Representation of "Nudity" of Women Activists in Arab Print Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

When the uprising movements erupted against the oppressive regimes, distribution of wealth, valuable sources and against the abuse of human rights in the Arab region, the world was watched and wondered if the Orient could succeed. The East was confronting their history and writing a new destiny. Since everything we see around us is gendered, the Arab Spring is also gendered.

The mainstream media tend to create stereotypical perceptions about women and femininity. This is a qualitative research to find out the visible and hidden discourses that used in Arab news about activist women who took an active role in Arab Spring uprising and revolutions regarding women, womanhood, motherhood, body.

Critical discourse analysis essentially considers the ways in which power is embedded and circulated in discourse, rhetoric and composition too is compelled by the interplay between power and language (Huckin & Clary-Lemon, 2012, p. 112). I also discuss that, the production of meaning about women is involved in Arab news and I argue that the meaning is produced by men's authority. In this sense meaning is fixed and embedded into particular connotations which organized consciously to attempt the consequences of discourses.

This study analyses how Arab women are represented in general and how Arab woman activist in particular in the Arab news media for twenty four months between January 1st 2011 and December 31st 2013 in *Al-Hayat* (Saudi Arabia), *Al-Chorouk* (Tunisia) and *Al-Ahram* (Egypt) newspapers from critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective.

The results indicate that; the Arab news media uses religion, patriarchal hegemonic discourses on women. If the women nudity is the subject, the Middle East authors tend to discriminate women activists and represent them as alienated ones. Also, the Arab media is blaming women activists by coping western corruptions and looking for a deviant source coming from outside.

ÖZ

Arap dünyasında rejime, kaynakların paylaşımına karşı ve insan hakları için isyan başladığında dünya Doğu'nun bu alanda başarı kaydedip edemeyeceğini merakla izliyordu. Doğu'nun kendi tarihiyle yüzleştiği, kendine yeni bir yol çizdiği konusunda alternatif görüşler de vardı. Etrafımızda gördüğümüz herşey toplumsal cinsiyetli olduğu için "Arab baharı" da toplumsal cinsiyetli bir kavramdı.

Ana akım Arap medyası kadınları ve kadınlığı çok basmakalıp yargılarla temsil etmektedir. Bu niteliksel çalışma Arap Baharı'nda aktif rol oynayan kadın aktivistlerin Arap medyasında nasıl temsil edildiğine ilişkin açık ve gizli söylemi, kadınlık, kadınsılık, annelik, beden ve erkeğin onurunu zedeleyen kadın imgesi, kavramları ışığında irdeleyecektir.

Eleştirel söylem analizi kendi doğasına uygun olarak iktidarın nasıl içselleştirildiği ve dağıtıldığını dikkate alıyorsa, retorik ve kurgu da iktidar ve dil arasındaki karşılıklı etkilenme ile zorlanmaktadır. Çalışma Arap haber medyasında kadınlar hakkında anlamın nasıl üretildiğini tartışmakta ve anlamın eril bir otoritenin kontrolünde üretildiğini öne sürmektedir. Anlam sabitlenmiş söylemin sonuçlarına ilişkin girişimleri bilinçli bir şekilde örgütleyen çağrışımlarca içselleştirilmiştir.

Çalışma genel olarak Arap kadınlarının ve daha özelde Arap kadın aktivistlerin Arap haber medyasında nasıl temsil edildiğini incelerken 1 Ocak 2011 ve 31 Aralık 2013 tarihleri arasındaki *Al-Hayat* (Suudi Arabistan), *Al-Chorouk* (Tunus) ve *Al-Ahram* (Mısır) gazetelerini eleştirel söylem analizi perspektifinden analiz etmektedir.

Netice olarak; Arap medyasının kadınlarla ilgili haberleri dinsel odaklı, eril bir otoritenin kontrolünde ve ataerkil bir bakış açısıyla ele aldığı saptanmıştır. Orta Doğulu yazarlar, yine medyanın kendisi tarafından üretilmiş olan kadın çıplaklığı söz konusu olduğunda kadın aktivistleri toplumdan ayrıştırmakta ve yabancılaştırmaktadırlar. Arap medyası normal dışı olarak nitelendirdiği kaynağı dışarda aramakta ve kadınları Batı'nın özelliklerini benimsemekle itham etmektedir.

To My Father Serdar Sırsat

To My Mother Melda Sırsat

To My Sister Sevda Sırsat

To My Fiancé Ali Al Faisal

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Foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Hanife Aliefendioğlu for encouraging me throughout my thesis and showing worthy patience.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

FCDA   Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

UK   United Kingdom

USA   United States of America

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

IPU   Inter-Parliamentary Union

BWU   The Bahrain Women's Union

JNCW   The Jordanian National Commission for Women.

SMS   Short Message Service

MEMO   Middle East Monitor

UPF   Office of Peace and Security

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

CO   Commanding Officer

WNBR   World Naked Bike Ride

PETA   People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

As an opposite of men, women are generally represented by their womanhood and motherhood roles by the media. Feminist and women studies area problematizes this representation for women who have been in news. In headlines, subtitles, context or visuals are used to create news about women who must be controlled by their men or at least shown as unimportant character in relevant news. Like everything else, media is also male-dominated and the language of the media is controlled by men. Every single word or visuals used in press media are creation of men, this fact must be recognized and the analysis of media text must start from this reality.

Women activism in the Arab countries is not started with the Arab Spring. Women were always struggling for equal rights and opportunities. However; Arab Spring creates a big sound and convinced world about existence of women resistance in Arab world and helps feminist activism to increase in Arab world. It has succeed or not, but it suggests a different order of relationships among people, understanding socioeconomic, ideological, cultural hierarchies of rule (like those of class, gender, race, sexuality and nation), their interconnectedness, and their effects on disenfranchised people within the context of transformative collective or organizational practice (Queder, 2007, p.2).

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The period of this study is chosen as birth of uprising movement in the Middle East and North Africa which called Arab Spring. This period brings out many arguments about women and other relevant subjects. The start point of the uprising movements were promoted by the massive inequalities and high unemployment percentage of Arab countries. Furthermore, the consequences are more complicated than its causes. Therefore, women demands leads them rallied under the same banner in order to get responses for their questions. The women activists were also present in Tahrir Square[1] in Egypt, in Tunisia and other Arab countries.

I have analyzed the news to uncover the discourses and dissect it critically to investigate how meaning is constructed.

1.2 Aim of the Study

The objective of this study is to conduct a feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) of chosen examples in Arab print news. The discourse of women in the Arab media uses female activists during Arab Spring period and the patriarchal meaning-making concerning the Arab news will be dissected. I will endeavor to find out alternative readings about discourse of women in the men-controlled society. Also, the newspapers are selected by consulting persons who are either informed about or from the region.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The important point to consider before doing discourse analysis is to know that discourse is not reality, and discourse is the images in our cultural and philosophical perceptions as an individual or a society. Therefore, the backbone of the research is

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[1] Destination for protests in Cairo.

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to discuss about the discourses not as fact or something comes out from the text that we read, rather it is to comprehend the discourse is the first factor to see the world from different angles. There is no truth or a reality we can follow in order to do media text analysis, there are just variety of eyes and the ideologies comes with those eyes. These ideologies stuck with its owner and converted into discourses and we are dealing with these presented discourses instead of ideologies. So, what discourse means? According to Stuart Hall, a discourse is simply a coherent or rational body or speech of writing; a speech or a sermon (cited in Gupta et al., 2007, p. 56). We can say that, everything around us is a discourse and discourse is also a discourse. It means that even the discourse itself represents an ideological position. The predominance of masculinity in our life and the unfair distribution of sources for both gender, how it does not awake our consciousness, those problematic issues will be answered by this research.

Fairclough (2004) touches on the subject that there is no center, no organizers, it's always been natural: Who will organize the next meeting? Someone says "I will" and then maybe they do and maybe they don't. And that has always been the way it's been done (cited in Rogers, 2004, p.3). Discourse always has the results and back studies behind it. The point here is to illustrate how unmasking the written word or visuals in news written about women. Debunking and criticizing the women portrait words may end up with understanding muscular language which created by male dominant societies.

1.4 Relevance of the Study

Newspapers usually aim to frame a perspective and interact with the ideologies of their audiences. So, discourse analysis has become unique qualitative research to read alternatives for encoded and decoded meanings.

This study has five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction to the subject and indicates why discursive analysis is done. Second chapter is literature review which covers the description of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), concept of Fairclough CDA and his framework. The parts are generally about how meaning making is done, power relations within society, women representation and stereotypical representation of women in the Arab media, women activism and nudity. This chapter also includes the Arab Spring and what women activists have done in the period of Arab Spring. The third chapter includes methodology of the analysis; which processes are used while analyzing, how the data is collected, which newspapers are used and why, how and why certain news have been chosen to analyze. The fourth chapter is about the discourse in Arab the media which included; *Al-Ahram* Newspaper from Egypt, *Al-Chorouk* Newspaper from Tunisia and *Al-Hayat* Newspaper from Saudi Arabia which is owned by Saudi Arabia prince and headquarters is in London; and how the meaning is made about the women activists. Finally, the fifth chapter is about obtains, last comments and the consequences of analysis.

1.5 Research Questions

This paper explores how women represented in Arab media by focusing on 1) How women activists are framed in Arab media, 2) Is there any patriarchal discourse about women activists on Arab press during Arab Spring period and 3) How the

Arab press media challenges existing understandings of nude female activists an in terms of Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough. It will also consider how did women activists represented in Arab press in terms of "nudity".

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 What is Discourse

Since the 1990s discourse is a popular term that has been used. The importance of discourse is rather than the meaning of the discourse, what it refers to. There is meaning that can result from the discourse which comes with discourse itself. Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips say that; in many cases, underlying the word "discourse" is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life…(2004, p.12). Gees (1999) mapping the reality by the explanation that;

> Pair small-d-discourse and big-D-discourse encapsulates these senses above cogently: The former refers to actual language, that is, talk and text. The latter, to the knowledge being produced and circulating in talk; to the general ways of viewing, and behaving in, the world; to the systems of thoughts, assumptions and talk patterns that dominate a particular area; and to the beliefs and actions that make up social practices (cited in Tenorio, 2011, p.187).

Discourse is not a single speech or written word, it is everything we see around us; it shapes our relations. It does not mean we use discourse to shape our relations; but the counter side that we are in relation with the message behind our discourse. Sometimes we don't mean to it, but usually we do mean it but unconsciously.

Discourse simply can refer to the meaning that is in use of the spoken or textual language in social context. However, what is this social context? How a word or

sentence can have different meanings but still the structure is same. Dijk (1979) says he will no longer try to define literariness in terms of literary discourse structures by themselves, but rather in terms of the role of such discourses in professes of socio-cultural interaction (p.144). So the point here is the discourse must be read "in" the social norms and backgrounds. Fairclough (1999) says that; reason for centering the concept of social practice is that it allows fluctuate between the perspective of social structure and the perspective of a social action and agency - both necessary perspectives in social research and analysis (cited in Bukhari & Xiaoyang, 2013, p.2).

Also, there is a certain relationship between discourse and power relation. What power relation refers here is the system that we are influenced by, the position we take in the society. Everything in the universe exists within a relationship with others. Comprehensiveness only can be incarnated in terms of power of discourse and interpretations. Pugalis claims that; plans and strategies never materialize, and even some that do materializee have little bearing on what is produced, a mixed-method approach is required that considers the recursive interactions between spatial practices and representations of space (2009, p. 77).

The system that we live in have components of discourse which we can never consider to be handled without. Language is the roof of this house, and history is the raw. As Henry and Tator say; discourse is the way in which language is used socially to convey broad historical meanings. It is language that identified by the social conditions of its use, by who is using it and under what conditions (2002, p.29). Language can never be "neutral" because it bridges our personal and social worlds.

"Neutrality" is an impossible word that can be used if we are talking about discourse. The main role of the discourse is to change and rebuild the social and personal lives.

Discourse is verified structures. This study covers visual and textual discourses which used in print news. The media controllers, reporters, editors or even readers affect the discourse of hidden meanings. Discourses can deal with political issues, gender issues, religious issues or social issues. Whatever it covers, the point at the end going to be what the controllers meant to say. Voloshinov (1973) says; "A word is a bridge thrown between myself and another. If one end of the bridge depends on me, then the other depends on my addressee" (p. 86). Every word in terms of 'understanding' depends on many components; the writer or talker, the listener and his background, and the relation between them. Voloshinov (1973) also states that "The outwardly actualized utterance is an island arising from the boundless sea of inner speech, the dimensions and forms of the island are determined by the particular situation of the utterance and its audience" (p. 96).

The meaning of discursive thoughts could be described as a key for daily life communications between people. Especially in social life conversations the meaning goes from person to person in terms of discourse. Fairclough states; CDA is an analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse (including language but also other forms of semiosis, e.g. body language or visual images) and other elements of social practices (Aschale, 2013, p.3). In terms of creation of dialectics Fairclough (1995) says;

> Every practice is an articulation of diverse social elements within a relatively stable configuration, always including discourse. Let us say that every practice includes the following elements: Activities, Subjects, and their social

relations, Instruments, Objects, Time and place, Forms of consciousness, Values, Discourse (p. 264).

These elements are dialectically related. They are different elements but not fully separated. They may play a trans-disciplinary role and that means they have dialectic relations between each other. For instance, they have some roles in semiotic analysis but also part of social identities and cultural values. It is fair to say that every element of social life is an example of discourse and every single detail in life has dialectics among them. Discourse if mass of everything and every text mass of discourse. According to Fairclough three elements of meaning must be distinguished, they are not neither discrete nor separated (2003, p. 29).

2.1.1 Power Relations Issue and Discourse

Power is an illusion that controls everything. It can manage the elements in every dimension of life, take the one after others or take other one after all. In each society consuming or producing depends on the power relations that society have. Power is a process that operates in continuous struggles and confrontations that change, strengthen, or reverse the polarity of the force relations between power and resistance (Powers, 2007, p.11). This means; power can be called as process that is embodied in context and explained in terms of ideological effects. Foucault says; "…all agree also, as I suppose that power is one of the most essential elements of social life, without the analysis of which it would be impossible to understand what modern society is" (Rasiński, 2011, p.1).

Mostly, the media is also affected by power; in this point the question is; who controls the media, whose are behind news, who are the audiences, who benefit from this system, who doesn't benefit at all, what are the invisible boundaries for women in news etc. To be able to answer those questions, we must know what power is and

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what power of power is in terms of social relations. In Althusser sense (1971); power is not an ideology although ideology can be said to be one of the strategies seen within individual instances of domination in power relations (cited in Powers, 2007, p.12). This is the major subject for discourse analysis as well. In order to make a critical discourse analysis, the power issue must be known very well by the researcher. Van Dijk also describes as one of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions (2008, p.1). Gender discriminations in media can be described by power relations as well. Bailie (2013) in the analysis of his study on *Slap to a Man's Pride Set off Tumult in Tunisia* criticizes the gender issue; he claims that there was the introduction of a gender discourse and then absence of any real representation of women: what is their role in that social construction? How do they make sense of those events (p.52)? He also states that; the antagonistic relationship between the inspector who accosted Bouazizi and Bouazizi himself is produced in the article as a gender discourse rather than one centered on the oppressed and the oppressor. The inspector was female and is described in the article via her supervisor: "a police officer's daughter was single, had a "strong personality" and an unblemished record (53-54).

In terms of power relations, Fairclough (2013) gives an example about doctors discourse; it could well be that doctors are more likely to arrive at sound medical judgments if they talk with their patients conversationally on roughly (at least apparently) equal footing than if they merely subject them to batteries of pre-constructed verbal and physical examinations (p.65). Another example on power

relations is about the "The Golden Club" cards. According to Fairclough they are "loyalty cards" which gives certain "advantages" to those who hold it in terms of saving on future purchases, delivery and assembly, and so forth.(2013, p.70). He adds; the term "privilege card" is sometimes used in UK and USA and such cards are represented as "rewarding" consumers for their "loyalty". They are represented not as "privileged" but as "advantages". This is telling story way which avoid you to think that "elite" and "proletarian" terminologies (Fairclough, 2013, p.71).

Another case took Fairclough attention is about respect to queuing. Queuing in Romania before 1989, and in many context still now, people do not stand in line, no respect is shown for another's "place" in the queue, and same time it is a communal affair in which information about official requirements (2013, p.72). For instance; people queuing at cash machines in the street preserve as a matter of course a space between the person using the machine and the rest. One might take the notice in the Romanian Bank to be socializing public to the "western" queuing behavior. Perhaps, the notice is as much to do with distinctions with socialization; if it is informational and pedagogically redundant, it works to reaffirm the common commitment of the bank and its customers to practices and values of "discretion" (p.72). It is striking example for the outsider preferring "observe the limit of discretion" instead of "respect the privacy of others".

Van Dijk explains social power in terms of the control exercised by one group or organization (or its members) over the actions and/or the minds of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies (2008, p.114).

Foucault (1980) sees power as positive term and he says what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but also that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse (cited in Jørgensen & Philips, 2002, p.24). In terms of power and discourse, Parker has catered a point which is not aim of the discourse analysis. Parker (1992) and Potter & Wetherell (1987) are rightly explicit about the fact that attaining truth is not the goal of discourse analysis. However, it appears they do not put enough energy on showing how certain discourses operate as truthful, on demonstrating the bases of power that under-pin, motivate and benefit from the truth-claims of the discourse in question (cited in Hook, 2001, p.11).

Foucault aim to demonstrate the specific practices which subject's become exposed to that belong to both politics and knowledge. This is the reason why Foucault prefers power as analytic rather than a theory. By analytics Foucault understands "a definition of a specific domain formed by power relations" (Rasiński, 2011, p.6). Dijk also claims; power is based on privileged access to valued social resources, such as wealth, jobs, status, or indeed, a preferential access to public discourse and communication (2008, p.2). He believes it is a big stress on people. He also says; we need to explore the implications of the complex question, who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what context, or who may participate in such communicative events in various recipient roles (Dijk, 2008, p.3). The schema shown below provides comprehensive map of power relations. Indeed, by representing the schema in a two dimensional manner, it can literally allow us to map various power relations relative to the two axes adversarialism mutualism and equality inequality (Karlberg, 2005, p.13).
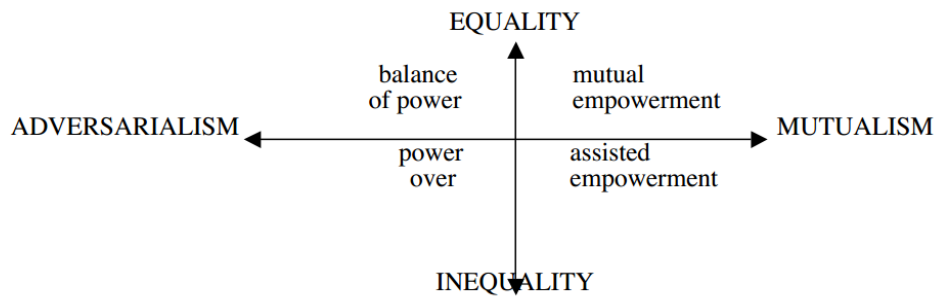
Figure 1: Relational and Distributive Dimensions of Power (cited in Karlberg, 2005,

p. 12).

