



A Discourse Analysis of the Media Representation of Social Media for Social Change - The Case of Egyptian Revolution and Political Change

By Minavere Vera Bardici

Thesis Submitted for Completion of Master of Communication
for Development, Malmö University, Sweden

Supervisor: Michael Krona

Examiner: Anders Hög Hansen

June 2012

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	ii
Abstract	iv
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Social Media for Social Change – The Egyptian Political Transformation	1
1.2. The Transformative Egyptian Media Landscape: Changes and Comparative Views	3
1.2.1. An Overview of the Egyptian Media Landscape	3
1.2.2. Comparative Perspectives on the Transformative Egyptian Media Landscape	5
1.3. Justification	7
1.4. Research Purpose	8
1.5. Research Questions	8
1.6. Background – Key Concepts and Theories	8
1.6.1. ICT and Social Media	9
1.6.2. Social Change and Revolution	10
1.6.3. Processes of Social Change	11
1.7. Research Strategy	13
1.8. Outline of the Thesis	14
2. Literature Review	15
2.1. Related Studies	15
2.2. Social Media, Social Change, and the Relationship	16
2.2.1. Drastic Changes Enabled by the Emerging Social Media Trend	16
2.2.2. The Role of Social Media in Political Change	17
2.2.3. Social Media and Social Change Processes	18
<i>Civic Engagement and Public Mobilization</i>	19
<i>Collective Identity and Action</i>	20
<i>Less Confined and Critical Public Sphere</i>	21
<i>Citizen Journalism</i>	22
2.3. Social Media as Agents of Social Change	22
2.4. Skepticism on the Role of Social Media in Political Change	23
3. Conceptual Framework	25
3.1. Social Media for Social Change as a Discourses	25
3.2. Discourse - Theoretical Perspectives	26
3.2.1. Discourse and Episteme	26
3.2.2. Discourse Practice	27
3.2.3. Media Texts and Truth Claims	28
3.2.4. Subjects	29
3.2.5. Discourse and Representations	29
3.2.6. Power as Constitutive and Constraining Force	30
3.3. Ideology	30

4. Research Methodology.....	32
4.1. Discourse Analysis Approach	32
4.2. The Corpus: Sampling and Selection Criteria.....	33
4.3. Analytical Techniques – Six Stages	34
4.3.1. Surface Descriptors and Structure.....	35
4.3.2. Objects.....	35
4.3.3. Social Actors	36
4.3.4. Language and Rhetoric.....	36
4.3.5. Framing as Discursive Strategy.....	37
4.3.6. Ideological Standpoints	37
4.4. Methodological Reflections	38
5. Analysis of Media Texts.....	40
5.1. Surface Descriptors and Structural Organization.....	40
5.2. Objects/Topics.....	41
5.3. Social Actors	42
5.4. Language and Rhetoric.....	43
5.4.2. Rhetorical Figures	43
5.4.3. Quoting Credible Sources	46
5.5. Framing as Discursive Strategy.....	48
5.6. The Effect of Topicalization, Rhetoric, Quoting Credible Sources, and Framing.....	52
5.7. Ideological Standpoints	53
5.8. Reflections.....	55
6. Conclusions	56
References	60

Abstract

Recent years were marked by a major transformation in human and social communication, owing to the advances in ICT and thus social media technologies. Social media have introduced new communication practices, provided newfound interaction patterns, created new forms of expressions, stimulated a wide civic participation, and so forth. They are rapidly evolving and their significance is increasing while their role is changing in social and political processes. Moreover, they are increasingly becoming an instrumental approach to, and power for, social change due to their potential in bringing new dynamics to its underlying processes such as public mobilization. Indeed, more recently, they played an important role in what has come to be known as the Arab Spring. Particularly, in the recent Egyptian revolt, social media, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, have been transformed into effective means to fuel revolt and bring about political transformation. This marked a victory for social media and corroborates that they are an enduring resource for the successful mobilization of bottom-up, grassroots movements and leaderless collective actions. This, in turn, has stimulated discussions about their impact on political change, giving rise to a new discourse, what might be identified as ‘social media for social change’. This discourse is gaining an increased attention in the media and the academia: many journalists and authors talk and write about it. Particularly, research and publications by journalists emphasize the fundamental role the online media play in the reproduction of the role of social media in the Egyptian revolution and political change.

The aim of this study is to establish, by means of a discourse analysis, how and with what purpose in mind, the online media report on – represent – the relationship between social media and the Egyptian uprising and political transformation, a social relationship that seems to be overstated and constructed in various ways by different journalists. This critical reading reveals what is undervalued, overvalued and excluded, as well as the intersection between the media discourse, subjects and ideology. To achieve this aim, the discourse analysis approach was used to examine the set of selected media texts.

The media representation is deterministic as to the role of social media in the Egyptian revolution and political transformation, i.e. it exaggeratedly depicts the power of social media by describing the Egyptian revolution as a Facebook revolution. It also tends to be rhetorical and exclusionary. The event of the revolution and the reality of political change in Egypt are far more complicated than how it is reconstructed by most journalists. Further, it plays a role in constructing a positive image of different corporate players, namely Facebook, Twitter and media companies, as well as in constituting their identities. A great highlight is given to represent these actors. In addition, the media representation does ideological work. It sustains and serves corporate power as well as advances ideological claims.

This discursive research enhances the current understanding of the phenomenon of social media in relation to revolution and political change, although the findings may not be generalizable.

Keywords: Social media, Egyptian revolution, Egyptian political change, social change processes, discourse analysis, media, representation, ideology, Facebook, Twitter, citizens, activists, Egyptian

Chapter One

1. Introduction

This introductory chapter provides a general description of the research work. It covers the following: research topic, justification, research purpose, research questions, theoretical background, research strategy, and finally the outline of the thesis.

1.1. Social Media for Social Change – The Egyptian Political Transformation

Recent years have heralded a major transformation in human communication and interaction, owing to the advances in ICT and new (digital) media. As pointed out by Hopper (2007), ICT and digital media are the catalyst for contemporary communication. Situated as one of the latest of several waves of new media, social media have introduced new communication patterns, created new forms of expression, stimulated a wide civic participation, and so forth. Social media are rapidly evolving, their significance is increasing, and their role is changing in social and political processes. Social media are new digital media for social interaction. The concept refers to a set of internet-based applications built on the technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that enable user-generated content to be created and exchanged (Kaplan & Haenlein 2010) There exist different forms of social media, such as social networking sites (e.g. Facebook), content communities (e.g. Youtube), micro-blogging (e.g. Twitter), and so on. However, as to the link between social media and social change, there is a general recognition that social media have implications for social change due to their potential in bringing new dynamics to its underlying processes, such as public mobilization and civic engagement. Social media are increasingly becoming an instrumental approach to, and power for, social change. Indeed, more recently, they played an important role in what has come to be known as the Arab Spring. Particularly, in the recent Egyptian revolt, social media, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, have been transformed into effective means to fuel revolt and bring about political transformation in Egypt. They were instrumental in bringing about political change by facilitating its underlying processes through promoting civic engagement, triggering public mobilization, enabling citizen journalism, stimulating

civil society, promoting a sense of community among marginalized group members, creating less-confined political spaces, and publicizing causes to gain support from the global community (Khamis & Vaughn 2011; Khamis 2011; Eltanatawy & Wiest 2011). These processes have been proven influential in fuelling the Egyptian uprising, and this event marked a victory for social media, corroborating that they are an enduring resource for the successful mobilization of bottom-up, grassroots movements and leaderless collective actions. This, in turn, has stimulated discussions about their impact on political change, giving rise to a new discourse, what has come to be known as ‘social media for social change’. This discourse is gaining an increased attention in the media and academia, many journalists and authors talk and write about it.

However, social media are not direct causes of revolutions, but vehicles for empowering people. In other words, new technologies alone don’t make revolutions, but rather they are powerful tools and effective catalysts. It is indeed argued that other social, cultural, political, historical, and economic factors should not be taken too lightly so to ascribe too much power to social media – technological determinism - as to bringing about social change. There are, in fact, still some skeptical views on their relevance and impact in social change, although the emergence of social media may have transformed how social change may occur. It is true that social media have been utilized as a powerful means to instigate political change in different countries, but the problem of assessing their role in influencing social change seems to be compounded by the lack of clear empirical evidence, especially in relation to the specificity to each country in the context of Arab Spring. Put differently, concrete research to assess the effectiveness of social media is still in its infancy, notwithstanding the praise for their role in the recent Arab uprising, including the Egyptian Revolution. There is little uncertainty surrounding the role of social media in the revolutions that have struck the Arab world (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011). Overall, there is no easy solution for social media in fueling changes in all societies. It will require inter alia integrated political programmes and social structures, as well as the engagement of all citizens and institutions as constituents of the Egyptian society as to seeking political transformations. Given the complex and multi-dimensional nature of the revolution event, along with degree of uncertainty about specific aspects, revolution and political change can be a very challenging issue for the media to cover. As a marketplace of arguments, the media certainly has a role to play in the reproduction of the

discourse surrounding social media for political change. Before I provide a justification for this thesis, it is worth shedding light on key transformative aspects of the Egyptian media landscape in terms of changes, challenges and comparative views.

1.2. The Transformative Egyptian Media Landscape: Changes and Comparative Views

The use and success of social media in the context of political changes is very much linked to the specificity of the country in terms of its overall media landscape and the transformative patterns in relation to politics. There is thus much to localize, synthesize, and contextualize when it comes to the media landscape in the Arab world, by employing an all-encompassing and comparative approach, e.g. historical, cultural, social and political factors as well as how they differ from one a country to another. Indeed, in relation to this study, the Middle East is a highly complex region as to the dynamics of political changes, and in particular in relation to the geopolitical aspects and the democratic preconditions, such as vibrant political landscape with a grassroots base of support and a politically well-informed civil society. That said the Egyptian media landscape has undergone a number of major transformations and confronted significant changes over different historical phases, compared to the other countries in the Arab world.

1.2.1. An Overview of the Egyptian Media Landscape

To understand the particularity of the Egyptian media landscape requires locating the complex government-media relationship in such a landscape within the appropriate historical context (Khamis 2011). In this respect, why the media are the way they are and evolve has a lot to do with why the government-media relationship is the way it is and evolves (Hallin & Mancini 2004). Before delving into the discussion, it is important to note that there is no intent to go back far in the history, but rather to highlight some historical aspect of media landscape in relevance to the topic under investigation. President Gamal Abdel Nasser's era was characterized by an autocratic leadership (Khamis 2011). Due to his deliberate control of mass media for the purpose of mobilizing people behind the government's policies and ideologies, his policy generated severe

repercussions as to the margin of freedom enjoyed by various media back then (Boyd 1999). Consequently, the nationalization of the press by Nasser heralded ‘the end of its freedom, professionalism, and excellence’ (Nasser 1990, p. 4) by curbing its diversity and plurality. President Anwar Sadat, Nasser’s successor, came to power in 1970. This epoch was marked with liberating the media. In his first years of power, Sadat granted freedom of a relatively wider margin and plurality in both the media and political spheres, but this didn’t last long, ending up with severe measures against his political opponents and their publications (Khamis 2011). Further, under Sadat’s regime, ‘the press system changed several times, both toward and away from more diversity and freedom of expression. His attitude toward the press, and...freedom of speech generally was...ambivalent’ (Rugh 2004, p. 152). Under President Hosni Mubarak’s power the same official attitude toward the media continued (Khamis 2011). Particularly, arrests and abuse of journalists – detentions and torture - continued, although he initially encouraged opposition parties and allowed their publications to exist (Rugh 2004). Overall, the same attitude and politics prevailed under the abovementioned presidents’ eras within their autocratic leadership and as to their relationship to media - the absence of true democratic practice and political participation. But compared to Nasser and Sadat’s era, President Mubarak’s witnessed significant developments that shaped the Egyptian media landscape at many levels. Transformations in this regard involved ‘the emergence of media privatization, the introduction of private satellite television channels’, and the spread of privately-owned print and online newspapers by the opposition (Khamis 2011). What was distinctive with the introduction of satellite television is that it offered an uncensored alternative to state-owned and -regulated media, that is, the audience became widely exposed to new cultural, political, and social influences (Sakr 2001), which stimulated discussions on the extent of the democratizing impacts of satellite television channels (Lynch 2005; Seib 2007). This is mainly due to the fact that their influx constituted a major shift marked by moving away from the patterns of the state-controlled and government-owned media to the scene of much more pluralistic and diverse media (Atia 2006; Khamis 2007). In addition, the introduction of the Internet and its widespread access and the emerging concept of blogs was another major transformation in 1993 in Egypt (Iskander 2006; Abdulla 2006; Atia 2006), adding to the emergence of various online social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, which created new forms of public spheres as arenas where people could

express views and ideas and debate on different societal issues - cultural, social, religious, and political topics (Khamis 2011). Speaking of social media, it is to note that the Egyptian 2011 revolution was marked by a proliferation of these new media and widespread of its use, which brought about the democratic reforms and political transformations.

