



**CRITICAL STYLISTICS OF ONLINE NEWS REPRESENTATION OF THE  
2017 GULF CRISIS ON AL ARABIYA AND AL JAZEERA**

**By**

**ALKHAFAJI SAMIR ABDULHASAN JASIM**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,  
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**August 2024**

**FBMK 2024 5**

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs, and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright © Universiti Putra Malaysia



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment  
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**CRITICAL STYLISTICS OF ONLINE NEWS REPRESENTATION OF THE  
2017 GULF CRISIS ON AL ARABIYA AND AL JAZEERA**

By

**ALKHAFAJI SAMIR ABDULHASAN JASIM**

**August 2024**

**Chairman : Professor Mohd Azidan bin Abdul Jabar, PhD**  
**Faculty : Modern Languages and Communication**

The 2017 Gulf Crisis, where Saudi Arabiya and its allies severed all diplomatic ties and imposed a complete blockade on Qatar. Media has also played the greatest role in flaming the crisis and mobilizing public perception. Despite the significance of media to frame the discourse of international conflicts, no attention has been given to the way certain stylistic strategies are used by Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera in the coverage of the Gulf Crisis. The lack of research leaves a gap in the way to a full understanding of how language elaborates narratives and encodes ideological positions in the regional media landscaped.

This study investigates how the 2017 Gulf Crisis was represented in online news articles by Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera, focusing on the linguistic strategies used to encode ideologies. The objectives are to identify the stylistic strategies used by Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera in representing the Gulf Crisis 2017 and to discuss their ideological implications. The study uses a qualitative approach, analyzing news

articles from both platforms' English versions, to uncover embedded ideologies and stylistic strategies.

The analysis shows that various strategies both media adopt to coincide with their geopolitical positionings. Al Arabiya narrative often uses charged words, ambiguous quantifiers, nominalizations, and noun phrases casting Qatar in negative light for alleged terrorism support and for causing regional turmoil. Transitivity used to present Saudi-led bloc as proactive actors fighting against extremism, while Qatar was portrayed passively receiving action and accusation. Equating and contrasting were used in the creation of a binary opposition between the “righteous” Saudi-led bloc and the “destabilizing” forces associated with Qatar. Exemplifying and enumerating used to count the purported transgressions of Qatar, augmenting the perceived threat. By contrast, Al Jazeera framed Qatar as a victim of unjust aggression by using emotional language, precise quantification, and metaphors and complex noun phrases to humanize the impact of the blockade. Transitivity choices showed Qatar as being targeted in an unfair way, while equating and contrasting showed extreme severity of the blockade. Exemplifying and enumeration were used to describe socio-economic and human rights impacts on people. The ideological implications run deeper, Al Arabiya's strategies align with an ideology that legitimizes Saudi-led bloc actions and portrays Qatar as a destabilizing force, promoting Saudi hegemony. Al Jazeera's strategies support Qatar's sovereignty, critique regional hegemony, and highlight human rights violations. Both outlets have strategically framed public perception, influencing readers' understanding of legitimacy, moral positioning, threat construction, regional power dynamics, and terrorism discourse. The study concludes that both platforms strategically used linguistic strategies to create ideologically

loaded narratives, legitimizing their geopolitical position while making the others illegitimate. Future research should examine this framing across different media formats or conducting longitudinal analyses to better understand the changing geopolitical dynamics.

**Keywords:** critical stylistics, corpus linguistics, Gulf crisis, ideology, media discourse

**SDG:** GOAL 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions, GOAL 17: Partnership for the Goals



Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**STILISTIK KRITIKAL REPRESENTASI BERITA DALAM TALIAN  
TENTANG KRISIS TELUK 2017 DI AL ARABIYA DAN AL JAZEERA**

Oleh

**ALKHAFAJI SAMIR ABDULHASAN JASIM**

**Ogos 2024**

**Pengerusi : Profesor Mohd Azidan bin Abdul Jabar, PhD**  
**Fakulti : Bahasa Moden dan Komunikasi**

Krisis Teluk 2017, di mana Arab Saudi dan sekutunya memutuskan semua hubungan diplomatik dan mengenakan sekatan penuh ke atas Qatar. Media juga telah memainkan peranan terbesar dalam membakar krisis dan menggerakkan persepsi awam. Walaupun kepentingan media dalam membingkai wacana konflik antarabangsa, tiada perhatian diberikan kepada cara strategi gaya tertentu digunakan oleh Al Arabiya dan Al Jazeera dalam liputan Krisis Teluk. Kekurangan penyelidikan meninggalkan jurang dalam memahami sepenuhnya bagaimana bahasa mengembangkan naratif dan mengkodkan kedudukan ideologi dalam landskap media serantau.

Kajian ini menyiasat bagaimana Krisis Teluk 2017 diwakili dalam artikel berita dalam talian oleh Al Arabiya dan Al Jazeera, dengan fokus pada strategi linguistik yang digunakan untuk mengkodkan ideologi. Objektifnya adalah mengenal pasti strategi gaya yang digunakan oleh Al Arabiya dan Al Jazeera dalam mewakili Krisis Teluk 2017 dan membincangkan implikasi ideologinya. Kajian menggunakan pendekatan

kualitatif, menganalisis artikel berita dari versi bahasa Inggeris kedua-dua platform untuk mendedahkan ideologi tersembunyi dan strategi gaya.

Analisis menunjukkan pelbagai strategi yang digunakan media selaras dengan kedudukan geopolitik mereka. Naratif Al Arabiya sering menggunakan perkataan bermuatan, kuantifikasi kabur, nominalisasi, dan frasa nama yang menggambarkan Qatar dalam cahaya negatif kerana tuduhan sokongan keganasan dan menyebabkan kekacauan serantau. Transitiviti digunakan untuk menggambarkan blok pimpinan Saudi sebagai pelaku proaktif yang memerangi ekstremisme, sementara Qatar digambarkan secara pasif menerima tindakan dan tuduhan. Persamaan dan perbandingan digunakan untuk mewujudkan pertentangan binari antara blok “yang baik” pimpinan Saudi dan “kuasa tidak menstabilkan” yang dikaitkan dengan Qatar. Pemberian contoh dan penerangan digunakan untuk mengira pelanggaran yang disangka oleh Qatar, meningkatkan ancaman yang dirasakan. Sebaliknya, Al Jazeera membingkai Qatar sebagai mangsa agresinya tidak adil dengan menggunakan bahasa emosional, kuantifikasi tepat, metafora, dan frasa nama kompleks untuk menghamankan kesan sekatan. Pilihan transitiviti menunjukkan Qatar sebagai sasaran dengan cara yang tidak adil, sementara persamaan dan perbandingan menunjukkan keterukan ekstrem sekatan. Pemberian contoh dan penerangan digunakan untuk menggambarkan kesan sosio-ekonomi dan hak asasi manusia ke atas rakyat.

Implikasi ideologi lebih mendalam, strategi Al Arabiya sejajar dengan ideologi yang mengesahkan tindakan blok pimpinan Saudi dan menggambarkan Qatar sebagai kuasa tidak menstabilkan, mempromosikan hegemoni Saudi. Strategi Al Jazeera menyokong kedaulatan Qatar, mengkritik hegemoni serantau, dan menyerlahkan pelanggaran hak

asasi manusia. Kedua-dua platform strategik membingkai persepsi awam, mempengaruhi pemahaman pembaca tentang kesahihan, kedudukan moral, pembinaan ancaman, dinamik kuasa serantau, dan wacana keganasan. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahawa kedua-dua platform strategik menggunakan strategi linguistik untuk mewujudkan naratif yang dimuatkan ideologi, mengesahkan kedudukan geopolitik mereka sambil menjadikan pihak lain tidak sah. Penyelidikan masa hadapan harus mengkaji pemingkaian ini merentas format media yang berbeza atau menjalankan analisis longitudinal untuk lebih memahami dinamik geopolitik yang berubah.

**Kata Kunci:** ideologi, krisis Teluk, linguistik korpus, stilistik kritis, wacana media

**SDG:** MATLAMAT 16: Keamanan, Keadilan dan Institusi yang Kukuh,  
MATLAMAT 17: Perkongsian untuk Mencapai Matlamat



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin with, I would like to praise Allah the Mighty, the Most Gracious, and the Most Merciful for bestowing His blessings upon me throughout my academic pursuits and in the successful completion of this thesis.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation and deep gratitude to my Committee Chairmen, Professor, Dr. Mohd Azidan Bin Abdul Jabar. Your remarkable academic proficiency, together with your dedication to assist emerging researchers, genuinely establish you as an exemplar in the frequently competitive domain of academia. Your guidance, patience, assistance and support have been exceedingly valuable specially through the difficult times that I have come through.

I would also like to extend my appreciation and gratitude to my Doctoral Supervisory Committee members: Associate Professor Dr. Hazlina Abdul Halim and Dr. Ilyana Jalaluddin. Thank you for dedicating your time and exerting effort to provide helpful input. Your valuable perspectives have significantly enhanced the quality of my dissertation.

My thanks and gratitude also go to my dear friends Dr. Buraq Musa and her husband, Ph.D. candidate Abdullah Suraj for their advice and encouragement and for their readiness to help at all times. Special appreciation and thanks also go to my soul mate, friend and colleague Dr. Mahmood Jasim for his consistent support and his joyful spirit that has always been there in tough times.

I'm incredibly grateful to my family for the unwavering support they have provided me throughout this research endeavor. To my children, I apologize for being more irritable than usual when I was working on this thesis. And shall not to forget my beloved late father and brother, their solid faith in me granted me the confidence to move on in my academic aspirations. Their absence prevented them from witnessing my accomplishment, but I know that deep down they feel the same joy that I.

Lastly, for my lovely wife Zaineb, thank you from the bottom of my heart. You have been there for me in thick and thin, without your unconditional support and encouragement, I would have given up long ago. You have been amazing, and as promised!!, I will remove every piece of paper from the main hall.