As we can see in the figure above power has essential role on equality and inequality. As Karlberg cited, actual social relations cannot be located and compared according to exact, ordinal coordinates on this plane. Nonetheless, the map can serve as a useful analytical aid and can provide a common discourse for thinking and talking about power (2005, p. 13).

2.1.2 Meaning Making

Discourse is a way to encode your message into specific subjects. Not just for the media, for human being, the clue is always based on discourses accordingly codes. The codes are that have been chosen are reflection of the depth of intellectuality or level of erudition. Discourses make valuable sense on the audience depending on their capacity of the reading. The ideology of the information that an author aims to give is only possible with lexical choices. We are giving meanings to objects, we understand in the way we have backgrounds and experiences about the topic. The author has his own right to the word, but the listener also has his/her rights, and those whose voices are heard in the word before the author comes upon it also have their rights.

Understanding a linguistic system that enhances a better world and communication is another issue to consider. In order to express a message, discourse can be used as goal to be reached. The hidden components of discourse can be seen as wanted destination. Ideologies are playing significant role at this point; they are shaped by the current authority which is mostly same everywhere. Dominant ideologies looks neutral, but then it brings many unchallengeable results in discourse. Power will influence the ideologies and people in any society towards certain status quo. One of the central attributes of dominant discourse is its power to interpret conditions or issues in favor of the elite.

Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) gave an example about Christmas appeal which is about commodification of language. By this they mean the ways in which language has itself become a commodity that is used to sell products (aesthetic design). They states that; what is different is that even socially and politically engaged texts this one are now specifically subject to aesthetic design to make them sell. The heading "Homeless this Christmas. But not for life" seems to us to be structured to catch the reader's attention through two syntactically parallel phrases (the second is an elliptical reduction of "not homeless for life") conjoined with contrastive conjunction "but" and also contrastive as positive versus negative (p. 12).

Another example for meaning making is the use of force by the police is legitimate provided it is tied to the mandated course of action. The Mayor's reply "rewrites" the Professor's account so that this appears to be case in incident. For instance; the incident describes as fallows in the Professor's letter:

> I was standing just below the corner of Haste and Telegraph opposite Cody's and I saw a boy, 16 or 17 years old, walking up Haste and past two policemen.
> Suddenly, a young policeman in his early twenties, with a cigar he had just lit in his mouth, grabbed this young man, rudely spun him around, pinned him against his patrol car, tore at his clothes and pockets as though searching for something, without so much as saying one word of explanation. Then he pushed him roughly up the street yelling at him to get moving (Fairclough & Chouliaraki, 1999, p. 54).

When it is rewritten in the Mayor's reply as:

> You reffered to four incidents which you were able to at least partially observe. The first concerned a young man who was frisked and who appeared to be then released. In fact this man was a juvenile who was arrested and charged with being a minor in possession of alcoholic beverages. He pleaded guilty and the court suspended judgment (Fairclough & Chouliaraki, 1999, p. 54).

A contrast is here set up with what "appeared" to happen and what "in fact" happened. Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) explains that; the professor's account is full of actions in which the policeman is the agent and the "boy" the patient, whereas actions are in the "agentless" passive voice in the Mayor's reply (for example, a young man who was frisked) and no policeman figures as an agent. In contrast, the Mayor is partly about classifications, about the official category the "young man" belonged to using attributes together with relational process: this man was a juvenile… charged with being a minor (Fairclough & Chouliaraki, 1999, p. 54).

Another example from Bailie's study on *Slap to a Man's Pride Set off Tumult in Tunisia (2013)* uses meaning making by constructing the social world of Sidi Bouzid through the designation of the events as legend rather than report, the construction and then subversion of the "hero" (p.52).

"Some of them pass the time at cafes playing a card game called rami. Others get drunk on the moonshine they buy at cigarette stands and stumble around Sidi Bouzid's town center", "Everyone in Sidi Bouzid has a story about a bribe: to get a loan, to start a business or to land a job" (Fahim, January 21, 2011). The interactions between government officials and citizens as told by the article appear oppressive and antagonistic yet routine, and as the vendors, of which Bouazizi was one, may have been breaking the law by selling goods and may have offered bribes as a daily practice, the conflict as portrayed in the article appears to be constructed between Bouazizi personally and the government official in a "seemingly routine confrontation that had set off a revolution" (Fahim, January 21, 2011). This unpleasant, yet oddly symbiotic relationship portrayed in the article between the citizens and officials of Sidi Bouzid

Meaning making depends on social conditions. Saussure argued that signs consist of two sides, form (signifiant) and content (signifié), and that the relation between the two is arbitrary (cited in Dinneen, p. 249).
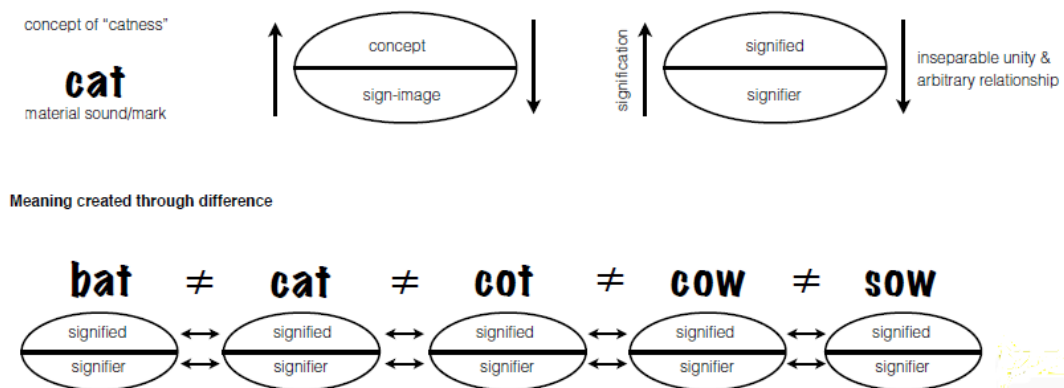

Figure 2: Saussure Structure and Explanation about Semiotics of Language.

Analyst looks for what is encoded in sentences (i.e. signifier) and its interaction with context (i.e. signified). In this respect, the analyst is merely doing what an ordinary

reader would normally do, but with more conscious attention to process of comprehension, their possible effects, and their relationship to a wider background knowledge than the ordinary reader may assume to be relevant (Tenorio, 2011, p.16).

2.2 What is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis deals with social construction of reality in the society and its outcomes. Fairclough describes critical discourse analysis as a theory and methodology which assumes that discourse is a form of social practice, a 'relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institutions and social structures which frame it' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 98). In addition to Fairclough description Wodak says that; CDA is a concept to arrange social and economic issues in people life and that cannot be done by a single way. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA considers discourse as a social practice (cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi 2012, p.3).

CDA is a qualitative research and to be able to done qualitative researches we need some complementary details. Wodak (2001) measure that; "critical" means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective in my research, and through these processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest. "Critical", thus, does not imply the common sense meaning of "being negative"— rather "skeptical". Proposing alternatives is also part of being "critical" (Kendall, 2007, p.3). When we are in the middle of the mass of discourse, we must manage to think critically and not take everything as how they may seem. Just thinking that there are multiple ways to think and comprehend the different tracks is the must for CDA.

CDA is the analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse (including language but also other forms of semiotics; body language or visual images) and other elements of social practices. The example that given by Jørgensen, M. & Phillips, L. (2002) is;

…it can be used as a framework for analysis of national identity. How can we understand national identities and what consequence does the division of the world into nation states have? Many different forms of text and talk could be selected for analysis. The focus could be, for instance, the discursive construction of national identity in textbooks about British history (p.13).

2.2.1 Fairclough and CDA

The text is a main tool for discourse analysis different from other paradigms in discourse analysis, CDA does not focuses only on texts, spoken or written objects. It manages to determine the meaning, Fairclough and Kress (1993) give a value to the text by saying "a fully critical account of discourse would thus require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures, which give rise to the production of a text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts" (Cited in Athens, 2005, p.8).

CDA deals with power relations and dominance in social relations. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) say; discursive practices can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, women and men, and cultural majorities and minorities (cited in Dijk, 1997, p. 258).

Fairclough (2003) explains in his study; discourse has three aspects; production, form and reception, also political and cultural concerns of these three develop the

social effects of discourse (p.24). Reality is constructed by us. As Foucault says (1972); nothing has any meaning outside of discourse. So, we are the ones who have been creating discourse and we are the ones who are able to change its meanings. CDA is directly related to the "listener". The role of listener or a reader cannot be underestimated. The same idea appears in Foucault words again; discourses are constitutive of reality operating as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (cited in Pugalis 2009, p. 82).

Fairclough (1995) argues that media discourses "contribute to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation" (p.14). Also Hackett (1991) claims that mainstream media is agents of hegemony. Production involves a set of institutional routines, such as news gathering, news selection, writing, and editing. Consumption mainly refers to the ways in which readers, in case of the written text (i.e. the press), read and comprehend text (cited in Sheyholislami, 2007, p.11).

Threadgold (2003) claims that; discourse analysis should involve two things; analysis of texture and intertextuality, and that no discourse (language use in social process, language as action) can be understood except in relation to the orders of discourse which called genres of which it is a part (p. 19). According to Fairclough (1995); intertextual analysis focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text (p. 16). He also claims "linguistic analysis is descriptive in nature, whereas intertextual analysis is more interpretative" (p.16). Fairclough (1992) defines intertextuality as "basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other

texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth" (p. 84).

Fairclough (1992) identifies two types of intertextuality; "manifest intertextuality" and "constitutive intertextuality." (p.85). Manifest intertextuality refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts by which "specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text". This kind of intertextuality is marked by quotation marks or indicating the presence of other texts. On the other hand, constitutive intertextuality, refers to the "heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements orders of discourse (interdiscursivity)" (p. 104).

As an example; Emberland (2004) in his analysis of the editorial *Tragedy in Russia*; she has found the article employs high degree of interdiscursivity. It opens with an example of manifest intertextuality, quoting the Marquis de Custine[2] about the extensive suffering of Russian people (p. 80).

In another editorial that Emberland has analyzed; *Russia now Grapples with Terror as a Symptom or Ideology*; has distinguishes between two different approaches to fight terrorism. Emberland from this point stated that; it also employs argumentative discourse and its interdiscursivity draws upon political discourse to enhance and exemplify the two different approaches to fight terrorism (2004, p.88).

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[2] An aristocrat and writer who is best known for his travel writing.

2.2.2 Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

In the writings of Wodak, critical discourse analysis is based on particular principles cited;

1- CDA addresses social problems.
2- Power relations are discursive.
3- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4- Discourse works ideologically.
5- Discourse is historical.
6- The link between text and society is mediated.
7- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
8- Discourse is a form of social action (Wodak, 2001, p.353).

Those principles cover all discursive studies in the field. Firstly, CDA addresses social problems which includes gender issues and women discourses in news. Power relations in news also represent the "others" which has control over the women. This subject also takes its authority from historical and cultural backgrounds and works ideologically. CDA always relies on interpretive points and never based on facts. Since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework. Within the aims mentioned above, there are many types of CDA, and these may be theoretically and analytically quite diverse (Wodak, 2001, p. 353).

2.2.3 Macro vs. Micro and External vs. Internal Function

Based on Van Dijk (2008); language use, discourse and verbal interaction is related to the micro-level analysis (p. 354), that means the power and inequality between social groups are related to macro level analysis. Also, power, dominance[3], and

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[3] Dominance is form of social power differences which result with social inequality. Since power in language can be defined as dominance, here it comes with the explanation as "a form of social power abuse that is, as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others in one's own interests, often resulting in social inequality" (Dijk, 2008, p.254).

inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis (Dijk, 2008, pp.354).

Philologist agrees on two ideas related to discourse: (1) the idea that texts and conversations are shaped, just as sentences are, by 'grammar' (repeatable patterns of structure) and, (2) the idea that the structure of language is shaped in part by its function (Debbagh, 2012, p. 654). According to Debbagh the result has been the development of two main paradigms – functionalist and formalist/constructivist – each has taken different theoretical and methodological concerns as its focus (2012, p. 654). So the functionalist approach to language creates two assumptions itself; external function and internal function.

2.3 Background of the Issue: Gender Issues and Media Texts

Gender cannot be explained in words or cannot be described with attributes. It is not a realistic word to use about people but we can say that gender is the collection of reactions that we give to the people that treat us to be in this way. Since we are born, we are in the circle of behaviors, beliefs and attachments. Being girl or boy can be stated by the reactions that we give to and receive from the world. The other words, what makes us girl or boy are just the people treatments to us since the day we were newborn. However, we must face the reality that we are accepted as male or females and all studies conducted until today depends on such acceptance.

Holmes and Marra (2010) emphasize the diverse, flexible, and context-responsive ways in which people "do gender" (among other identities) in different situations, and even from moment to moment within a situation (cited in Sung, 2013, p.2). Doing gender is something that we used to have without being aware of our position

on that subject. We can give the example that fish did not recognize the water, because it used to live in water and after while water becomes invisible for the fish.

Several studies analyze media portrayals of women during the 1970s reported that women tended to be portrayed as being mainly controlled, whereas men are often portrayed in roles of authority. Those studiesshowed, in media settings images of women are shown in the domestic roles, whereas men are mainly represented in workplace roles. According to Berger (2011) feminist criticism of media concerned with several issues and one of them is the exploitation of women in the media as sexual objects of male desires, and lust (Berger, 2011, p.104).

The sexual objectification of women's body is one of the main issues related to the representation of women in media texts. This objectification sparked the idea of learning to how an ideal female body image ought to back. Media use unrealistic role models of women and represent them in terms of beauty and sexuality.
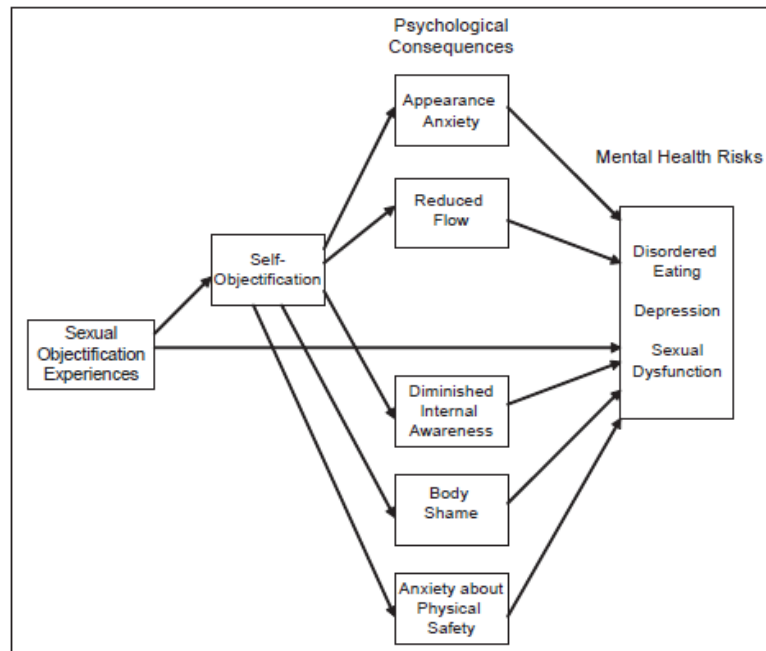
Figure 3: Model of key objectification theory tenets (Retrieved from Szymanski, 2011)

Bartky at 1990 point out that objectification theory (Fredrickson et al., 1997) postulates that women are sexually objectified and treated as an object to be valued for its use by others. Sexual objectification occurs when a woman's body or body parts are singled out and separated from her as a person and she is viewed primarily as a physical object of male sexual desire (cited in Szymanski, 2011, p.7). Those experiences have affect people's perception of women. They end up with mental risks, eating disorders, lower self-confidence, anxiety disorders and sometimes can cause panic attack disorders.

 Beauty and sexuality are the key issues when women are concerned in the content of any media text. Aubrey states that; media's constant focus on "perfect" bodies makes women aware of their own bodies and further aware of potential negative evaluations of their bodies for failing to meet sociocultural standards of attractiveness (Aubrey, 2007, p. 6). The perfect body image and ideal womanhood which represented in

media text is directly in relation with discourse. Even we can say that women body is discourse itself in media which feed by male oriented media.

Stereotyping is such a term that cannot be underestimated in women social life. Whatever they do for their own, actually controlled by patriarch. Women sexuality or we can say that sexuality from men's eyes directs women about how to behave and what to believe. Do they women use their sexuality or why it shown as women has used her sexuality? According to Johnston "Woman show herself being in a relationship with a man, either way she is nothing by her own" (cited in Uluc, 2006, p. 6). Concerning about being liked by opposite sex and being relationship with the opposite sex by using sexual attractiveness could be one of the reasons that why female try to catch ideal body image. What is a woman for a man? Güzar (2008) gives a brief answer "Woman is domestic at home, insignificant in social life, "child machine" in bed or we can say that sexual pleasure device, commodity of men (p.10).

This is the way that media represents women; putting them in front of looks of men and look at them with the eyes of man. Women represented in media something like to look to peak, to have fantasy on her, to full fill the dream of a man, to serve men desires and generally in the role related with their gender responsibility. There is always a way to use woman sexuality, beauty and gender roles of a woman.

2.3.1 Women in Arab World and the Media

In Arab society women face many difficulties; for instance the high percentage of illiteracy, lower socioeconomic power, and the customs and traditions which cause economic problems; high marriage age portions and costly weddings (Allam, 2008, p.1). Arab women have many invisible boundaries in social and political life. The

patriarchal hegemony, man gatekeepers and decision makers are everywhere. Since years they are struggling for equal rights and opportunities in daily life. United Nations Development Program (2002); "The utilization of Arab women's capabilities through political and economic participation remains the lowest in the world in quantitative terms, as evidenced by the very low share of women in parliaments, cabinets, and the work force, and in the trend toward the feminization of unemployment" (Rahbani Nicholas, 2010, p.2).