The developmental path of the Egyptian media landscape is associated with a number of paradoxes between government and the media. In this regard, the relationship between the press and the state in Egypt was complex and often ambivalent, meaning that ‘the margin of freedom allowed for the media has oscillated between the poles of press freedom and government repression’ Khamis (2011, p. 1161-1162), which was demonstrated in varied forms of state control, including censorship, governmental media ownership and media regulations (Al-Kallab 2003). Furthermore, ‘the pace of change in the Egyptian media arena has been much faster than in the political arena, leading to uneven development between press freedom and political freedom, whereby the accelerating rate of press freedom, despite its many handicaps, restrictions, and imperfections, was not equally matched by actual political reform or real democratic practice.’ (Khamis 2011, p. 1162) However, what allowed the public to vent frustration at political and social injustices was ‘that the Egyptian media were largely acting as safety valves’ (Ibid), which, according to Seib (2007), provided a paradox, whereby democratic practice and the exercise of political rights were substituted for new media. Moreover, there was coexistence between an official and a popular sphere, with official mainstream views about governmental policies, alongside the popular view coming from private, independent channels of communication, such as blogs (Seymour 2008; Weyman 2007) and other forms of social media (e.g. Facebook), a paradox that entailed a ‘large divide between such official spheres as governmental institutions and their controlled media and the popular spheres, in which most of the everyday communication activities take place in most of the Arab world.’ (Khamis 2011, p. 1163)

1.2.2. Comparative Perspectives on the Transformative Egyptian Media Landscape

The scene of the Egyptian media landscape is undergoing major changes and enormous challenges. One might, prior to the eruption of the 2011 revolution, describe the Egyptian media as portraying ‘a

transitional and synergic media model [with] a strong belief in the regulatory role of the state...and the 'grassroots' societal initiatives [and] 'top-to-bottom' media policy' (Vartanova 2008, p. 24). What remains conspicuous in the context of the Egyptian media is the different route it has gone down to change 'the strong role of the state, the role of the media as an instrument of political struggle, the limited development of the mass circulation press, and the relative weakness of common professional norms' (Khamis 2011, p. 1168). Like many developing countries, Egypt is certainly, as explicated by McCargo (2008), diverging from the standard formula of 'Americanization and the rise of a global journalism culture...and modernization, [and] secularization,' as predicted by Hallin and Mancini (2004, p.15). What is more pressing as to the recent political upheavals in the Arab world is 'new variables and processes deserving further analysis and investigation', which can be yielded by 'a systematic study of the interaction between politics and media in these regions, from a comparative perspective.' (Khamis 2011, p. 1168) Moreover, in developing countries, including the Arab world, it is of import to consider the prevailing system of government, whether a parliamentary, presidential or monarchy. Egypt has, like many Arab countries, a presidential type of government and also vastly differs, in their political experience, from other parliamentary democracies in the West and the world. In relation to this, in 'presidential countries, political parties play a minor role in making up and sustaining the government, as well as articulating government programs' (Albuquerque 2008, p. 21). However, in the case of Egypt, it can be said that the free flow of information precedes the transition to democratic and political reform (Khamis 2011). Further to this point, inapplicable in Egypt and in a number of other Arab countries undergoing political upheavals is the assumption that 'unless and until the underlying political system becomes a more liberal and democratic one' (Rugh 2004, p. 161), the media liberalization in Arab societies will not occur. This is related to the grassroots and leaderless aspect of social and political movements in the Arab world (Khamis 2011). In terms of the Egyptian uprising, it is 'not the work of conventional opposition parties or charismatic leaders' and maintains the 'diffuse, horizontal nature of [such] movements made them very difficult to break. Their diversity and flexibility gave them an organic strength. They were networks, not organizations.' (Beckett 2011) Such movements are also more about processes as they epitomize collective group mobilization, both online and offline, hence their name of leaderless revolutions

(Khamis 2011). As to the Arab uprising, what remains unique ‘is the absence of the prerequisites of democratization, as defined in the Western context, such as vibrant and well-organized political parties with a strong and popular base of support, structural reform, an active and dynamic political life, and an energetic civil society. These preconditions of democratization...have largely been missing in the Arab countries that have had successful revolutions so far, such as Tunisia and Egypt, as well as in those that are currently struggling to win their battles against their dictators, such as Libya, Syria, and Yemen.’ (Ibid, p. 1169) In addition, the Egyptian case demonstrated both a divergence and a reversal with regard to widely held assumptions pertaining to state-media relationships (an argument that runs counter to the foreseen path to democratization in comparative media literature), which is due to the fact that in Egypt, the main political and social structures lacked fundamental changes, an active and vibrant civil society, and a process of comprehensive political and social change; rather, it was public will mobilization that instigated structural change and political reform (Ibid). Adding to the above is the ‘appearance of alternative and opposition public spheres’ (Jakubowicz (2007, p. 137), which reflect a wide range of conflicting currents of thoughts, such as Islamists, leftists, secularists and feminists (Khamis 2011), leading to the generation of a ‘dual media system’ (Ibid), ‘whereby official, state-controlled media coexisted alongside oppositional papers, websites, and blogs, highlighting a role for modern Egyptian media as both’ (Khamis 2011, p. 1171) ‘agents of continuity and change’ (Vartanova 2008, p. 24).

1.3. Justification

First wave of studies in the field as well as publications by journalists emphasize the fundamental role the online media play in the reproduction of the role of social media in fueling the Egyptian Revolution and bringing about political change. Considering the historical and socio-cultural context in which the respective discourse operates, it can be said that it, from a Foucauldian perspective, constitutes an episteme, framing ways of thinking about particular topics and things (e.g. revolution, political change, technologies). Speaking of framing, it is important to recognize ‘the complexity and multifaceted nature of revolutions, rather than resorting to categorizing them and labeling them in a manner that oversimplifies or undermines their true nature and special dynamics’ (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 25).

Moreover, in the construction of discourse, social reality has been constructed in varying ways by different journalists. Consequently, media texts seem to reflect different representational practices – socio-cultural and symbolic ways of seeing things. In addition, in the emerging discourse, the role of social media may be exaggerated to the extent of technological determinism. Furthermore, as to ideological reproduction, the discourse on focus seems to be serving the interest of some corporate actors and advancing nationalistic ideologies. The above socio-political aspects are likely to be taken for granted, hence the relevance to critically examine the online media.

1.4. Research Purpose

The aim of this study is to establish, by means of a discourse analysis, how and with what purpose in mind, the online media report on – represent – the relationship between social media and the Egyptian uprising and political transformation, a social relationship that seems to be overstated and constructed in various ways by different journalists. This critical reading reveals what is undervalued, overvalued, included and excluded, as well as the intersection between the discourse, subjects, and ideology.

1.5. Research Questions

To achieve the above goal, the thesis will focus on the following questions:

- How do online media write about the role of social media in the Egyptian uprising and political transformation in terms of rhetoric and framing?
- What kinds of ideological standpoints are advanced in the articles?
- How are different social agents represented in the articles?

1.6. Background – Key Concepts and Theories

This section identifies and defines key theoretical constructs that comprise this thesis, including ICT, social media, social change and revolution, and social change processes, as well as the relationship between these constructs and their relevance to the study. Prior to understanding how

information and communication technologies (ICTs) and social media are analyzed in relation to social change and its processes, it is useful to elucidate these concepts and how they relate.

1.6.1. ICT and Social Media

ICT refers to a diverse set of technologies that are used to digitally create, access, store, manage, share, disseminate, and communicate information. It includes computer hardware and software, such as mobile phones, computers, Internet, telecommunication systems, and so on, as well as the various related applications and services, such as social networking and e-communities. In recent years, there has been a groundswell of interest in how computers and Internet can best be harnessed to improve social communication at different levels, which has propelled research and innovation in the area of ICT in relation to digital media, leading to the emergence of what has come to be known as participatory technologies, namely Web 2.0. Social media are media for social interaction. They are viewed by Kaplan and Haenlein (2011) as a set of internet-based applications build on the technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that enable user-generated content to be created and exchanged. The emergence of social media has been enabled by ubiquitously accessible communication technology, wireless and mobile technology, and web-based applications. This has enhanced a participatory communication, cater to the flow of messages from many-to-many, and together with the concept of ‘user generated content’ the Web 2.0 has given rise to social media (Kaplan & Haenlein 2010). One key element of Web 2.0, a platform upon which social media are built (Carlsson 2010), is the social Web, which involves a number of online platforms where people participate actively, pool resources, and share their perspectives and experiences. Social media reflect participatory culture in the sense that people feel some degree of social connection with each other (Jenkins et al. 2005). They moreover make it possible for an average user to archive, create, change, circulate, and share digital content, which takes a variety of forms, such as websites, blogs, ideas, text, video clips, pictures, and so forth with other users in powerful new ways. These can accelerate the cooperation and action process through facilitation of interaction (Shirky 2008; Meier 2009; Castells 2007).

Social media differ in many aspects. They can take on different forms such as social networking sites (e.g. Facebook), content communities (e.g. Youtube), social blogs, micro-blogging (e.g. Twitter), and so on. It is to note that these forms of social media differ in terms of self-disclosure and media richness features, which media theory proposes to distinguish social media types. Media richness is about 'the amount of information a medium can transmit within a given time, and self-disclosure, which 'is critical in the establishment of interpersonal trust', denotes 'the desire of people to present a certain image of themselves to others, which is achieved through the disclosure of specific personal information' (Breuer 2011, p. 2). Overall, although ICT and social media are conceptually different, they are intertwined and connected. ICT and social media congregate when mobilized as resources, or employed as means, for social change.

1.6.2. Social Change and Revolution

Social change denotes a social process that alters social patterns of a society for the great of its people. In other words, social change is about the transformation of the social, cultural, political and economic systems as a response to what different constituents of society collectively seek as transformation. It can be caused by social, cultural, political, economic, historical, and/or technological factors. This thesis is concerned with political change in the context of Egyptian society. Social change is a product of interaction between cultural and political changes (Castells 2009). In the context of this study, the term social change refers to a variety of communication and (inter)action practices, enabled by technology, among and between various social actors (e.g. citizens, cyber-activists, leaderless movements) to set social transformations in motion. Significant of what may be articulated as a distinctive approach to social media, in the context of the Egyptian uprising, is the new dynamics and patterns it created to bring about political transformation. This implies that, in the Egyptian revolution, social media were particularly instrumental in facilitating social change processes by promoting civic engagement, triggering public mobilization, enabling cyber activism and citizen journalism, stimulating civil society, creating less-confined political spaces, establishing connections with other social movements, and so on (Khamis 2011, Khamis & Vaughn 2011; Eltantawy & Wiest 2011).

Prior to elucidating the relevant processes, it is reasonable to briefly describe what revolution is. The term revolution commonly refers to change in power structures that arise in a relatively short period of time. Revolutions differ particularly in terms of processes and duration that may result in major changes in society. According to Goodwin (2001, p.9): ‘Revolutions entail not only mass mobilization and regime change, but also more or less rapid and fundamental social, economic and/or cultural change, during or soon after the struggle for state power.’ While this applies to the Egyptian revolution, the difference is that social media was consequential in public will mobilization to bring about the political change. They provide swift, effective and enduring resources for the successful mobilization of bottom-up, grassroots movements. However, revolutions are not usually spontaneous events; rather, they often take careful planning and slowly unfold over a long period of time.

1.6.3. Processes of Social Change

Social change involves a complex set of processes that operate in tandem. These processes depend on the type of change the society may undergo. In this thesis, the emphasis is on the political change processes enabled by social media. As a key driver of political change, activism, whether real or virtual, aims to advance political cause. Cyber-activism is defined as ‘the act of using the internet to advance a political cause that is difficult to advance offline,’ and ‘the goal of such activism is often to create intellectually and emotionally compelling digital artifacts that tell stories of injustice...and advocate for particular political outcomes’ (Howard 2011, p.145). It propels public will mobilization, which in turn leads to civic engagement. Will mobilization has been recently associated with the newfound interaction patterns enabled by social media. The term signifies ‘a social force that can mobilize organically, or with external support and influence, to become a political lever for social change [it] has the potential, if adequately resourced, organized, and mobilized, to serve as the impetus for social change’ (Salmon, Fernandez & Post 2010, p. 159). Mobilization entails planning, organizing, and implementation of actions, and is closely interrelated with cyber-activism in that it can help foster civic engagement, which, in turn, gives rise to various forms of mobilization (Howard 2011). The term ‘civic engagement’ denotes ‘the process through

which civil society is invited to participate in ongoing political...and social efforts that are meant to bring about change' (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 5). As to civil society, it can be described as 'the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating... autonomous from the state... and it 'involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests', views and ideas...' (Diamond 1999, p. 221) According to Shirky (2011) social media have the potential to support civil society and the public sphere. This term refers to an arena where citizens can meet and openly exchange views on, debate, and deliberate societal affairs, with the goal to reach a common public consensus for the best interest of the public. It is through this publicly shared consensual opinion that citizens take part in, and affect, the aspired change. The public sphere is understood as a network of communicating information and opinions, which is generated through communicative action (Hemer & Tufte 2005). It is linked to the media in that they hold a great potential and power to raise and enrich societal debates and widen the public deliberation. According to Habermas, media is a crucial catalyst for the existence of the public sphere (Ibid). In relation to this thesis, the public sphere is facilitated by social media as an effective means for freedom of expression and information exchange in relation to social, cultural and political affairs. The emerging social media platforms are increasingly empowering all kinds of citizens and giving them the opportunity to voice their opinions, providing an unrestricted form of participation, and thus expanding the public sphere horizons. Another process marked by the Egyptian revolution is citizen journalism. This 'provides a platform for ordinary citizens to express themselves and document their own versions of reality' (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 5). Social media played a major role in promoting a new form of citizen journalism, which is a crucial aspect of democratization. Civil journalism is a form of digital democracy as it is enabled through different social media platforms. It can be viewed as a manifestation of digital democracy, which is, according to Hacker and Van Dijk (2000), about the use of new media technologies for purposes of enhancing political democracy, such as encouraging participation of citizens in democratic communication. This could be in the form of social networking, online discussion forums and blogging which allow for a wide range of voices to be heard and views to be debated, and thus creating active political participation in the sense of an informed public sphere (Tsagarousianou 1998).