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of the Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

**Mohd Azidan bin Abdul Jabar, PhD**

Professor  
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Chairman)

**Hazlina binti Abdul Halim, PhD**

Associate Professor  
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

**Ilyana binti Jalaluddin, PhD**

Senior Lecturer  
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

---

**ZALILAH MOHD SHARIFF, PhD**

Professor and Dean  
School of Graduate Studies  
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 13 January 2025

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                     | <b>Page</b>   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>ABSTRACT</b>                                                     | i             |
| <b>ABSTRAK</b>                                                      | iv            |
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>                                             | vii           |
| <b>APPROVAL</b>                                                     | ix            |
| <b>DECLARATION</b>                                                  | xi            |
| <b>LIST OF TABLES</b>                                               | xvi           |
| <b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>                                              | xvii          |
| <b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>                                        | xviii         |
| <br><b>CHAPTER</b>                                                  |               |
| <br><b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>                                           | <br><b>1</b>  |
| 1.1 Preamble                                                        | 1             |
| 1.2 Background of the Study                                         | 1             |
| 1.2.1 A Brief History of Turbulent Relations                        | 3             |
| 1.2.2 The Gulf Crisis 2017: An Overview                             | 5             |
| 1.2.3 Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera                                     | 10            |
| 1.3 Statement of the Problem                                        | 14            |
| 1.4 Objectives of the Study                                         | 15            |
| 1.5 Research Questions                                              | 16            |
| 1.6 Scope of the Study                                              | 16            |
| 1.7 Significance of the Study                                       | 18            |
| 1.8 Definition of Key Terms                                         | 19            |
| 1.9 Thesis Structure                                                | 22            |
| <br><b>2 LITERATURE REVIEW</b>                                      | <br><b>25</b> |
| 2.1 Introduction                                                    | 25            |
| 2.2 The Concept of Discourse                                        | 25            |
| 2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)                               | 28            |
| 2.4 Critical Approaches to CDA                                      | 31            |
| 2.4.1 Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach (SCA)                    | 31            |
| 2.4.2 Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)                   | 33            |
| 2.4.3 Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA)                     | 34            |
| 2.5 Critique of CDA                                                 | 37            |
| 2.6 An Overview of Critical Stylistics                              | 40            |
| 2.7 Critical Stylistic: Textual-Conceptual Tools                    | 42            |
| 2.7.1 Naming and Describing                                         | 44            |
| 2.7.2 Presenting Actions/ Events/ States (Transitivity<br>Farmwork) | 46            |
| 2.7.3 Equating and Contrasting                                      | 48            |
| 2.7.4 Exemplifying and Enumeration                                  | 49            |
| 2.7.5 Prioritizing                                                  | 50            |
| 2.7.6 Implying and Assuming                                         | 52            |
| 2.7.7 Negating                                                      | 54            |
| 2.7.8 Hypothesizing                                                 | 55            |

|          |                                                                        |            |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 2.7.9    | Presenting Others' Speech and Thoughts                                 | 57         |
| 2.7.10   | Representing Time, Space and Society                                   | 60         |
| 2.8      | The Concept of Ideology                                                | 62         |
| 2.9      | Mass Media                                                             | 67         |
| 2.9.1    | Media, Discourse and Ideology                                          | 68         |
| 2.10     | Corpus linguistics                                                     | 70         |
| 2.11     | AntConc Software and Tools                                             | 74         |
| 2.11.1   | Wordlist Tool                                                          | 74         |
| 2.11.2   | Concordance Tool                                                       | 76         |
| 2.11.3   | Keywords Tool                                                          | 78         |
| 2.12     | Reference Corpus (RC)                                                  | 81         |
| 2.13     | Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis                     | 84         |
| 2.14     | Previous Studies                                                       | 85         |
| 2.15     | Conclusion                                                             | 94         |
| <b>3</b> | <b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b>                                            | <b>96</b>  |
| 3.1      | Introduction                                                           | 96         |
| 3.2      | Research Design                                                        | 96         |
| 3.3      | Data Trustworthiness                                                   | 97         |
| 3.4      | Theoretical Framework of the Study                                     | 99         |
| 3.5      | Conceptual Framework of the Study                                      | 103        |
| 3.6      | The Study Corpora (SCs)                                                | 105        |
| 3.6.1    | Selection of Media and Date                                            | 106        |
| 3.6.2    | Data Collection and Sampling of Content                                | 108        |
| 3.6.3    | Data Sources and Sample to be Analyzed                                 | 109        |
| 3.6.4    | Selection Criteria                                                     | 111        |
| 3.7      | Reference Corpus (RC)                                                  | 112        |
| 3.8      | Keyword Analysis (KWs): The Starting Point                             | 114        |
| 3.8.1    | Keywords Generation                                                    | 116        |
| 3.8.2    | Keywords Thematic Grouping                                             | 120        |
| 3.9      | Procedures of Data Analysis                                            | 128        |
| 3.10     | Research Process Flowchart                                             | 130        |
| 3.11     | Conclusion                                                             | 132        |
| <b>4</b> | <b>FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS</b>                                        | <b>133</b> |
| 4.1      | Introduction                                                           | 133        |
| 4.2      | Themes of Al Arabiya News                                              | 133        |
| 4.3      | Theme of Geopolitical Dynamics and Accusations of Supporting Terrorism | 134        |
| 4.3.1    | Text One                                                               | 135        |
| 4.3.2    | Text Two                                                               | 142        |
| 4.3.3    | Text Three                                                             | 149        |
| 4.3.4    | Text Four                                                              | 156        |
| 4.3.5    | Text Five                                                              | 163        |
| 4.4      | The Theme of Global Diplomacy and Regional Efforts in Counterterrorism | 174        |
| 4.4.1    | Text Six                                                               | 175        |
| 4.4.2    | Text Seven                                                             | 183        |
| 4.4.3    | Text Eight                                                             | 192        |
| 4.4.4    | Text Nine                                                              | 201        |

|          |                                                                         |     |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.5      | Themes of Al Jazeera News                                               | 208 |
| 4.6      | The Geopolitical Facade of Terrorism Accusations in the Qatar Blockade  | 209 |
| 4.6.1    | Text One                                                                | 210 |
| 4.6.2    | Text Two                                                                | 220 |
| 4.6.3    | Text Three                                                              | 227 |
| 4.6.4    | Text Four                                                               | 233 |
| 4.6.5    | Text Five                                                               | 242 |
| 4.7      | The Socio-Economic and Human Rights Repercussions of the Qatar Blockade | 252 |
| 4.7.1    | Text Six                                                                | 253 |
| 4.7.2    | Text Seven                                                              | 266 |
| 4.8      | Conclusion of Key Findings                                              | 275 |
| 4.8.1    | Conclusion of Al Arabiya Key Findings                                   | 275 |
| 4.8.2    | Conclusion of Al Jazeera Key Findings                                   | 281 |
| 4.9      | Ideological Implications of Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera's Coverage        | 286 |
| 4.10     | Conclusion                                                              | 305 |
| <b>5</b> | <b>CONCLUSION</b>                                                       | 307 |
| 5.1      | Introduction                                                            | 307 |
| 5.2      | Novelty of Findings and Contribution of Study                           | 307 |
| 5.3      | Implications of the Study                                               | 312 |
| 5.4      | Recommendations for Further Studies                                     | 315 |
| 5.5      | Conclusion                                                              | 316 |
|          | <b>REFERENCES</b>                                                       | 318 |
|          | <b>BIODATA OF STUDENT</b>                                               | 333 |
|          | <b>LIST OF PUBLICATIONS</b>                                             | 334 |

## LIST OF TABLES

| Table                                                                       | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 2.1 A Summary of the Main Approaches in CDA                                 | 36   |
| 2.2 Summary of Transitivity System and Their Ideological Impact             | 47   |
| 2.3 The Main Types of Equating and Contrasting                              | 48   |
| 2.4 Types and Summary of Presupposition Triggers                            | 53   |
| 2.5 Main Types of Negations                                                 | 55   |
| 2.6 Summary of Modal Categories                                             | 56   |
| 2.7 Summary of Modality in Terms of Meaning                                 | 57   |
| 2.8 Categories of Speech Presentation (ibid)                                | 59   |
| 2.9 Categories of thought Presentation                                      | 60   |
| 2.10 The Main Categories of Deixis in English                               | 61   |
| 3.1 The Total Number of the Collected Articles                              | 109  |
| 3.2 The Compiled RC in Terms of the Specific Factors                        | 113  |
| 3.3 The Keywords in the AAE-Corpus and AJE-Corpus                           | 120  |
| 3.4 Grouping Keywords under Themes of AEE-Corpus                            | 122  |
| 3.5 Grouping Keywords under Themes of AJE-Corpus                            | 124  |
| 4.1 Summary of Al Arabiya Stylistic Strategies and Their Ideological Impact | 173  |
| 4.2 Stylistic Strategies of Al Arabiya and Their Ideological Effects        | 207  |
| 4.3 Stylistic Strategies in Al Jazeera and Their Ideological Effects        | 250  |
| 4.4 Stylistic Strategies in Al Jazeera and Their Ideological Effects        | 273  |

## LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure                                 | Page |
|----------------------------------------|------|
| 2.1 The Wordlist Tool                  | 75   |
| 2.2 Concordance Tool                   | 78   |
| 2.3 Keywords Tool                      | 79   |
| 3.1 Theoretical Framework of the Study | 102  |
| 3.2 Conceptual Framework of the Study  | 104  |
| 3.3 Keyword List of AAE-Corpus         | 118  |
| 3.4 Keywords List of AJE-Corpus        | 119  |
| 3.5 Research Process Flowchart         | 131  |



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|      |                              |
|------|------------------------------|
| CDA  | Critical discourse analysis  |
| MB   | Muslim Brotherhood           |
| GCC  | Gulf Cooperation Council     |
| CL   | Corpus Linguistics           |
| CS   | Critical Stylistics          |
| TCFs | Textual Conceptual Functions |
| KWIC | Key Word in Context          |
| SC   | Study Corpus                 |
| RC   | Reference Corpus             |
| AAE  | Al-Arabiya English           |
| AJE  | Al Jazeera English           |
| KWs  | Keywords Analysis            |
| LL   | Log-Likelihood               |

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Preamble**

The chapter introduces the relevant contextual background of the study by providing a historical overview of the turbulent relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The chapter also provides the main reasons which were behind the eruption of the crisis between the two states. The justification for choosing AL Jazeera and AL Arabiya news platforms as the main source of data has also been highlighted. The importance of the contextual background here is to provide explications for why certain issues or entities have been represented in a particular way. Moreover, understanding the historical and political relationships between the two states is essential for the current analysis of the study in that it will provide the reasons behind selecting certain lexical and stylistic choices that have ideological implications regarding the crisis between the two states.

