10) Percentages of Economic Dimension – Money laundering

Money laundering * Media .					
			Media		Total
			BBC Media Coverage	Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)	
Money laundering	Does not exist	Count	2	0	2
		% within Media	66.7%	.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	33.3%	.0%	33.3%
	Not sufficiently Covered	Count	1	1	2
		% within Media	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
		% of Total	16.7%	16.7%	33.3%
	Sufficiently Covered	Count	0	2	2
		% within Media	.0%	66.7%	33.3%
		% of Total	.0%	33.3%	33.3%
Total	Count	3	3	6	
	% within Media	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	



Graph (4.10)

The following extract is from Yousif Al Koda video covers this sub dimension:

"When those people came to Khartoum from their villages they were penniless how come they became billionaires now"

As the economy is deteriorating, the members of the regime are getting richer and they had never thought of stepping down or to start a real reform. After thirty years of corruption money laundering became a permanent characteristic of the regime. Sudanese people left desperate, lost hope in the regime that it will stop any time soon from robbing their resources to finance its ruling party. After thirty years there were hardly anything left to steal or destroy.

*The graphs showed the scope of the coverage of social media contained most of the two dimensions and their sub dimensions, in contrast BBC coverage was limited in terms of scope as it left out most of the sub dimensions. (see the appendix for more details)

CHAPTER FIVE
The main Findings Conclusions, Recommendations,
Suggestions for Further studies

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The main Findings Conclusions, Recommendations, Suggestions for Further studies

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, through the answering of study questions, the study hypotheses are verified or refuted as well as presenting the conclusion of the study based on the analysis and discussion of the samples through study tools mention in chapter three (methodology). This chapter also gives the main findings of the study in addition to recommendations and further studies.

5.1 Main findings

The followings are the main findings of the study:

1. Local social media coverage used linguistic features such as simile to give a lively picture of the suffering of the Sudanese people and the corruption of the regime.
2. BBC coverage was limited in terms of the scope, that was due to its underqualified correspondents sent to Sudan, while social media coverage was sufficient because of the knowledge and communicative skills of Sudanese social media activists.
3. The use of the pronouns and sloganeering in social media coverage set up a clear ideological division between the regime and protestors, for example the use of the pronoun "We" by protestors shows the inclusion of all protestors while the use of the pronoun "You" demonstrates the exclusion of the regime.

4. To a large extent local social media coverage was informative, it gave detailed information about the crimes and corruption of the regime. whereas BBC coverage gave slight details.

5.2 conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher tries to answer the questions of the study and to test the hypotheses. All the three question are answered thoroughly. However, BBC neither fully covered the political nor the economic dimensions in terms of scope and depth of the coverage. In fact, that many of the sub dimensions in the check list did not exist in BBC coverage, whereas local social media have accomplished sufficient coverage regarding the items and the details given. In addition, local social media made used of linguistic features, pronouns and sloganeering in building ideological expressions. These ideological expressions drew the border line between the regime and protesters.

Verifying the hypotheses of the study, the results and findings proved that BBC did not utilize ideological expression unlike local social media. Then the hypothesis regarding the ideological expressions should be reformulated according to the findings above. That there are ideological expressions depicted only in the discourse of Sudanese social media.

5.3 Recommendations

The researcher recommends the following:

1. BBC should only send correspondents who have the skills and the knowledge needed to cover important events such as the Sudanese revolution.

2. BBC should pay extra attention to historical and cultural aspects, which are so important in understanding and explaining such big events.
3. Ideological expressions should be depicted in analyzing discourses as it provides audiences with a view of the nature of political struggles and power relations.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies

Because of the limitation of this research, the researcher suggests that further studies to be conducted on the following:

1. To conduct studies on media coverage of other TV channels, newspapers or other kinds of media, both western and nonwestern regarding the Sudanese revolution.
2. To conduct studies on poetry and other literary forms which played and still playing a vital role on the course of the revolution.
3. To carry out studies on discourse regarding the Sudanese revolution focusing on psychological and cultural dimensions.
4. Further studies should be carried out in areas not fully covered on this research.

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APPENDIX

Table no:1 Dying for a revolution BBC news and Hakama from the sit-in site, WhatsApp.

Aspects	BBC Media Coverage			Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)		
	Sufficiently Covered	Not sufficiently Covered	Does not exist	Sufficiently Covered	Not sufficiently Covered	Does not exist
1/Political Dimension						
*Leadership Qualities			√	√		
*Moral Corruption		√				√
*Exploitation of religion			√			√
*Sloganeering		√				√
*Foreign Interference			√	√		
*Racial Crimes			√			√
*Incrimination of protestors			√			√
2/Economic Dimension						√
*Economic Hardship			√	√		
*Mismanagement of public fund			√		√	
*Deconstructing Infrastructures			√			√
Money laundering			√	√		
Total	0	2	9	4	1	7

Table 2. A day in Sudan's protest BBC Africa and Al Hibir Yousif, WhatsApp.

Aspects	BBC Media Coverage			Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)		
	Sufficiently Covered	Not sufficiently Covered	Does not exist	Sufficiently Covered	Not sufficiently Covered	Does not exist
1/Political Dimension						
*Leadership Qualities			√	√		
*Moral Corruption		√		√		
*Exploitation of religion			√	√		
*Sloganeering		√				√
*Foreign Interference			√			√
*Racial Crimes			√	√		
*Incrimination of protestors			√	√		
2/Economic Dimension						
*Economic Hardship			√			√
*Mismanagement of public fund			√			√
*Deconstructing Infrastructures			√			√
Money laundering			√		√	
Total	0	2	9	5	1	5

Table no: 3. / Has an internet black out killed Sudan's revolution BBC news and Yousif Al Koda, YouTube

Aspects	BBC Media Coverage			Sudanese Local Social Media (Whats APP,...)		
	Sufficiently Covered	Not sufficiently Covered	Does not exist	Sufficiently Covered	Not sufficiently Covered	Does not exist
1/Political Dimension						
*Leadership Qualities			√			√
*Moral Corruption		√		√		
*Exploitation of religion			√	√		
*Sloganeering			√			√
*Foreign Interference			√	√		
*Racial Crimes			√			√
*Incrimination of protestors			√			√
2/Economic Dimension						
*Economic Hardship		√				√
*Mismanagement of public fund			√		√	
*Deconstructing Infrastructures			√			√
Money laundering			√	√		
Total		2	9	4	1	6