1.7. Research Strategy

Social science has its own philosophical assumptions, ontology and epistemology, and thus its own methodologies. Inquiry paradigms are, according to Guba & Lincoln (1994, p. 108), categorized based on their perspectives on three questions: the epistemological question seeks what is the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known; the ontological question seeks what is the structure and nature of reality and, thus, what is there that can be learned; and the methodological question seeks the way in which the inquirer can go about finding out whatever he/she believes can be known. Generally, ontology deals with the nature of the world, and how phenomena and things in the reality are classified and related. Wand & Weber (1993, p. 220) refer to ontology as a branch of philosophy concerned with articulating the nature and structure of the world. The ontological viewpoint of this thesis will focus on what to be studied, which in practice is to investigate the discourse surrounding social media for social change in relation to the recent Egyptian revolution as a social reality. As to epistemology, the theory of knowledge, it is concerned with the nature of knowledge, and how this knowledge can be developed. The nature of human knowledge and understanding – epistemology - can be acquired through different types of inquiry and methods of investigation (Hirschheim, Klein & Lyytinen 1995). In addition, how knowledge relates to truths as well as questioning different knowledge claims are among the emphases of epistemology. Epistemology is essential driver for thinking and reasoning. This related to how the inquirer goes about finding out – producing new knowledge - about what he/she considers important to be known. Here the epistemological question is about the maps applied by the knower examining what can be known or studied in order to create new knowledge – a critical account of the role of social media in political change, by exploring different representational means and discursive strategies, and how these are deployed in the online media to advance ideology and prompt social behavior. Lastly, methodology is brought into play as investigative procedures, using discourse analysis approach to approach the phenomenon under investigation and to achieve the overall goal.

1.8. Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters, which are featured as follows:

Chapter One – Introduction

Chapter two – Literature Review

Chapter three – Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Chapter four – Research Methodology

Chapter five – Analysis of Media Texts

Chapter six – Conclusions

The first chapter, which provides an introduction to the research work, has been covered, and the discussion focuses subsequently on the remaining chapters. The second chapter provides an overview of studies related to the topic under investigation. The third chapter presents the conceptual framework for the study. The fourth chapter outlines the methodology for the study. The fifth chapter contains the empirical analysis of the selected articles from the online media, which answers the research questions. The final chapter provides concluding remarks, discussing the key findings in relation to the research questions, and is ended with recommendation for further research.

Chapter Two

2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews studies related to the topic under investigation. It combines summary and synthesis as well as discussion and evaluation of the material in relevance to the research questions. The intent is to use ideas and evidence in the literature to justify the approach to the topic on focus and the selection of method, as well as to demonstrate that my research contributes something new. An effective literature review should: 'a) methodologically analyze and synthesize quality literature, b) provide a firm foundation to a research topic, c) provide a firm foundation to the selection of research methodology, and d) demonstrate that the proposed research contributes something new to the overall body of knowledge...' (Yair & Timothy 2006, p. 172)

2.1. Related Studies

The main studies reviewed in this section have approached the topic of social media from different perspectives. The study done by Khamis (2011) examines the transformative Egyptian media landscape underlying the transformative political landscape in terms of the Egypt's historical revolution, as well as addresses a comparative perspective that emphasizes the distinctive features of the Egyptian media landscape. Another study conducted by Khamis and her colleague Vaughn (2011) focuses on how new social media acted as effective tools for promoting civic engagement, providing virtual public sphere; and supporting public will mobilization. Eltantawy & Wiest (2011) carried out a study on social media in the Egyptian Revolution, reconsidering resource mobilization theory to explain social movements and their impact by exploring the use of social media in the 2011 Egyptian revolution through a limited case study analysis. Other studies (like Langman 2005; Della Porta & Mosca 2005; Wasserman 2007) also discuss and analyze social media as critical new resource for the successful organization and implementation of social movements. The rest of the studies involved in the literature review are associated with the role of social media in civic

participation, democracy, communication, etc. These studies have neither used discourse analysis approach - most of the interpretive work is based on non-discursive perspectives - nor involved media representations.

2.2. Social Media, Social Change, and the Relationship

2.2.1. Drastic Changes Enabled by the Emerging Social Media Trend

The advances of ICT and new media technologies have drastically changed the information and communication culture and the landscape of mediated communication. Hopper (2007) points out that ICT and digital media are the catalyst for contemporary communication, and their advances constitute a transformation in human communication. As a form of digital (new) media, social media have introduced new communication patterns, diversified communication content, created new forms of expression, fostered freedom of expression, and stimulated a wide participation and collaboration, allowing citizens from diverse walks of life to have an opportunity to convey their views, challenge social norms, and affect societal changes. There are therefore many intuitive benefits for the use of social media technologies. Social media offer new and appealing possibilities to people to express themselves in a variety of ways and freely participate in major events because they are more decentralized and less hierarchical and are based on democratic structures. They provide a means for self-mass media communication that may have previously been restricted by temporal or spatial constraints. According to Castells (2009), self-mass communication reaches a potentially global audience through the Internet and is moreover self-generated in the production of content, self-directed in the definition of potential receivers, and self-selected in the retrieval of content by many who communicate with many. With the ubiquity of the (influential) resources and the potential for communicating massively, the capabilities of social media technologies may be used to instigate changes in society. Further, social media make it possible for an average user to archive, create, change, circulate and share digital content and knowledge with other users in powerful new ways. Audiences have the power in their own hands to connect and create various bonds with different people, thereby transforming their personal social networks (Kaplan & Blakley 2009). Further, by their very nature, social media are characterized by multiple points of production and

distribution. This relates to what has come to be known as civil journalism (discussed below), a new form of journalism that demonstrates that the means of social media production are available to the public – that is, to both individual and media actors to publish or access information in equal terms. In addition, social media technologies are simple to use and accessible to people with minimal technical skills, anyone with access can operate such means as well as alter content instantaneously. Consequently, the notion of user-generated content constitutes a new canon that is reshaping power relations between individuals and media actors. Users can exercise some control over the information they provide on Web 2.0 (social media) sites (Hinchcliffe 2006; O'Reilly 2005). Audiences understand that they are factually empowered to produce their own intellectual property (Kaplan & Blakley 2009). As Jenkins et al. (2005, p.10) put it, 'we are moving away from a world in which some produce and many consume media, toward one in which everyone has a more active stake in the culture that is produced'. The above features corroborate why social media have changed the notion of communication in many ways and at different levels. Kietzmann et al. (2011) contend that social media introduce substantial and ubiquitous changes to communication between and among individuals, communities and organizations. All in all, social media culture is about people empowerment, civic participation, freedom of expression, collective actions, etc. These features are instrumental in the processes underlying revolutions and political transformations. Much of the hope pinned on social media stems from their contribution to social change.

2.2.2. The Role of Social Media in Political Change

There is a general recognition that social media have implications for societal changes due to their role in the processes of the socio-political. The rapid development of social media technology in recent years has fueled discussions about their impact on political and social change (see Schneider & Gräf 2011). They are increasingly becoming an instrumental approach to, and power for, social change. More recently, social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, have been transformed into effective means to bring about political transformation. Specifically, they played a significant role in what has come to be known as the Arab Spring, including the historical political change in Egypt. This marked a victory for social media and corroborates that they are an enduring

resource for the successful mobilization of bottom-up, grassroots movements and leaderless collective actions. As echoed by Schneider and Gräf (2011), reports about the mobilization effects of social networking such as Facebook and other social media platforms suggest substantial media impact on change. In relation to this, numerous scholars (e.g., Langman 2005; Della Porta & Mosca 2005; Wasserman 2007) emphasize that social media such as social-networking sites are, collectively, a critical new resource for the successful organization and implementation of social movements. Recent political revolts, from North Africa - Egypt, Tunisia and Libya - down to Middle East – Syria and Iran, have all been inspired and aided by social media technologies (Smith 2011) due to their unsurpassed potential in enabling continued, dynamic flow of information, swiftness in public mobilization, and new patterns of mediated interaction and communication. It is highly likely that the embrace and strategic use of social media technologies will further transform them into a driving force for major political changes. However, the successful implementation of various types of social media for the promotion of social change requires a constant adjustment of strategies to political and national context specific requirements (Breuer 2011).

2.2.3. Social Media and Social Change Processes

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

spaces; promoting a sense of community; rallying support for political causes; etc. (Khamis 2011, Khamis & Vaughn 2011; Eltantawy & Wiest 2011).

Civic Engagement and Public Mobilization

During the Egyptian uprising, a myriad of events and actions that took place in social media platforms demonstrated the boost of civic engagement, and thereby triggering public mobilization: the capability of the protestors to plan, organize, and execute leaderless movement actions. Mobilization is interrelated with cyber-activism in that it can help foster civic engagement, which, in turn, gives rise to various forms of mobilization (Howard 2011). In the Egyptian revolution, social ‘media acted as effective tools for promoting civic engagement, through ‘supporting the capabilities of the democratic activists by allowing forums for free speech and political networking opportunities’ (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 1). Providing such opportunities was made possible through social networking sites such as Facebook, which amplified, magnified and expedited the process of revolution (Iskander 2011) These sites provided platforms for debates inviting millions of people from diverse walks of life and from different geographical areas across Egypt and the world. Moreover, Egyptian political activists used social media to mobilize protesters and engage in collective planning (Joyce 2011). It is the ‘political activism in the real world, aided by cyber-activism in the virtual world’ that succeeded to find the link between public resentment and public mobilization to bring about real change (Khamis & Vaughn 2011). The ubiquity of the influential resources and the public will made of social media a consequential factor for the Egyptian revolt. Particularly, the patterns underlying the way in which actors effectively deployed the resources for mobilization were stimulated by the union of the diversity of activists’ affiliations and leaderless nature of political grassroots movements. Moreover, social media are ‘public and many-to-many’ (Joyce 2011), and hence they provide platforms for continuous, multiple interaction between activists and citizens. Resource mobilization theory (see, e.g., Jenkins 1983; Khawaja 1994; Langman 2005) emphasizes the significance of the availability of resources (e.g. new technology and enthused citizenry) and the efficacy of actors. The novel resources introduced by social media

provided a swiftness in communication, helped build and strengthen ties among activists, enhanced interaction between protesters and inspired, and boosted them (Eltanatawy & Wiest 2011).

Social media differ in terms of self-disclosure and media richness features, which have impact on the dynamics of public mobilization. Accordingly, Facebook, social networking site, was well suitable for mobilizing the protesters due to the fact that information in this platform could be shared between friends, with the advantage that the receivers were already interested and trusted the source (Idle & Nunns 2011). Twitter was also used for mobilization and planning political discussions. Twitter scores high in self-disclosure, yet low in media richness, as they give high visibility to users generating the content, which, subsequently, increases interpersonal trust (Breuer 2011). Protesters used Twitter – microblogs - to ‘announce new initiatives, like marching to the parliament building, and to boost their collective morale with reports of other developments around the country’ (Idle & Nunns 2011, p. 20). All in all, the strategic use of social media was of help to the revolution to snowball, through using certain strategies, manoeuvres and tactics that turned small protests into a huge challenge to the regime that led to its ultimate demise’ (Iskander 2011, cited in Khamis & Vaughn 2011).

Collective Identity and Action

Social media played a key role in promoting collective identity, a sense of community, and supporting collective action among Egyptian citizens and activists across the globe. Facebook, Twitter, and blogs seemed to strengthen the collective identity of Egyptians worldwide to support the struggle against the regime (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011). This was driven by the oppressive conditions under which the Egyptian had lived for long (Ibid). In other words, social media provided a community space where people could call attention to government corruption and abuses. New technologies foster the perception among people that they belong to a larger community by virtue of the injustice they share (Garrett 2006). It is argued that they may cultivate collective identity across a dispersed population, which organizers can then mobilize to rally support and stimulate collective actions in the efforts to bring about social change. Hampton found that online social networks can

facilitate collective action (Garrett 2006). This can be generated by shared awareness among people, which results from information exchange, and collective action creates shared responsibility by tying the user's identity to that of the group (Shirky 2008). In all, social network platforms constitute new spaces for information sharing and bringing together new networks for action, utilizing (shared) user-generated content (Montgomery 2007; Vromen 2007).

Less Confined and Critical Public Sphere

Social media acted as effective tools for providing a virtual public space for assembly, serving as a public arena where citizens could discuss political, social and cultural affairs to bring about political change. Through social media the public sphere has become less confined, critical and vibrant. This is because social media provide an unrestricted form of participation, open new spaces for active citizenship, and enhance opportunities for political expression. This emerging trend of public sphere is increasingly becoming a catalyst for igniting political revolts. For example, with social media, it has become possible for citizens to self-propel public mobilization against their governments. Audiences are today cognizant that they possess the power to mobilize themselves on behalf of political causes (Kaplan & Blakley 2009). This is about what Jakubowicz (2007, p. 137) labels the 'appearance of alternative and opposition public spheres.' This unprecedented decentralization of information and communication brought by social media has empowered citizens and enabled marginalized people to express themselves by utilizing independent channels to voice their opinions and join virtual activism, and thereby taking part directly or indirectly in social changes. According to el-Nawawy and Khamis (2009), social media empowered activists to share ideas with others globally, creating a 'virtual global public sphere', where acts of political resistance could be proliferated and supported internationally. Moreover, in these less-confined political spaces, a myriad of public affairs were debated by young citizens and tech-savvy activists reflecting an unprecedented diversity: secularists, islamists, nationalists, leftists, liberalists, and feminists (see Khamis 2011). Overall, the Egyptian political change revealed the potential of independent and politically vocal non-mainstream social media in the creation of a vibrant civil society, which set the grounds for the success of the revolution.

Citizen Journalism

In the Egyptian revolution, social media was instrumental in promoting citizen journalism as new form of reporting on revolution events. They provided a platform for minute-by-minute citizen journalism, where Egyptian citizens contributed to the news by expressing themselves and reporting their own versions of ground reality - revolution events - using powerful new means in more creative ways, e.g. posting pictures, videos and commentary, as well as disseminating information to different media outlets. Social media avenues offered ‘forums for ordinary citizens to document the protests; to spread the word about ongoing activities; to provide evidence of governmental brutality; and to disseminate their own words and images to...the outside world through both regional and transnational media’ (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 1). Also, activists were tweeting to the international media as well as to the world (Idle & Nunns 2011). In other instances, the Egyptian protesters tweets were picked up by journalists and re-tweeted by them, which appears to have marked the emergence of a new form of reporting seen as a form of citizen journalism (Bohler-Muller & van der Merwe 2011). In all, citizen journalism is a promising new breed of news-making that has been advocated by various scholars (Reich 2008). It is moreover worth pointing out that, as expressed by Nip (2006), the people’s participation and what they produce in terms of citizen journalism are expected to contribute to an informed democracy and citizenry. Through social media citizen journalists tell their own stories, and that these patterns of political expression are crucial in the development of democratic discourses (Howard 2011).