#### **1.2 Background of the Study**

Middle East is of a long history of national and international troubles and conflicts with different political interests and ideological directions; it is much more fragile than years before. Modern history has witnessed and recoded many important events in the Middle East that have a significant role in (re)shaping the recent political contexts. Among these significant events are the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Camp David accord (1978) which weakened the Arab core, the fragmentation and polarization among Arab countries following the Kuwait crisis (1991), the American invasion of Iraq in (2003) and its serious continuous impact and finally the more recent one is the

Arab Spring (2010) which coupled with dramatic national and international changes leading to a major insecurity and disability in the region (Ehteshami & Mohammadi, 2017, p. 2; Masoud, 2015, p. 74).

However, the Arab Spring is regarded as one of the most significant events in Middle East and specifically for Arab countries (Masoud, 2015, p. 75; Bilgin, 2018, p. 133). It is in the words of Agdemir, (2016, p. 223) “the biggest transformation of the Middle East since decolonization”. The impact of the Arab Spring as explicated by Bilgin (2018, p. 133):

“... initiated a new era in the history of the Middle East and triggered a range of societal movements in most Arab countries. It was a turning point for the Arab world and has left deep marks on the history of its people. It has also altered the balance of power and all equations across the Middle East. Equally, it impacted relations between Middle East counties; Qatar-Saudi Arabia relations did not remain unscathed”.

The ramifications of Arab Spring are serious and complex. It has added new complex issues to already existing ones. It has paved the way for the appearance of ISIS, the rise of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, it was also the main cause of the civil wars on Syria, Libya, Iraq, and the military war on Yemen. It was behind the unstable environment and conflicts in the region (Kose & Ulutas, 2017, p. 2; Asisian, 2018, p. 7; Ehteshami & Mohammadi, 2017). It has also caused many security challenges especially for the gulf countries including Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Ehteshami & Mohammadi, 2017, p. 4; Bilgin, 2018, p. 113-14). The diplomatic relations between Qatar and Saudi Arabia since that have been negatively and profoundly impacted by it (Ayman, 2017; Darwich, 2016).

Since the diplomatic crisis 2017 between the states of Saudi Arabia and Qatar is the main focus of the current study therefore, it is important to shed some light on the nature of their diplomatic turbulent relations prior to the crisis.

### **1.2.1 A Brief History of Turbulent Relations**

Saudi Arabia and Qatar have relatively long history of rivalry and of diplomatic relations however, their relations involved many ups and downs. The conflict between the two states escalated when Riyadh government in 1990 placed limitations on the exportation of Doha gas supplies to Bahrain, Oman, Kuwait, and UAE (Nabi, 2017, p. 3). The escalation continued when a border dispute in 1992 initiated an attack by Saudi Arabia side against the border security point of Qatar that had strained the relations between the two neighbors. The settlement of this border dispute was in 2001(Nuruzzaman, 2015, p. 234; Aljazeera, 2017)

Tension in the relations between these states triggered again in 1995 when Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani seized power after a bloodless coup over his father (Fisher, 2017; Boyce, 2013). However, Riyadh opposed his assumption of power in place of his father. Sheikh Hamad as Fisher (2017) argues believed that the only possible way for Qatar to find security is by altering its position from a Saudi vassal state to a rival of Saudi Arabia. According to Jim Krane (as cited in Champion, 2017), an energy research fellow at Rice University's Baker Institute, "Qatar used to be a kind of Saudi vassal state, but it used the autonomy that its gas wealth created to carve out an independent role for itself...". In other words, Sheikh Hamad sought autonomy in terms foreign policy from that of Saudi Arabia (Bilgin, 2018).

In an effort to defy the hegemony of Saudi Arabia, the new Amir of Qatar Sheikh Hamad made an attempt to improve relationships with Iran, the key opponent of Riyadh as well as establishing Aljazeera in 1996 (Fisher, 2017; Guido, 2023). This was a reaction as the foreign policy of Doha was always under the influence of Saudi government (Rashid & Nasser 2019, p. 4). Regarding the establishment of Aljazeera, some scholars in media field argue that it was in part established to challenge Riyadh and undermine its power in the region (Rashid, 2019; Kharbach, 2020). In this context, Powers (2012, p. 10) writes:

“In 1996, the new Amir was confronted with attacks in the Saudi and Egypt press questioning his legitimacy as the rightful ruler of Qatar. Al-Jazeera was launched, in part, to give the Qatari Emir a megaphone to challenge the Egyptian and Saudi governments by broadcasting programs featuring popular Egyptian and Saudi political dissidents.”

However, Qatari government officials said that “Aljazeera was initially established as ‘a political self-defense’ against Saudi Arabia which already own ART, MBC groups, and Orbit channels and controls the main media outlets in the Arab world” (Abdul-Nabi, 2018, p. 3).

Another level of the Saudi-Qatari turbulent relations started with the outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2010 which has considerably influenced and shifted regional dynamics in the Middle East. It has further worsened the relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar prompting the power struggle and rivalry between them (Bilgin, 2018, p. 113).

The next subsection provides a brief account on the political context of the Saudi-Qatari 2017 crisis within the context of Arab Spring.

### 1.2.2 The Gulf Crisis 2017: An Overview

The area of state of Qatar is about 11,581 km<sup>2</sup>, located in the Arab Gulf in the middle of two geopolitical and regional opponents; Saudi Arabia and Iran. Its estimated population is 2,795,484 with gross domestic product (GDP) \$357.338 billion. Whereas, the area of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is 2,149,690 km<sup>2</sup>, the estimated population is 34,218,169 with gross domestic product (GDP) \$1.924 trillion (Wikipedia). These three main indicators explain the huge difference between them. So that “these countries are not equal and there is an international hierarchy of power between them” (Bilgin, 2018, p. 118).

Saudi Arabia sees Qatar as a micro-state and therefore it is necessary for Qatar to adopt parallel policies following Saudi Arabia and to be in line with the orders of Riyadh (Abu Haieh, 2023, p. 22). Being the biggest in size and population among other Gulf States, “Saudi Arabia has dictated its own policy on Qatar through wielding its military and economic power and establishing its hegemony on the Doha government” (Bilgin, 2018, p. 118). These states have much more in common, language, ethnicity, religion, culture, neighbors, sharing Sunni monarchical regimes, non-democratic, an abundance of gas and oil, members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and the US as major ally (Khlebinkov, 2015; Bilgin, 2018). Despite they share all these features, their ties are quite turbulent with different interests, especially with the beginning of Arab Spring.

They reacted to Arab Spring in different ways, the two states have shown a high level of challenge and conflict in which each tries to utilize the Arab Spring to extend its influence and power across the region (Aymen, 2017; Khlebinkov, 2015). Both upheld

power and influenced struggles by backing different players in the region (Bilgin, 2018, p. 119). According to Khlebinkov (2015, p. 17-18) and Kawakibi (2022) both states are vigorously engaged in the Arab Spring and are involved in an ideological and geopolitical struggle for hegemony over the Sunni Islamic world. However, “they have different sociopolitical views about how to weather the inevitable transition that is taking place in the region while maintaining the status quo within their monarchies” (Khlebinkov (2015, p. 18). They also see threats and reacting to them differently according to their interests as in the case of the two main actors in the region, Iran and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Riyadh sees Iran and Muslim Brotherhood as the biggest threat to its security in the region, while Doha does not consider them as a security threat, they maintain good relations (Bilgin, 2018, p. 119).

The rivalry between Qatar and Saudi Arabia has obviously manifested itself on June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017 in which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia officially followed by UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt cut their diplomatic ties with Qatar as well as their trade and transport relations, withdrew their nationals, and pulled out their investments (Rashid, 2019; Kinninmont, 2019; Asisian, 2018). It is believed that the current gulf crisis is the major challenge to the Gulf States. The main dispute between Qatar and the Saudi-led bloc “centers on the ideological perception of regional threats” as argued by Khlebinkov (2015, p. 18). There are three main competing factors involved in the eruption of the current Saudi-Qatari crisis 2017 including the cordial relations between Qatar and Iran and Muslim Brotherhood, and ALJazeera Media Network (Bilgin, 2018; Rashid, 2019; Ehteshami & Mohammadi, 2017; Kinninmont, 2019; Asisian, 2018).

Concerning Muslim Brotherhood (MB) which is one of the main problems that has direct impact on the deterioration of the diplomatic relationships between Doha and Riyadh. The relationship between Qatar and MB goes back to 1950 in which many members of this movement resided in Qatar since that time, they had an effective role in shaping Qatar's educational system (Roberts, 2015: 24). Saudi Arabia opposes the ideology of this movement in the Middle East, while Qatar supports it across the region (Kinninmont, 2019; Asisan, 2018).

Khlebnikov (2015) argues that Gulf Arab States face an ideological genuine threat to their regimes represented by Muslim brotherhood started with the inception of Arab Spring 2010. According to him,

“This threat, in the perception of Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Bahrain, appears in the guise of the Muslim Brotherhood. The brotherhood not only poses an ideological challenge and threat to several Gulf Arab States; it also undermines the unity and functionality of the only cohesive Arab organization –the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This challenge ...draws a divide between two major rivals for the leadership in the region, Saudi Arabia and Qatar” (Khlebnikov, 2015, p. 17).

Muslim Brotherhood since the outbreak of the demonstrations and the taking down of the regimes in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Libya has been perceived as a powerful actor in these states (Bilgin, 2018, p. 122). Its political influence on the Arab world has become greater than before (Kinninmont, 2019; Asisan, 2018). MB as influential religious Islamic organization in the Arab world represents a model of Islamic rule so that Saudi Arabia views it as a real danger to its government (Hoetjes, 2022, p. 14). Riyadh has taken an antagonistic stance against MB listing it as a terrorist movement (BBC News, 2014). Unlike Saudi Arabia, Qatar has supported MB and has offered it a media platform (Aljazeera) regarding it as a moderate form of Islamism (Bilgin,



2018, p. 123). In return, MB has offered Doha an effective tool to rival Riyadh as well as it offered “an opportunity to expect preferable economic and political ties in the countries where MB and its affiliates are in race for power (including Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Syria)” (Khlebnikov, 2015, p. 23). “While Qatar has been funding and arming the MB, Saudi Arabia has been funding and arming Salafi groups in countries where the Arab Spring occurred” (Haykel, 201, p. 5).