The Arab world is ranked by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as the second-lowest region in the world on the Gender Empowerment Measure, and by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) as the lowest region in terms of percentage of women in parliaments (Sabbagh, 2004, p.52). A combination of patriarchy, conservative religious interpretations and cultural stereotyping has built a very strong psychological barrier among Arab populations regarding women's participation in the public sphere. An acceptance of the status quo and unconscious fear of change have become a major challenge to be deal with. Sharabi (1988) contends that the drive towards modernity in the region has strengthened the patriarchal norms and values; hence he views the oppression of women as the cornerstone of the neo-patriarchal system and their liberation as an essential condition for overcoming it (cited in Sabbagh, 2004, p.55).

The women in Arab world accepted as honor of their men. They are always presented with their father, their family name, or another man in their family. Married girls don't change their surname because they are considered inside the family frame. Altorki (1988) says; for example, norms of deference to older siblings necessitate that they be addressed in specific terms; to an older brother and kinsmen

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his age the term is *"sidi"* which means *"my master",* and her using of this term was welcomed by all. (p. 54). Also she added, except the girls who is seeking to substitute as equivalent for the term *sidi* those of *akhuya* (my brother) and the sobriquet *abu flan* (father of) (Altorki & El-Solh, 1988, p. 54).

Also, young marriage is something acceptable, not an abnormal case in Arab countries. Saadawi is opening description of sexual abuse and also circumcise which she and her sister suffered as small children. She says; female circumcision has been banned in many Islamic countries, it remains legal in others, including Egypt. Indeed, recent evidences suggest that more than 90 percent of women in Upper Egypt have been circumcised (El Saadawi, 2007, p.10). Although women come of age with marriage and prestige for them is attained by motherhood in Arab countries (Altorki & El-Solh, 1988, p. 53).

Another issue to point, women nakedness is daily requirement in Arab countries. Sex must be instilled into every song, advertisement or film to attract men in order to be sold. Sex also embedded into the games where women are the pawn and their naked bodies are the prize. Yet, the religious morals insist that women body as profane and must be covered completely.

There are several consequences of discrimination on women in Arab world. The Literacy among women in Arab states has remained exceptionally low. According to UNDP (2001) "…female illiteracy percentages as follows; 76 percent in Yemen, 57 percent in Egypt and 34 in Saudi Arabia" (Rahbani Nicholas, 2010, p.18). About political rights, women are not really discriminated, but even if they have equal rights in law, still having social pressure; party gatekeepers, requirements of society

for man policymakers and so on. Some Arab countries recognized the political rights

of women recently. In addition, women's participation in the labor force in the region

is generally low, but their political participation is even lower. The regional average

women's participation in Arab states is currently less than half the world average.

While the World Bank put this paradigm forward to explain the low rates of female

participation in the labor force, it can easily be applied to explaining their low rates

of participation in political life or public life in general. This gender paradigm is

based on four elements:

> 1. The centrality of the family, rather than the individual, as the main unit of society. This emphasis on the family is seen as justification for equivalent, rather than equal, rights.
> 2. The assumption that the man is the sole breadwinner of the family.
> 3. A "code of modesty" under which family honor and dignity rest on the reputation of the woman. This code imposes restrictions on interaction between men and women.
> 4. An unequal balance of power in the private sphere that affects women's access to the public sphere. This power difference is anchored in family laws (Sabbagh, 2004, p.56).

In the media representation the image is not really different. Like any other country,

Arab society also uses womanhood for media products. In broadcast media or print

media women has limited rights, not in law but socially. Nooh (2009) says that;

advertising is seen as a way by many religious scholars to disseminate information

regarding Islamic values and ideal (p. 71). Al Jenaibi (2012) claims; the influence

of Western advertising and its potential impact on traditional versions of female

Islamic identity cannot be easily reduced to a simple negative, but it is certainly the

case that the classic dismemberment and fetishization of the female body is

likely to intensify in Arab consumer media (p. 83).

Sakr and Zayani (2005); as for women issues, Al Jazeera's contribution was "towards rectifying the women's empowerment deficit" (cited in Rahbani Nicholas, 2010, p.4). Rahbani Nicholas also said; it broke ground with the launching of a discussion program geared specifically towards women named "For Women Only", where distinguished, educated women from all over the Arab world come to express their points of view regarding critical social, political, scientific and environmental issues (2010, p.4).

In spite of these changes in Arab world, women are still appears with their "beauty" before "intelligence". This thought couldn't change until now. In March 2009, news reported that Saudi clerics called on the government to ban women from appearing on television and to prohibit their images in print media, which they called a sign of growing deviant thought (Rahbani Nicholas, 2010, p.7). According to the Arab Women Development Report;

> …the literature on the portrayal of women in the Arab media is quite limited. Yet, the 23 studies conducted to measure the image of women portrayed in the Arab media have yielded startling results…The studies found that 78.68% of the images of women were negative. Research on the Arab media's depiction of women has focused mainly on the mental and psychological aspects of their portrayal (Allam, 2008, p.3).

There are of course, good examples in Arab world in terms of women in social and political life. The Bahrain Women's Union (BWU) have established, which was a crucial and influential step to set up a strategy for women's participation in the social, political, and economic decision-making process in the country. Indeed, in 2006, 18 women ran for seats in Parliament, and Lateefa Al-Gaoud was elected to the Council of Representatives (Allam, 2008, p.1).

Another example from Jordan; Princess Basma Bint Talal initiated the establishment of the JNCW[4] in 1992. The following year the Commission, which is the highest policy-making forum in Jordan for women's issues and rights, formulated the National Strategy for Women, which covers the political, legislative, economic, social, educational, and health sectors (Allam, 2008, p.2).

In Morocco, there are ongoing efforts to improve the status of women through wide-reaching legislative reforms. The Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) proposed a national plan to integrate women into the country's economic development[5] (Allam, 2008, p.2).

The print media examples in Egypt, two recently launched independent newspapers Al-Masry al-youm and Nahdat Misr are considered an exception; both publications have consistently depicted women outside of their conventional societal roles (Allam, 2008, p.2).

The study on Egyptian film has found; films produced between 1962 and 1972 (410 films) showed the following diversity, by percentage: 43.4% no given profession 20% housewives, wives, divorcees, widows 20.5% working women 10.5% students 9.5% artists (, 2010, p.10). Another research by the same UNDP report studied 31 films produced between 1990 and 2000 and recorded the following:

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[4] The Jordanian National Comission for Women.

[5] The Plan d'action National pour l'integration de la Femme au development (PANDIF).

> An exaggerated representation of the violence perpetrated by, and against, women; Some of the movies and films in this period of time which portrayed women in scenes of sex and violence carried strong hatred for women, and had titlessuch as: "A Dangerous Woman", "The Devil is a Woman", "The Curse of a Woman", "Torture is a Woman" etc. (Rahbani Nicholas, 2010, p.11).

Female journalists also must face difficulties in Arab regions, especially in Saudi Arabia. MENASSAT[6] (2008) reported a speech from a female journalist; I was on my way to attend a press conference when a guard refused to let me in because I'm a woman. So I said that I wasn't a woman but a journalist coming to officially represent the newspaper. But he insisted and kept repeating, "We don't allow women in" (Rahbani Nicholas, 2010, p. 18). They don't even allow driving, because they are women before a journalist.

Consequently, Arab women are under pressure in all spheres. They are not presented apart from their gender. Every discourse created in media is compelled to have the gender codes. As an example, the news "1 child and 2 women; 5 have injured" easily used by the print media. Women are not seen capable to do same level with a man. This discrimination crates very problematic results for women in social life.

2.4 Women Activism and Arab World

Activism leads to development, change, transformation among people. All activist and feminist works are strengthened and requires the transformation of the essential step in breaking through the barriers of injustices. Woman activism is not a new term which has started with the Arab Spring. Women have always participated politically and civically in society; using alternative strategies, manifesting from and expressing

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[6] Website focusing on news concerning the media in the twenty-two countries of the MENA region.

their consciousness, even if they were less visible historical accounts, or had less political existence.

Einwohner et al. (2000) says; most research on gender and social movements tends to analyze movements that focus on gender-related issues, especially women's movements. An extensive literature exists, for instance, on the case histories of various women's movements and the majority of articles in the recent special issues of gender & society focus on women's protests (p. 680). In addition, much of the research on gender and social movements focuses on single cases, rather than applying their insights to a wider range of movements. Also, Taft in her study of young female activists finds that young female activists are able to successfully negotiate the conflicting roles that are embedded within the identity of the "girl activist" (2011, p. 11).

The patriarchal order that the Arab states share has spread to civil society and becoming a major force for social change. Unlike other regions of the world, in the Arab world the women's movements have not been credited with helping women's advancement. Rather, women's organizations have been criticized for adopting patron–client patterns of leadership, thus emulating the patriarchal patterns found in their societies at large (Suad, 1997, p. 54).

The women's rights movement had a long history in Arab countries, with early protests against mandatory veiling to more recent demands for full political rights. As Ottaway and Hamzawy states; most protests were carried out by middle and upper class women organized in civil society groups, who aimed to create social change through protest, lobbying and campaigning for women's issues (2011, p.7).

As Rabab Abdulhadi claims; in 1990, Palestinian women activists began to critique the "poverty of nationalism" focusing on its traditional gender roles, in order to set forth a specific women's agenda within emerging institutions to promote democracy and equality. In her work on Palestinian women's activism, she points to the emergence of an "autonomous women's movement". According to her "autonomous women's movement emerged in the early 1990s as a result of both favorable general conditions, as well as specific movements that led Palestinian women to begin addressing their situation within the context of gender hierarchy" (cited in Sajadian, 2007, p.38). Johnson (1997) also cited that; ambiguous transitional phase from grassroots activism to bureaucratic state and society building, women activists characterize their roles as intervening in public-policy formation to bring about "positive change in women's lives" (cited in Saliba, 2000, p. 1088). Al Ali says; in Egypt there were independent women's organizations, such as; Markaz Dirasat Al-Mar'a Al-Gedida (the New Woman's Research Centre), Rabtat Al-Mar'a Al-Arabiyya (the Alliance of Arab Women), Markaz Dirasat Al-Mar'a: Ma'an (the Women's Study Centre: Together) and Gama'at Bint Al-Ard (Daughter of the Land Group) (2004, p.9). Also, there was a group that called The Alliance of Arab Women, whose members are mainly professional upper-middle-class women in their 50s and 60s, exists on the most liberal end of the broad spectrum of feminist approaches, endorsing both welfare work and women's rights activism (2004, p.9). More recent works emphasize that women's participation in Egypt in the 1919 nation-wide marches, strikes and protests against the British colonizers was a continuation and extension of the activities of women in previous decades (Badran, 1995, p. 122).

One year before the 1952 revolution[7], Doria Shafik [8] and 1,500 other women stormed the parliament demanding full political rights, a reform of the Personal Status Law and equal pay for equal work (Nelson, 1996, p. 77). Her final and most direct confrontation with the Nasser regime took place in 1957, when she started a hunger strike in the Indian embassy to protest both against the occupation of Egyptian and Palestinian territories by Israeli forces and the (in her view) "dictatorial rule of the Egyptian authorities driving the country towards bankruptcy and chaos" (Nelson, 1996, p. 238).

In Egypt, a strong women's lobby used the 1985 Nairobi Conference (marking the end of the decade for Women) to protest and pressure the government to reformulate the law. Two months after its cancellation a new law was passed which restored some of the benefits that the 1979 version had provided (Al-Ali, 2004, p.75). Al-Ali (2004) also states that; aside from Jami'yat Tadamun Al-Mar'a Al-Arabiyya (Arab Women's Solidarity Association), several other formal and informal groups started to emerge by the mid-80s:

> e.g.Gam'at Bint Al-Ard (the Daughter of the Land Association) Al-Mar'a Al-Gedida (the New Woman), the Communication Group for the Enhancement

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[7] A group of Egyptian army officers, calling themselves the "Free Officers Movement" forced King Farouk to abdicate the throne and leave the country. See on http://blogs.denverpost.com/captured/2013/07/09/egypt-1952-revolution-free-officers-movement-military-rule/6183/

[8] An Egyptian feminist. Described as the "perfumed leader," a "danger to the Muslim nation," a "traitor to the revolution," and the "only man in Egypt". In 1957, following her hunger strike in protest against the populist regime of Gamal Abdul Nasser, she was placed under house arrest. Within months her magazines folded, her name was officially banned from the press, and she entered a long period of seclusion that ended with her suicide in 1975 (Nelson, 1996, p. 238).

of the Status of Women in Egypt and Rabtat Al-Mar'a Al-Arabiyya (the Alliance of Arab Women). Even Gama'at Bint Al-Ard (Daughter of the Land Group) had emerged in 1982 in Mansoura in the Egyptian Delta. It was made up of a number of young women who had been involved in public protests against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon (1982). (p. 77).

The Algerian women[9] also rose up in protest. Respected militants from the days of the revolution led a march in December 1981 the protests the secrecy surrounded the subject. According to Le Monde in its 9 January 1982 edition, about one hundred women gathered the Algiers town center carrying banners reading "No socialism without women participation" (cited in Hijab, 1988, p.27).

Arab societies used to see women in protests against the nationalism or the governing by Islamic rules. The Arab uprising movements which started at 2011 is not a first movement that Arab women have involved. Political or social various reactions have taken place in Arab societies always had women touch without any doubt. The Arab Spring is just another form of women resistance which full of gendered codes.

2.4.1 Nudity and Activism

Everyone living in this planet has one thing in common; each of us has a body. If one were suddenly remove our clothing, we would find that each of these bodies is similar in structure and form. The same words spoken at the appropriate moment with a mouth of skilled can move the world, but the same word can stay as no sense. Likewise, the naked body can be seen as erotic, dangerous, gloomy; shortly, it is about the when, why and who is getting naked.

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[9] Like Jamile Bouhired whose story of resistance and steadfastness under torture had become the stuff of legend throughout the Arab world (Hijab, 1988, p.27)

Nudity has different explanations in modern world. Bonfante stated that; clothing, in fact, distinguishes human society, civilized people, from animals and wild beasts, which are naked. In a clothed society, however, nakedness is special, and can be used as a "costume" (1989, p.544). As it developed, Greek nudity came to mark a contrast between Greek and non-Greek, and also between men and women. The latter distinction is connected with the most basic connotation of nakedness, the sense of shame, vulnerability and exposure it arouses in person. She also says; indeed, we seem to see a gradual development toward a restriction of nudity in Greek art, or rather a definition of it as heroic, divine, athletic, and youthful for men; and something to be avoided for women (1989, p.549).

In the India, Digambaras[10] example of total nudity set by Mahāvīra[11] (599- 527 B.C.) the central spiritual figure of Jainism. Only Jainas include substantial number of women in community of religious aspirants who renounce the household life and take the vows of mendicancy (Jaini, 1991, p. 2). This phenomenon might suggest that Jaina[12] women enjoy the status of religious and spiritual equality unparalleled elsewhere on the subcontinent but even within the Jaina tradition women can attain spiritual liberation (mokṣa) the debate focuses on the question of whether totals renunciation of clothing prerequisite to mokṣa (Jaini, 1991, p. 2).

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[10] One of the two main sects of Jainism about the 3rd century.

[11] Known as Vardhamana, was the 24th and last tirthankara of Jainism. See on the http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mahavir.jpg.

[12] Follower of Jainism which is an ancient classical religion of India.

The women nudity, however, accepted as taboo and in many societies, and used to measure the value of woman. In some countries women blamed and judged for not covering their body completely. On the other hand, some also adopted to see women in westernized clothing.

Naked protests have been taking place in many countries and by many people all around the world for different purposes including; animal right, against to war, against to violence and other reasons. However, in some Arab countries women body is accepted as the honor of a man which she belongs to; father, husband, brother or even other male member of family. Women not allowed to exposure her body for any reason. So, nude protest is alien term for the Arab society and it is an argumentative issue, especially for women.

Using your own body is not an abnormal choice to protest something. It is like any other type of remonstrate such as; hunger strike, marching, civil disobedience, riots, whistleblower or direct action. If the aim is to take attention of the civilians or the state; nude protests even may be more efficient than the others. However; when it can be accepted as normal for men, women are not allowed to use their body to protest something. In other words; women does not have rights on their own body. In Arab countries, men nude protest could not be accepted as well, however, it would not be ethical issue which must be taken to the court and judged by Sharia laws. In Arab societies, using nudity as political tool to protest something is not like seeing a two dimensional still picture for a nude woman. They can watch the women body for different reasons, for example to love or to marry; for their own. However, it is not normalized issue to be naked for the public issue. Women must be belonging to a single man; she is not allowed to be for the public with her nude body.

Canadian history shows some examples of conflicts between minority groups and the nation-state, such as the struggle of Canadian Doukhobors[13] for their religious and social rights. Gale (1973) stated that; if we go back to the beginning of the 20th century, some minority groups of Doukhobors (freedom seekers) used nude protests that had never been practiced by this religious group until their arrival in Canada. The "freedom seekers" can be considered direct predecessors of the sons of freedom movement (cited in Makarova, 2012, p. 133).

Another nude protest example occurred in United States of America to resist car culture and create awareness for the bike riders; they doff their clothing and ride naked through the street to protest oil dependence and a car culture that leaves them vulnerable to injury. Also another bike rider called World Naked Bike Ride (WNBR) began as an international event in 2004 with 28 cities in ten different countries (Lunceford, 2012, p.82)

Actually, the taboo against the public nudity is quite strong, so that the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders defines exhibition as a paraphilia (Lunceford, 2012, p.132). However; these individuals have already exhibited disregard for other norms, what is left to keep from behaving erratically, from approaching viewers, or from otherwise acting crazy? This combination of unpredictability is like elicit fear in others.

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[13] A religious group who has Russian origin.

In United States (2004) also, Kerry supporters had a protest against the Bush regime. One of the Bush supporters had the caption written on it "Serena from www.stunningserena.com for Bush 2004". Her whole body was visible, but she has covered her breasts with her arm and wore a Bush sign around her waist.

Some nude protests have done not individually but in crowd. According to The Guardian News; 15.000 women gathered in the city of Abidjan[14], to march against incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo, who has refused to step down since he lost presidential election. The protest organizer was a woman activist Aya Virginie Toure[15] and some of the women were wearing all black or nothing at all, both of which are feared taboos in the country with the slogans "In Africa, and Ivory Coast, this is like a curse… They were cursing the rule of Gbagbo," (David Smith, 2011).

Our bodies are our identities and we are free to use our own bodies to show our reactions. This way of protesting also used by PETA[16] who known by its provocative protest tactics. PETA adding the elements of nudity to the protest, invites the viewer to laugh at the ridiculous scene. Part of the power in PETA's use of public nudity lies in the symbolism it evokes (Goodale & Black, 2010, p.110).

Consequently; there is rhetorical power of the unclothed body as it relates to protest and political action as how it is in these examples. Even when the voice is silent, the body still speaks and naked politics considers what is being said.

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[14] City in Ivory Coast.

[15] Known as organizer of women in nonviolent resistance.