2.3. Social Media as Agents of Social Change

Social media will continue to play the role of ‘agents of continuity and change’ (Vartanova 2008, p. 24) and ‘a sustainer of the status quo’ (Khamis 2011), yet must be reinforced by broad political awareness, democratic civic culture, organized leaderless movements, and vibrant civil society. Hafez 2008, p. 4) states: ‘[w]inning the media contest is not enough for the transformation of political systems—new Arab media have to be followed by new political and social movements’ However, the flame of activism via social media that sparked the Egyptian political change was not

extinguished upon the end of dictatorship regime; indeed it is still glowing based on adequate evidence, as public affairs are still being discussed and debated in online platforms (Khamis 2011). The post-social change phase in Egypt is heralding a major restructuring process of media landscape that mirrors political transformations (Khamis 2011). It is likely that the strategic use of social media might transform them into a sustainable driving force for major structural political reforms. To continue a successful use of social media by the public for instigating change and, to democratize the fruits of technology, social media tools must be tailored for wider accessibility (see Brisson & Panthea 2011). Regardless, a new era has started with citizens becoming ‘watchdog’, in ‘which technology can contribute to socio-political change’ (Bohler-Muller & van der Merwe 2011, p. 7).

2.4. Skepticism on the Role of Social Media in Political Change

Notwithstanding the recognition of the potential and role of social media in the Arab Spring, there is still some skepticism, incredulity and misunderstanding surrounding their role and impact on social and political change. There is little uncertainty surrounding the role of social media in the revolutions that have struck the Arab world (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011). Scholars need to advance ‘a theoretical framework that could integrate and contrast findings and conclusions from different studies, as well as advance a shared pursuit toward understanding the role of these technologies for collective action’ (Ibid, p. 1208). As one implication of a lack of research, scholars still speculate whether social media outweigh socio-political factors, constitute only part of a complex and intertwined set of factors, or/and are vehicles for empowerment. It is indeed argued that the Egyptian revolution was fundamentally powered by people and driven by the socio-political and economic conditions in which they were living. The political reform was the result of the merger of the strong public will and determination of Egyptian activists and citizens for political change with the effective use of social media (Khamis 2011). As argued by Iskander (2011, cited in Khamis & Vaughn 2011), the Egyptian revolution would have never succeeded without the power and determination of protesters to act, organize, and mobilize on the streets. Public will mobilized through social media ‘crystallizes around a social condition that is recognized as problematic; it coalesces into a collective consensus about how the problem can and should be ameliorated; and it

can erupt, through coordination of resources and collective resolve, into social action' (Salmon, Fernandez & Post 2010, p.159). In a nutshell, other socio-political and cultural factors were as significant to the development of political events which ignited the revolution. Adding to the intensity of political climate are the geographical factors: the location of Tahrir Square in the heart of Cairo and the proximity of Egypt being with Tunisia (Eltanatawy & Wiest 2011), in addition underemployment and poverty. Indeed, to satisfy basic needs was becoming increasingly challenging for Egypt's poor (Hassan 2011). All these factors were contributory to the development and success of the revolution.

Furthermore, 'new Arab media should be preceded by active social and political movements if they are to have an impact on transforming and liberalizing the societies to which they belong' (Khamis 2011, p. 1166). Lynch (2011) contends that Egypt enjoyed a much more lively and vibrant communication environment over the last decade, where many active political groups were already expressing their discontent with the government. In relation to this, as claimed by some Egyptian political activists 'the Egyptian revolution was already being planned for a long time ago' and many protest movements had been called in Egypt - were already active in the Egyptian political arena - due to the corruption, dictatorship, and economic distress (Khamis 2011; Khamis & Vaughn 2011), but Egyptian people 'failed to bring about real change because they could not achieve public will mobilization on a massive scale' (Khamis 2011, p. 1164). Further, on the specificity of social media to the Egyptian revolt, Sreberny (2008) argues for the need to investigate the dynamics of political change, whether belonging to inside, or coming from outside, the region. In relation to this argument, Khamis (2011) suggests that researchers must account for the intricacy and uniqueness of each country and account for the multiplicity of factors influencing media landscape in the hope of advancing future comparative media research.

Chapter Three

3. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is articulated within the field of discourse analysis of media texts based on the approach to, and the objective of, this thesis. The typical terminology involves such key concepts as discourse and episteme, discursive practice, media texts and truth claims, discourse and representations, subjects, and ideology.

3.1. Social Media for Social Change as a Discourses

The role in social and political processes and their significance in each society, as well as their impacts worldwide have been a subject of interest to scholars and academicians of different orientations, as well as a center of focus for policy makers, politicians, the public, and other stakeholders. There is an intense debate on social media as a new emerging phenomenon, especially in relation to social change. The new emerging discourse on social media for political change is increasingly becoming public and taking the form of planned and organised processes of discussion in political arenas for it is of interest to the public, and thus people talk and write about it. Discourses are public, planned and organised discussion processes, which refer to topics of public interest and concern (Keller et al. 2001). It is in turn informing or changing other discourses such as political discourse and social change discourse.

Like all discourses, the discourse on focus involves different views that are interrelating and influencing each other. Essentially, within the social media for social change discourse one may discern between the ‘media discourse’, which is the focus in this thesis, ‘social discourses’ such as the ‘socio-technological discourse’, and socio-political discourse, and other discourses that involve ideas at variance with a specific discourse. There is also a public discourse, an inter-discourse, which comprises the media discourse, but also parts of the social, the technological and the

discourses differing from the main discourse, constituting various texts - discourse fragments - that are accessible by the public at large in relation to the discussions of the role of social media in political change.

3.2. Disocurse - Theoretical Perspectives

The thesis is concerned with a critical reading of the discourse on social media for social change. In relation to the term 'discourse' Michel Foucault is often mentioned. His theoretical work and empirical research on discourse is of significant contribution to the field of social and cultural inquiry. Clearly, Foucault's theories have 'numerous implications for scholars of the...media and, indeed, those concerned with the thesis of the wider social world'. (Hobbs 2008, p. 8) It is the discussion of discourse in Foucault's work that bares the most relevance for understanding and examining media texts (Ibid).

3.2.1. Discourse and Episteme

Discourses are broad patterns of systems of statements that are taken up in particular discussions (Fairclough 1995). In the context of media text, Van Dijk (2005) proposes that the discourse is a communicative event that happens in a social situation, presents a scenario, involves participants who played different roles, and determines some actions. Given the emphasis in this thesis on ideology, ideological standpoints, discourse concerning a group of ideological statements can be described as patterns of representation developed socially to generate and circulate a set of norms or values which serve the interests of particular groups in society (Fiske 1987) or legitimize and reproduce power (Fairclough 1995). A discourse is as 'a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)' (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 1).

Discourse is described as a set of statements for talking about or discussing a particular topic at a particular historical epoch and is the condition for social practice and action (Foucault 1972, cited in Hall 1997, p. 44). In short, discourses set the frames for meaning and practice. It is the construction

of discourse as a process where social reality is constructed through a symbolic system. The constitution of the social world occurs through the processes of text production and consumption – discursive practice (see below). In this work, it is the discourse of social media for social change which provide a particular way of talking about, representing and understanding the social world.

Furthermore, episteme has a specialized sense for Foucault (1972), meaning that the historical *a priori* (*a priori* knowledge as independent of experience) constitutes the basis of knowledge and its discourses and thus provide the condition of their possibility within a particular period of history. Episteme entails a body of systems of thoughts which establishes the space whereby new ideas could materialize (e.g. social media for social change), perhaps to dissolve and then cease to exist soon afterwards (Ibid). Foucault's episteme is confined to a wider range of discourses, signifying that all social constructions of knowledge fall under the episteme of an epoch. The configuration of knowledge in a particular episteme is grounded on a set of assumptions and claims that are basic to that episteme. Within the episteme of this era, the discourse of social media for social change has recently emerged during, and become public in the aftermath of, the Arab Spring event.

3.2.2. Discourse Practice

Discourse practice is ‘viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the *constitution* of the social world including social identities and social relations. It is partly through discursive practices in everyday life (processes of text production and consumption) that social and cultural reproduction and change take place’ (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 61). It entails the processes of knowledge production, distribution and consumption (reception and interpretation). This applies to media texts reporting on the role of social media in processes of political transformation. Fairclough and Wodak (2000) define discourse as an interactive process that includes, besides the text, the production process of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation of which the text is a resource. In the production of media text, there is usually an intention to influence how people can perceive and act towards topics. ‘...At the *global level* of discourse, *topics* may influence what people see as the most important information of text or talk,

and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models'; expressing topics 'in a headline in news may powerfully influence how an event is defined in terms of a "preferred" mental model...' (van Dijk 1998, p. 358)

3.2.3. Media Texts and Truth Claims

A discourse determines what is true and false, and thus truth is discursively constructed, which implies that there is no universal truth, rather truth and its effects are created within discourse. This is one of Foucault's main arguments in his archeological work. In relation to this, one of the main premises of social constructionist is that our view and understanding of the world are not reflections of reality, and thus should not be treated as objective truths, but rather they are products of discourse (Burr 1995). This applies to all media texts as discourses. Although Foucault's analysis of truth, discourse and the subject focused on institutional settings, his theories are also of equal relevance to the media organisation and the news room (Hobbs 2008) '...Journalists profess to impart social truths, operating within the context of a professional code that values 'objectivity', 'balance' and the 'public interest'. Such a code is, of course, a discourse, which influences the manner in which events, objects and things are represented by the media text. Other discourses will also shape the textual form a particular 'news event' will take, with the journalist interpreting the 'truth' of a news event through a particular discursive way-of-seeing. Thus media texts are replete with the discourses that surround and define the events being represented, and they are the material/symbolic results of a discursive practice. As such, media texts, despite the professional code of the journalist, can make only a tentative claim to truth (in the absolute sense), as truth can never be captured and represented in its pure, multi-dimensional form by the limited symbolic constraints of discourse and the limited physical constraints of the medium.' (Ibid, p. 11) This relates to Foucault's implications for understanding representation and the subjects.

3.2.4. Subjects

Foucault argues that subjects are created in discourses. The argument ‘the death of the subject’ is ‘that people are not really free to think and act, because they - and their ideas and activities - are produced by the structures (social, political, cultural) in which they live’ (Danaher et al. 2000, p. 8). Kvale (1992, p. 36) state: ‘The self no longer uses language [discourse] to express itself; rather language speaks through the person. The individual self becomes a medium for the culture and its language.’ As echoed by Hall (1997, cited in Hobbs 2008, p. 12): ‘It is discourse, not the subject who speak it, which produces knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation, the regime of truth, of a particular period and culture. This subject of discourse ‘cannot be outside discourse, because it must be subjected to discourse. It must submit to its rules and conventions, to its dispositions of power/knowledge. The subject can become the bearer of the kind of knowledge which discourse produces. It can become the object through which power is relayed. But it cannot stand outside power/knowledge as its source and author.’

3.2.5. Discourse and Representations

Representation refers to ‘the embodying of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted’ (Hall 1997, p 10) as signifiers in the context of cultural circuits. Hence, human knowledge and understanding is socio-culturally constructed. This is one of Foucault (1973)’s assertions as to the representational of knowledge. This argument relates to constructionist view in that we are fundamentally cultural beings and our views of the world are the ‘products of historically situated interchanges among people’ (Gergen 1985, p. 267). Consequently, the ways in which we represent the world are culturally specific and contingent (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002). In this context, the discourse on social media for social change is concerned with discursive representations and the socio-cultural context that shape and form such representations. Foucault’s concern for discourses, among others, helped to link ‘culture’ to ‘representation’ to the media texts which represent the world in the information age (Hobbs 2008).

3.2.6. Power as Constitutive and Constraining Force

Following Foucauldian thinking, power is considered to be productive and constraining. The idea is that power operates at all levels of society, circulating in different directions. According to Foucault's theory of power/knowledge, power is, in common with discourse, spread across different social practices and thereby doesn't belong to particular agents, such as social structures or groups with particular interests (Phillips and Jørgensen 2002). In this sense, power has a constitutive force. Foucault states: 'What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.' (Foucault 1980, p. 119) In relation to this study, as to the constitutive power of the discourse of social media for social change, it can be difficult to picture the recent Egyptian revolution without social media discourse. The power of this discourse provide the space for the political transformation to become possible to occur and eventually sustain in Egypt. In other words, the power of social media for social change creates particular ways of viewing and representing the political reality. Phillips and Jørgensen (2002, p. 14) state: 'Power is responsible both for creating our social world and for the particular ways in which the world is formed and be talked about; ruling out alternative ways of being and talking. Power is thus both a productive and constraining force.'

3.3. Ideology

Ideology is a core theory in discourse analysis, especially when dealing with media discourse. Ideology can be viewed as a way of representing the world. In this sense, our views of the world are ideologically and symbolically constructed. Ideology is considered to be a multidimensional concept. It has normative and political dimension. Van Dijk describes ideology as '... the basis of the social representations shared by members of groups. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, *for them*, and to act accordingly' (Van Dijk 1998b, p. 8). This connotation relates to

more judgment and values, which is of relevance to this thesis. From a political perspective, ideology is viewed as ‘the groundwork for the most fundamental political standings - how should society be organized, what is the role of the state, what kind of government is desirable (Carvalho 2000, p. 26). ‘Political reading’ recognises that politics is not natural, but ‘contingent, plural and conflictual’ Carver and Hyvarinen (1997, p. 6).

Different theorists (e.g., Thompson 1993; Fairclough & Wodak 2000; Van Dijk 2005) have approached the links between media, power, and ideology in contemporary societies, identifying multiple strategies usually employed by the media to serve the power, either explicitly or through of linguistic practices in disguise. Moreover, according to Martín Serrano (1993), the media institutions interpret the world through socially constructing stable meaning by providing its public tools and frameworks and even being able to integrate contradictions within the discourses of dominant ideologies.