The second issue which has a role in the escalation of the relations between Doha and Riyadh is the Aljazeera Media Network. It is regarded as one of the major effective news agencies in the region and the global sponsored by Qatar and situated in Doha (Powers, 2009; AL Kharusi, 2016; Kraidy, 2018, Abdu-Nabi, 2017). Besides Muslim Brotherhood, Aljazeera represents another ideological threat for Riyadh (Khlebnikov, 2015, p. 24). According to many media experts and scholars including Saudi Arabia, Aljazeera holds an Islamist view promoting the Muslim Brotherhood ideology in the region (Al-Rawi, 2017; Khlebnikov, 2015; Bilgin, 2018).

Aljazeera news covered Saudi affairs in a critical way presenting some controversial issues related to the Royal family of Saudi Arabia. As a result, the channel was banned in Saudi Arabia (Rashid, 2019; Bilgin, 2018; Khlebnikov, 2015). The negative narratives by Aljazeera are regarded as a threat to the survival of Saudi regime (Khlebnikov, 2015, p 124). In the time of Arab Spring, Aljazeera has played an influential role in covering the demonstrations in the region by motivating and encouraging components of the revolutionary movements. The narratives of Aljazeera during the Arab Spring have also bothered Saudi regime, they were perceived as contradictory to Riyadh’s best interests (Bilgin, 2018, p. 124).

The last dispute between Riyadh and Doha related to the bilateral relations between Qatar and Iran. The Saudi-led bloc was unsatisfied with the foreign policy of Doha and have for years criticizing Qatar for maintaining relationships with Iran (the historical enemy of Saudi Arabia) (Kinninmont, 2019; p. 2; Kose & Ulutas, 2018, p. 1; Asisian, 2018, p. 7). Unlike Saudi Arabia, Qatar does not consider Tehran as a threat, the relations between Iran and Qatar is based on mutual strategic interests in that “Qatar and Iran share the world’ largest natural gas field (North Dome/ South Pars). Qatar adopts a diplomatic policy and dialogue instead of antagonism with Iran (Bilgin, 2018, p. 125). Any military action in the Arab Gulf with Tehran would lead to serious consequences for both countries specially their economic shared interests (ibid). For Qatar to guarantee its security and survival from the hegemony and threats of Saudi Arabia has maintained cordial relations with Iran, “Iran is a balancing power for Qatar against Saudi Arabia” (ibid).

Saudi Arabia accuses Iran of fueling turmoil in the region and sectarianism (Crisis Group; 2024, p. 3). Iran’s policies in the region directed to the Shiite communities living among Arab countries and its endeavors to proliferating its own influence have led to conflict between Tehran and Riyadh during Arab Spring (Fahim, 2017).

In June 2017, the Saudi-led bloc listed 13 demands that Doha has to fulfill to end the crisis. The most important ones include breaking off its relations with Iran, stop backing extreme Islamist movements like MB, ISIS, Hezbollah, and braking off its relations with them and officially to be recognized as terrorist groups by Qatar. Qatar has also been demanded to shut-down Aljazeera media network (Kinninmont, 2019; Asisan, 2018; Khalifa, 2019).

### 1.2.3 Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera

Media have always been a key role in framing and constructing ideologies in today's crises and conflicts (Sinelnik & Hovy, 2024, pp. 1-2). The role of media in a given conflicts depends on a set of complex issues, involving "the relationships the media have to actors in the conflict and the independence the media has to the power holders in society" (ibid). Abdulmajid (2019, p. 2) argues that the engagement and interaction of political actors with the practices and discourses of media will allow them as effective players, to design and to determine the influence of media on society. Kissas (2013, p. 8) named this interaction as "technologies of politics" which involve discursive practices as well as discursive formation that are realized in media and stressed by producers. Discourse in media deviates from its moral objectives slipping into manipulation as soon as involved in a political agenda either by political actor's intervention who are in power or by the political affiliations of its producers, (ibid).

In the Arab world, media are generally characterized of being under the control of their governments. This is because the powerful role of media organizations as a manipulative and mobilizing tool has been well recognized by authorities and officials (Alhammori, 2013, p. 21; Leeper & Slothuus, 2024, p. 10). Accordingly, the majority of the news and information on such state-based media channels intended to praise the authorities' accomplishments and to prevent any opposition opinions to be introduced or discussed (Alhammori, 2013, p. 21). Arab mass media as argued by (Leeper & Slothuus, 2024, p. 10) in one way or another are associated with particular agendas and ideologies, they are determined and guided by regional conflicts.

AL Jazeera and AL Arabiya media networks which are the concern of the current study are among the most influential media networks in the Arab world as well as the global with long history of expertise and online news service (AL-Rawi, 2017, p. 4; Kraidy, 2018, p. 24). Many scholars perceive them as political tools used to exercise pressure on other regional countries (AL-Rawi, 2017; Mellor, 2011; El-Nawawiy & Iskandar, 2003).

AL Jazeera is a Qatari state-funded situated in Doha / Qatar, it started first as an Arabic news channel in 1996 then expanded into a network with a number of outlets comprising internet news service. In 2006 it has launched AL Jazeera English (AL Kharusi, 2016; Kraidy, 2018). Its content has always been controversial, its freedom gives it a considerable scope. Many diplomatic tensions between Qatar and other regional countries such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Syria caused by AL Jazeera due to its way of reporting specific political matters and regional events (AL Rawi, 2017, p. 3). Critics and scholars described it as a propaganda outlet for the regime, and also accused of holding an Islamist view promoting the Muslim Brotherhood ideology in the region (Kraidy 2018; Al-Rawi, 2017; Khlebnikov, 2015; Bilgin, 2018).

On the other hand, EL-Nawawy & Powers point out to the positive role of the AL Jazeera in the Arab world:

“Since its launch, AL Jazeera has created a vibrant and dynamic political environment that has liberalized the Arab media discourse and positively impacted political debates. This impact has been described as “AL Jazeera effect,” which refers to AL Jazeera’s role in providing an unprecedented forum for debate in the Arab world that is eviscerating the legitimacy of the Arab status quo and helping to build a radically new pluralist political culture” (EL-Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p. 28).

Compared to BBC and CNN, Seib (2008, p. 175) finds Al Jazeera to be more important because it has provided a new view to the relationship between those who rule and those who are ruled. It can be considered as a successful instance of “new public diplomacy” in which non-state actors employ tactics to “influence attitudes and behaviors of others”, for acts of traditional public diplomacy are led and implemented by state” (Powers & Gilboa, 2007 as cited in Abdul-Nabi, 2017, p. 6).

The supremacy of AL Jazeera as argued by Johnson and Fahmy (2010, p. 2) was confronted by the appearance of other media rivals in the region specially the Saudi-sponsored AL Arabiya 2004 and U. S-sponsored AL Hurra. It is suggested that Arab governments have encouraged the emergence of such media outlets with western style in order to function as political tools and cultural phenomenon that have effective role in changing the shape of region (Johnson & Fahmy 2010; Seib, 2008).

Al-Arabiya on the other hand, is a Saudi-sponsored news agency based in Dubai Media City started broadcasting in 2003 (Ajaoud & Elmasry, 2020, p. 230). The agency broadcasts news every hour, documentaries, as well as talk shows. In 2007, Al-Arabiya News the English-language web service has been launched which also includes other three online outlets in Arabic, Urdu and Persian. They cover different political issues, stock markets, sport and business (ibid). It is rated among the most popular in the Arab region, and along with its rival Al-Jazeera have been regarded as the most regional players and opinion makers in the Arab region (Al-Rawi, 2017, p.

4)

Many scholars and observers argue that its launch was to compete directly and as a reaction to Al-Jazeera's control of the media scene (Al-Rawi, 2017, p. 3; Johnson & Fahmy, 2010, p. 7; Ajaoud & Elmasry, 2020, p. 230). This competition was attributed to Al-Jazeera's reporting of Saudi affairs in a very critical way presenting some controversial issues related to the Royal family of Saudi Arabia. This has further worsened the Qatar-Saudi relationships. As a result, the channel was banned in Saudi Arabia (Rashid & Nassir, 2019, p. 2; Samuel-Azran, 2013). In this respect Fandy (2007, p. 53) argues that:

“Saudi Arabia launched *Al-Arabiya* after eight years of relentless attacks by *Al-Jazeera* on the Saudi political order and the Saudi royal family. *Al-Arabiya*'s programming shows that the station is more than an alternative to *Al-Jazeera*; it is a counter-missile directed at the Qatari news channel itself, *Al-Arabiya* is known for picking up the slack in areas such as the relations between Qatar and Israel”.

The antagonism between Riyadh and Doha is not new, but it turned into media with passage of time. Previous researches have shown that the media battle and rivalry between AL Arabiya and AL Jazeera tends to be ideological reflecting the political point of view of their host states (Kharbach, 2020, p. 1; Rashid, 2019, p. 2). In this context Rashid (2019, p. 6) mentions that Saudi affairs are the focus of AL Jazeera and is related to the diplomatic conflict between them. He goes further indicating that:

“Both media are framing specific issues and trying to portray the negative image of each other's sponsored states. On the other hand, Al-Arabiya English is continually discussing such activities of Qatar and framing into such way that these activities are against peace in the Middle East, and Qatar is really supporting terrorism among the region” (Rashid, 2019, p. 6).

Gulf diplomatic crisis (2017) has brought forth Al-Arabiya and Al-Jazeera into a direct media clash in which each tries to advocate and defend the political point of view and agenda of the authority it represents (Abdulmajid, 2019, p. 2).

### 1.3 Statement of the Problem

The representation of political disputes by means of media discourse may significantly affects audience perception, particularly when language subtly implies ideological biases (Prodnik & Vobic, (2023) and (Harcup, 2023). One recent example is the 2017 Gulf Crisis, in which a huge geopolitical split occurred between Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and their respective allies, represented in different ways by giant news outlets such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya; each projected ideological stances consistent with their respective interest (Kharbach, 2020) and (Horoub, 2022). By selective lexical and stylistic choices, these outlets have shaped distinct narratives, which have framed the public understanding of the conflict.