[16] People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.

2.5 Arab Spring

17th December 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi, from Tunisia, has burned himself in public because of property that's ongoing in his country. This extraordinary reaction gets attention of the world. He had 9 family members in same home and lost his father at age of 3. His mother had to marry his uncle who is ill and cannot work so Mohamed has started to work at 10 years. He was selling vegetables and fruits in street and trying to look after his family. The day has come and police seize his carriage and it was his only sustenance. He tried to protect it and not let police to take it. The answer was quite strong, in front of approximately 50 people they started to beat him. The police called Fadia Hamdi used over force and this behave lead Mohamed to do self-immolation in front of municipality. The reaction to this situation quickly spread in Tunisia. Not after long time, in Middle East also people get awake and show such social movements. Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen follow Tunisia in this movement for equality and social justice which also related to the gender discriminations.

That awareness called as "Arab Spring", "Arab revolutions", "Arab Awakening", and "intifadas" (Gailiūnas, 2012, p.10). From The Guardian News, Rooksby claims that the most favored term seems to be Arab spring. But why this and not, say, the "Arab revolutions"? It's hard not to suspect that this choice of term performs a certain depoliticising function. The term "Arab spring" sounds a lot more unthreatening to defenders of the status quo elsewhere in the world than "revolution" does (Rooksby, 2011). Maybe for this reason more than half of the Arab population adopted this term. In my opinion it is better to call this movement "uprising". However I am going to use "Arab Spring" term to be associating to the most common use.

These movements create awareness around Middle East and North African countries, in short time people in those countries. According to Gelvin (2013) wording in New York Times; the Arab Spring movements are not new at all. He states that; Arab world must go back at least as far as Algeria's "Berber Spring" (1980), and must include the Bahraini intifada (1994-99), Syria's Damascus Spring (2000), Lebanon's Cedar Revolution (2005), and Kuwait's Blue and Orange revolutions (2002, 2006) (2013).

It is fair to say that what Arab world has lived is a type revolution which happens in short time but aim to change whole systematic issues in country. On the other hand some researchers do not accept to use word "revolution", they prefer "uprising" instead. Revolution, as a concept can be defined as any radical changes in order to create a new system. However uprising is refusing obedience and must be dealt with the public force.

Social movements exist as counteraction to the state. The force and power implied on public creates this ideological and socioeconomic rebellion. The public cannot call as riot or any other negative labels. There are different definitions for social movements. For example John Wilson claims in his (1973) that "…a social movement is a conscious, collective, organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order" (cited in Fridriksson et al., 2012, p.16). However, Paul Byrne (1997) defines social movements as unpredictable, irrational, unreasonable and disorganized (Cited in Fridriksson et al., 2012, p.16). These two explanations of social movements are just the opposite. However we can still call the Arab Uprising as conscious one. As Gailiūnas states the rebels were youth, unemployed people, ordinary workers, trade unionists, sympathizers of Western

liberal values, representatives of the middle-class, artists, intellectuals, feminists, farmers, and al-Qaeda linked terrorists (2012, p.25). It was a mixture of citizens from all socioeconomic levels. This makes the organization a public movement which delivered by ordinary Arab people.

The important question here is what Arab Spring is for the western countries? Is it possible to describe it as an uprising movement like how half of Arabs did or it is just an ordinary internal issue in the Arab countries? The wave of Arab uprisings which has started in January 2011 became a phenomenon that has gained attention from international and local media. To be realistic, Arab world has not experience such political and social movements. At the beginning, the western countries which are related to Arab countries in term of security were silent. After a while US President Barack Obama made an explanation about these movements. Heydemann states; the US view of the Arab Spring as an "historic opportunity"; setting aside the fears of those who argued that Arab uprisings would simply empower anti-Western extremists, President Obama aligned the United States with the Arab street (cited in Alcaro & Haubrich-Seco, 2012, p.21-22). Also he adds that; from hesitancy and a reluctance to support Arab uprisings to a gradual embrace of the changes they are bringing is evident among European governments, as well (cited in Alcaro & Haubrich-Seco, 2012, p.22). It is fair to say that the West has encouraged the Arab Spring with their own arguments and devices.

2.5.1 Arab Spring and Women

Karlberg (2005) explains the power and male relations in the way that; the power as domination paradigm has served as a more subtle structure of male privilege. Throughout the public sphere, in our economy, political institutions, judicial systems,

educational systems, and so forth, systems of reward tend to privilege conventionally "masculine" adversarial traits over conventionally "feminine" traits such as caring and cooperation (p. 5). From this point, we can discuss about what uprising movement in Arab World did for women? Did women get enough action or is it shown in media instruments? What was their position among these social movements? Are they disappointed by masculine world order in Arab Spring?

Women played a significant role during the Arab Spring period, especially, in social media which helped to organize whole movements. Radsch describe this image as follows; young women have been at the forefront of the uprisings that in Egypt Tunisia, and Yemen… The protesters who took the streets and the cyber sphere to demand their entrenched leaders step down (2012, p.6). The women activist Asmaa Mahfouz, 26 year old, gave speech on a video:

> I, a girl, am going down to Tahrir Square, and I will stand alone. And I'll hold up a banner. Perhaps people will show some honor. I even wrote my number so maybe people will come down with me. No one came except … three guys and three armored cars of riot police … I'm making this video to give you one simply message: We want to go down to Tahrir Square on January 25. If we still have honor and want to live with dignity on this land, we have to go down on January 25. We'll go down and demand our rights, our fundamental human rights… If you think yourself a man, come with me on January 25th. Whoever says a woman shouldn't go to protests because they will get beaten, let him have some honor and manhood and come with me on January 25th… Sitting at home and just following us on news or Facebook leads to our humiliation, leads to my own humiliation. If you have honor and dignity as a man, come … If you stay home, you deserve what will happen to you … and you'll be guilty, before your nation and your people …Go down to the street, send SMSs, post it post it on the 'net. Make people aware … It will make a difference, a big difference … never say there's no hope … so long you come down with us, there will be hope … don't think you can be safe anymore! None of us are! Come down with us and demand your rights my rights, your family's rights. (Mahfouz, 2011).

Asmaa Mahfouz is just one of them; she is in the uprising movement actively. As we can understand from her words, she has given a message to the other citizens, especially men, by uploading a video to YouTube. The important point here is; since she can feel strong alone, she must describe herself like a "man" whom she believes the actual strength is for men rather than women. She addressed men's masculinities. Feels comfortable when she mentions, whoever says a woman shouldn't go to protests because they will get beaten, let him have some honor and manhood and come with me on January 25th. Those speeches show that, being in street for equal right, for justice, for salary, for purely freedom or anything else, shortly standing face to face with the authority seems to be men job for Arab women even though they are such a strong woman in the public.

Isam Shihada supports the idea that; the Arab Spring seems to represent a new era of emancipation for women in the Arab world. Yet, it remains to be seen whether women will be afforded the opportunity to play substantial roles in the futures of their respective countries, or whether they will be marginalized, secluded and silenced (2011, p.2). Before and after Arab Spring period, it is still a hot subject that what did Arab Spring do for women, what issues has been changed and what extend?

Victoria A. Newsom and Lara Lengel talk about women role in Arab spring in their essential work. They cited that, gendered messages are constructed and made invisible by western media and also emphasis on absence of gender-based social change (2011, p.2).

The women in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and other regions had the strongest and widest voice across the world during the Arab Spring. Maybe the first

time period, they were that much free to talk and express their ideas about their country and the women issues. According to Middle East Monitor (MEMO) Tawakul Karman became a figure of the Yemeni uprisings; her role as a revolutionary catapulted her into the media spotlight, her role as a strong woman cemented that position. Despite the fact that the revolutions were not gender based calls for freedom, the spotlight on women's roles across the Middle East and North Africa was intensified (Arshad, 2013).

Picture 1: Women at an anti-government demonstration in Sanaa, Yemen. (Retrieved from The Guardian, Friday 22 April 2011).

In a small room in Benghazi some young men and women are putting out a new opposition newspaper. "The role of the women in Libya," reads one headline. "She is the Muslim, the mother, the soldier, the protester, the journalist, the volunteer, the citizen", it adds (Rice et al., 2011). This is how The Guardian takes the attention on Arab Women in Yemen. In the picture, women are separated from men, but still their ideology about their country is same.

There are many women take active role in Uprising Movement in Arab world and they have signature below revolutions in their country. Khamis and Marzouki (2011)

says that International focus on the Arab world has increased during the "Arab Spring," and recognition of individual women's involvement in the conflicts and demonstrations has risen (cited in Newsom & Lengel, 2011, p.2). Yet, Office of Peace and Security (UPF) Affairs at 2012 add to this reality that social media cite the absence of gender based social change (cited in Newsom & Lengel, 2011, p.2-3). Maybe the uprising movements and the Arabs Spring all did not directly affect the women citizens' life and social position in society but they had the strongest scream ever for themselves and their country.

All those problems not directly related to gendered problems in the countries which has Arab Spring movements. However, there are some women who focus on the subjects that based on the women freedom and equal rights.

Khalil (2013) reports in BBC news by pointing Tawakkul Karman from Yemen who is awarded with Nobel Peace Prize; "When you take a walk in the streets of Sanaa[17], the women you see are covered in black from head-to-toe. That is why the whole world took notice when Yemeni women were at the forefront of the demonstrations that eventually ousted long-time president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, and brought in a new government" (Khalil, 2013).

Tunisian revolution was the first step for this social movement. Also we can say that; Tunisia is the best country about the women rights in Arabic region. Simonetti argues the Tunisian revolution has been caused by educated youth eager for dignity

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[17] City in Yemen.

and employment. Moreover, women refusing primitivism and passiveness have played an important role in the Tunisian freedom demonstrations, marching up the streets in Tunis, which is what launched the Arab Spring (Simonetti, 2012, p.7).

During the Arab Spring women activists and women's organizations did not appear. Actually, Arab women was always there, always had words, but the media just get aware of it more. Several of the women who participated in and led the Arab uprisings were cyberactivists prior to the convulsions of 2011, but many more were inspired to become activists by the events happening around them (Radsch, 2012, p. 4).

There are many examples for why women need to stand for their right in Arab Spring, many causes that make them fed up with their unequal system. Sjoberg at 2012 gives many reasons in her study about why Arab women came until this position; violence against women, domestic treatments, women rape victims, male-oriented gatekeepers, and many others (p. 9). Women tried to alter the system during the Arab Spring by using social media facilities; they tried to raise their voice, because revolution was revolution, for women and men. There are women which play active role in Arab Spring. Lina Ben Mhenni in Tunisia and Esraa Abdel Fattah in Egypt, for example, were early adopters of cyberactivisim (Radsch, 2012, p.10). Esraa Abdel Fattah was known as "Facebook girl" for her role in launching one of the most important opposition youth groups in Egypt, the April 6 Movement. Egypt's Mona Eltahawy, Libya's Danya Bashir, Bahrain's Zeinab al-Khawaja and Maryam al-Khawaja, and many others became known as the "Twitterrati" (Radsch, 2012, p.5).

Simonetti also talks about Yemen, she says unlike Tunisia and Egypt, in Yemen only 25% of the women are literate, approximately 15% have finished school and only 5% work. Still, especially in urban areas, women do have important job positions… Women have been participating in protests as column writers against President Ali Abdullah Saleh (2012, p.7).

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Held (1980) said that what we now call critical social theory has arisen from the Marxist studies of the Institute of Social Research established in Frankfurt in 1923 (cited in Powers, 2007, p.2). Leonard (1990) talking on the practical intent of the critical social theory said that it is intended to provide people with the tools to change oppressive situations, whether it is perceived by or hidden from them. A critical theory without the practical dimension is therefore called the "bankrupt on its own terms" (Powers, 2007, p.2).

The specific process advocated by the critical theory is bringing out the self-liberating practices among groups of people using awareness of oppressive conditions (Powers, 2007, p.15). Dreyfus and Rainbow (1983) mentioned about the Frankfurt School authors, and stated that it is not necessary to assume that there is some deep hidden true meaning or interpretation within a discourse that is the cause of a false consciousness (cited in Powers, 2007, p.3).

For this study *Al-Hayat* (Saudi Arabia), *Al-Chourouk* (Tunisia) and *Al-Ahram* (Egypt) newspapers are chosen. Six different news have been analyzed about three female activists, Amina Tyler from Tunisia, Tawakul Karman from Yemen and Aliaa Elmahdy from Egypt, who took active role during the Arab Spring. The time that has

taken as reference during the study includes years between January 1st 2011 and December 31st 2013 (which covers Arab Spring period).

Fairclough analytical frameworks will be used while study is conducted. He uses three dimensional frameworks while exploring particular discursive events; instance of language use, analyzed as text, discursive practices, social practices (Fairclough, 1995, p.135). Each discursive event has three dimension; *text* (Instance of language use, analyzed as text, discursive practices, social practices) it is an instance of *discourse practice (*The production, distribution and consumption of a text). Involves production and interpretation of a text and it is a piece of *social practice* (Fairclough, 1995, p.135). Fairclough also mentions about two prong of textual analysis which is about different coherent readings of the same text. Text can be anything; a word, an article, a still picture, a video, an event or even a person. The textual analysis will be meaningful if we include contextual analysis which deals with the reasons, results, time, ground and context of a relevant text. The last one is the social analysis, which is about hegemony, power relations, political signs, dominant ideologies, historical and cultural backgrounds and its interpretations.

Also he uses a power concept based on Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Fairclough, 1995). He explains it in a way that the connection between text and social practices is seen as being mediated by discourse practices: on the other hand process of text production and interpretation are shaped by a nature of social practices (Fairclough, 1995, p.76).

Forms of discourse analysis do consider the relationship between texts and socio-cultural contexts, the term 'critical' in the name of the approach indicates, according

to Fairclough (2001), an approach that seeks to show up connections that may be hidden from people, such as the connections between language, power and ideology (p. 4).

Fairclough explains social analysis of CDA as to make any contribution to social emancipation through the raising of consciousness, certain conditions must obtain. We can distinguish "objective" and "subjective" conditions. The main objective condition is perhaps obvious, but nevertheless worth reiterating: the wider social situation must be such as to make progress towards social emancipation feasible (Fairclough, 1989, p.234).

3.1 Zoom in CDA

CDA points to the meaning; the meaning is ready to be interpreted in discourse. The huge number of press which cannot be underestimated also deals with the discourse in terms of negativeness. Every discourse is coming with the oppositional ones, the history of the press must be considered while making a discourse analysis.

Media use discriminations consciously or unconsciously. Ideology of the press becomes important and reflects the results of the interpretation. CDA is a kind of methodology to explore definition and relationship between discursive practices, events and texts, and to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise over power (Fairclough, 1995, 132).

A social theory of discourse implies the consideration of discourse as a "form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p.65), as an element of the social structure. Discourse is a "mode of talking" shared by the members of a group who structure their social life according to certain principles and values. The consideration of

discourse as a mode of talking accounts for expressions like "racist discourse", "feminist discourse", "sexist discourse", or "scientific discourse". That is, each discourse has characteristic linguistic features which focalize on and express the kinds of relations that structure that discourse (agency, causality, power and so on) and reflect a specific ideology. Fairclough (1992) defines ideologies in the following way: (They are) significations / constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction, or transformation of relations of domination (p. 87).

3.2 Framework of Faircloughian CDA

Fairclough's framework consist of three types; the social event, the social structure, and the social practice. Each of these events has three dimensions spoken or written text (social events), language (social structure) and orders of discourse (social practices).

3.2.1 Textual Analysis

Discourse analysis is based on textuality. Fairclough also claims that textual analysis should mean analysis of texture of text, their form and organizations and not just commentaries on the 'content' of texts which ignore texture (Fairclough, 1995, p.4). Discourse and text have some common concepts, however they cannot be considered as one. Textual analysis accepts a discourse as the concrete element. While doing the textual analysis discourse take into account as objective and unbiased.

The person who is going to do the analysis is also another critical point in order to reach to a valid result. In terms of acquiring objective textual analysis, Dijk (1979) argued that; the problem of how we understand a literary text has always been the

main concern of both traditional and more recent literary scholarship: both in hermeneutics and in semantics it has been tried to account for the various kinds of meanings of literary texts (p.143).

According to Fairclough; language is an element of the social at all levels. He also defines language as certain ways of combining linguistic elements; in English "the book" is possible but "book the" is not (Fairclough, 2003, p.24). Language is the potential mechanism to decide sequence of meanings, also Fairclough claimed that; texts as elements of social events are not simply the effects of potentials defined by languages (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24).

In order to do discourse analysis, the first step is to do textual analysis. Discourse must be translated as textual form. This translation is going to be important not just for textual analysis, but also in contextual and social discourse analysis as well.

3.2.2 Contextual Analysis

Contextual analysis is the second step for the discourse analysis which deals with the space of a discourse. The important point of the contextual discourse analysis is to acquire who writes or speak the discourse and the places that discourse encode its meaning. In contextual analysis; discourse considered as an event practiced by who may has different intentions. In this point local meaning gets important consideration. Local meaning can be described as the ideologies which are assumed to be constituted by socially shared and general beliefs. According to Dijk;

> In local meanings propositions are expressed which the speaker or writer thinks the recipient should know. That such relevance decisions may be in the interest of the speaker or writer is obvious; for instance, information about an event that may give a bad impression of the speaker/writer, or which in any other way may later be used "against" the speaker or writer, may be left out

in order to influence the models of a recipient in the preferred direction (1998, p.267).

Due to this, context analysis leads us to understand the meaning of the discourse, the person who engages with the discourse in terms of social interactions and also it provides a communication process and micro-sociological view and lastly it is useful in social analysis. Furthermore, contextual analysis gives clues about the text by giving the answer for the questions; when, why, where and makes the text meaningful for the analyzer.

3.2.3 Social Analysis

Social analysis connects the discourse and the social space. Fairclough (1995) used discourse in order to refer to primarily spoken or use of written language, also extend it to semiotics like photography or non-verbals. However, he wished to investigate it in a social theoretically informed way, as a form of social practice (p. 92). This analysis is about the interpretation of the discourse in terms of social environment and backgrounds. This interpretation of discourse is based on the analyzer and how groups of people exist in relation according to their experiences.

Social analysis; conducted with the subjects and their knowledge. However informative dimension is directly related with the informants whom we are using for our study; Arab news and their knowledge. In this case we cannot be certain of the realities. Social analysis also considers discourse as a social product. Social characteristics and analyzer must go behind of the discourse, in other words must discover the conditions and consider the power relation.

Major theoretical influences on the method are critical social theory, anti-foundationalism, postmodernism and feminism. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

is based on the feminist ideas and man-ology in which women are instructed in how to learn to please a man; and transforming the self, which calls on women to remodel their interior lives in order to construct a desirable subjectivity (Gill, 2009, p. 345).