Chapter Four

4. Research Methodology

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

4.1. Discourse Analysis Method

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

In this thesis, discourse analysis is employed as a tool to examine a set of selected media texts reporting on the role of social media in social change, in particular in relation to the political transformation that took place in Egypt. Discourse analysis has been adopted as a research methodology in a variety of disciplines including, media and communication studies and culture studies. Writings on discourse analysis as a research methodology has increased in the recent years (see Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, Hall 1997; Fairclough 1995). It refers to the study of diverse bodies of knowledge, an approach to deconstructing the written or spoken language attached to a given type of social practice. According to Phillips and Jørgensen (2002, p. 1), discourse analysis entails the analysis of the patterns ‘people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life.’ Fairclough and Wodak (2000) describe it as the examination of the relation between the discourse itself and the surrounding social practices. It ought to reveal something about the way social action (e.g. media discourse) is shaped through a discourse. In relation to this, media texts, and what they construct as discursive truths, may have a certain effect on the recipients’ perceptions and actions. According to Terre Blache and Durrheim (1999), the authors of texts often seek, either explicitly or implicitly, to do a number of

things simultaneously: motivate the reader to act in a particular way or advance a particular ideology. It is assumed that discourse analysis of such texts can give important clues for the intentions of the authors and their ideological statement. Accordingly, discourse analysis aims, in this thesis, to reveal how the language is used by the authors of media texts to achieve different intentional effects. Moreover, this thesis is concerned with micro and macro perspectives: micro concerns analyzing debates or discussions to reveal socio-psychological characteristics of the author, such as intention and motivation, while macro focuses on ideologies by digging under the surface of the author's views. Overall, discourse analysis allows for examining how media texts are constructed as well as the intersection between discourse, subjects and ideology.

4.2. The Corpus: Sampling and Selection Criteria

The corpus of media texts is based on purposive rather than random sampling. It consists of articles reporting on the role of social media in to the Egyptian revolution and political change. These articles are published in international newspapers in 2011, more specifically, during and after the revolution – from late January till September, 2011. This period heralded a proliferation of media production and writing on the topic. This implies that there was a cornucopia of articles that were published in online national and international newspapers given the global nature of the Arab Spring event, writing about the topic from different perspectives depending, for example, on the journalists' background and ideological belonging and news media organizations and where they are based, as well as in different contexts (e.g. social, cultural, political, religious, historical and a combination of these). The focus in this thesis is on political context, in particular the role of social media in political change. However, there can still be a huge number of online media articles on this regard to select from, but because of the space and time restrictions I adopted a set of criteria to set the limits of the corpus to be examined while I am aware that this approach has implication for b the outcome of the thesis as to particularly leaving out or excluding some aspects of fundamental relevance in relation to the phenomenon under examination, by selecting only a unit of 6 items and basing the selection on a few criteria. That being said to select the texts, techniques such as computer searching on keywords are used, such as social media, political change, Egyptian revolution, Facebook, social change processes, and the combination

of theses. The unit of analysis - 6 items - includes news reports published in the online edition of different newspaper magazines. The concrete empirical focus of this thesis is on quality international newspapers: CNN, the Washington Post, New Middle East, and EMAJ Magazine and Doha Center for Media Freedom. News articles should contain reliable, undistorted news and strive to be unbiased.

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

Up to this point, I circumscribed the empirical data to be examined. It is now important to decide how such data is going to be examined in order to answer the research questions. Discourse analysis offers a wide variety of analytical techniques for construing media texts and their relation to social contexts.

4.3. Analytical Techniques – Six Stages

Broadly, under the label of discourse analysis there is a vast number of research approaches. The aims and conceptual tools of different research endeavours vary widely, with important consequences for the outcomes of research. Discourse analysis does not constitute a single unitary approach, but rather a constellation of different approaches (Lea 1996). There are therefore no standard approaches to examining texts, but rather a variety of ways of how to proceed. As stated by Phillips and Jørgensen 2002, p.1), there is no clear consensus as to how to analyze discourses (texts) and 'different perspectives offer their own suggestions'. Accordingly, in this thesis, I intend to adopt a discourse

analysis approach that incorporates different analytical tools based on different perspectives with the aim to bring new insights to the analysis, drawing on different authors who have contributed to the field of discourse analysis of media texts, namely Carvahlo (2000) who draws mainly on Fairclough (1995) and Van Dijk (1985, 1988a, 1988b). Accordingly, I set out six stages in the analysis of discourse, encompassing: (1) surface descriptors and structure, (2) objects (3) social actors, (4) language and rhetoric, (5) framing, and (6) ideological standpoints.

4.3.1. Surface Descriptors and Structure

This stage looks at some surface elements of the text - the date of publication, the online newspaper in which it was published, the author and the size of the article. These indicators say something by themselves. For instance, the size of most articles clearly expresses an online newspaper's valorization of the event at stake. Regarding the authors of articles - journalists, identifying information on their standings, institutional belonging and ideological commitments can help locate the text in a certain context; however, this should not pre-judge the text because of who wrote it (Carvahlo 2000).

Furthermore, according to Carvalho (2000, p. 21), 'the structural organization of the text has a key role in the definition of what is at stake, as well as in the overall interpretation of an issue'. Drawing on van Dijk (1985), I will weigh the headline of the articles differently from the body. The headline marks the preferred reading of all articles. A bigger weigh will also be conferred to the first few paragraphs of the articles, which, in the CNN, the Washington Post, Times, the New Middle East, tend to have the function of the lead. Some theorists (like van Dijk 1985,) believe that an exploration of the organization of the text can be much revealing. This is of particular relevance to the articles covered in this study.

4.3.2. Objects

This stage identifies the discursive objects - topics - and the ways in which they are constructed in the text. This concerns more specifically what and how the journalists construct realities at stake in relation to the role of social media for political change. Discursive objects are not always explicit; hence,

identifying them, especially the implicit ones, 'is an important step towards deconstructing and understanding the role of discourses' (Carvahlo 2000, p. 22). Moreover, the discursive objects in a text should be linked to research focus and aim: focusing on the relevant discursive themes.

4.3.3. Social Actors

This stage involves identifying key social actors, as well as how they are represented in the text. As pointed out by Fairclough (1995b), the text plays an important role in representing social actors and in defining their identities and relations. In this thesis, the actors involve both individual and collective actors that are either quoted or referred to in the text. They usually operate as 'voices' (Fairclough 1995) or sources for the author of the text. In the context of this thesis, various actors have worked as sources for the author of the article. In media discourse, some social actors may dominate with their perspective compared to others in terms of shaping the meaning in the text. Carvalho (1999, 2000) calls this effect the 'framing power' of social actors in relation to the media. Having the predominant framing power in relation to a certain issue is an important form of social influence' (Ibid, p. 23)

4.3.4. Language and Rhetoric

This stage touches upon specific aspects of language. It involves looking at the writing style (i.e. informal, conversational) and the terminology used for representing a certain reality (Carvahlo 2000), that is, in this case, the vocabulary (i.e. verbs and adjectives) used for constructing the role of social media in political transformation.

Rhetoric denotes the use of language effectively. It is concerned with persuasive moves through such devices as metaphors, hyperbolic enhancements, quoting credible sources, and other rhetorical figures employed in the text. In media discourse, persuasion is tied in with such issues as 'truthfulness, plausibility, correctness, precision, or credibility' (van Dijk, 1988, p. 93, cited in Carvalho 2000). In this section of the analysis, both journalists' and other social agents' constructions are covered.

4.3.5. Framing as Discursive Strategy

This stage looks at framing as a discursive strategy. Discursive strategies are, according to Carvalho (2000), the forms of discursive manipulation of reality, in the sense of the author or journalist intervening on such a reality to achieve particular intentional effects, which is more or less conscious. They are described, according to Wodak (1999, p. 188), as ‘plans of actions that may vary in their degree of elaboration, may be located at different levels of mental organization, and may range from automatic to highly conscious.’ This thesis focuses mainly on framing as power (discussed above) and process. Framing entails organizing discourse according to a certain perspective, which is usually articulated in the author’s attempting to choose a particular angle of the complex reality (Carvalho 2000). Framing is one of the main characteristics of discourse (see Fuchs-Heinritz 1995; Hobbs 2008). It is inherent to the construction of texts. In the production of texts, framing involves composition - the arrangement of facts, opinions, and value judgments in order to produce a certain meaning - and selection - an exercise of inclusion and exclusion of these elements (Carvalho 2000). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) suggest various ‘framing devices’, which ‘suggest how to think about the issue’, and different ‘reasoning devices’ which ‘justify what should be done about it’. The framing devices include metaphors, catchphrases and depictions, and the reasoning devices involve consequences and appeals to moral principle.

4.3.6. Ideological Standpoints

Ideology is an inherent part of texts; it significantly influences the patterns underlying the way in which the text is formulated and its meaning is constructed in most of its dimensions. It indeed, shapes ‘the selection and representation of objects, actors, the language, and the discursive strategies employed in a text. However, one should expect the ideological standpoints of an author not to be always explicit in the text; identifying them often requires a good deal of interpretive work’ (Carvalho 2000, p. 26). Fairclough (1995, p. 14) maintains that ‘... ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination’. Moreover, ideology is linked to the

reproduction of power (Ibid). As to the definition of ideology - normative and political dimensions, see the section on ideology in the conceptual framework chapter.

4.4. Methodological Reflections

Discursive research is concerned with the interpretation and deduction of how meaning is constructed in a particular context, which raises the questions about the researcher's role, preconceptions, and subjectivism. It is impossible for a discourse analyst to be neutral, because he/she is part of a social, cultural and historical context (Zeeman 2000). This relates to the constructivist view that reality is *socially* constructed, that is, the constructions are not personal (Dahlbom 1992). The construction process involves other social and cultural artifacts and therefore inevitably becomes social. 'The researcher always takes a position in relation to the field of study, and that position plays a part in the determination of what he or she can see and can present as results. And there are positions in terms of which reality would look different. But that doesn't mean that all research results are equally good.' (Phillips & Jorgensen 2002, p. 22) In all, the text's context involves the analyst, and hence he/she should consider his/her role in relation to the text. Analysts choose certain texts, and decide how to analyse them because they want to achieve certain effects (Terre Blache & Durrheim, 1999). Additionally, because 'analysts are often part of the culture under study, they share many of the taken-for-granted understanding, common sense expressed in the material' (Phillips & Jorgensen 2002, p. 21), which has implication for the examination of the research material. An appropriate way, which makes it difficult, is precisely to investigate such understanding, focusing the analysis on how statements are constructed in a way that reflects a true image of reality, and others don't (Ibid). Moreover, the analyst must '... try to extract him/herself from living in culture, [but] to reflect on culture' (Terre Blache & Durrheim 1999, p. 11). Through cultural reflexivity and self-awareness about potential cultural repercussions, the researcher can reduce cultural biases. Further to this point and at different level, discourse analysis theory emphasizes the understanding of context, socio-cultural situativity, of the text prior to immersing in its analysis. In this case, a discourse analyst must distance him/herself from the text.

Another issue associated with discourse analysis is subjectivity, a question which applies to all methods, not just to the discourse analysis and other qualitative approaches. It is argued that in discourse analysis, there is no point in trying to establish validity or objective sense, as all the analyst does is to interpret his/her views, which renders the research somehow biased and to his/her values. This relates to constructivist view that realities are actively constructed. It is based on the actor and his values that social reality can be constituted (Guba & Lincoln 1994). The objective, value-free actor does not exist, which implies the relevance for questioning the trustworthiness of analysis, and thus research results. This corollary is an unconscious practice where one's pre-conceptions become inevitable. Drawing on Bourdieu and Wacquant, what is at issue is the process of classification, by which 'naturalized pre-constructions' generate a particular 'vision' of the world (Fairclough 2003). Hence, the discursive work should always be open for re-interpretation and counter interpretation. While the reliability of one's research and findings relies on the reason of personal perspectives and arguments, the well-substantiated arguments tend still to have concrete applications (Palmquist 1999). In all, acknowledging the researcher's role in the interpretation is important as the discourse analysis may construe or read texts differently based on their own views. In relation to this, discourse analysis privileges and acknowledges researcher's interpretation which silences possible others (Frost et al. 2010). But it is important to be aware of such subjectivity in the effort to avoid biases; otherwise, it might have implication for the outcomes of research, e.g. weak analytical account. Self-reflexivity translates to reducing biases, by evaluating the quality of the research and the reliability of findings.

Overall, one sound approach to go about when undertaking discourse analysis is use theoretical perspectives to generate well-founded arguments. 'It is by seeing the world through a particular theory that we can distance ourselves from some of our taken-for-granted understanding and subject our material to other questions than we would be able to do from an everyday perspective' (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, p. 22)

Chapter Five

5. Analysis of Media Texts

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

5.1. Surface Descriptors and Structural Organization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The headline and the first few paragraphs highlight the central role of social media in revolution and in political transformation in Egypt. This is meant to influence mental and social models, in a way to encourage certain interpretations. Discourse structure is likely to influence the formation of mental models and social representations (van Dijk 1998). As evident from the titles, the event is headlined and topicalized to primarily convey that the Egyptian revolution was a social-media revolution, in reference particularly to Facebook and Twitter. This is the common meaning and critical information upon which most of the articles converge and recipients perceive.

5.2. Objects/Topics

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

Implicit objects in the articles are:

- The Egyptian revolution would have not taken place without social media;
- Social media companies indirectly contributed to bringing about democratic reforms and political transformations;

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

5.3. Social Actors

Social agents include: media consultants, media companies, journalists, authors, experts, Egyptian citizens and protesters, cyber-activists, Facebook, Twitter, Google, YouTube, Tunisian protesters, etc. The vast majority of these actors are social media companies, newspaper magazines, and witnesses, which hints at the sources favored by the journalists and the framing patterns pursued by the articles of the respective event. Most of these actors have worked as sources for the journalists. It is useful to account for the social actors' intervention and the journalists' intervention as two levels of discursive intervention over the issue at stake. This applies, in varying degree, to most articles, but the newspaper article written by Sutter (2011) is a typical example that shows the intervention of social actors. This is illustrated by the quotations below:

Sutter (2011) refers to *Navid Hassanpour* in relation to the argument that runs counter to what Wael Ghonim, quoted by many journalists, claims: 'If you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet.'