While prior research, of which those by Nimmen (2018), Abdulmajid (2019), Kharbach (2020), and Horoub (2022) all have examined both Al Arabiya's and Al Jazeera's ideological framing narratives surrounding the Gulf Crisis within the framework of CDA. These studies have mostly underlined explicit biases and rarely engage in any systematic textual framework regarding how specific linguistic choices and stylistic strategies contribute to the ideological positioning. Therefore, a critical gap still remains in understanding the complex interplay that exists between ideological positioning and lexical stylistic strategies in media representations of the Gulf Crisis.

The current study consequently tries to address this gap by exploring how Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya have utilized specific stylistic strategies such as naming and describing, transitivity framework, equating and contrasting, and exemplifying and numeration in embedding ideological positions in their coverage of the 2017 Gulf



Crisis. Adopting a qualitative approach integrating critical stylistics framework and corpus linguistics, this study will systematically analyze these linguistic strategies, offering a more detailed understanding of how stylistic choices interact with ideological encoding. Accordingly, the primary objectives are to analyze the stylistic strategies used by these media outlets, to conclude the ideological implications of these stylistic strategies, revealing how specific stylistic choices influence readers' perceptions, and contribute to the field by positioning critical stylistics as an effective tool for examining ideological bias in media discourse.

This study will therefore help future media literacy and policy initiatives by exploring the linguistic strategies through which media narratives are constructed in geopolitical crises. It will develop more significantly the theory of critical stylistics as a robust analytical tool, contributing to the development of a comprehensive framework for examining media influence fostering an increasingly discriminate understanding of how language can subtly encode ideology in politically charged environments.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The current study aims at conducting a critical stylistic analysis on AL Jazeera and AL Arabiya online news from linguistic perspective to create link between the lexico-stylistic choices made in the text and media ideologies in reporting the crisis. In order to achieve the aim, the study adopts the following objectives:

1. To analyze the stylistic strategies used by Al Arabiya's online news writers to encode ideologies in reporting the 2017 Gulf crisis.
2. To study the stylistic strategies used by Al Jazeera's online news writers to encode ideologies in reporting the 2017 Gulf crisis.



3. To conclude the ideological implications of these stylistic strategies used by both platforms in representing the crisis.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

In order to achieve the objectives, the analysis of the present study will revolve around the following questions:

1. How do Al Arabiya's online news writers use stylistic strategies to encode ideologies in reporting the 2017 Gulf crisis?
2. How do Al Jazeera's online news writers use stylistic strategies to encode ideologies in reporting the 2017 Gulf crisis?
3. What are the ideological implications of the stylistic strategies used by Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya in their representation of the 2017 Gulf crisis?

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study focuses on the Gulf crisis of 2017, primarily involving neighboring Arab states, Saudi Arabia and its allies against Qatar. The selected news websites, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera were chosen as they represent these conflicting parties. While both share a similar profile in their role within the media landscape, they differ significantly in their political and ideological orientations.

The study is confined to the analysis of the written form of online news articles published on the official English versions of Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera websites. These platforms are of high viewership, continuous 24-hour news coverage, and rapid reporting capabilities, making them accessible, collectable, and suitable for consultation and analysis (El-Gody, 2021).

The corpus under study consists of 183 articles, totaling 146,468 words, sourced from both platforms' official English websites. Specifically, Al Arabiya's corpus includes 94 articles amounting to 75,115 words, while Al Jazeera's corpus comprises 89 articles totaling 71,353 words. However, the detailed analysis to achieve the study's objectives focuses on a data sample of 16 texts 9 from Al Arabiya and 7 from Al Jazeera. These texts have been taken as a representative sample from both corpora. They were chosen due to their strong relevance and representation of the main themes that emerged from the keyword analysis conducted in Chapter Three. They were specifically selected because they encapsulate the core ideological narratives and stylistic strategies analyzed in the study. Additionally, including more texts was deemed unnecessary as it would only repeat the same themes without contributing new insights or issues.

The study limits its investigation to the lexical stylistic choices or strategies and their embedded ideological bases within the selected articles. It employs a systematic model of critical stylistic analysis developed by Jeffries (2010), combined with tools and methods of corpus linguistics. Specifically, the study focuses on four out of the ten lexical stylistic strategies: naming & describing, equating & contrasting, representing actions/events/states, and exemplifying & numeration. These strategies were selected based on their availability in the data and anticipated relevance to the study's aim and research questions, as well as their suitability for the nature of the data analyzed. Other strategies were excluded due to the absence or very limited presence of related textual data, ensuring that the analysis remains focused and directly aligned with the most pertinent stylistic elements of the corpus.

The timeframe of the study covers the first month following the outbreak of the crisis on June 5, 2017. This period represents the peak of the crisis, during which the majority of the articles were published, clearly exposing the deep rift between the conflicted parties. This period is particularly significant as the conflict was predominantly constructed and communicated through discourse of media during this time.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The recent Gulf crisis 2017 is not merely an intra-Arab Gulf rift; it is about a larger political conflict in the region. It has therefore a strong influence on series of regional conflicts comprising but not limited to Syria, Yemen and Libya (Kose & Ulutas, 2017, p. 4). In all these areas of conflict as well as in the case of current crisis ideologies have been utilized and instrumentalized. Since the break out of the crisis, mass media in general and Al-Arabiya and Al-Jazeera in particular have reported and depicted the same crisis with different ideological standpoints.

The significance of the current study lies in its comparative nature regarding the ideological representation of the crisis on Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya as official, controlled and state-funded news agencies. Since both agencies to some degree have the same profile in their career yet, they differ in their political and ideological stances. Both have online news websites which are among the top viewed that offer news coverage around the world (El-Gody, 2021).

Moreover, the dominant nature of these two media giants as well as their big influence in shaping public opinion requires a parallel critical narrative to be less subjective and

more disciplined. Critical Stylistics is the alternative, “it offers a toolkit of analysis which has standardized reference, making the analyses replicable and empirically falsifiable” (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010 as cited in Alaghbary, 2014, p. 152). The adopted model of critical stylistics is expected to offer a new perspective in conceptualizing the connection that exists between media ideologies and lexico-stylistic strategies or choices utilized by news writers. This in turn would provide a good understanding of the process of news making in times of conflicts. It also provides a picture of how encoded ideologies reside in media texts can be traced by establishing the link using a systematic model of critical stylistic analysis rather than focusing on “how texts fit into the socio-political landscape in which they are produced or read” (Jeffries, 2010, p. 11), as done by previous studies within the framework of CDA.

### **1.8 Definition of Key Terms**

**Arab Spring:** It is a set of uprisings and protests against governments that occurred in many Arab countries in the early of 2010. These uprisings and protests were as a reaction to the oppressive systems and a low standard of living. They began first in Tunisia then spread to other Arab regimes Bahrain, Libya, Yemen, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, where the rulers were forced to step down. “Most of the demonstrations that emanated from the Arab Spring have been met with violent crackdown from state machineries as well as from government created militias and counter demonstrators. These clampdowns had been responded to with violence from the people who staged the protest in some instances” (Abdel Salam, 2015, p. 122).

**Critical Stylistics (CS):** it is a systematic model that combines tools from stylistics, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Corpus Linguistics (CL). It focuses on analyzing the text to uncover underlying ideologies, with an emphasis on the stylistic choices made by the text producer. The goal of CS is to raise awareness among text recipients about these ideologies, regardless of whether they change their perspectives. CS places the “text” at the core of its analysis, encompassing all forms of language use (Jeffries, 2010).

**Corpus Linguistics (CL):** The most recent definition of corpus linguistics emphasizes its role as an empirical approach to studying language through the analysis of large electronic collections of texts, known as corpora. This field combines principles of empiricism and technology, allowing researchers to identify patterns of meaning and language structure use in a systematic and objective manner. Corpus linguistics utilizes computational tools such as word frequency lists, concordance plots, and key-word-in-context (KWIC) analyses to explore various aspects of texts, making it a powerful method for understanding linguistic phenomena across different contexts and genres (Csomay & Crawford, 2024, p. 5).

**Ideology:** In the context of this study, “ideology” refers to sets of values and beliefs held by a group of people, often encompassing societal or cultural norms, rather than being confined solely to politically motivated or selfish intentions. As articulated by Jeffries (2010, 2015), and supported by more recent studies (Tabbert, 2016; Ahmed, 2022) ideology is seen as a pervasive element in all texts, where it serves to transmit, reinforce, or inculcate certain values or worldviews in readers. Unlike Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which often adopts a politically explicit stance, CS

maintains a neutral position, examining how texts ideologically represent the world through language without necessarily aligning with any specific political ideology. Thus, ideology in this study encapsulates not only politically charged ideas but also broader cultural values that are embedded within the text.

**Ideological Implications:** They refer to the ways in which linguistic choices in texts such as naming, describing, equating, contrasting, and representing actions/events/states convey specific values and worldviews. Building on the framework of Jeffries (2010), this study examines how these textual features create ‘text worlds’ that reflect ideological stances. These implications are not merely reflections of overt political positions but also include subtler cultural and social values that influence how readers perceive and interpret the represented events and actors. This approach enables a nuanced understanding of how ideology operates within media discourse, particularly in the representation of the 2017 Gulf crisis.

**Stylistic Strategies:** In the context of this study, “stylistic strategies” refer to the specific linguistic choices and techniques used by authors in texts to shape meaning, convey attitudes, and influence reader interpretation. These strategies involve the deliberate selection of lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical elements that contribute to the overall style and ideological positioning of the text. According to Jeffries (2010), critical stylistics focuses on how these choices construct ‘text worlds’ and transmit ideologies. The strategies employed in this study include naming & describing, equating & contrasting, representing actions/events/states, and exemplifying & numeration.

Moreover, stylistic strategies are not only central to understanding textual aesthetics but are also pivotal in revealing underlying ideological frameworks. These strategies help uncover how language in media texts can subtly guide the reader's perception of social and political realities. The selected strategies in this study were based on their ability to elucidate the ideological content and align closely with the study's focus on media representation of the Gulf crisis.

## **1.9 Thesis Structure**

The current study consists of five chapters. The first one contextualizes the study by giving an introduction involves the background which is a short historical and political situation of the crisis between the conflicted countries. Besides, it presents the problem and objective of the study as well as questions, significance and scope of the study, definitions of key terms, and thesis structure.