As Fairclough remarked to a point; conventions are drawn upon in discourse embody ideological assumptions which is taken as common sense and which are contributed to finance the existing power relations (2013, p.64). Many feminist scholars agree that the language is a man-made and they are used to discriminate women. Feminist studies also agree on that a sexist discourse exits and it is used to encode the meanings which construct women as a group with specific features. Holmes and Marra as feminist linguists have the knowledge and skills not only to identify, describe and critique discourses of the femininity and masculinity, but also to highlight the discursive behavior which penalize the women in many social contexts and power relations (2010, p. 14).

Fairclough (1995) cited an example which is also related with the power relations. The text is taken from the beginning of a front page newspaper article during the Falklands war[18]; entitled "He'll do his job well says major's wife" and the content as following;

> The wife of the new CO of the 2nd Parachute Battalien spoke last night of her fears for her husband's safety. As she played in the sunshine with her four children, Jenny Keeble said she hoped her husband would not have to go into battle again. She said; "I pray he and his men have done enough. But if they do go on I know that he is a man who will do his job to the best of his ability and I am certain he and the 2nd Parachute Battalion will succeed. Major Cristopher Keeble, 40-year-old devout Roman Catholie, is to succeed Colonel

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[18] A war between Argentina and the United Kingdom on 1982.

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> Herbert Jones who dies leading his men against an Argentina mashinegun post in the Koobie's family and friends gathered around in the garden of her old home -a rumbling Tudor building at Maddington on Salie-bury Plain- for a picnic afternoon as she tried to maintain an air of normillity for the children's sake (Daily Mail, 1 June 1982).

Fairclough asks several questions to the text; how is Jenny Keeble represented here? What picture of army officers' wives do we get from this extract? Do you find yourself having to negotiate with an ideal subject position built into the text by its producer? What is that position (1995, p.52). Then he explains that; the process is profoundly sexist: it works by attaching to Jenny Keeble attributes which are already conventionally definers of "a good wife" (p.53). She explicitly said to be "a good wife", or an admirable person; the process depends entirely on an "ideal reader's" capacity to infer that from the list of attributes, also she expresses confidence in her husband's professional abilities, she is concerned for his safety, she "prays" he has "done enough", she tries to "maintain an air of normality for the children's sake" (p.53). The text is reproduces sexists, and such texts provided that readers generally fall into the subject position of the ideal reader, rather than opposing it.

3.4 Data Collection

I have used Arabic newspapers to display how Arab Spring and Women activists represented in Arab world. I have translated the news into English in order to be able to do my analysis. This has helped me to achieve wider range of news. After this, I have looked for many Arabic language newspapers and I have focused on three of them since these newspapers were from the countries of the activist women that I was searching about. I have used online search for each newspaper which included *Al-Chorouk*, *Al-Hayat* and *Al-Ahram*. Arab Spring brought many woman activists to the media such as Israa Abdel Fattah, Alia Al Mahdi, Asmaa Mahfouz, Nawal El

Saadawi, Lina Ben Mhenni, Tawakkol Karman, Amina Sboui and Ghada Kamal. I have chosen three activists which each of the names were most mentioned in the news; Amina Sboui (also called Amina Tyler) from Tunusia, Tawakul Karman from Yemen and Alia Al Mahdi from Egypt. I have preferred to choose the problematic ones concerning with discourse about women and their participation in a political opposition movement.

The Arab Spring attracted half of the population in the Arab world. In a such groundbreaking event, media's role could easily be predicted. The time period has been from the 1st of January 2011 until 31st of December 2013. The chosen three daily newspapers are strongly reilable/highly trusted and have higher number of circulation. According to the Arabian news, even some of them belong to public authorities but still has the popular image and good reputation and credibility in the Arab world. Arabic media was detecting many news and distrubuting publicly. The distinction of these newspapers were keeping their finger on the pulse. The selected newspapers are milestone among online news sources.

3.3 Newspapers in Detail

The First newspaper called the *Al-Ahram*[19] is one of the most common press organizations for the Arab mainstream media. It is the oldest newspaper of the Middle East region since 1875 established in Egypt. The strategies of *Al-Ahram* were depending on the National Democratic Party which this is the moderate centrist party in Egypt until the Egyptian Revolution. After Egyptian Revolution in 2011, *Al-Ahram* has become a private press. Its circulation is 1.000.000 daily, reaches to

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[19] The chief editor of *Al-Ahram* Naguib Mahfouz (1911–2006), awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature on 1988

1.200.000 on Fridays. ("Al-Ahram, Major Arabic Newspaper, Distributed in US and Overseas"). They are also given substantial leeway, given they avoid certain "taboos"—meaning that the government criticism is avoided since it selects and compensates them ("Arab Media Review: Index of Arab Newspapers", 2005). BBC published news about *Al-Ahram* to consider oppositional side-holding in 2005;

> In the run-up to polling day, opposition newspapers such as al-Ahali, al-Wafd and al-Ghad have been highlighting demonstrations against Mr Mubarak and echoing condemnations of his 24-year hold on power. In contrast, state-linked papers such as al-Ahram, al-Akhbar and al-Jumhuriyah have largely ignored or trivialised the opposition (The media in Egypt, 2005).

The second newspaper called *Al Hayat* which is a daily pan-Arab[20] newspaper, with a circulation over 200,000. Al Hayat was found in 1946 and owned as a service of the prince of Saudi Arabia. As cited in New York Times, *Al Hayat* has the most influential cultural pages in the Arab world, also has an opening opinion pages to radical reactionary Muslim fundamentalists and virulent anti-religious liberals, pro-Iraqi Arab nationalists as well as conservative gulf Arabs (Al-Hayat: A Journalistic Noah's Ark, 1997).

The third newspaper is called *Al-Chorouk* which is an independent and often critical towards to the government, as well as strongly critical of the Islamist movements. Dar Al-Enwar is the organization that owns *Al-Chorouk* newspaper has blessed Ben Ali to gain the control of the governing of Tunisia. However, they has maintained on their high level of dependency until the mid-90s despite the absence of courage in

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[20] Pan-Arabism is an ideology of unification for the Arab countries, from Atlantic Ocean to Arabian Sea.

dealing with several subjects. They always get in trouble with the government, even after the revolution the state of affairs doesn't change (Al Obaidi, 2011). Then they looked for the courage. It provoked the wrath of the authority of Ben Ali which subjects them to series deterrent sanctions. The circulation is over 300.000 and the political view is center left. It is the second largest daily newspaper in Tunisia.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED ARTICLES

I am going to use Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to find out how the Arabic media have represented the activist women during the Arab Spring from three different Arab newspapers.

4.1 Gender Discourse in Arab Media

Discourse of women always holds a significant place in the media. It includes hyperreality about the women's representation which makes it impossible to separate the reality from what we read. Critical thinking of women issues during the Arab Spring consent to understand what gatekeeper's allegiance to their mission. They may obscure the reality and create an artificial social environment. Critical discourse analysis is an optional way to deal with triggers (Fairclough, 1995, p.12).

Women achieved a significant role in the Arab Spring; they were in the forefront in streets and also have sign on many organizations on social media. The problematic point here is that, when they were all together men and women, why the "Women in Arab Spring" term is composed by the media? Since we have witnessed both genders involved, in order to change their destiny, why the media focused on for and women activists in the Arab Spring? This entitle proves that Arab Spring is gendered itself and has created a term which is biased since there is no term for man activists called "Men in Arab Spring".

I have searched about many women who have participated in the uprisings. The ones who I have chosen; their common point was the way they have protest; *nudity*, at least they were talked about their nudity.

Arab women always face with a social pressure and they are always struggling to have equal opportunities. While facing with invisible barriers. Arab Spring was a correct time to see the results of this pressure. It was the biggest one ever. Sjoberg and Whooley claimed that; "…first is the narrative of the Arab Spring as a watershed moment for women's and gender right sin the Arab world which signifies and is signified by the success of (western) liberal democratic transitions" (2012, p. 6). Arab women found opportunity to react to this unfair situation. They have managed to increase their voice, actually they were always there but media have realized their demands.

I have chosen my newspapers from the Arab media; the journalists are all from the Arab region. I have preferred to figure out how Arab media represented the Arab women activist in their articles, how they have seen their reactions towards to the social pressure. The activists that I have chosen have common points; each of the three activists has chosen to show their reactions with their own bodies meaning with their nudity. This was a big challenge for the Arab society because the "woman body" is a big taboo for the eastern culture. However, those women bravely have chosen to use their own sensitivity to protest towards to an uprising. The point here that the Arab media has missed is they are the result of the pressure that they have lived since years. It was not a simple case; nudity, it was an uprising and protesting the cause. However, the Arab media at least some of them have preferred to show this only as nudity rather than concentrating on the actual cause of the protest. Joris

Luyendijk (2012); a Dutch journalist and professor who worked as a Middle East correspondent for five years, has explored that;

> Media limitations, explaining why they are only able to reproduce part of the reality. Countries ruled by dictatorships, in particular, generate considerable barriers for quality journalism. He mentions four filters responsible for this problem in dictatorships: the citizen´s fear to speak out, a lack of statistics, numbers and facts in order to put information into perspective, the vulnerability of sources, and the media companies (cited in Simonetti, 2012, p. 3).

Naked protests could be accepted as extreme way of protesting or even judged by court but never took place in media as something to be obstructing because they are going to encourage society to go out from conservative backgrounds. A 2009 study by Anna Korteweg and Gökçe Yurdakul concluded that in the Netherlands "boundaries are produced as violence against women is tied to religion, i.e. to Islam" (2010, 2012, p. 26). Almost each author handled those protests in terms of religion which have already created the reason for the relevant protests. One of the activists called Tawakul Karman was judged for taking her niqab[21] off and wearing a hijab[22] instead. Getting totally naked and protesting something needs a reason, and this reason has been missed by the Arab media; they talked about nudity of the women instead. Middle East journalists evaluated this reality by looking for a solution or just ignoring the women voices in Arab Spring period. However, what Arab women had done was about giving a political message which must be read with taking into consideration of the gender equality and human rights rather than complaining about

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[21]Type of woman veil used in Muslim countries. See on http://simrasblogs.blogspot.com/2013/06/the-niqab-culture-not-islam.html.

[22]Type of woman veil used in Muslim countries. See on http://islamacloserlook.com/what-is-hijab/

the protesters for giving westernized messages. Their body had political power but the representation of this power by the Arab media was in different frames like seducing other ordinary women in the society or reproducing the western corruptions. They were opposing "the opposition" which has done by the Arab women in order to find answers for justice. Actually, this is not just Arab journalists' problem, it is patriarchal. If a woman stands for protest something, the answer going to be given with a patriarchal way. This study has conducted in order to understand how a journalist from Middle East represents women activists in terms of discourse of women and what their answers are for this struggle.

4.1.1 Analysis of the *Al-Chorouk* Newspaper in Tunisia

The first two articles that I have analyzed were published in *Al-Chorouk* newspaper as online on the 28[th of] June, 2013 with the title called "Kairouan, Amina Sboui's Mother: My Daughter is a Victim and I Have Confidence in the Judiciary that she will be released before Ramadan" and on May 31th 2013 with the title "Kairouan, Amina 'FEMEN' Trial: Tight Security… Protests… Jailed The Accused Charged by Forming a Group".

The articles simply revealed the social pressure on women in the Arab world. This is not just a story about an Arab girl like Amina became known because she used her nudity; it is a pattern for consequences of women issues which they are oppressed consistently to live through in everyday lives. Amina is just one case on becoming an activist with concerned with the women freedom during the Arab Spring but it should not be taken as the only example for the fight of the women to achieve to the equal opportunities within the society.

If we read the news about Amina in the *Al-Chourouk* newspaper in Tunisia where Amina is living, we will see many problematic frames and representations for her. *Al-Chourouk* is a partly independent newspaper as it is mentioned above and often is critical for the government and religious issues. However, still it does not act in liberal way in representing women's issue. The article has addressed the issue about Amina like an extraordinary event that it must be stood against as citizens. They did not deal with the Amina case with objectivity and diversity. Discourse of women outlined with patriarchal contexts, and calling readers to understand that Amina is a problematic.

The analysis on the Tunisian activist; Amina Sboui (she calls herself Amina Tyler). She was a 19 year old girl lived in Tunisia, Kairouan. In March, 2013 she sparked a big controversy by posting topless photograph on Facebook. She wrote on her body in Arabic "My body belongs to me, and is not the source of anyone's honor" (Sboui, 2013). After she uploaded this picture, the Arab world and media found a source to talk about it. Also Femen group, which Amina was a former member, became another subject that they have mentioned. Many journalists have relied on the interviews made with her family as well.

The first article is constructed as a storyline and included an interview made with Amina's mother. It has aimed to give information about the case of Amina which has started from her childhood and ended up with the charge that Amina has faced. They have filed a claim about Amina Sboui saying that she was about forming a group to attack property and people, obscene publicly and also desecration of a cemetery. Three witnesses bear several incorrect testimonies to the court. However at the end of the case, the witnesses took their testimony back. According to Fairclough CDA

theories; author describes the events that occur in front of the court and brings the problematic ones forward. Those events are framed by the author as sick&victim Amina which are social events. According to Fairclough (1995) those words are texts that have been used for representing Amina (p.9). In contextual level; her representation can be read as; she needs help in order to be a normal girl to honor her conservative family, and get rid of the foreign feminist group Femen.

Here comes another serious problematic discourse about the representation of the Femen group which has created in April 2008 in Ukraine with the slogan "Ukraine is not Brothel" and this has become an international movement of the female activists painted with the slogans and crowned with flowers. According to the Euronews article Inna Shevchenko who is the creator of the Femen says;

> You can look at our breasts as long as you want. But, while watching our breasts you cannot ignore the message written there. Our breasts are talking, our breasts are screaming, we have transformed our naked bodies into a political instrument. We have given the world a new meaning of women's nudity. And now this is a political instrument, this is my political weapon, and on my breasts I have written a message I want you to hear (Kumar, 2013).

However the concentration on the Femen organization was not representing them as they are. Also, the representation of Amina as sick and with psychologically problematic engaged with the Femen group in the article. The representation of Femen was just a "dangerous western feminist group" which people had to be careful about and evil fate for Amina. In other words, the author approached to frame an Arab woman (Amina) as "victim of Femen". Also the "us" and "them" frame is created.

Picture 2: Amina in front of the court, she was blamed for several deviant acts.

In the picture of the article it is seen that Amina is the only female character standing in the middle of a six men and the photograph shouted to frame the event that Amina is the guilty one. There is one press member seems like trying to protect Amina from the crowd, other guy with the black glasses and a uniform looks like a cop and four other men who encoded as the people who came to protest Amina. Even her being the only woman surrounded by men tells a lot.

The representation that constructed by Al Qasimi[23] which called text according to Fairclough's CDA is discursively through "rebellious", "insusceptible", "immoral", "victim" and "insane" for Amina. If we see the title of the article "Kairouan[24], Amina Sboui's Mother: My Daughter is a Victim and I Have Confidence in the Judiciary that she will be released before Ramadan" there are two women presented. The first one is the mother and the second one is the daughter. The first problematic issue here is that, Al Qasimi did not prefer to use the mother's name; it just left the note as "the mother". The author leads readers to think that she is a mother, before anything else.

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[23]The journalist who wrote news about Amina in *Al-Chorouk* newspaper.

[24]A city in Tunisia where Amina lives.

And "the mother" as a culturally constructed supervisor of a child especially a girl is so upset from what her daughter has done. It is as if she has done something "wrong". As social analysis which Fairclough's CDA refers, whatever the issue is, when we read the title before we follow the subject, we know that "the mother" is so sorry for and waiting for fair trial for her daughter. Also, the title scripted with religious states, mother asking for her release before "the holy Ramadan". The mother is put as a religious woman, encoded as "miserable" that is waiting and hoping. The article title calls the readers to the widespread religious values. Since she asked for release of her daughter before Ramadan, this makes her pure and legitimate. Another code in the title attributes to Amina. When the readers only read the title, they see her as the "victim".

The article continued with this quote; "…she was lost and upset, and she hardly talked to us. She has ensured us that she belongs to a conservative family and her father was an Islamic teacher, he has trained many generations in line with Islam. He is from a famous conservative family and studies with Tayyib Al Gazzi[25]" (Al Qasimi). The unknown mother is lost and upset and she is trying to proof that she honestly believes in God. The problem here is that, the explanation of the mother did not became enough to rely on. The most important point to consider here is; journalist arbitrarily adds some statements. According to social analysis; "Trust in god" or "being a member of religious family" are his own way to show Amina's family as a good example. This leads readers to believe that they are one of us. Since he did not get enough with "the mother, he adds the information about father as well.

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[25]A famous imam in Kairouan.

As we see in the speech, Amina's mother in her narrative gave additional information about the cultural background of the father as well. So, Al Qasimi got it in the way he wanted, the family is completely described as a religious one. This has increased the validity of his argument. Since the father is also religious, grew up in a famous family in Kairouan and most importantly educated by a famous religious man, he is okay to be represented as innocent. If the father being showed as innocent supports the argument that "his" daughter is the victim. The next state in the first paragraph "However, what happened to her daughter is out of the normal and not the custom of her family" (Al Qasimi, 2013). The custom of the family coded as the normal which is being in the mid of Islamic domains, and Amina is just the alien one out of the customs of the family. The article has framed the family as 'one of us' and emphasized that the opposition is not coming from outside but inside.

In the last part of the first paragraph Al Qasimi stated that; "Amina is considered as sick and cannot think and act as a normal person. Unfortunately, there are some people provoking and inducting against famous throne (the Sboui family) which is well-known with its prestige and originality in Kairouan" (Al Qasimi, 2013). The mother complaining about the people who think that Amina is normal, she says that Amina is sick and cannot behave normally. Also the point that encoded here is the Amina's "illness" which has been used as pulling down the name of the family. The family code appears to promote fatherhood; Debbagh (2012) stated in the discourse analysis of the representations of women in Moroccan broadcast news article that "being able to provide for the family, women seem to have shown to contest the boundaries of the private and public spheres and challenge men's position as the sole bread winners". The family name used for embodying the masculine connotation.

Giving this importance to family name may cause to make Amina second issue to consider.