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

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

What is worth to mention in the depiction of social actors in most of the articles is: the repetitive references to Facebook, Twitter, Wael Ghonim as a witness, and other (partner) newspaper magazines

and the highlight given to construct the image of these actors. All this shows the significance of these actors in framing and defining the politically represented reality. Theirs is the prevailing framing of the articles, especially 1, 2, 3, and 4.

5.4. Language and Rhetoric

In the articles, choice of language and rhetoric formations overall give a positive representation of the role of social media in the Egyptian revolution to the extent that it is described as an e-revolution in some instance.

5.4.1. Topicalization

A choice of words implies positive evaluations of social media. The headlines' expressions 'Facebook revolution', 'a force for political change in Egypt', 'A social media revolution' and 'Egypt's revolution media' strongly promote Facebook.

The importance of the social media in the Egyptian revolution is reinforced by repeatedly classifying it as Facebook- or Twitter- revolution several times in the first four articles.

5.4.2. Rhetorical Figures

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

The metaphor like 'if the *pen* - or the click - is mightier than the *sword*, then social media...technology represent a new and welcome way forward in the Middle East' (Ghannam 2011) enhances the role of social media. The extent to which social media may be adopted by citizens as soft means for political purposes differ from a country to another based on the access and use of social media. Indeed, while

Egyptians managed to revolt, other countries, e.g. Syria and Yemen, are still struggling to win their battles against their dictators, using traditional means to face dictatorship.

The metaphor 'let their [people] resentment *simmer* for a few decades. But that doesn't mean social media cannot provide wavering revolutionaries with vital aid and comfort' (Taylor 2011) emphasizes that although the will of the people is vital ingredient in revolution, it takes a quite some time until the revolt bursts out; but with social media, the revolution can be accelerated. However, the causal interpretation: social media leads to revolution, may not always be the case for some countries. In other words, social media is not what is taken for - wavering revolutionaries. Libya and Syria are two examples where social media were and are, respectively, of inconsequentiality compared to Egypt.

Another metaphor is 'Consider what Facebook is: It's the internet, refined and focused like *a laser beam* that bounces off you and your acquaintances with unsurpassed speed' (Ibid), which enhances the distinctive features of Facebook.

The metaphors in 'social networking also became the *weapon* of choice in the *war* of words between dictatorships and dissenters' (Al-Atraqchi 2011) boosts up the symbolic power of social media to resist regimes. Another metaphor in 'Keeping a *beady eye* on who said what to whom in this *cacophony* [of viewpoints that explode out of the briefest statements on Facebook] could take a lifetime' implies that it is hard to spy on, or infiltrate what, citizens say on Facebook pages. Many people do not see social media as a secure means to communicate, given the Egyptian government's history of surveillance, which is a problem that is facing digital media (Khamis & Vaughn 2011). Critics argue that social media tools can produce as much good to any process of democratization as they can produce harm, which stems from 'the fact that authoritarian states are gaining increasingly sophisticated and more technologically advanced means of monitoring and interdicting social media tools and shutting down communications networks to deny dissidents the opportunity and resources to coordinate and broadcast information about events in real time' (Bohler-Muller & van der Merwe 2011, p. 6).

Below are a set of quotations that indicate overstatement and understatement as rhetorical moves:

‘Few can deny that social media has enabled the most significant advance in freedom of expression and association in contemporary Arab history.’ Ghannam (2011)

‘Internet freedom’ resulting from cyber-utopism should not be taken for granted. Moreover, one should be specific on what country is the case here, as social media are not equally used and allowed in all Arab countries due to the differences in media landscape, the civic culture, and the structure of power. The preconditions of democratization - vibrant political parties, structural reform, freedom of speech, an active civil society (see Hallin & Mancini 2004) - differ from one country to another.

‘So perhaps there is one reason not to call events in Egypt and its ilk a Facebook revolution. The real Facebook revolution is global, and it’s only just getting geared up.’ (Taylor 2011). Although the prominent role played by social media in the popular Arab uprisings has led to the dubbing of the catchphrase “Social Media Revolution”, sceptics ‘argue that some Western policy-makers may be hamstrung by a cyber-utopian view that regards the Internet as inherently pro-democratic’ (Breuer 2011, p. 1)

‘While social media is *not necessary* for organizing revolutions it served three important functions leading up to the Egyptian Revolution. It aided in building a politically conscious civil society..., it lowered the threshold for engaging in political dissent by providing a relatively anonymous space for political debate in a country that outlaws gatherings of five or more people, and it allowed organizers to plan protests more easily and anonymously.’ (Baiasu 2011) The journalist seems to understate the effect of social media. If social media can aid to do all the above, then it is necessary for organizing the Egyptian revolution, shaping most of the dynamics of the underlying processes.

Further the journalist states: ‘The importance of Facebook in the Egyptian Revolution lies in the events leading up to the Revolution.’ (Ibid) In fact, some argue that social media had further impacts. The Egyptian ‘revolution was characterized by the instrumental use of social media, especially Facebook..., to bring about political change and democratic transformation’ (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 1). This

implies that even after the revolution social media were deployed effectively as tools for protesters to enhance their agency and to exercise public will mobilization (Salmon, Fernandez & Post 2010). Indeed, the flame of activism via social media that sparked the Egyptian political change was not extinguished upon the end of dictatorship regime; there is adequate evidence to prove that it is still glowing, as public affairs are still being discussed and debated in online platforms (Khamis 2011). The debate on the recent constitutional referendum stormed in the blogosphere and the yes and no votes were almost even on Facebook (Global Voices 2011). ‘...every week sees the launch of new citizen-driven websites eager to provide an online meeting place for civic debate’ (Brisson & Panthea 2011, p. 17), ‘regardless of whether the activists can use it to sway opinions’ (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 19).

5.4.3. Quoting Credible Sources

Quoting credible witnesses, experts, scholars, consultant, students, editors-in-chief, and other sources is employed by most journalists to bring credibility and correctness to their statements.

‘Evgeny Morozov, a visiting *scholar* at Stanford University and author of the recent book "The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom," says dictators use digital communications to track and crack down on dissenters.’ (Sutter 2011)

In terms of witnesses, journalists quote, or refer to, Wael Ghonim, an Egyptian activist, with regard to the relationship between social media and internet and revolution and freedom.

To listen to...Google marketing executive Wael Ghonim - one of the *heroes* of the protest movement...the Egyptian revolution was born on Facebook...’ (Ghannam 2011)

‘Perhaps Wael Ghonim, the Google employee who helped organize Egypt's revolution 2.0 over Facebook, put words to this theory [That new-ish communications technologies -- from Facebook and Twitter...-- help people mobilize and revolt against governments] best...’ (Sutter 2011)

Ghannam (2011) and Sutter (2011) quote Wael Ghonim: 'I've always said that if you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet.'

'Nervana Mahmoud, an Egyptian *political blogger*, says that social media's main benefit is its capacity to raise awareness of multiple issues.' (Ibid)

'That [if you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet" is not true] is essentially the argument of Navid Hassanpour, a *political science graduate student at Yale*, who writes in a recent and *widely-talked-about* paper that social media actually hurts a particular group's chance of organizing a meaningful and successful revolution.' (Ibid)

'Most social media *experts* now find that global networks like Facebook, Twitter...help identify a trend of...virtual gathering places for ideologies and people.' (Al-Atraqchi 2011)

'"It[Facebook]'s an unrestricted meeting place of sorts for ideas that would normally be exchanged in violation of that country's emergency law," says Ahmed Fahad, a *consultant* on social media and the former editor at TheNextWeb.com.' (Ibid)

The journalist implicitly point to the role of social media in citizen journalism, by quoting, Rania Al Malky, an *editor-in-chief* of The Daily News Egypt: "Social media has become a vital part of the news coverage, especially for small organizations such as ours where we don't have the kind of manpower to have our reporters covering everything that is happening"...She says that through social media, news organizations are able to use hundreds of thousands of followers on Twitter and Facebook "screening" the streets, passing along tips and information of what is happening, and offering different sides to the stories.' However, critics argue that civil journalism is associated with some drawbacks. Harper (2010) underlines the negative potential and limited ability of new media and citizen journalism, suggesting that these channels do not offer journalistic reported news content thus their credibility is always questionable. He further points out that there may be elements of biasness as bloggers and other communicators in this field focus on what interests them rather than on what's important for the public.

According to the journalist, quoting Al Malky, ‘vigorous fact-checking should be applied to information gathered via social networks’. Nevertheless, some views advocate for civil journalism - counter argument. Citizen journalism ‘is a promising new breed of news-making that has been championed by various scholars... as it grants ‘ordinary citizens a novel, hands-on role’ (Reich 2008, p. 739). In line with this, as noted by Rosen (1994, p. 18): ‘average citizens are capable of intelligent judgment, mature understanding, and rational choice if offered the opportunity; in other words, that democracy as ‘self-government’ is not a dream but a practical premise’.

5.5. Framing as Discursive Strategy

The quotations below illustrate how different journalists pursue framing, a process of exclusion and composition of facts and opinions, when constructing reality - the event of Egyptian revolution and political transformation.

‘But Hosni Mubarak’s departure from power...after three decades of rule showed that the power of social media sites...technology proved a far bigger threat to the former Egyptian president.’ (Ghannam 2011) The journalist overlooks other factors that were actually of significance to fuelling the revolution, leading to the end of the dictatorial regime. The role of social media is thus overstated to the extent that reflects ‘technological determinism,’ which ‘falls short in considering the social, cultural and economic contextual factors’ (Paulussen 2008, p. 28). Although it would have taken longer, it was still possible for the revolution to take place without social media (Iskander 2011, cited in Khamis & Vaughn 2011). In other words, ‘...it would be a mistake to characterize the uprising as a Facebook or Twitter revolution...these new media were nothing more than powerful tools and effective catalysts: social media were only effective because of the willingness of large numbers of people to physically engage in and support peaceful social protest...In short, social media were not causes of revolution, but vehicles for empowerment’ (Khamis & Vaughn 2011, p. 25).

‘Tech insiders tend to see the Internet and social media as democratizing forces...’ Sutter (2011)

'It is important to remember that [social] media ... may act as catalysts or stimulators of change and reform, one should be careful not to assign too much power to them in the transition toward democratization' (Khamis 2011, p. 1167-1168) The question to be asked is how social media can be employed to sideline existing policies on democracy promotion in a given society and let strategic choices be shaped accordingly; it is important to consider that different types of social media vary characteristically 'and that such variation translates into different opportunities and risks depending on the political context in which they are employed' (Breuer 2011, p. 1)

'Consider what else that makes Facebook: Democracy in action...' Taylor' (2011)

Besides, democracy is a quite fluid and contested concept. Democracy is not only about a cacophony of viewpoints that explode out of the briefest statements and toppling dictators and sparking change, as maintained by Taylor and Sutter. Democracy rather implies the access for citizens to policy decision and the ability to influence those decisions (Zittel 2007). According Lipset's (1959), deliberation, the consequence of citizens' participation in the process of the governance, is one of the key elements of democracy of any kind, which is not the case here in relation to the above quote.

Another attempt of framing reality is evident when Taylor (2011) argues that Facebook and Twitter constitute strong social ties, which are important to create revolutions. I argue that face-to-face communication and social gatherings are in decline probably because of the introduction of ICT in people's lives. Research shows that the stock of social capital - the very fabric of people's connections with each other - has plummeted, impoverishing people's communities. There is uncertainty surrounding the impact of social networking on reviving the lost social ties. It is argued that, new social trends, such as the emergence of individualism diversity, and mobility have enabled acceptance of new technologies, which had implications for the structure of groups and community.

'...easy access and lack of professionalism might make the online social media less professional than the institutional media... and erroneous news can be broadcast...' Solayman (2011) It is implicit that mainstream media epitomize professionalism and correctness. However, the functioning of these media

poses serious ethical issues that have more severe implications than broadcasting erroneous news. Experiences show that mainstream media cooperate with regimes, control people's mind, and swing facts. This relates to perpetuating power relations. According to Chomsky, the mainstream newspapers tend to be powerful companies allied to corporate power, which by extension guarantees strong alliances with the political power (Garcés 2007). According to Jarren (2008) among the paradigms that explain the relationship between the media and the power include: domination and dependence of politics on the media, and the symbiosis of the media and the power. Indeed, this is one of the reasons why Egyptians felt resentment towards the way the revolution was being covered in mainstream and state-owned media, which led to young activists launching their alternative media outlets using social networks. 'Despite the unanticipated loss of virtually all modern technological means of communication, protest organizers were able to bring out larger crowds than ever using flyers and leaflets, word of mouth, and mosques as centers for congregation.' (Baisau 2011)

Yes, when one channel of communication is blocked people resorted to mobile phones, handwritten placards, messages picked out in stones, and graffiti (Alexander 2011). However, the plan failed to stop the frustrating citizens from revolting, and it was difficult to stall the flow of information. Political activists and ordinary citizens resorted to other options to communicate so they could stay informed and get their message out as well as share their voices with the rest of the world by means of social media (Khamis 2011; Eltanatawy & Wiest 2011). People managed to access social media services through their mobile phones and turned to different third-party applications to tweet (Bohler-Muller & van der Merwe 2011). People managed to access social media services through their mobile phones and turned to different third-party applications to tweet (ibid). Some Egyptians managed to access Twitter by using proxies or landlines phones to ask friends abroad to tweet messages and to circumvent the control (Zirulnick 2011; Idle & Nunns 2011). This is not to say that the Egyptian revolution was a Facebook, but the valid point is that people would not have been able to stay informed and coordinate their collective actions without social media.