**Chapter Two** situates the study by offering an overview of CDA and its approaches to media discourse, definition, roots as well as the main approaches and the criticisms leveled against it and how it can be addressed by introducing Critical Stylistics as an alternative. Then, a detailed account on Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, (2010) is provided as the main theoretical framework on which the study is based. The chapter also gives a detailed explanation to the analytical tools used. The concept of ideology is introduced as being the main concern of the study along with its interrelationship with discourse and media.

The chapter also provides a brief overview to corpus linguistics and corpora and their different types and usages. It offers an insight into the computer software used by the



study which is Anthony's (2019) AntConc software package version (3.3.8). Afterwards, providing an explanation to the main tools and functions of the software used by the present study along with their impact, including: keyword tool, concordance tool, and wordlist tool. The chapter introduces the contributions of CL and the usefulness of integrating CL with CDA as a rewarding way in responding to the frequent criticisms directed against CDA. Finally, introducing the most related studies that used critical stylistics, CDA and CL together in investigating ideology in media discourse

**Chapter Three:** The chapter introduces the methodology used by the researcher to investigate AAE and AJE online news articles. It starts by describing the procedures of collecting the corpora of the study. It also explains the criteria followed by the study in compiling the reference corpus. The rest of the chapter offers a description and explanation to the analytical procedures conducted on the corpora under study represented by keyword analysis and its main findings which are used as a starting point and a guide by suggesting which linguistic features are worthy for further investigation in the qualitative phase.

**Chapter Four:** In this chapter, the findings of the keyword analysis will be analyzed qualitatively by applying the theoretical framework of critical stylistics with the help of the concordance analysis of corpus linguistics. Four critical stylistic tools will be utilized to conduct the analysis namely, naming and describing, transitivity framework, equating and contrasting, and exemplifying and enumeration. The chapter is divided into two parts, the first one offers a comprehensive analysis to data collected from Al Arabiya platform and the second one to the data collected from AL Jazeera.



The themes to be analyzed are extracted from both platform, two themes for each platform. Followed by a comparison of the ideological implications of both platforms. The total number of the texts under analysis are 16 texts, 9 texts for the themes of Al Arabiya and 7 texts for the themes of Al Jazeera.

**Chapter Five** which is final one, it highlights the novelty of the findings and their contribution. It draws conclusions and implications showing how the adopted analytical tools operate in texts to create ideologies. Besides highlighting the contributions of the present study and possible future studies and recommendations.

## REFERENCES

- Abeed, M. (2017). *News representation in times of conflict: A corpus-based critical stylistic analysis of the Libyan Revolution* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield]. University of Huddersfield Repository. <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/34536/>
- Abdul-Nabi, Z. (2017). Al-Jazeera's Relationship with Qatar before and after Arab Spring: Effective Public Diplomacy or Blatant Propaganda?. *Arab Media & Society*, 24, 1-21.
- Abu Haieh, A. M. I. (2023). *The entrepreneurial state: Remaking Qatar's foreign relations approach* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Qatar University.
- Agdemir, A. M. (2016). The Arab Spring and Israel's relations with Egypt: A view from Turkey. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 10(2), 223-235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2016.1221132>
- Asisian, N. (2018, February 6). The Qatar crisis, its regional implications, and the US national interest. *Small Wars Journal*. <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/qatar-crisis-its-regional-implications-and-us-national-interest>
- Ayman, M. (2017 June 6). Qatar and Its Neighbors Have Been At Odds Since the Arab Spring. *CBN News*./qatar-its-neighbors-have-been-odds-arab-spring-n768966).
- Al-Rawi, A. (2017). Assessing Public Sentiments and News Preferences on Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(1), 26-44.
- Al Kharusi, R. (2016). *Ideologies of Arab Media and Politics: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Al Jazeera Debates on the Yemeni Revolution*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield]. University of Huddersfield Repository. <https://uhra.herts.ac.uk/handle/2299/17659>
- AL Jazeera. (2017 June 9). Timeline of Qatar-GCC Disputes from 1991 to 2017. *AL Jazeera*.<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/06/timeline-qatar->
- Alhammouri, L. (2013). *The Road to the White House Through Arab Eyes: Analysis of Frames and Credibility as Presented by Al-Arabiya, AlHurra and Aljazeera*. [Doctoral dissertation, Brunel University]. Brunel University Repository. <https://bura.brunel.ac.uk/handle/2438/7568>
- Amin, H. (2001). Mass media in the Arab States between Diversification and Stagnation: An Overview. In K. Hafez (Ed.), *Mass media, politics, and society in the Middle East* (pp.1–20). Hampton Press.
- Al-Saggaf, Y. (2006). The Online Public Sphere in the Arab World: The War in Iraq on the Al Arabiya website. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(1): 311–334.

- Abdelsalam, E. (2015). The Arab spring: Its origins, evolution and consequences... four years on. *Intellectual Discourse*, 23, 119-139.
- ALaghbary, G. (2014). The United States' Reaction to the Arab Spring: A Critical Stylistic Analysis. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 2(1), 151-175.
- Alaghbary, G., Alazzany, M., & Al-Nakeeb, O. (2015). Linguistic Approaches to Ideology: Review of Work between 1979 and 2010. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 4(5), 1-10.
- Abdulmajid, A. (2019). Media and Ideology in the Middle East: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 28(1): 23-47.
- Alenazy, K. (2018). *The Delegitimisation Discursive Strategies of Women's Right to Drive in Saudi Arabia*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Essex]. University of Essex Repositor <http://repository.essex.ac.uk/22861/>
- Al Maghlouth, S. (2017). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Social Change in Women-related Posts on Saudi English-language Blogs Posted between 2009 and 2012* [Doctoral dissertation, Lancaster University]. Lancaster University Repositor <https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/88762/>
- Aboualhuda, I. (2018). *Media Discourse of Egyptian and British Newspapers' Websites and its Influence on the Formation of Images of Muslims and Islam post 25th January 2011 Revolution* [Doctoral dissertation, Bournemouth University]. Bournemouth University Repositor <http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/31176/>
- Alhumaidi, M. (2013). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Al-Ahram and Al-Jazeera's Online Coverage of Egypt's 2011 Revolution* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida] University of Florida Repositor <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UFE0046068/00001>
- Ahmed, H., & Abbas, N. (2019). Critical Stylistic Analysis of the Concept of Extremism in De Lillo's *Falling Man* (2007). *Arab World English Journal for Translation & Literary Studies*, 3, (3) 82-106.
- Alazzany, M. A. (2018). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Islam and Muslims following the 9/11 Events as Reported in the New York Times* [Doctoral dissertation, University Putra Malaysia]. University Putra Malaysia Repositor [http://psasir.upm.edu.my/id/eprint/10335/1/FBMK\\_2008\\_23\\_A.pdf](http://psasir.upm.edu.my/id/eprint/10335/1/FBMK_2008_23_A.pdf)
- Auerbach, C., & Silverstein, L. (2003). *Qualitative Data. An Introduction to Coding and Analysis*. New York University Written Press.
- Altheide, D.L. (1996). *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Sage

- Al-Shaibani, G. K. (2010). *Portrayal Of The Iraq War (2005-2008) In The BBC'S English Online News: A Critical Discourse Analysis*. [Doctoral dissertation, Universiti Sains Malaysia]. <http://ethesis.usm.my/jspui/handle/123456789/5775>
- Al-Radhi, H. A. (2017). *Representation Of The " Self" And " Other" Of Arab Spring Reporting In CNN And AJE'S Online News Articles* [Doctoral dissertation, Universiti Sains Malaysia]. <http://ethesis.usm.my/jspui/handle/123456789/8588>
- Aragbuwa, A. (2021). Basic concepts in discourse analysis. In K. A. Ayoola, A. Aragbuwa, & O. O. Oyeboode (Eds.), *Current approaches to discourse analysis: A manual for university students* (pp. 1-4). Obafemi Awolowo University Press.
- Ausat, A. M. A. (2023). The role of social media in shaping public opinion and its influence on economic decisions. *Technology and Society Perspectives (TACIT)*, 1(1), 35-44.
- Ajaoud, S., & Elmasry, M. H. (2020). When news is the crisis: Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya framing of the 2017 Gulf conflict. *Global Media and Communication*, 16(2), 227-242.
- Ahmed, H. A. (2022). Critical Stylistics vs. Critical Discourse Analysis: A General Review of the Two Main Critical Approaches to Language Studies. *Res Militaris*, 12(2), 6790. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/374331769>
- Baker, P. (2004). Querying keywords: questions of difference, frequency, and sense in keyword analysis. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 32(4), 346-359.
- Bechtel, W., & Graham, G. (1999). *A companion to cognitive science*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Boyce, S. G. (2013). Qatar's Foreign Policy. *Asian Affairs*, 44 (3), 365-377.
- Bilgin, A. R. (2018). Relations between Qatar and Saudi Arabia after the Arab Spring. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 11(3), 113-134.
- BBC News. (2014, March 7). Saudi Arabia declares Muslim Brotherhood 'terrorist group'. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26487092>
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, A. & Garrett, P. (Eds.) (1998), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Blackwell Publishers. p. 1-20.
- Beard, A. (2000). *Language of Politics*. Routledge.

- Burns, A (2001) *Analyzing Spoken Discourse: Implication for TESOL* Burns, A and Coffin, C(eds) *Analyzing English in a Global Context: A Reader*: Oxon: Routledge
- Breeze, R. (2011). Critical Discourse Analysis and its Critics. *Pragmatics* 21 (4): 493–525.
- Beaton-Thome, M. (2013). What's in a word? Your enemy combatant is my refugee: the role of simultaneous interpreters in negotiating the lexis of Guantanamo in the European Parliament. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 12(3), 378-399.
- Bauer, M. W., Gaskell, G., & Allum, N. C. (2000). Quality, Quantity and Knowledge Interests: Avoiding Confusions. In: M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (pp. 3-17). Sage.
- Bauer, M. W. & Aarts, B. (2000). Corpus Construction: A Principle for Qualitative Data Collection. In: M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (pp. 19-37). Sage.
- Bloor, T. & Bloor, M. (2004). *The Functional Analysis of English*. (2nd ed.). Hodder Arnold.
- Busà, M. G. (2014). *Introducing the Language of the News*. Routledge.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Basil Blackwell, Inc.
- Bamgbose, G. & Ohwojevwe, G. (2018). Political Realities in Akintunde Akinkunmi's *Best Served Cold*: An Exercise in Critical Stylistic Analysis. *Uniuyo Journal of Humanities*, Vol 22, 1.
- Barth, D., & Schnell, S. (2021). *Understanding corpus linguistics*. Routledge.
- Caldas-Coulthard. (1996). *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Routledge.
- Laske, C. (2022). Corpus linguistics: the digital tool kit for analyzing language and the law. *Comparative Legal History*, 10(1), 3-32.
- Champion, Marc. (2017, June 6). Saudi Arabia's feud with Qatar has 22-year history rooted in gas. *Livemint.com*.  
<https://www.livemint.com/Politics/dHHtps3m3FN83KkPize4LP/Saudi-Arabias-feud-with-Qatar-has-22year-history-rooted-in.html>.
- Coffey, L. (2015). Ideologies of Masculinity in Women's Magazines: A Critical Stylistic Approach. *Gender and Language*, 9 (3), 337–364.