In the second paragraph of the article, Al Qasimi demonstrated the childhood stories of Amina; "Hajje[26] adds, she was living in Saudi Arabia with her husband and she left her daughter (Amina) which was born in 1994 with her grandmother between two- six years old" (Al Qasimi, 2013). In this part the second denotation for "the mother" appears; "Hajje". As I have mentioned before we do not know the name of Amina but we have several labels for her. Hajje is also a word that is used among the people, who call themselves a 'Muslim'. It has a cultural code for a Muslim woman. However, readers may be able to decode this word as the woman who is right without questioning what the issue is. Everything that encoded in the article meets with the common point that, the family with fatherhood signs is sinless. The grandmother also became another character that has looked after Amina since her childhood. Here, Al Qasimi has emphased Amina who grew up with her grandmother. "That time, Amina was visiting her parents each year. Also, she (Amina) has been to Umrah[27] for four times. However, in the last few months Amina has completely changed and she has suffered from psychological problems" (Al Qasimi, 2013). This period of time when she went to Umrah has demonstrated as the golden times of the Amina's life. As the next issue Al Qasimi stated that;

> Because of her psychological problems she met a strange group via internet and she was their victim as Hajje said. She published nude images in social network (Facebook). After that her personality has changed completely to someone gloomy and violent although she was affectionate, moral and helping poor people (Al Qasimi, 2013).

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[26] Amina's mother also a woman who went to Pilgrimage.

[27] Going Macca outside the Pilgrimage season.

When the readers read this sentence it may lead them to think that Femen group is responsible for Amina's illness. It represented as "strange group" which has caused the change in Amina's personality. The adjectives that used "affectionate, moral and helping poor people" are also problematic in terms of describing Amina. How come the moral girl who is willing to help poor people has changed totally after she has met Femen? The image created by the author Al Qasimi is the immoral and gloomy Amina vs. moral and affectionate Amina. The public values which created and produced by men, like being moral, became label for victim Amina. Her family could not persuade her to stay as moral and be good for the society. According to Fairclough (1992, p.74) the "musts" comes out in the text. She must be moral or she must be affectionate and helping poor people. Even, the meaning extracted can be she must continue going to Umrah to be able to come back to old Amina. The Amina image has created by the author is encoded as in circle of directions "she must". Since she does not follow the rules of her family which is man organized, she deserves to be victim.

The next section in the article titled as "Legally, Humanitarian and Social View" (Al Qasimi, 2013). The author made a judgment about Amina discursively. The reason that Amina goes to investigating judge is all about the witnesses who write an incorrect statement about her and later on retract their statements. However, the position created by the author is a little bit different than what Amina face. The word "humanitarian" is taking the value of what Amina stands for, and makes her worthless and weak who needs humanity and legal help to be saved and to get rid of what she has done?

The statement about Amina's crime puts as "Amina Sboui has been charged by forming a group to attack to property and people, obscene publicly and also desecration of a cemetery" (Al Qasimi, 2013). There are three different claims for Amina in this sentence. The first one is "forming a group to attack property and people". Forwarded message according to Fairclough CDA; Amina is a dangerous girl and may attack to property and people. When we read this sentence, even if we know that all have happened because of the incorrect statements of the witnesses, we tend to believe the idea that Amina is a guilty person. Also this statement has engaged with another blaming that she "obscene publicly". The created girl who is obscene publicly is engaged with the attacking people and property and also does not have a respect to religion. When these three acts come from a woman, the possibilities made for Amina being an innocent almost disappears in the text.

In the last section the author asked questions with hidden answers. "Is prison a solution for Amina, although the charge was not occurred already as her lawyer states or it required taking care of her in order to be able to continue her study and alleviate the suffering conservative family?" (Al Qasimi, 2013). The identity of Amina also underestimated here, the request for Amina's freedom is coded as engaged with the happiness of conservative family and lawyer stating about taking care of her and educational requirements.

Reading the text from social analysis of Fairclough; the "victim girl" deceived by the feminist group and she could not protect herself. She needed help from the law, psychologists, God, family etc. The author gave a clue about the solution for Amina; "Amina supposed to be sent to psychiatrist and forensic before make another analysis in order to involve her in trouble". She needed to be healed because she labeled as a

sick person. Also, author argued in his article that she put herself into trouble by using her femininity and gendered codes. Finally, Al Qasismi ended up his article with another problematic advice; "Her mother ensures that she has the confidence that the justice will be fair with her sick victim daughter as she said. Also, she has the confidence of God in the world and the hereafter as well" (Al Qasimi, 2013). As an interpretation of social analysis; the religious, masculine and stereotypical codes embodied in one sentence. The Arab woman Amina's mother trusts the judge; she is waiting for a fair solution for her sick and victim daughter. She has trusted everything around her; however, she never stood beside her daughter. The hidden messages in this article makes the author to think that the first woman character; the mother is hopeless; she has trust in justice, trust in God, trust in the social conservative forms that her family has. Another woman character Amina; she is sick, needs to see psychologist, chosen as a victim by the foreign feminist group, cannot decide alone or even if she decides this will put her into trouble.

The second article that I have analyze about the activist Amina, is from the *Al-Chorouk* newspaper, an online article published in 31[th of] May, 2013 written by Mohammed Emin and Khalifa Al Qasimi entitled; Kairouan, Amina "Femen" Trial: Tight Security… Protests… She has been Accused of Forming a Group and Jailed.

This article is also composed as a storyline which included demonstrations of Amina case. Acording to Fairclough's textual analysis Amina is texted as "accused Femen" who "tense the atmosphere", "extraordinary case", "against the public", "daughter", "has psychological problems", "needs help", "against religion", "owner of mistakes" and "drug user". The article has framed in order to represent Amina as an accused Femen who is harming the people and values of public. The content of this article is

the process of Amina's lawsuit. She has judged because of several issues and there was a public trial with hundreds of protesters, guards, lawyers, press, Ansar Al Sharia[28] members and citizens. The authors demonstrated the event by insulting Amina and her lawyer. Therefore, Amina's father was just a normal case like any other citizen in Tunisia which accepted Amina as a guilty.

Picture 3: Amina's lawyer Leila Ben Debbe and the crowd in front of the court.

Seethe picture above shows two different context of Amina's situation. On the left context, Amina's lawyer Leila Ben Debbe is making a victory sign, on the other side are protesters in front of the Court House. It is simply, a picture of woman case which exposed by public pressure. This must not only be seen as Amina's case, this is the reality of the women in social sphere. The authors here, tried to construct an idea that the public is standing against Amina and the public is the ordinary people of the society.

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[28]Sharia Supporter who declared as terrorist group by Tunisian Government. For more information http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-23853241.

"The Femen girl Amina": in the first paragraph, authors started their speech with labeling and representing Amina as a member of the Femen group. Shortly after, they added another statement; "Amina who arrived on the 19th May, 2013 has made many things which tense the atmosphere and became the reason of several protests as many citizens, officials and lawyers said" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013). There is such an engagement represented here, Femen Amina and tensing the atmosphere and causing many protests.

> "The trial took place with a tight and heavy security in the vicinity of the court Kairouan in the light of protests of the hundreds and the number of activists which belongs to Civil Societies and Religious Association. Many slogans were raised to condemn the assault on the values and sanctities and demanding hash penalty for anyone who touches them. As an addition, some Ansar Al-Sharia activists who attended unofficially to the court stated that; the way Ministry of Home Affairs deal with the obscene publicly and also desecration of a cemetery does not represent Ansar Al-Sharia opinion" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013).

This engagement carves out the theme of the article. Authors collide Amina's case and the protesters are there to humiliate Amina. The protesters represented as the majority of the society which has injured values and beliefs by Amina. Another statement made about the Al Sharia group which demanded Amina to be judged for obscene publicly and desecration of a cemetery. This group claimed that they were affected by the Amina's action in regard to their religious view. According to Fairclough' CDA, authors bring forward the Al Sharia's explanations and indicate their demands as public opinion.

"Daughter of Munir Sboui, as she called herself Amina Tylor" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013). Here, the patriarchal context comes out; Amina has been represented as a daughter of Munir Sboui. Real identity of Amina has been demonstrated as a

"daughter" rather than what she has prefered to describe herself. The emphasis on "the father" unloaded the importance of Amina Tyler's personality. In the patriarchal societies, father is used as an important figure who supervises the women inside the family. Actually, authors approach to save her esteem in front of the readers. Engaging her identity to her father is a custom in Arabic countries, however in this article, it has encoded as propaganda to limit her reputation. Allegiance of Amina to her father has been emphasized implicitly.

"About 9:30 am Amina entered the court room, covered by sefseri[29] and guarded by prison and reform officers" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013). Here, demonstration of the religious values appears again. The woman who soiled by her action covered by sefseri and assumed that she got cleaned (see the appendix B. 1). The religious symbols can move sentiments in readers have used in this article and assumed to increase the possibility of legitimacy of the side which donated as public.

"Outside of the court, hundreds of citizens raise their voices which were Tekbir[30] and condemning what Amina has done with her foreigner colleagues, they expose part of their body which they consider it as an assault on morality and values of the society and the religion of the country" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013). According to social analysis; the girl who is obligated to be covered with religious cloth and guarded by officers of the court has been constructed against the crowd with their sincere feelings. Amina tested by the people who were represented like any of us. Emin and Qasimi (2013) continued with their statement by stating; "Large number of security

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[29]Traditional head scarf in Tunisia.

[30]God is great.

attends to the trial in order to control the protests but many hassles and hot discussions were taken place between citizens and the security" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013). "The citizens" were trying to reach Amina to punish her and here another female character has taken into account.

> "It was getting harder to control the situation for security each time the slogans rise up again or new events occur, such as what happened when lawyer Leila Ben Debbe rise her both hand with the victory sign (V) which caused the protesters to see and they approach fence of the court" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013).

The indicator of the biased demonstration in the context has got bigger in this point. The action that Lawyer Leila Ben Debbe has done discriminated like a sin. The interpretation of the readers is guaranteed by this demonstration. A woman professional who succeeded is framed as contemptible and unimportant. Under the subheading "Tense Atmosphere" authors got involved with the voices raised up in the court. This atmosphere structured by the protesters waiting for the justice to heal their injured feelings. The particular observations that authors has done were all intended to create a perception against Femen and Amina. "The raised up voices criticized the judiciary because of their lack of neutrality, penalty and preventing Ansar Al Shaira and allowing the girls to be naked" (Emin & Qasimi, 2013). Here again the Ansar Al Sharia group which is based on the Sharia rules represented as the public, their sexist texts placed in the article and Amina was blamed to be naked. Even, the judiciary has been criticized because of lack of the "neutrality". Embarrassingly, the "neutrality" is promoted as standing beside the idea of Ansar Al Sharia and has used to show like express of the dominant idea.

Under the last subsection "Who is behind small Amina?" (Emin, Qasimi, 2013) included the interview conducted with Amina's father. As it is understood from the subtitle, authors gave clue to readers about Amina's innocence. The message can be extracted from here is according to social analysis of Fairclough, Amina is not able to do all of those things by herself; she might have got some help from her grandmother. The narrative of her father placed here with enormous patriarchal codes; "Munir Al Sboui, father of accused, accepted to make interview with *Al-Chourouk* while he was in a bad psychological mood "crying" for what has happened to his family and he said that his daughter was 18 years old, suffering from psychological problems and she was trying to get healed" (Emin, Qasimi, 2013). The father encoded as father of accused, and he asked for help for his daughter. Also Amina is the one who is suffering from psychological problems and trying to get healed. "…he also acknowledged that his daughter made unaccepptable mistake, he thinks that there is unknown people behind her who encourage her to come Kairoun" (Emin, Qasimi, 2013). From social analysis; the father accepts his daughter's mistakes and he is an ordinary father like the protesters standing out, does not support what his daughter has done and referring to legitimacy of the communal displeasure.

Also authors point out the blood taste that requested from Amina to understand if she has used drugs or not. The results were negative but still the issue was brought forward according to Fairclough's CDA in order to create a negative perception of Amina.

 The second article ended up with words that; "Amina and her lawyer exit the court under tight security, sirens, light signals and the security around the court" (Emin &

Qasimi, 2013). The result of the story, the lawyer and Amina were discriminated from the society, shown like guilty, represented as extraordinary case in social context.

4.1.2 Analysis of *Al-Hayat* Newspaper in Yemen

The second two articles that I have analyzed are from *Al-Hayat* newspaper, published as online article on the 11th of February, 2013 entitled "Yemeni Tawakul Karman who is Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. "A sign of Women's Stockings" (see appendix B. 2) and the article published on the 17th of October, 2013 entitled "Leading Figure Took off the Veil and Rebelled against Her Party. Karman Provokes Controversy and Jealousy Elder Activists".

The article that will be analyzed below is about the Yemeni Nobel Peace Prize winner Tawakkul Karman. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011, recognition of her work in nonviolent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work in Yemen ("Meet the Laureates", 2011). She is also the first Arab woman who was awarded by the Nobel Prize.

Karman is a very successful Arab woman and took active role in Arab Spring period in order to make change for women rights in Yemen. After a while, her picture has been used by women's socking company in Yemen with the name of "Princess Karman". The author is criticizing her decision about accepting to be on an advertisement, taking of her niqab and wearing hijab instead. Also he has done a compared Karman with another Nobel Prize owner Iranian woman and also activist women Bacha from Yemen in order to create adequate context for the readers in

regards to dishonor Karman. The author has rejected her success unanimously and described her as "pejorative woman" who is acting in the fashion advertising.

In this article, Karman is represented as "advertisement actor" instead as an activist and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, became the main theme of the article. Also the news article did not publish her picture in the article.

First of all, both ideological background of the newspaper and the journalist must be taken into consideration. As Fairclough mentions, CDA aims to analyze relationship between discourse and society in terms of power and hegemony. In this sense, the patriarchal power relations and hegemonic masculinity that associated with the Middle East will be uncovered in this article. As Fairclough (1995) mentions;

> CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p. 133).

Firstly, owner of the newspaper which contains current article is Saudi prince Khalid Bin Sultan is the gatekeeper for the discourses in the article. If we ask the questions that for what purpose the discourse is produced (Fairclough, 1995, p. 133) we will see the starting point for derogative comments for Karman.

As it is mentioned before; power, dominance and inequality between social groups are typical terms that belong to the macro-level analysis. The title of the article is called the "Yemeni Tawakul Karman Who Won the Nobel Peace Prize: A brand of Women's Stockings" (Salim, 2013). Author created a false consciousness about

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Karman at the beginning of his text. The term "notion of hegemony" which cited in Fairclough (1992, p. 94) clearly embodied with masculine codes in title. Firstly, Karman is an ordinary citizen of Yemen who is struggling to have equal opportunities within the Arab society as a woman. In the article there is no mention that she is an activist who gets Nobel Prize because of her nonviolent struggle for the safety of women and women's rights in order to fully participate in peace-building work in Yemen. Without noting this, author has put a label in the title which is "Sign of Stocking" in addition to "who is awarded Nobel Peace Prize" for Karman. He led readers to have stereotypical decoding for Karman before they start to read. Capitalist consumption culture made her already a commercial brand in a very stereotypical way. He brought forward the representation that "sign of stocking" to humiliate her. If woman has success she can only be stocking brand.

As it is stated before; unlike macro-level, language use, discourse and verbal interaction is related to the micro-level analysis (Dijk, 2008. 14). In order to make analysis in micro-level, textual analysis must be taken into consideration. Firstly, textual analysis has different aspects according to Fairclough; considering text as an object, secondly trying to see what discourse said or what aimed to be said, and lastly who is analyzing also must be considered. Analysis of text involves linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary organization above the sentence level.

In this article, Karman representations must be taken as textual labels given by author who covers "advertisement image", "Princess Karman", "disobedient", "pejorative woman" and "impious". As Van Dijk (1988) described discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties)

as well as production and reception processes (p.3) Firstly, the author framed the article in terms of "disobedient" and "impious" Karman; and he addressed religious and conservative ones readers.

In contextual analysis it must be considered that, every discourse has intentional dimensions, the aim of the contextual analysis comprehends why the discourse is produced. As said it is stated in the methodology part, we need to discover the local meaning of the discourse in order to understand contextual dimension.

> "This is the first time they have used the image and name of the Yemeni who is unknown and not working in field of brand advertising. The Yemeni's dishonor using pictures of women in the work of propaganda, in the field of art, advertising and fashion show. It provides difficulties in families and community. Some of them have been subjected to threats from Islamist militants" (Salim, 2013).

Here, the author considered Karman in his Yemeni cultural context. He created a meaning for Karman and located her in his frame, his propositions for Yemeni women; Yemeni cultural codes. According to Fairclough, author is doing here as encoding of reality that differs according to the social ideologies struggles over meaning. He adds;

> What we need to explain how one meaning wins credibility or legitimacy over the available meanings. In order to explain how partial accounts of reality appear as the truth Hall elaborates on the key concept of ideological presupposition. An ideological presupposition is a set of implicit ideological assumption which are taken as true and which an explicit proposition ideologically coherent (Fairclough, 1992, p.122).

According to Salim's presuppositions; Karman is a Yemeni woman dishonored his nation. Using image and name of a Yemeni in the work of propaganda, in the field of art, advertising and fashion show is encoded as dishonoring woman. Author's

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prediction by the text "dishonor" Karman is because of the contextual paradigms that he already has. He tries to proof to his readers that Karman is a shameful woman by giving example from the ordinary Yemeni's lives. He claimed that she is the first woman in Yemen that her name and image used in advertisements and he supposed to encode his ideas as similar with the readers. This paragraph is written in an insulting overtone. Also, the religious arguments consciously arisen to say "See, she is really irreligious one" which he thinks it condemned by public.

Salim quotes from someone in the Change Square; "An activist said in Change Square in Sanaa who preferred anonymity said that, the Iranian Shirin Ebadi who won Nobel Peace Prize wrote a book, while Karman turned into a stocking trademark" (2013). In this point the author creates a new frame to get support from his argument from the other activists. Fairclough (1989) indicates that; discourse is more than text, from this it follows that "discourse" is a wider term than "text": "I shall use the term discourse to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (p.24). From this point the close reading of his statement lead us to social codes rather than the text. The anonymous activist, made it easier for the author to express his veiled ideas. He knew that those labels do not correspond to Karman, so he has referred to another female character which is also Muslim Shirin Ebadi who won Nobel Peace Prize as well. He proposed to listen and took care of other activist words to show that there is no suspect on his statement. When it is interpreted in terms of social norms, the collusion that created with Ebadi and Karman is to get affirmation from the readers. The message that "Yemen has not ready to see this kind of incidents yet" is going to block the outbreak of what Karman has done in Yemen or even other Muslim countries.

Another activist that the author has preferred to make a comparison with Karman is Amal Bascha who is headed "Sisters Forum for Human Rights". His statement was as follows;

> "On the other hand, Yemeni activist Amal Basha got the prize of achievement in life, awarded by the Indian Television Academy for the best personalities and stars who have played a significant role in changing the culture of violent society and the defense of rights and freedoms" (Salim, 2013).