From a different angle, remaining on the social processes, one major event that marks the government's blackout was its backfire effect, manifested in strengthening the protesters' determination and

increasing the numbers of citizens joining the struggle. This might give additional credit to social media, as many analysts argue. The blackout enraged Egyptians who got accustomed to Internet access (Khamis 2011) that shaped their outlook and connections to one another and led to a sense of entitlement to Internet access, 'so much so that when this access was revoked they ended up flooding the streets' (Vila 2011). Thus 'the lack of information in the virtual world fuelled activism in the real world, instead of halting it' (Khamis 2011, p. 1166) All in all, social media triggered new dynamics of grassroots movements and boosted the morale of young citizens and activists in cyberspace as well as on the street.

A choice of facts is evident in the way this statement "If you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet" is constructed. It is in fact one of the most cited statement in the media. Reality is far more complicated than is usually portrayed by Wael Ghonim and supported by many journalists. This is a simplistic account of societal freedom. Revolutionary social changes cannot be solely promised on the basis of new technologies. This assumption advocates the technological deterministic. It only look at what is technological feasible and have a simplistic account of how political change occurs by ignoring the social, cultural and political dynamics involved in the revolt process, as elucidated above.

"Social media can act against grass roots mobilization," he [Navid Hassanpour] writes. "They discourage face-to-face communication and mass presence in the streets. Similar to more traditional and highly visible media, they create greater awareness of risks involved in protests, which in turn can discourage people from taking part in demonstrations." He uses mathematical models to map out why this was the case in Egypt.' (Sutter 2011) Many scholars (like Della Porta & Mosca 2005; Langman 2005; Wasserman 2007) though emphasize that social media, such as social networking sites, are deemed a critical new resource for the successful organization and implementation (mobilization) of social movements. As echoed by (Eltanatawy & Wiest 2011): 'what is perhaps most significant about the use of social media in the Egyptian revolution is how it changed the dynamics of social mobilization' by introducing speed that was lacking in the traditional mobilization techniques...'

What makes reality even oversimplified is the analogy provided by the journalist:

‘To put this in a pop-culture context, think about Facebook photos of your friends. To some degree, seeing what they’re up to all the time could stop you from actually meeting up with them in person to communicate.’ (Sutter 2011). The motivation of social interaction in this example is way far too different from that which drives people to revolt. The political reform was the result of the merger of the effective use of social media with the *strong public will and determination* of Egyptian activists and citizens for political change (Khamis 2011).

5.6. The Effect of Topicalization, Rhetoric, Quoting Credible Sources, and Framing

In terms of topicalization, the articles describe events in lower level details as a level of specificity, with the intention to influence perception. According to van Dijk (1993, p. 259), ‘semantic moves may directly facilitate the formation or change of social attitudes, or they may do so indirectly, that is, through the generalization or decontextualization of...models...of specific events’. Journalistic discourse uses, according to Litz (2005), language as a means to influence people - persuasion. As to quoting credible sources, in journalistic discourse, persuasion is tied in with such issues as ‘truthfulness, plausibility, correctness, precision, or credibility’ (van Dijk 1988a, p. 93). As far as rhetoric is concerned, it may be the case that the rhetorical figures - hyperboles and metaphors, preferentially affect the structure of mental or social models/representations or the formation of views embodied in such models (van Dijk 1993). In this sense, the articles operate in different socio-cultural contexts, and hence the meaning of what is being said about the role of social media for political change have particular influence on the mind of different recipients of the events (see van Dijk). However, there is always a limit as to influencing people’s perceptions, and therefore it is difficult to predict which features of the articles will have which impacts on the minds of online media recipients (ibid). The idea is that ‘once we have elementary insight into some of the structures of the mind, and what it means to control it, the crucial question is how discourse and its structures are able to exercise such control...such discursive influence may be due to *context* as well as to the *structures of text and talk themselves*.’ (van Dijk 1998, p.357-358). Throughout the articles, depending on the targeted audience, there are different mental models featuring beliefs conveyed implicitly. As regards to framing, it is inherent in the construction of texts. In this regard, Van Dijk (2005) doesn’t consider the

journalistic discourse as a mirror reflection of reality, but a form of construction of the social world that reproduce the relationships that exist in society. ‘What appears as a reality in newspapers... is inevitably a reconstruction of reality to suit the needs...of journalism’ (Altschull 1995, p. 30).

5.7. Ideological Standpoints

Ideologically, Baiasu’s article is on the side of Egyptian protests and ‘well-informed civil society’. Strong support to Egyptian activism is also evident when Baiasu awarded much space and highlight to talking about different social movements and how she connects them to the revolution:

‘...the Egyptian Revolution began on January 25, 2011 as an interaction between smaller organized groups, such as the April 6 Youth Movement, We are all Khalid Said, Justice and Freedom, Muslim Brotherhood youth, ElBaradei’s campaign, The Popular Democratic Movement for Change (HASHD), and The Democratic Front...’ (Baiasu 2001)

Likewise, Taylor’s and Al-Atraqchi’s article are clearly on the side of Facebook and Twitter.

Other journalists (in the remaining 3 articles) tend to balance between the role of Egyptian determination and will and that of social media in leading to the revolution.

A nationalistic or patriotic ideology seems to prevail based on the ideological and cultural background as well as the institutional belonging of the different journalists.

A support to the involvement of the USA in the Arab Spring is evident when Ghannam makes a reference to Washington as being part in the debates on the notion ‘Facebook Revolution’

Also, in Taylor’s article, there is a reference to Western revolution and the role the technology played in it. Also, he states: ‘We’ve been sharing instant messages, blog-like daily details and rants, and coordinating projects and meet-ups online since those Tahir Square kids were babes in arms.’

“People who are concerned about freedom and democracy and creating democratic values abroad -- those of us in the West who are concerned about that -- we are probably far better off assuming the worst,” he told CNN in February. “We are far better off assuming the Internet will strengthen dictators.” (Sutter 2011)

Ideology is also a way of representing the reality in correspondence with the interests of certain societal groups, such as Facebook, Twitter, Google, or individuals.

‘...Ghonim...said that more than 100 million Arabs - out of 351 million region-wide - are expected to be using the Internet by 2015...’ (Ghannam 2011)

Taylor (2011) says: ‘As Facebook continues to spread -- the trend line suggests it will reach 3 billion users, or roughly half the planet, by 2017 -- more and more monolithic cultures are in for a shock...True, not all of them are Middle East-style powder kegs.’

The journalist Al-Atraqchi, an associate professor of practice at the Journalism Department at the American University in Cairo quotes a student from same university: ‘Perhaps that [Providing a platform and protecting citizens] is what motivated Salma Hegab, a journalism and mass communication student..., to move the social interaction from the screen and onto the streets. The journalist provides a service to the student as a co-founded of Tweet Share3 initiative by awarding much space to describe what this initiative is about and its role in debating issues related to revolution and raising political awareness among citizens:

‘She [Salma Hegab] co-founded Tweet Share3, described as “an initiative by the people on Twitter with no political affiliation to take their activism out on the street and raise awareness of the people.”’

The general norms and values that underlie social beliefs may be organized in more intricate, abstract and basic ideologies in terms of what is wrong, right, and the case. Social representations are, according to Moscovici (1984) culture-specific, conventionalised by each society and attuned to its

values, and prescriptive, ‘that is they impose themselves upon us with an irresistible force. This force is a combination...of a tradition which decrees *what* we should think’.

5.8. Reflections on the Analysis

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

Chapter Six

6. Conclusions

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

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

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

The media discourse surrounding social media for political change is exclusionary. The event of the revolution and the reality of political change in Egypt is far more complicated than how is usually reconstructed – framed - by most journalists. A score of issues - facts and opinions - are concealed, neglected or excluded in the media representation of the role of social media for political change. Irrefutably, the dynamics and patterns of interaction and communication between and among people in a given society determine the behavioural patterns of how social change may evolve. Social media provide platforms whereby people can communicate, interact, exchange information, and discuss an array of societal issues, as well as plan, organize, and execute collective actions to ultimately bring about political change. Explicitly, the frustration and resentment of Egyptians coupled with the accessibility of new technologies made it possible for different groups to create cyberspaces to debate acute political issues, succeeding in attracting young citizens and political activists. With their unsurpassed technological and social potentialities, social media have given rise to new dynamics of collective behavior from grassroots, leaderless movements - loose networks of people - which were characterized by diffuse, bottom-up and horizontal structure, and they were difficult to break. All in all, communication, in its all forms, shapes the collective behavior, which is critical to any change of social system. However, other societal factors are deemed as crucial as communication among the constituents of society. These should not be underestimated when it comes to revolutions and political transformations. Indeed, the Egyptian revolution was fundamentally powered by people and driven by socio-cultural, political and economic conditions as contextual factors. Such conditions gradually intensified public frustration and resentment of the

regime, including the stifling and depressing socio-political and economic climate; lack of transparency as to elections; the prevalent corruption; oppressive political conditions for Egyptian citizens, preventing free expression, protest opportunities, and political participation; not to mention the constant state of emergency that allowed to squash protests, censor the media, and detain citizens for long periods of time without formal charge, as many commentators argue (like Khamis 2011; Eltantawy & Wiest 2011). On the whole, social media constitute only parts of a complex and interrelated set of contextual variables.

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

Media representation does ideological work. It sustains and serves corporate power as well as advances ideological claims. The views proposed in the articles have links to interests and ideologies as the basis of higher level cultural constructs. The journalistic discourse is not a mere reflection of reality, but a form of constructing reality with the aim to suit the needs of journalism and media. Social representations tend to be mostly prescriptive, by imposing themselves, to varying degrees, upon journalists with an irresistible force.

This study is preliminary, and therefore many research-worthy issues still exist or need to be examined. I propose some avenues and directions for future research in relation to communication for social change:

Examination of the relationship between various types of social media and activism based on their complex and strong dependency on socio-cultural and political context, and corroboration of their

successful deployment for the purpose of meaningful political change as requiring a constant adjustment of strategies to these context specific requirements;

Assessment of the role of social media in Egypt based on inclusiveness, comprehensiveness, and cultural sensitivity as to mapping the socio- political development in different Arab countries;

Consideration of specific dimensions, such as language, culture, historical background, and religion in studying Egypt's media system;

Understanding the distinctive features of social media based on societies where they operate;

Analyzing the complex factors that come into play in changing the dynamics of social change processes that are unique in to each country, such as Egypt;

Considering the powerful influence of the social, political, and historical contexts of the newly emerging leaderless movements, and the actors' efficacy in utilizing available resources to meet their political goals;

Theoretical investigation for integrating and contrasting findings from different studies, as well as advancing a shared pursuit toward understanding the role of social media for collective action.

References

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

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

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

Al-Kallab, S 2003, 'The Arab satellites: the pros and cons', *Transnational Broadcasting Studies Journal* (TBS), vol. 10, viewed 15 October 2011, <http://www.arabmediasociety.com>

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

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

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

Baiasu, K 2011, *Social media: a force for political change in Egypt*, 13 April, The New Middle East, viewed 11 April 2012, <http://new-middle-east.blogspot.se/2011/04/social-media-force-for-political-change.html>.

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

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

Boyd, DA 1999, *Broadcasting in the Arab world: a survey of the electronic media in the Middle East*, Iowa State University, Press Ames, IA.

Boyd, D & Nicole, E 2007, 'Social network sites: definition, history, and scholarship', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, vol. 13, no. 1, viewed 20 March 2012, <<http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol13/issue1/boyd.ellison.html>>

- Brisson, Z & Panthea L 2011, *Egypt: from revolutions to institutions*, Reboot, viewed 8 October 2011, <<http://thereboot.org/wp-content/Egypt/Reboot-Egypt-From-Revolutions-ToInstitutions.pdf>>
- Breuer, A 2011, *Democracy promotion in the age of social media: risks and opportunities*, German Development Institute, Bonn.
- Burr, V 1995, *An introduction to social constructionism*, Sage, London.
- Carlsson, L 2010, *Marknadsföring och kommunikation i sociala medier: givande dialoger, starkare varumärke, ökad försäljning*, Kreaton.
- Carvalho, A 2000, *Discourse analysis and media texts: a critical reading of analytical tools*, Universidade do Minho, Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade, Braga.
- Carver, T & Hyvarinen, M 1997, 'Introduction', in Carver T & Hyvarinen M (ed.), *Interpreting the political, new methodologies*, Routledge, London, pp. 1-6.
- Castells, M 2007, 'Communication, power and counter-power in the network society', *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 1, pp. 238-266.
- Castells, M 2009, *Communication power*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Danaher, G, Schirato, T, & Webb, J 2000, *Understanding Foucault*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, NSW.
- Della Porta, D & Mosca, L 2005, 'Global-net for global movements?' A network of networks for a movement of movements', *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. no. 1, pp. 165–190.
- Diamond, L 1999, *Developing democracy: toward consolidation*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- El-Nawawy, M & Khamis, S 2009, *Islam dot com: contemporary Islamic discourses in cyberspace*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Eltantawy, N & Wiest, JB 2011, 'Social media in the Egyptian revolution: reconsidering resource mobilization theory', *International Journal of Communication* 5, pp. 1207-1224.
- Fairclough, N 1995, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London.
- Fairclough, N 2003, *Analyzing discourse*, Routledge, London.

Fairclough, N & Wodak, R 2000, *Análisis crítico del discurso*, en van Dijk T (comp.), *El discurso como interacción social*, Gedisa, Barcelona.

Fishkin, JS 2009, *When the people speak, deliberative democracy and public consultation*, Oxford University Press.

Fiske, J 1987, *Television culture*, Methuen, London.

Foucault, M 1973, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human science*, Vintage Books, New York.

Foucault, M 1972, *The archaeology of knowledge*, Pantheon Books, New York.

Frost, NG, Nolas, SM, Brooks-Gordon, B, Esin, C, Holt, A, Mehdizadeh, L & Shinebourne, P 2010, *Pluralism in qualitative research: the impact of different researchers and qualitative approaches on the analysis of qualitative data*, Middlesex University, UK.

Fuchs-Heinritz, W 1995, *Lexikon zur soziologie*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen.