- Coffey, L. (2013). „*Innocent until Proven Filthy*”: *A Corpus-Based Critical Stylistic Analysis of Representations of Men in Women’s magazines* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield]. University of Huddersfield Repository. <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/19274/>
- Crystal, D. (1992). *Introducing Linguistics*. Penguin English.
- Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. 1999. *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Cervera, J. T., Postigo, M. L., & Herrero, R. D. (2006). What is Critical Discourse Analysis? *Quaderns de Filologia-Estudis Lingüístics*, 11, 9-34.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2005). *Politicians and Rhetoric: the Persuasive power of Metaphor*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dorsey, J. (2013) Wahhabism vs. Wahhabism: Qatar Challenges Saudi Arabia. *RSRS Working Paper Series*, No. 262.
- Darwich, M. (2016). The ontological (in)security of similarity: Wahhabism versus Islamism in Saudi foreign policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12(3), 469-488.
- Davatgarzadeh, G (2010) The Representation of Social Actors in Interchange Third Edition Series: a Critical Discourse Analysis. *The Journal of Teaching Language Skills (JTLS)* 2(1) Ser. 59/4.
- Datondji, A. C., & Amousou, F. (2019). Discourse-Historical approach to critical discourse studies: Theoretical and conceptual analysis, basic characteristics and analytical tools. *Revue Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée, de Littérature et d'Education*, 2(1), 70-80.
- Egbert, J., Larsson, T., & Biber, D. (2022). *Doing Linguistics with a Corpus: Methodological Considerations for the Everyday User*. Routledge.
- El Gody, A. (2007). New media, new audience, new topics, and new forms of censorship in the Middle East. In P. Seib (Ed.), *New media and the new Middle East* (pp. 213-234). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ehteshami, A. & Mohammadi, A. (2017). Saudi Arabia’s and Qatar’s Discourses and Practices in the Mediterranean. *Med Reset, Working Papers*, No. 6, June 2017. pp30.
- El-Nawawy, M., & Iskandar, A. (2003). *Al Jazeera: The Story of the Network that is Rattling Governments and Redefining Journalism*. Westview Press.
- El-Nawawy, M., & Powers, S. (2008). *Mediating conflict: Al-Jazeera English and the possibility of a conciliatory media*. University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy.



- Elmasry, M. H., Shamy, A. E., Manning, P., Mills, A., & Auter, P. J. (2013). Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya Framing of the Israel–Palestine Conflict during War and Calm Periods. *International Communication Gazette*, 75(8), 750-768.
- Evans, M. (2016). *A Critical Stylistic Analysis of the Textual Meanings of 'Feminism', 'Feminist(s)' and 'Feminist' in UK National Newspapers, 2000-2009*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield]. University of Huddersfield Repository. <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/30184/>
- Elias, E. I. (2018). Discursive Strategies and Ideologies in Selected Newspaper Reports on the Nigerian-Cameroonian Bakassi Peninsula Border Conflict. *Communication and the Public*, 3(2), 151-168.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 258-284). Sage.
- Fairclough, N. (2008). *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Pearson.
- Fiske, J. (1994). *Media Matters: Everyday Culture and Political Change*. Minnesota Press.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Languages in the News: discourse and ideology in the press*. Oxford University Press
- Fisher, Max (2017 June 13). How the Saudi-Qatar Rivalry, Now Combusting, Reshaped the Middle East. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/13/world/middleeast/how-the-saudi-qatar-rivalry-now-combusting-reshaped-the-middle-east.html>
- Fahim, K. (23 June 2017). Demands by Saudi-led Arab States for Qatar Include Shuttering AlJazeera. *Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/saudi-led-arabstates-submit-demands-to-qatar-including-shuttering-of-al-jazeera/2017/06/23/d9d2711a-580e-11e7-9e18-968f6ad1e1d3\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/saudi-led-arabstates-submit-demands-to-qatar-including-shuttering-of-al-jazeera/2017/06/23/d9d2711a-580e-11e7-9e18-968f6ad1e1d3_story.html)

- Feuilherade, P. (2003 Feb 20). Al-Jazeera competitor launches. *BBC News*.[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/2780985.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2780985.stm)
- Fandy, M. (2007). *(Un)Civil War of Words: Media and Politics in the Arab World*. Praeger Security International.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. & Trew, T. (Eds.). (1979). *Language and Control*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Flick, U. (1998). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Sage.
- Flowerdew, L. (2004). The Argument for Using English Specialized Corpora to Understand Academic and Professional Language. In U. Connor & T. Upton (Eds.), *Discourse in the Professions. Perspectives from corpus linguistics* (pp. 11-33). John Benjamin's Publishing.
- Flowerdew, L. (2023). Synergy between corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. In J. Flowerdew & E. Richardson (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 170-186).
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How Many Interviews are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82. Sage. Personal communication
- Gavioli, L. (2002). Some thoughts on the problem of representing ESP through small corpora. In A. Wilson, P. Rayson, & T. McEnery (Eds.), *Corpus linguistics around the world* (pp. 343-361). Brill.  
<https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004334236/B9789004334236-s022.xml>
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Prison Notebooks*. International Publishers.
- Crisis Group. (2024). *Great expectations: The future of Iranian-Saudi détente*. Crisis Group Middle East Briefing No. 92. <https://www.crisisgroup.org>
- Csomay, E., & Crawford, W. J. (2024). *Doing Corpus Linguistics*. Taylor & Francis.
- Hanan, H. A. (2017). *Representation of the “self” and “other” of Arab Spring reporting in CNN and AJE’s online news articles* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia.
- Hegazy, H. M. (2018). A critical discourse analysis of internal intertextuality in American and Egyptian news reporting on Egypt’s January 25 and June 30 protests. *Arab World English Journal for Translation & Literary Studies*, 2(2), 32-47. <https://doi.org/10.24093/awejtls/vol2no2.3>
- Hodge, R. & Kress, G. (1993). *Language as ideology* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Halliday, M. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Arnold.



- Hamza, Z. (2012) *A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Donald Trump in the Guardian*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Malaya.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Arnold.
- Hall, S. (1982). The Rediscovery of "Ideology": Return of the Repressed in Media Studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, Society, and the Media*. Methuen & Co Ltd.
- Hlail, M. H. (2019). *A critical discourse analysis of ideology in selected American newspapers about an American presidential election campaign*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Babylon, Iraq.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2010). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Random House.
- Hoetjes, G. (2022). *The Saudi-Emirati axis and the preservation of regional order*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. <https://www.clingendael.org>
- Hassan, A. (2018). Language, media, and ideology: Critical discourse analysis of Pakistani news bulletin headlines and its impact on viewers. *Sage Open*, 8(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018792612>
- Ibrahim, M. (2018). *The Construction of the Speaker and Fictional World in the Small Mirrors: Critical Stylistic Analysis* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield]. University of Huddersfield Repository. <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/34586/>
- Ibrahim, R. K., & Hussein, L. A. K. (2018). A Critical Stylistic Analysis of the Ideological Positioning in Some Selected Poems by John Donne. *Journal of the College of Languages*, (37), 1-16.
- Irvin, C. L. (1992). Terrorist Perspectives: Interviews. In Paltz and Schmidt (Eds.). *Terror and the Media*. (pp. 37-51). Newbury Park.
- Jeffries, L. (2007). *Textual Construction of the Female Body: A Critical Discourse Approach*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jeffries, L. (2010). *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jeffries, L. & McIntyre, D. (2010). *Stylistics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffries, L. (2014). 'Critical Stylistics', in M. Burke (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics*, 408-20. Routledge.
- Jeffries, L. (2015). Critical Stylistics. In *The Bloomsbury Companion to Stylistics*. V. Sotriova, (ed). London: Bloomsbury. Pp. 157-175.