Here, a very problematic text can be seen. Author gave an example of other Yemeni activist who is the creator of the 'sisters' forum for human rights. The "sisters" text is granted by the author against Karman who was the sign of "stocking advertisement". The author implicitly gave value to one who got achievement but after she did not go against the public rules. There are other contextual reasons for the author to suppose submissiveness of arman;

> Karman who is one of the leaders of the popular uprising that forced former President Ali Abdullah Saleh to step down from power and she operates the Shura Council of the "gathering of Islamic reform" party. There was not even any feedback by the party on the use of Karman in a commercial product. A few years ago abandoned Karman unveiled the niqab and she start to wear hijab (Salim, 2013).

Hall (1982) describes the meaning as a social production if meanings not given but socially produced (cited in Fairclough, 1992, p.67). On this point, the author gave meaning to Karman, as a response to the accusation of her, a religious woman who is obeying rules even wearing niqab instead of hijab like any "neutralized" Yemeni women. He accepted her as not any more in the context that what he frames "natural" after she took off her niqab and prefers to be someone who didn't even care to get permission from the party that she belonged to. Actually, the frame here is about her *nudity* in Yemeni terms. Like other activists that I have done my analysis about

Amina Sboui and Alia Al Mahdi, Tawakul Karman has been also charged for being naked but by removing her niqab and putting hijab instead.

At the end of the narrative that Salim (2013) framed, the female characters Karman, Ebadi and Bascha are interpreted in a patriarchal context. The counter arguments constituted as defensive strategy. The social sphere of the women in Yemen linked once again with the conservative, ultra-religious and obedient labels. Karman's activism is rejected and diminished to the "Princess Karman" for stocking trademark.

The second article from *Al-Hayat* newspaper is about Tawakkul Karman awarded by Nobel Peace Prize. As brief information is given at the beginning of the chapter, entitled "Leading Figure took off the Niqab and Rebelled against her Party. Karman Provokes Controversy and Aroused Elder Activists Jealousy" published on October 17th 2013.

The article is framed by different representations of Karman, some of them are as follows; how she has re-shined by Nobel Prize when her popularity was falling down, how she became an icon but still there are some people who see her struggling in a negative way, how the various reactions done by pro-regime supporters and official media are initiates, how southern people of Yemen claimed that she does not deserve the award, how she became a woman leader and it was shocking for elder women activists, how she has done several mistakes such as leading the peaceful youth to march in street without any permit from crowd and how she took of her niqab.

As it is explained above, in order to do micro-level analysis in terms of CDA we need to close reading of the text (social events) that is used to represent Karman. When we read the title first, what we are imposed to read about Karman is "accused", "woman leader", "took off her niqab", "rebel" and "controversial". The texts are actually what we are told about by the author.

The contextual analysis required seeing those texts into social context. Fairclough and Wodak stated that (1997) the first principle of CDA addressed the social problems. It is worth mentioning that CDA not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes (cited in Mirzaee, 2012, 188). In the contextual frame the inability of the readers to construct the positive story about Karman's struggle is largely due to their expectations not only of the article, but the hegemonic cultural role of women. Those expectations are about the reader's backgrounds on the women stereotypes or their probable perceptions about a Yemeni woman activist. On the other hand, even if the readers' expectations are tend to be positive, the frame put for Karman is far from being an independent woman. She is dominated by the powers granted her as an employee (her party) and her religious views which she have faith to. The first image of Karman as strong and ambitious activist, but when we read the text closely mood we will be able to see oppositional readings as well.

Fairclough (2001) argues that what one sees in a text, what one regards as worth describing, and what one chooses to emphasize in a description, are all dependent on how one interprets a text (cited in Henderson, 2005, p 10). These are all related to contextual analysis in social frame.

Salim (2013) stated that; "She was accused for dragging the peaceful youth of revolution to risk through moving marches[31] without consulting other people or estimating the consequences that led to have many victims, and she was accused for being lameness as well which decline her popularity" (Salim, 2013). Firstly, Karman's being "activist" is underestimated by blaming her to be responsible for the victims who took role in the revolution movements and she called as lameness by the author. The negative connotation embodied here is Karman was encouraged by the meaning that "she is belonging to someone or something".

Salim (2013) indicated that; "Various reactions have taken place in the streets of Yemen because of awarding Tawakul. While the official media and pro-regime campaigning against her, saying that the award has been granted to her, because she conspires on her country". The Nobel Prize that she gained engaged her with "national" codes by claiming that she has conspires on her country. He invited the readers to nationalist reading and played with their national feelings by encoding the message that Karman is "traitor".

The author stated that; "They believe that the symbols of the South struggle deserve these awards. As they were the first peaceful protesters against the ruling regime in Sanaa since 2007, out in the streets, squares and they were also subjected to prosecution" (Salim, 2013). The meaning here is created by association her success to the disappointment for some people and leading reader to think that identity of Karman and her victory is not meaningful as much as it is shown.

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[31]According to Yemen Press newspaper on 12th May 2011, Tawakkul Karman guided a march forward the Prime minister building and Sanaa Radio. See on http://yemen-press.com/news1779.html.

The fabula that author tried to demonstrate about Karman is that; first she belongs to a group and second she has religious codes. The encoded message here is that she is not a "person" who stands alone and succeeds by herself. He stated that; "Activist Karman belongs to a new generation of Arab Islamists, a group affiliated to the "Muslim Brotherhood" and she is a member of the Shura Council of the Central Committee of the "Coalition of Islamic Reform", also her father is from the top leaders of the group in Yemen" (Salim, 2013). There are three different connections that she belongs to, Muslim Brotherhood, her party and her father. In this context, the prize she gained only became meaningful and valuable for the author. If it is accepted that she is backed by a man, her father. After this complement, the paragraph continued with referring the possibilities of becoming a good Islamist model for Karman:

> Karman could provide a model for the role of the new generation of Arab Islamists which supposed that can change the thinking and behavior of the Islamic movements that would consolidate the democratic transformation and recognize the minorities and take the tendencies violence off (Salim, 2013).

If she becomes a model in this sense, it is possible to be a model, and her award will be a "deserved" one.

In the next paragraph, the author represented Karman as a "woman leader" who is supplement of a "man leader". Even adding the gender codes to representation of a person causes to create the counter power relation. Framing her as a "woman" makes her "the other", because culturally leadership is attached to men. Another statement about her is the emphasis of her irreligious patterns;

Karman's march has large and fast leaps, one of the most notably abandoning the niqab and the transfer the activity of civil society organizations to the street through the weekly protest which was organized with partners in the courtyard of the Council of Ministers. This is what makes her street activist rather than political (Salim, 2013).

Here, at the first glance readers may have positive feedbacks about the Karman but unconsciously she is represented as a rebel and irreligious person. Also, author represented her as being unsuccessful within the party. She had to take off her niqab to be able to enlarge her supporters and transfer her success (which she couldn't be in the political field) to streets.

4.1.3 Analysis of the *Al-Ahram* Newspaper in Egypt

The articles that I have analyzed in *Al-Ahram* newspaper entitled "Alia Took of the Fig Leaves[32] and Drink the Cup of Humiliation" (November 18th 2011); and "Many Reports Heaped to the Public Prosecutor against Dairy of a Rebel… Request to Apply Alhad Al Shari against Alia and her Boyfriend" (November 20th 2011).

The articles are about the Egyptian activist Alia Al Mahdi who posted a naked photo of herself on Twitter and took off her clothes for four times in public with several messages written on her body. She is not living in Egypt and she has called herself feminist, activist, vegetarian, atheist and liberal. The emphasis was put on nude pictures of her in these articles.

Egyptian blogger Alia Magda Al Mahdi has become a household name in the Middle East and sparked a global uproar after a friend posted a photo of her naked on Twitter. The photo of 20-year-old former student first posted on her blog, shows her naked apart from a pair of thigh-high stockings and some red patent leather shoes (Fahmy, 2011).

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[32]It is in English used as fig leaves which is used to refer to the nakedness by Adam and Eve in Paradise.

In the first article, the author extracted some meanings from Alia's behavior and created a frame about her personality in order to be able to measure what she has done. Firstly, the title is called; Alia Took of the Fig Leaves and Drink the Cup of Humiliation, framing Alia as a girl who has lost her values which author figured out as "abnormal". The texts has encoded by author to frame Alia; "pity", "abnormal", "who has mental illness or mania", "horny" and "unamenable". These texts are referred to a girl who deserve to be excluded from the society, and must be seen as extraordinary case.

Picture 4: Alia Al Mahdi Photograph which used in article published in 2011.

The journalist did not use Alia Al Mahdi naked photo. It can be interpreted as she is coded here as a normal girl (opposite than how author frames her). In other words, he did not reproduce the nakedness by publishing it again.

We need to see this framed narrative in its contextual structure. Author represented her at the beginning of the article as; "A twenty years old Egyptian girl Alia Al Mahdi blow up a huge controversial which was on wrong time and place and she took off the fig leaves willingly". The time that Alia has uploaded her nude picture intersects with the uprising movement's period in Egypt. According to Fairclough's

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CDA; the author brought forward these events to encode what Alia has done as insignificant argument. He preferred to separate her from the uprising movements, but the Alia case was directly related to Arab Spring. The uprising movements actually were results of the social pressure made on the Middle Eastern and North African people especially pressure made on the women. So, Alia case was just the embodied example of a problematic state of affairs. Author, by separating this case from Egypt current statu-quo has rejected to see women's roles in Arab Spring. Another text used "fig leaves" reminds us about the mythical story of the Adam and Eve. The author here referred to this myth to input the message that even your ancestors was covering their shame with a tree leaves, but you.

The next statement of the author is as follows; "Angry reaction occurred after she posted her nude picture, all agree that action is the worst of what can be provided by human to himself" (Maklet, 2011). Fairclough (2013, p.117) claims that, the values of textual features only become real if they are embedded in social interaction; discourses only become real as parts of institutional and societal processes. From this point, the author discourse "the angry reactions" is the contextual form of social norms he intended to join. The author calls readers to consider Alia as someone going against valid rules and traditions and making people angry. This text intends to encourage reader to believe that "Alia does not represent "us". She is just standing alone without any engagement with the society". The Egyptian people, who are like any of us, are not supporting what she has done. Another code for leading readers to have idea that "all agree".

The next statement "Many opinions pitied for the little girl perhaps she doesn't know what she is doing? Psychiatrists tried to find excuses for her but all they admitted that

her action stems from a mental illness or mania, also it is an action and behavior which cannot fit with the wisdom of wise and the nature of normal people" (Maklet, 2011). Here, the author kept framing Alia as separated from the real life. As Hall, (1980) states different readers might read similar texts differently. Here we can only talk about reading possibilities for the text (cited in Fairclough, 1995, p.29).What nudity means readers and posting several pictures for your own body to what extend could be read as mental illness or mania? Probably, the male author supposed all readers are going to agree on Alia's illness because of their religious or social background. He put psychologist's statement about Alia to prove his claim. He did not claim but any medical person diagnoses scientifically.

Another statement from the author; "Since the appearances of the girl naked on twitter the discussions never stops about: what would an educated Egyptian girl do that and what is the aim of being naked in front of people without shame" (Maklet, 2011). When we look at closely to this part, we can see that the male-oriented codes are deeply embedded. The text that author intended to bring forward "a naked girl on twitter". The contextual analysis as brought by Fairclough of this case must be interpreted in its own frame. If we extract the meaning from the text, the message will be "naked girl on twitter cannot be doing anything with good intention" or "the freedom codes cannot be engaged with the nudity" or "she is doing something society can never accept". Furthermore, apart from this part, the social context which Maklet intended readers to be agreed on; in other words, the visible side for an iceberg; "educated Egyptian girl never get naked in front of the public". By using this text, the massage that he wants to convey without being noticed "on behalf of Egyptian girls" rather than what he actually encoded.

The next statement reads; "It is interesting that, Alia's boyfriend Kareem seems to be very proud. His speech was supporting her for what his girlfriend has done which is quite strange to Egyptian society" (Maklet, 2011). The male character "Alia's boyfriend Kareem" is represented as alienated person as well, because according to the author Egyptian males could not be supporting such thing. The question comes out on this point; if the fabula was different, Alia was a boy who posted nude pictures on Twitter, what would be the reading possibilities? I think the decoding of this text would be totally different. We would not be talking about the reactions of his girlfriend, or even it would not be worth to state if she was proud of her boyfriend. Also, the Mulberry Leaf which author stated fall down from Alia would not be something to worry about. The next part is about Alia's representation as tend to be porn object.

> Certainly, there are international organizations who believe in the concept of porn advocates which support Alia and encourage her to go forward. The girl may get some encouragement from this organization but certainly she lost everything and she is now in deeply needs for who hold her hand to take her human moderate nature back and take out her lust for fame, delinquency irregular actions which rejected by traditions, customs and religions, she is now drinking the cup of humiliation (Maklet, 2011).

It is no doubt that women have invisible barriers in social life. When some readers just read the Alia's case, they can feel that the author is embodied the case in appropriate way. However, when we take the Alia out and put a male character instead, we cannot extract the same meanings. The decoding would not refer to porn advocates or he would not be represented as lust or even irreligious. In contextual level, probably the reasons would be emphasis rather than results.

The second article entitled Many Reports Heaped to the Public Prosecutor against Dairy of a Rebel… Request to Apply Alhad Al Shari[33] Against Alia and her Boyfriend published on 20th November 2011. After Alia Al Mahdi posted several naked pictures on her blog, many comments made by many people. The article was written as prejudicial discourse for Alia concerning with her action. The author Amire Salah Hilal created a negative propaganda and similar to first article, Alia represented as alienated one in Egypt society. The texts has been used for Alia as being "irreligious", "rebel", "criminal", "against" and also her boyfriend represented as "debauchery", "criminal" and "irreligious".

Picture 5: Ali Al Mahdi

The picture used for Alia Al Mahdi in article is not the original one (see Appendix B. 3). In the original one her legs appear and she is wearing a mini skirt. However, her legs were cropped from the picture in order to create a different sense. Chomsky (1989) and Fairclough (1995) states that; the product of mass media is the audience of interest to advertisers (cited in Sheyholislami, 2001, p.10). The author considered readers as conservative and religious ones as it is mentioned in other article analysis

[33]Religious law to punish people who go against rule.

as well. So, Hilal preferred to crop her legs to make it more interesting for the projected readers. The cropping might be seen as a censor as well as a protection.

It is important to note here that this article is written by a woman. It is proven that having female media professionals is not enough for the media institutions journalists who do not make any sexist discrimination. The solution can come from a male as well because the important point here is not the number of female journalist in the media organizations, but it is the ideology. The author used the dominant masculine codes to build her own fabula in order to criticize Alia. In this fabula the most salient one is;

> Most of the comments denounced posting fully nude image on her own blog which called Against Dairy of a Rebel. The American New York newspaper stated the great controversy raised about this action. Saying that; it is hard to describe the shock which caused by the image post for the young woman in a religious and conservative society where the most of Muslim women wear headscarves and even men rarely reveals their leg (Hilal, 2011).

There is an example of manifest intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992, p.65) author has put a comment from U.S. media to guarantee resemblance of credibility of her idea. She predicted that, if she created another frame for people who have oppositional ideologies, accepting what Alia and her boyfriend has done, the readers would have been influenced deeply. Based on this, the author created a frame with two presenters; first; readers which is representing "us" and the second; Western which is representing "them". In order to create this sense on "us", the author used "them" as "shocked by Alia's extremist behavior". Also, she described Egypt practices and social background from western angle which is totally her point of view rather than the reality to reject Alia's actions which is even beyond western corruptions.

After the news about the lawyer Nebih Al Wahsh reports against Alia, accusing her obscene publicly and promoting habits and tradition against the nature of Egyptian and Arab people, another news came out about the general coordinator of the Sharia and Law Graduates who called Ahmed Yahya submit another report to the public prosecutor with the number 10748 demanding that applying the Alhad Al Shari[34] for Alia and her boyfriend who support her post her nude picture as well, so they will not be example for other who attempt to go out from the traditions and the custom of the society, and the fundamentals of Islam (Hilal, 2011).

Here, there are two more resources that author refers to support her frame. The first one is the lawyer who wrote report about Alia, and the other one is the general coordinator of the Sharia and Law Graduates. This is absolutely misrepresenting which is also dishonest. Author aimed to influence the understanding of the readers by presenting only one side of an argument. Fairclough (1995) points that readings may vary; any reading is a product of an interface between the properties of the text and the interpretative resources and practices which the interpreter brings to bear upon the text (p.34). The possible readings which is depending on the properties of the text and the interpretation, encoded as inviting reader to religious and fanatic reading. The message she convey is "if we can't stop her, the examples of criminals and rebellious" is going to increase. Actually, this is the hidden theme of the article. Alia Al Mahdi, a dangerous and strong girl must be prevented and must be punished to be one in the eye. According to author, her boyfriend who approved her behaviors also must be punished. The perception is in terms of contextual analysis, Kareem is the one who must have control on Alia, and he is the responsible one for her misbehaviors.

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[34]Religious law to punish people who go against rule.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have endeavored to show how the Arab media represented women who became activist by using their nudity. I have used the Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to gain my objectives. My aim was to disclose how the hegemonic and masculine meanings are constructed and prominent about the Arab nude women activists and to show how the alternative readings may be possible for the readers in terms of discourse of women.

Three different newspapers have chosen to conduct with the analysis. *Al- Chourouk*, *Al-Hayat* and *Al-Ahram* and the three different women activists from different Arab countries to see how women activists are framed in Arab media, is there any patriarchal discourse about women activists on Arab press during Arab Spring period and how the Arab press media challenges existing understandings of nude female activists.

I have asked some questions to the articles to understand the social structure of the Arab culture. Where women do placed for Middle East journalists, is she standing alone as an individual or she must be "protected" and "guided" by state or by other men? I ascertain that; Arab media partly used patriarchal discourses on women activists and views of the world are constructed by encoding particular men-made

ideologies. Women are accepted as "belonging" to her supplementary that is usually her family name, her father, her job or her religion.

I discovered that; in Arab countries, the terms of freedom, secularism or democracy indicates to the western characteristics which can cause the formation of "us" and "them" perception. They create a different separated world which covered by westernized assumptions and they believe that they are so different than "us". The Arab women activists, when they exhibit their gender codes they are charged by copying western characteristics and discriminated by the media. Nude protests are one of these discriminated ones. It is shocking the public by revealing the naked body, when human beings are at their most vulnerable and then become strangely powerful. It is the way to convert your own "private" to "public" for the political or social reasons.

Also, the journalists interpret this nude activism as ethical and religious issue, which is dangerous for utility of other citizens and must be judged by the court. They dispute the message that nude protests are sexual and must be banned rather than natural and beneficial. In patriarchal societies, women are not allowed to use their own body for political reasons.