Gamson, W & Modigliani, A 1989, 'Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: a constructionist approach', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 95, no. 1, pp. 1-37.

Garcés, R 2007, 'La construcción simbólica de la opinión pública. Escenarios teóricos y prácticas mediáticas contemporáneas', Tesis doctoral, Universidad de La Habana.

Garrett, RK 2006, 'Protest in an information society: a review of literature on social movements and new ICTs', *Information, Communication and Society*, vol. 9, no 2, pp. 202-224.

Gergen, K 1985, 'The social constructionist movement in modern social psychology', *American Psychologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 266-75.

Ghannam, J, 2011, *In the Middle East, this is not a Facebook revolution 2011*, 18 February, The Washington Post, viewed 4 April, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-yn/content/article/2011//AR2011021802935.html>>

Global Voices 2011, *Egypt: Basboussa for president!* viewed 11 April 2012, <<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/04/06/egypt-basboussa-for-president>>

Goodwin, J 2001, *No other way out: states and revolutionary movements, 1945-1991*, Cambridge University Press.

Guba, EG & Lincoln, YS 1994, 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research', in Denzin NK & Lincoln YS (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Sage, London, pp. 105-117.

- Habermas, J 1998, *Between facts and norms: contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy*, MIT Press.
- Hacker, KL & van Dijk, J 2000, *Digital democracy: issues of theory and practice*, Sage Publications, London.
- Hafez, K 2008, 'Introduction', in Hafez K (ed.), *Arab media: power and weakness*, Continuum, New York, pp. 1–14.
- Hall, S (ed.) 1997, *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, The Open University, Sage Publications, London.
- Hallin, DC & Mancini, P 2004, *Comparing media systems: three models of media and politics*, Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.
- Harper, RA 2010, 'The social media revolution: exploring the impact on journalism and news media organizations', *Student Pulse Onile Academic Student Journal*, vol. 2, no. 03, pp. 1 – 7.
- Hassan, HA 2011, 'Civil society in Egypt under the Mubarak regime', *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 1–18.
- Hemer, O & Tufte, T (ed.) 2005, *Media and glocal change: Rethinking communication for development*, CLACSO, Buenos Aires.
- Hinchcliffe, D 2006, *The state of web 2.0*, Web Services Journal, viewed 27 September 2011, <http://web2.wsj2.com/the_state_of_web_20.htm>
- Hirschheim, R, Klein, HK & Lyytinen, K 1995, *Information systems development and data modeling*, Conceptual and Philosophical Foundations, Cambridge.
- Hobbs, M 2008, *On discourse and representation: reflections on Michel Foucault's contribution to the study of the mass media*, University of Newcastle, viewed 9 March 2012, <http://www.tasa.org.au/uploads/2011/05/Hobbs-Mitchell-Session-19-PDF.pdf>.
- Hopper, P 2007, *Understanding cultural globalization*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Howard, A 2011, *A Tunisian on the role of social media in the revolution in Tunisia*, viewed 25 October 2011, <<http://gov20.govfresh.com/a-tunisian-on-the-role-of-social-media-inthe-revolution-in-tunisia/>>
- Idle N & Nunns A 2011, *Tweets from Tahrir: Egypt's revolution as it unfolded, in the words of the people who made it*, OR Books, New York.

Ishani, M 2011, *The hopeful network*, Foreign Policy, viewed 25 October 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/07/the_hopeful_network>

Iskander, A 2006, *Paradox of the free press in Egypt*, USEF Expert Panel Discussion Notes, Washington, DC.

Jakubowicz, K 2007, *Rude awakening: social and media change in central and eastern Europe*, Hampton Press, Inc, Cresskill, New Jersey.

Jarren, O 2008, 'Media Democracy', in Dongsbach W (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp. 2839-2941.

Jenkins, JC 1983, 'Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 9, pp. 527–553.

Jenkins, H, Puroshotma, R, Clinton, K, Weigel, M & Robison, AJ 2005, *Confronting the challenges of participatory culture: Media education for the 21st Century*, viewed 20 September 2010, <<http://www.newmedialiteracies.org/files/working/NMLWhitePaper.pdf>>

Joyce M 2011, *The 7 activist uses of digital technology: popular resistance in Egypt*, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, viewed 23 March 2012, <http://www.nonviolentconflict.org/images/stories/webinars/joyce_webinar.pdf>

Kaplan, M & Blakley, J 2009, *The business and culture of social media*, viewed 25 September 2011, <<http://www.learcenter.org/pdf/businessandcultureofsocialmedia.pdf>>

Kaplan, AM & Haenlein, M 2010, 'Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of social media', *Business Horizons*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 59–68.

Keller, R, Hirsland, A, Schneider, W & Viehove, W (eds.) 2001, *Handbuch sozialwissenschaftliche diskursanalyse. Band I: Theorien und methoden*, Leske + Budrich, Opladen.

Khamis, S 2007, 'The role of new Arab satellite channels in fostering intercultural dialogue: can Al Jazeera English bridge the gap?', in Seib P (ed.), *New Media and the New Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY, pp. 39–52.

Khamis, S 2011, 'The transformative Egyptian media landscape: changes, challenges and comparative perspectives', *International Journal of Communication* 5, pp. 1159–1177.

Khamis, S & Vaughn K 2011, 'Cyberactivism in the Egyptian revolution: how civic engagement and citizen journalism tilted the balance,' *Arab Media and Society*, no. 13.

Khawaja, M 1994, 'Resource mobilization, hardship, and popular collective action in the West Bank', *Social Forces*, vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 191–220.

Kietzmann, JH, Hermkens, K, McCarthy, IP & Silvestre, BS 2011, 'Social media? Get serious! Understanding the functional building blocks of social media', *Business Horizons*, vol. 54, no. 3, pp. 241–251.

Kvale, S 1992, 'Posmodern psychology: a contradiction in terms?' in Kvale S (ed.), *Psychology and Postmoderism*, Sage, London.

Langman, L 2005, 'From virtual public spheres to global justice: a critical theory of interworked social movements', *Sociological Theory*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 42–74.

Lea, SJ 1996, 'The ism on the end makes it nasty': talking about race with young white South Africans', *South African Journal of Psychology*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 183-190.

Lipset, SM 1959, 'Some social requisites of democracy: economic development and political legitimacy,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 53. pp. 69-105.

Litz, D 2005, 'En busca de la equidad dentro de la diferencia', Tesis de Licenciatura en Periodismo, Universidad de La Habana.

Lynch, M 2005, 'Assessing the democratizing power of Arab satellite TV', *Transnational Broadcasting Studies Journal (TBS)*, vol. 1, pp. 150–155.

Lynch, M 2011, *Revolution 2.0? The role of the Internet in the uprisings from Tahrir Square and beyond*, Theorizing the Web at the University of Maryland, College Park, April 2011.

Martín Serrano, M 1993, *La producción social de comunicación*, Prólogo de Harry Pröss, Alianza Editorial, Madrid.

McCargo, D 2008, *Remodeling Asian media: convergence versus divergence*, Media Systems in Comparative Perspective Workshop, University of California, San Diego.

Meier, P 2009, *The Impact of the information revolution on protest frequency in repressive contexts*, 50th International Studies Association Conference, New York City, 15-17 February, viewed 20 February, <<http://irevolution.files.wordpress.com/2009/02/meier-isa-2009-final.pdf>>

Montgomery, K 2007, *Generation digital: politics, commerce and childhood in the age of the Internet*, Cambridge, MIT, MA.

Moscovici, S 1984, 'The Phenomenon of social representations' in Farr R & Moscovici S (eds.), *Social representations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 3-69.

Nasser, MK 1990, 'Egyptian mass media under Nasser and Sadat: two models of press management and control', *Journalism Monographs*, no. 124.

Nip, JYM 2006, 'Exploring the second phase of public journalism', *Journalism Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 212-236.

O'Reilly, T 2005, *What is web 2.0*, O'Reilly Network, viewed 27 September 2011, <<http://www.oreillynet.com/pub/a/oreilly/tim/news/2005/09/30/what-is-web-20.html>>

Palmquist, R 1999, *Research method, Discourse Method*, viewed 11 November 2011, <<http://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/discourse.htm>>

Paulussen, S 2008, 'User generated content in the newsroom: professional and organizational constraints on participatory journalism', *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, vol. 5, no 2, pp. 24-41.

Phillips, L & Jørgensen, MW 2002, *Discourse analysis as theory and method*, Sage, London.

Reich, Z 2008, 'How citizens create news stories: the news access' problem reversed', *Journalism Studies*, vol. 9, no. 5, pp. 739-758.

Rosen, J 1994, *Public journalism: theory and practice*, Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio.

Rugh, W 2004, *Arab mass media: newspapers, radio, and television in Arab politics*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut.

Sakr, N 2001, *Satellite realms: transnational television, globalization and the Middle East*, I.B. Tauris, London.

Salmon, CT, Fernandez, L & Post, LA 2010, 'Mobilizing public will across borders: roles and functions of communication processes and technologies', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3&4, pp. 159-170.

Schwandt, TA 2000, 'Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: interpretivism, hermeneutics and social constructionism', in Denzin NK & Lincoln YS (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Sage, London, pp. 189-213.

Schneider, NC & Gräf, B 2011, *Social dynamics 2.0: researching change in times of media convergenc., Case studies from the Middle East and Asi*, Frank & Timme GmbH, Berlin.

Seib, P 2007, New media and prospects for democratization, in Seib P (ed.), *New media and the new Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY, pp. 1-18.

Seymour, R 2008, 'Middle East bloggers set cat among the pigeons', *Middle East*, vol. 388, pp. 62–63.

Shirky, C 2008, *Here comes everybody: the power of organizing without organizations*, Penguin Press.

Smith, C 2011, *Wael Gohnim thanks Facebook*, viewed March 29 2011, [www.huffingtonpost](http://www.huffingtonpost.com)

Solayman, H 2011, *Egypt's revolution media: a question of credibility*, 13 September, EMAJ Magazine Euro-Mediterranean Academy for Young Journalists, viewed 8 April, 2012, <<http://emajmagazine.com/2011/09/13/egypts-revolution-media-a-question-of-credibility/>>

Sreberny, A 2008, 'The analytic challenges of studying the Middle East and its evolving media environment', *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, vol.1, pp. 8–23.

Sutter, JD 2011, *When social media 'hinders' revolution*, 31 August, CNN, viewed 9 April 2012, <http://articles.cnn.com/2011-08-31/tech/social.media.stop.revolution_1_social-media-facebook-and-twitter-facebook-photos?_s=PM:TECH>

Taylor, C 2011, *Why not call it a Facebook revolution?* 24 February, CNN, viewed 8 April 2012, <http://articles.cnn.com/2011-02-24/tech/facebook.revolution_1_facebook-wael-ghonim-social-media?_s=PM:TECH>

Terre Blache, M & Durrheim, K 1999, 'Social constructionist methods', in Terre Blache M & Durrheim K (eds.), *Research in practice: applied methods for the social sciences*, UCT Press, Cape Town, pp. 147-172.

Thompson, JB 1993, *Ideología y cultura moderna. Teoría Social en la era de la comunicación de masas*, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco, México.

Tsagarousianou, R 1998, 'Electronic democracy and public sphere: opportunities and challenges' in Tsagarousianou, R Tambini D & Cathy B (eds.), *Cyberdemocracy, technology, cities and civic network*, Routledge, pp 167- 178.

Yair, L & Timothy, JE 2006, 'A systems approach to conduct an effective literature review in support of information systems research', *Informing Science Journal*, vol. 9, viewed 6 May 2009, <<http://inform.nu/Articles/Vol9/V9p181-212Levy99.pdf>>

van Dijk, TA (ed.) 1985, *Handbook of discourse analysis*, Academic Press, London.

van Dijk, T 1988a, *News analysis: case studies of international and national news in the press*, Laurence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

van Dijk, TA 1988b, *News as discourse*, Hillsdale, Laurence Erlbaum, New Jersey.

van Dijk, TA 1993, 'Principles of critical discourse analysis', *Discourse & Society*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 249–283.

van Dijk, TA 1998, '18 Critical discourse analysis', viewed 25 February 2012, <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Critical%20discourse%20analysis.pdf>.

van Dijk TA 2005, 'Ideología y análisis del discurso' *Utopia y Praxis Latinoamericana, Revista Internacional de Filosofía Iberoamericana y Teoría Social*, año 10, número 29, pp. 9-36,

Vartanova, E 2008, *Russian media model: agents of continuity and change*, Media Systems in Comparative Perspective Workshop, University of California, San Diego.

Vila, S 2011, *South by southwest Arab Spring panels put final nail in the 'Twitter revolution' coffin*, Movements.org, viewed 25 October 2011, <<http://www.movements.org/blog/entry/south-by-southwestarab-spring-panels-put-final-nail-in-the-twitter-revolut>>

Vromen, A 2007, 'Australian young people's participatory practices and Internet use in information', *Communication and Society*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 48 – 68.

Wand, Y & Weber, R 1993, 'On the ontological expressiveness of information systems analysis and design grammars,' *Journal of Information Systems*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 217-237.

Wasserman, H 2007, 'Is a new worldwide web possible? An explorative comparison of the use of ICTs by two South African social movements', *African Studies Review*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 109–131.

Weyman, G 2007, 'Western journalists report on Egyptian bloggers', Nieman Reports, vol. 61, no. 2, viewed 29 November 2011, <<http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitem.aspx?id=1002163>>

Wodak, R 1999, 'Critical discourse analysis at the end of the 20th century', *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, vol. 32, no.1&2.

Zeeman, L 2000, *n Diskoers analise: unieke vroue staan op teen gender dilemmas*, Ongepubliseerde D.Cur.-proefskrif, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, Johannesburg.

Zirulnick, A 2011, *Egypt's protests told by #Jan25, 25 January*, The Christian Science Monitor, viewed 20 April 2012, <<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2011/0125/Egypt-s-protests-toldby-Jan25>>

Zittel, T 2007, *Participatory democracy and political participation*, in Zittel T, Dieter Fuchs (eds.), *Participatory democracy and political participation*, Routledge.