As a summary; the Arab media has created a meaning by using women body and there are many religious, men-oriented and hegemonic discourses used on women news. If the women nudity is the subject which is also created by the media itself, they are going to represent them as immoral or irreligious. The six articles that I have analyzed do not have an objective discourses in terms of women representation.

Some activist's news also framed as charging them for being an extraordinary example within the society. Even the woman journalist has used negative meanings making way to call readers to be careful about the activist.

Arab media is also searching for a deviant source outside. The women activists have been blamed for copying western corruptions, instead of staying as Middle Eastern women as in their mind. Actually, nakedness is something culturally relative and there are many protests are realized as naked by many people. In this sense being in clothes opposes to being not Western and created "us" and "them" frame. The Middle East authors tend to discriminate women activists in society and represent them as alienated ones.

We can accept it or not, but there is a serious patriarchal encoding in Arab media for women. Independent women seen as a danger to stay out and the authors are without mincing matters condemning them. Those women either if they are successful or accused, they must be read as a text with their supplementary which is mostly their job, family, boyfriend or father.

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APPENDICES

Appendix: A. News Stories

1. Kairouan[35], Amina Sboui's Mother: My Daughter is a Victim and I Have Confidence in the Judiciary that she will be released before Ramadan

   Newspaper: Alchorouk

   By Khalifa Al Qasimi

   Published on June 28th 2013

It is a test from God, help us with it and seek for kindness. With this words initiated Amina's mother's speech. She add that, she trusts in justice and she hope her daughter will be released before holy Ramadan. Alchourouk met Amina's mother in the center of Kairouan, she was lost and upset, and she hardly talked to us. She ensure us about she belongs to conservative family and her father was an Islamic teacher, he raised many generations on the origin of Islam. She is from a famous

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[35] A city in Tunisia where Amina lives.

conservative family and also she study with Tayyib Al Gazzi[36]. However, what happened to her daughter is out of the normal and not the custom of her family. Amina is considered as sick and cannot act normal as people think. Unfortunately, there are some people provoking and inducting against famous throne (the Sboui family) which is well-known with its prestige and originality in Kairouan. Even some people reached to incitement three people to be witness to give a false testimony; their aim to create an implication against sick Amina. In the end they change their testimony in front of investigating judge as she said.

Social Terms of the Victim Girl

Hajje[37] adds, she was living in Saudi Arabia with her husband and she left her daughter (Amina) which was born in 1994 with her grandmother and that was between two years until she is six years old. That time, Amina was visiting her parents each year. Even, she (Amina) was made Umrah[38] for four times. However, in the last few months Amina has changed completely and she suffers from psychological problems. That makes the family send her to psychiatrist to be healed. Al Hajje indicates that, her daughter tried to commit suicide in March 1st 2013. At that time, she cut her arteries and she was miraculously rescued in hospital although it was her third year in literature department. Because of her psychological problems she met a strange group[39] via internet and she was their victim as Hajje said. She published nude images in social network (Facebook). After that her personality has

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[36] A famous imam in Kairouan.

[37] Amina's mother also a woman who went to Pilgrimage.

[38] Pilgrimage in different times.

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been changed completely to someone gloomy and violent although she was affectionate, moral and helping poor people.

Legal, Humanitarian and Social View

According to lawyer Mokhtar Jinan to there are three witnesses retracted their statement in Amina case. Amina Sboui has been charged by forming a group to attack property and people, obscene publicly and also desecration of a cemetery. Mokhtar Jinan said the public prosecutor and the investigating judge relied on the testimony of the three witnesses in the charge of obscene publicly at the beginning.

Mr. Mokhtar Jinan points that the three witnesses went to the investigating judge willingly and change their testimony by denying that they saw Amina Sboui trying to expose her body.

Does the prison is the solution for Amina, although the charge was not occurred already as her lawyer states or it required taking care of her in order to be able to continue her study and alleviate the suffering conservative family? The answer remains in the hand of the Tunisian judiciary.

It is certain that Amina was a victim of a foreign organization and she did not exposed her body in Kairouan as some people have claimed which was approved by all journalists and observers. Amina supposed to be sent to psychiatrist and forensic before make another analysis in order to involve her in trouble. The fact that, she only wrote "Femen" in French and she found herself in front of several serious charges in spite of that, her mother ensure she has the confidence that the justice will be fair with her sick victim daughter as she said. Also, she has the confidence of God in the world and the hereafter as well.

2. Kairouan, Amina "Femen" Trial: Tight Security… Protests… She has been Accused of Forming a Group and Jailed

Newspaper: Alchorouk

By Mohammed Emin and Khalifa Al Qasimi

Published on May 31th 2013

The girl Amina "Femen" represented in the court on Thursday before being forwarded to the second case with the monitoring of investigated judge which she will be jailed because of it.

Kairouan Office Alchorouk

The trial was accompanied by protest and verdict was waited.

The girl Amina was represented to the court in Kairouan on Thursday morning. The court accepted pleading in this case and refused the personal case which was made by some citizens who claim that they were affected by the action Amina has done. Amina who arrived on 19th May 2013 has made many things which tense the atmosphere and became the reason of several protests as many citizens, officials and lawyers said. Before the verdict was called, Amina was brought back from the jail by

the investigating judge in Kairouan. She was charged with forming a group to attack property, people, obscene publicly and also desecration of a cemetery. The trial took place with a tight and heavy security in the vicinity of the court Kairouan in light of the protest of the hundreds and the number of activists which belongs to Civil Societies and Religious Association. Many slogans were raised to condemn the assault on the values and sanctities and demanding hash penalty for anyone who touches them. As an addition, some Ansar Al-Sharia[40] activists who attended unofficially to the court state that; the way Ministry of Home Affairs deal with the obscene publicly and also desecration of a cemetery does not represent Ansar Al-Sharia opinion.

Daughter of Munir Sboui, Amina Tylor as she called herself which is 19 years old and the activist in the Femen "Foreign Feminist Organization" was brought to the court from the Almsaadan Prison in Sousse state where prison card issued by the public prosecution because they found her in Kairouan with burning tools (gas to paralyze the movement). About 9:30 am Amina entered the court room, covered by sefseri[41] and guarded by prison and reform officers. Many lawyers, writers, citizens and civil society activists were reached to the crowd before Amina. At the same time, outside of the court, hundreds of citizens raise their voices which were Tekbir[42] and

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[40] Sharia Supporter who declared as terrorist group by Tunisian Government. For more information http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-23853241.

[41] Traditional head scarf in Tunisia.

[42] God is great.

condemning what Amina has done with her foreigner colleagues, they expose part of their body which they consider it as an assault on morality and values of the society and the religion of the country. Large number of security attends to the trial in order to control the protests but many hassles and hot discussions were occurring between citizens and the security. It was getting harder to control the situation for security each time the slogans rise up again or new events occur, such as what happened when lawyer Leila Ben Debbe raised her both hand with the victory sign (V) which caused the protesters to seethe and they approach fence of the court.

Law from the Era of Protection[43]?

As a reaction, two kinds of lawyers offer to defend the Amina case and other lawyers offer to defend the citizens in Kairouan city. Many hot discussions erupted regarding the legal formulas and the charge against the girl. The court president found it difficult to keep the crowd quiet in the hall; it was full of people who increased the tension of the court amount all parts present. The lawyers makes a request to dismiss the case against their client, claiming that, there is no law on the books that condemned what she did, the only law which forbid carrying "burning tools" date back to 18th June 1894. That law was written under the colonial era to suppress the resistance at that time, and this cannot be applied in Amina case because she was carrying gas cylinder to protect herself from any attack, no more. The judge responds to the lawyers request to direct his question to their client. Amina assured that security sent her to the police station at 11:00 pm to protect her from the protesters but the police report was at 8:00 pm.

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[43] The time period which Tunisia was under control of France.

The lawyer, Leila Ben Debbe asks to the judgment and the public prosecutor to present the people who are attacking her and her colleague Mr. Suhaib Al Bahri, especially at the entry and the exit of the court. The lawyer, Amina's father and four people from Amina supporters leave the court from the back door to secure themselves.

Tense Atmosphere

In the lobby and the outside of the court voices were raised up with the Tekbir and Tawhid[44], calling to apply the Sharia rules, calling to protect Islam from any attack and calling to punish all who stand with Amina locally or globally. The raised up voices criticized the judiciary because of their lack of neutrality, penalty and constraining Ansar Al Shaira and allowing the girls to be naked.

Many Islamic activists including the spokesman for Ansar Al Sharia were not allowed to enter the court; on the other hand others were allowed to enter which were protesting against this situation. The protest was getting soft time to time, and intense mostly but it did not end up with any clashes.

Who Is Behind Small Amina?

Munir Al Sboui, father of the accused, accepted to make interview with Alchourouk while he is in bad psychological mood "crying" for what happened to his family. He said that his daughter is 18 years old, suffering from psychological problems and she is trying to get healed. He condemned the pressure that people put on the judiciary and he asked for help and advice for his daughter, he also acknowledged that his daughter made unacceptable mistake. He thinks that there is unknown people behind

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[44] God is one.

her who encouraged her to come to Kairoun. He also made a speech via foreign media to the investors and turists saying that "come to Tunisia, come to Tunisia, here the Islam is moderate; Tunisia has peace, love and safety."

According to the available information, the prosecutor authorized making blood test for Amina to make sure if she uses drags or not. However, the result was negative in the medical report. A lawyer complaints against Amina because she desecrate the cemetery and he claimed he was morally offended. Leila Debbe said that it is another case which will considered in another season.

Amina and her lawyer exit the court under tight security, sirens, light signals and the security around the court. The announcement of the verdict was delayed for several hours which create a new chance to create news about the judgment before the official judge announcement of is a fine of 200 Dinar.

3. Yemeni Tawakul Karman Who is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. A sign of Women's Stockings

   Newspaper: Al-Hayat

   By Ali Salim

   Published on 11th February 2013

Represented winning the Nobel Peace Prize Yemeni activist Tawakul Karman, a trademark of the kind of women's socks produced in Yemen and is sold in local markets. The product carries the name "Princess Karman" and a picture of her covering the front face of the product.

This is the first time they use the image and name of the Yemeni who is unknown and not working in field of brand advertising. The Yemeni's dishonor using pictures of women in the work of propaganda, in the field of art, advertising and fashion show. It makes difficulties in families and community. Some of them have been subjected to threats from Islamist militants. Seemed to use the name and image of Kerman in a commercial product strengthens the position of some critics. An activist said in Change Square in Sanaa who preferred anonymity, the Iranian Shirin Ebadi who won Nobel Peace Prize wrote a book, while Kerman turned into a trademark for a type of socks. Al-Hayat was not able to get a comment from Kerman whether the producer got a license to use her name and image in the product. Kerman who is one of the leaders of the popular uprising that forced former President Ali Abdullah Saleh to step down from power and she operates the Shura Council of the "gathering of Islamic reform" party. There was not even any feedback by the party on the use of Kerman in a commercial product. A few years ago abandoned Kerman unveiled the nikab [45]and she start to wear hijab.

On the other hand, Yemeni activist Amal Basha got the prize of achievement in life, awarded by the Indian Television Academy for the best personalities and stars who have played a significant role in changing the culture of violent society and the defense of rights and freedoms. ,

Basha said to AlHayat that, receiving the award grows her responsibility towards society and humanity. The award was established 13 years ago by activists of

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[45] Type of head and face covering used by many Yemenis women.

Women Jurists Indians against crimes against women, including the burning of widows and feticide. Basha one of the most prominent activists civics headed "Sisters Forum for Human Rights" and this award is the third time Yemeni get in less than two years on the international award after activist Tawakkol Karman and writer Bushra al-Maqtari.

4. Leading Figure Took off the Nikab and Rebelled against her Party. Karman Provokes Controversy and Aroused Elder Activists Jealousy

   Newspaper: Al-Hayat

   By Ali Salim

   Published on October 17th 2013

The Nobel Peace Prize reshine the Yemeni activist Tawakul Karman's stars who is 32 years. She was accused for dragging the peaceful youth of revolution to risk through moving marches without consulting others or estimating the consequences that led to have many victims, and she was accused for being lameness as well which decline her popularity.

However, by getting the Nobel Peace Prize shared with Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Liberian activist Lima Gbua, returned Karman to the forefront of the local, Arab and international interest, and she became an icon for people in protests. Many young men and women replaced their personal photographs on Facebook with her photograph; on the other hand still there are those who make observations on what is believed to be negative in her struggle.

Various reactions have occurred in the Yemen streets because of awarding Tawakul. While the official media and pro-regime campaigning against her, saying that the award has been granted to her, because she conspires on her country. The Southern people deplored for "the fall" of the criteria for the award. They believe that the symbols of the South struggle deserve these awards. As they were the first peaceful protesters against the ruling regime in Sanaa since 2007, out in the streets, squares and they were also subjected to prosecution. The Southern peaceful movements which call for separation say that the award rewarded the Northern occupiers considering the award winner as a part of the political structure of the system in the Northern system "occupier" as it described by Southerns. It seems that the older women activists and who has more experience, especially those who known with their liberal ideas and the depth of their experience in the struggle for women's rights had the biggest surprise. Some of them considered that Kerman serviced by chance and time.

Activist Karman belongs to a new generation of Arab Islamists, a group affiliated to the "Muslim Brotherhood" and she is a member of the Shura Council of the Central

Committee of the "Coalition of Islamic Reform", also her father is from the top leaders of the group in Yemen.

Karman could provide a model for the role of the new generation of Arab Islamists which supposed that can change the thinking and behavior of the Islamic movements that would consolidate the democratic transformation and recognize the minorities and take the tendencies violence off.

Karman character is ambitious and controversial. In a conservative environment Karman looks like bold and persistent to achieve her goals at any cost, also she is a women leader and one of the fiercest opponents of President Ali Abdullah Saleh. First appears of Karman was through hot press article which was published in the "Socialist Party" newspaper, which has remained for decades as the biggest enemy of the Muslim Brotherhood. Thus Kerman became an address of rapprochement between the Islamists and socialists, this rapprochement result of a destabilization in conflicting ideology and made some changes in the idea for each other, in the end it formed a "meeting joint". This opposition alliance brings Islamist, leftist and nationalist parties together. However, Karman showed a rebellion against the structure of the leaning on the popularity which she gained among young people who took to the squares to demand the overthrow Saleh's regime. And her popularity was enhanced with exposure to the arrest.

The repeated mistakes which Karman accused for, includes moving the marches which led to the deaths and injuries similar to what happened in the march of crawl in front of Council of Ministers building in May last year. Karman stars started to fade with escalated criticism of her, even some voices raised with the demands for

her prosecution, even what looks like a prosecution or judgment was established on social network sites. Perhaps the most prominent failures Karman faces is her announcement for transitional council of the revolution did not have any satisfaction or response even from the youth. But what has actually considered for her rebelling against the party obedience and ability to say "no" even within her own party.

Karman's march has large and fast leaps, one of the most notably abandoning the nikab and the transfer the activity of civil society organizations to the street through the weekly protest which was organized with partners in the courtyard of the Council of Ministers. This is what makes her field activist rather than political.

There is no doubt that Karman's award on Nobel Peace Prize would raise her speech toward rationality, tolerance and dialogue, which she already started at the beginning. At the time many people believes she can play a role in the rapprochement between the Sunnis and Shiites, Islamists and secularists. And give new impetus to this trend to establish a culture of coexistence and dialogue rather than a culture of exclusion and cancellation, which controls the behavior of the various political forces. The significance of the award is being a strong incentive for young people to open up to the Islamic world and the West in particular.

5. Alia Took of the Mulberry Leaves [46]and Drink the Cup of Humiliation

Newspaper: Al-Ahram

By Mahir Maklet

Published on 18th November 2011

A twenty years Egyptian girl Alia Al Mahdi blow up a huge controversial which was on wrong time and place and she took off the mulberry leaf willingly. In very strange way, she published a picture for herself on twitter which is totally nude.

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[46] It is in English used as fig leaves which used to cover nakedness by Adam and Eve.

Angry reaction occurred after she posted picture for herself, all agree that action is the worst of what can be provided by human to himself. Many opinions pitied for the little girl perhaps she doesn't know what she is doing? Psychiatrists tried to find excuses for the girl but all they admitted that her action is kind of mental illness or mania, also it is an action and behavior which cannot fit with the wisdom of wise and the nature of normal people.

Since the appearances of the girl naked on twitter the discussions never stops about: what would an educated Egyptian girl do that and what is the aim of being naked in front of people without shame? Alia with her action almost step the body of political movement such as April 6[47] when some people spread that she is an activist in this movement but immediately April 6 denied that information. It is interesting that, Alia boyfriend Kareem seems to be very proud according to his statement about what his girlfriend has done and his speech was supporting her and her behavior which is quite strange to Egyptian society which dumbstruck for what happening. Certainly,

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[47] April 6 Youth Movement is an Egyptian group which supports workers in Al-Mhalla Al-Kubra.

there are international organizations who believe in the concept of porn advocates which support Alia and encourage her to go forward. The girl may get some encouragement from this organization but certainly she lost everything and she is now in deeply needs for who hold her hand to take her human moderate nature back and take out her lust for fame, delinquency irregular actions which rejected by traditions, customs and religions, she is now drinking the cup of humiliation.

6. Many Reports Heaped to the Public Prosecutor against Dairy of a Rebel…

Request to Apply Alhad Al Shari against Alia and her Boyfriend

Newspaper:Al-Ahram

By Amire Salah Hilal

Published on 20th November 2011

The young blogger Alia Al Mahdi, her Facebook and Twitter record the highest amount of comments from the Arab youth during the last few days.

Alia Al Mahdi

Most of the comments denounced posting fully naked picture on her own blog which called Against Dairy of a Rebel. The American New York newspaper stated the great

controversy raised about this action. Saying that; it is hard to describe the shock which caused by the image post for the young woman in a religious and conservative society where the most of Muslim women wear headscarves and even men rarely reveals their leg. After the news about the lawyer Nebih Al Wahsh reports against Alia, accusing her obscene publicly and promoting habits and tradition against the nature of Egyptian and Arab people, another news came out about the general coordinator of the Sharia and Law Graduates who called Ahmed Yahya submit another report to the public prosecutor with the number 10748 demanding that applying the Alhad Al Shari[48] for Alia and her boyfriend who support her post her nude picture as well so they will not be example for other who attempt to go out from the traditions and the custom of the society, and the fundamentals of Islam. He also demands on behalf of his coalition to speed up to open criminal proceeding on charge of lechery, debauchery and contempt on religion which can be punished by the article 98 akubat[49]. It is noteworthy, the blogger post her personal identity card hiding the religion field.

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[48] Religious law to punish people who go against rule.

[49] Minimum 6 moths maximum 5 years or minimum 500 Egyptian Pound maximum 5000 Egyptian Pound for who use religion to raise sedition or contempt on religion.

Appendix: B. Pictures

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