- Jeffries, L. (2015). Language and Ideology. In *Introducing Language and Linguistics*. N. Braber, L. Cummings and Morrish, eds. Cambridge University Press, pp. 379 – 405.
- Jeffries, L., & Walker, B. (2017). *Keywords in the press: The New Labour years*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Jones, B. & Cullinane, S. (2013 July 3). What is the Muslim Brotherhood? *CNN News*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/03/world/africa/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-explainer/index.html>.
- Johnson, T., & Fahmy, S. (2010). Who is Winning the Hearts and Minds of the Arab Public?. *Communication Research Journal*, 45(1-2), 24-48.
- Jorgensen, M.W. & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis: As Theory and Method*. Sage.
- Koosha, M. & Shams, M. R. (2005). A Critical Study of News Discourse: Iran's Nuclear Issue in the British Newspapers. *Iranian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 8 (2) 107-142.
- Köse, T., & Ulutaş, U. (2017). Regional Implications of the Qatar Crisis : Increasing Vulnerabilities. *SETA Perspective*, 31(June). Ankara SETA
- Kinninmont, J. (2019). *The Gulf divided: The impact of the Qatar crisis*. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House.
- Kandil, M. A. (2009). *The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American, Arab, and British media: Corpus-based critical discourse analysis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Georgia State University, USA.
- Kraidy, M. M. (2018). Global Media Studies: A critical Agenda. *Journal of Communication*, 68(2), 337-346.
- Khlebnikov, A. (2015). The New Ideological Threat to the GCC: Implications for the Qatari-Saudi Rivalry. *Strategic Assessment*, 17(4), 17-28.
- Kissas, A. (2013). *Mediated politics and ideology: Towards a new synthesis* (Master's dissertation). London School of Economics and Political Science. <https://www.lse.ac.uk/media-communications/assets/documents/research/msc-dissertations/2012/94.pdf>
- Khalifa, H. H. (2019). Aljazeera's Coverage of the Qatar Crisis on June 5th 2017: A Frame Analysis. *Global Media Journal*, 17(32), 183.
- Kharbach, M. (2020). Understanding the Ideological Construction of the Gulf Crisis in Arab Media Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analytic Study of the Headlines of Al Arabiya English and Al Jazeera English. *Discourse & Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481320917576>

- Katea, H. (2018). *Understanding discursive persuasion in American and Iraqi call to arms discourse: Discursive strategies as instruments of persuasive politics* (Doctoral dissertation, Bangor University, UK). [https://research.bangor.ac.uk/portal/files/22354338/2018\\_Katea\\_H\\_PhD.pdf](https://research.bangor.ac.uk/portal/files/22354338/2018_Katea_H_PhD.pdf)
- Knight, G. and Dean, T. (1982). Myth and Structure of News. *Journal of Communication* 32: 144- 161.
- Kawakibi, S., & Director, P. S. (2022). Qatar's role in the geopolitical scenarios of the Middle East and North Africa. *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook*, 2022, 48-52.
- Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage publications. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). (2001). Person Education Limited.
- Liu, K., & Guo, F. (2016). A Review on Critical Discourse Analysis. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 6(5), 1076-1084.
- Leeper, T. J., & Slothuus, R. (2024). *Media control and authoritarianism in the Arab world*. London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Mhamdi, C. (2017). Framing “the Other” in Times of Conflicts: CNN’s Coverage of The 2003 Iraq War. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 8(2), 147-153.
- Masoud, T. (2015). Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy? *Journal of Democracy*. 26 (1): 74- 87.
- Misnawati., Nur, S., Tahir, S. Z. (2023). Corpus Linguistics Today: A Qualitative Approach. *Research and Innovation in Applied Linguistics [RIAL]*, Vol 2 (1), xx-xx. <https://doi.org/10.31963/rial.v2i1.4486>
- Miles, H. (2010). *Al-Jazeera: How Arab TV News Challenged the World*. Abacus.
- Miles, H. (2017, July 1). Al-Jazeera, insurgent TV station that divides the Arab world, faces closure. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/jul/01/demand-al-jazeera-closure-shows-how-much-enemies-fear-it>
- Mellor, N., Rinnawi, K., Dajani, N. (2011). *Arab Media: Globalization and Emerging Media Industries*. Polity Press.
- McArthur, T. (1996). *The Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*. Oxford: University Press.
- Meyer, M. (2001). Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to CDA. In W. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 14-31). Sage
- McCombs, M., & Valenzuela, S. (2020). *Setting the agenda: Mass media and public opinion*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Mautner, G. (2017). *Discourse and Management: Critical Perspectives*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- McEnery, T., & Hardie, A. (2011). *Corpus linguistics: Method, theory and practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roslyng, M. M., & Dindler, C. (2023). Media power and politics in framing and discourse theory. *Communication Theory*, 33(1), 11-20.
- Nuruzzaman, M. (2015). Qatar and the Arab Spring: Down the Foreign Policy Slop. *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 8 (2): 226-38
- Nisbet, E. C., & Myers, T. A. (2011). Anti-American Sentiment as a Media Effect? Arab Media, Political Identity, and Public Opinion in the Middle East. *Communication Research*, 38(5), 684-709.
- Nguyen, H. K. (2014). *Critique on critical Discourse Analysis*. Unpublished manuscript. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/14490149/Critique\\_on\\_Critical\\_Discourse\\_Analysis](https://www.academia.edu/14490149/Critique_on_Critical_Discourse_Analysis)
- Nahajec, L. (2012). *Evoking the Possibility of Presence: Textual and Ideological Effects of Linguistic Negation in Written Discourse* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Huddersfield]. <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/17537/1/lnahajecfinalthesis.pdf>
- Nordquist, R. (2019, July 3). Definition and examples of corpus linguistics. *ThoughtCo*. <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-corpus-linguistics-1689936>
- Ononye, C. F. & Osunbade, N. (2015). Naming Strategies and Lexical Choices in Niger Delta-Based Newspaper Reports on Niger Delta Conflicts. *Journal of Humanistic and Social Studies*. Vol. 6(1), 93-107.
- Ononye, C. F. (2014). *Style, Lexical Choices and Media Ideology in Selected English-Medium Newspaper Reports on Niger Delta Conflicts, 1997–2009*. [DoctoralDissertation, University of Ibadan: Nigeria]. <http://ir.library.ui.edu.ng/handle/123456789/3736>
- Powers, S. (2009). Al-Jazeera English and Global News Network: Clash of Civilizations or Cross-Cultural Dialogue?. *Media, War & Conflict*, 2(3) 246-284
- Powers, S. (2012). The origins of Al Jazeera English. In P. Seib (Ed.), *Al Jazeera English* (pp. 5–28). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Puddephatt, A. (2006). Voices of War: Conflict and the Role of the Media. *Report of International Media Support, København: (IMS)*.
- Powers, S., & Gilboa, E. (2007). The public diplomacy of Al Jazeera. In *New media and the new Middle East* (pp. 53-80). Palgrave Macmillan.

- Pasha, T. (2011). *Islamist in the Headlines: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Newspaper*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah]. [https://collections.lib.utah.edu/dl\\_files/98/96/9896e9796741fdf0bd9dbf774846e](https://collections.lib.utah.edu/dl_files/98/96/9896e9796741fdf0bd9dbf774846e)
- Rashid, M., & Naseer, M. (2019). Diplomatic Conflict and Media Framing: Reporting of Al Jazeera and Al Arabia Channels Related to Saudi-Qatar Conflict. SSRN Electronic Journal, Article ID: 3432617. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3432617>.
- Roberts, D. (2015). Qatar's strained Gulf relationships. In *The new politics of intervention of Gulf Arab states* (pp. 23–31). London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).
- Richardson, J. (2007). *Analyzing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Palgrave.
- Roy, Sudeshna. (2009). *Media Representations and "Othering" of the U.N. in U.S. Media in Times of Conflict Post 9/11*. [Doctoral dissertation, Washington State University]. [udini.proquest.com/view/media-representations-and-othering-pqid:1905517851/](https://www.proquest.com/view/media-representations-and-othering-pqid:1905517851/).
- Ricento, T. (2006). Americanization, Language Ideologies and the Construction of European Identities. In C. Mar-Molinero & P. Stevenson (Eds.), *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices. Language and the Future of Europe* (pp. 44-57). Palgrave MacMillan.
- Steinberg, G. (2023). *Qatar's foreign policy: Decision-making processes, baselines, and strategies* (No. 4/2023). SWP Research Paper. <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/271033/1/1841882623.pdf>
- Stefanowitsch, A. (2020). *Corpus linguistics: A guide to the methodology*. Language Science Press.
- Samuel-Azran, T. (2013). Al-Jazeera, Qatar, and New Tactics in State-Sponsored Media Diplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(9), 1293-1311.
- Seib, P. (2008). *The Al Jazeera Effect: How the New Global Media are Reshaping World Politics*. Potomac Books, Inc.
- Smith, J., McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C., & Augustyn, B. (2001). From Protest to Agenda Building: Description Bias in Media Coverage of Protest Events in Washington, DC. *Social Forces*, 79(4), 1397-1423.
- Stubbs, M. (1997). Whorf's Children: Critical Comments on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In A. Ryan & A. Wray (Eds.), *Evolving models of language* (pp. 100-116). Multilingual Matters.



- Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*. Cichago University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*. Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics. Blackwell.
- Simpson, P. (1993). *Language, Ideology, and Point of View* (Vol. 1). Routledge.
- Short, M. (1996). *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*. Longman.
- Schank, R. C. & Abelson, R. P. (1977). *Scripts, Plans, Goals, and Understanding: An Inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures*. Erlbaum.
- Silverman, D. (2000). Analyzing Talk and Text. In N.K. Denizen & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd edition) (pp. 821-834). Sage
- Sinelnik, A., & Hovy, D. (2024). Narratives at conflict: Computational analysis of news framing in multilingual disinformation campaigns. *arXiv*. <https://arxiv.org/abs/2408.13651>
- Saeed, B. M. (2024). Critical discourse analysis of ideology in Judy Blume's "Tales of a Fourth Grade Nothing." *Zanco Journal of Human Sciences*, 28(2), 343-357. <https://doi.org/10.21271/zjhs.28.2.20>
- Toumi, H. (2011, July 13). Al Jazeera turning into private media organization. Gulf News. <http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/qatar/al-jazeera-turning-into-privatemedi-organisation-1.837871>
- Talbot, M. (2007). *Media Discourse: Representation and Interaction*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Tabbert, U. (2013). *Crime Through a Corpus : The Linguistic Construction of Offenders, Victims and Crimes in the German and UK press*. [Doctoral dersertation, University of Huddersfield] Retrieved from: <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/18078/>
- Tabbert, U. (2016). *Language and Crime: Constructing Offenders and Victims in Newspaper Reports*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Toolan, M. (1997). What is Critical Discourse Analysis and why are People Saying such Terrible Things about it?. *Language and Literature*, 6(2), 83-103.
- Tantish, A. Z. (2012). A Critical Discourse Analysis of the News Coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in AJE and CNN News Websites (Doctoral dissertation, University of Malaya: Malaysia). <http://studentsrepo.um.edu.my/3951/>
- Taylor C. and Marchi A. (eds) (2018). *Corpus Approaches to Discourse: A Critical Review*. Routledge.

- Tariq, A. (2023, Apr 16). Power and consent: Interpreting Gramsci's multidimensional nature of hegemony. *The Roads Initiative*. <https://theroadsinitiative.org/power-and-consent-interpreting-gramscis-multidimensional-nature-of-hegemony/>
- Prodnik, J. A., & Vobič, I. (2024). News Sources in the Sociology of the Media: A Critical Re-Examination. *Critical Sociology*, 50(4-5), 795-812. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205231217306>
- Harcup, T. (2023). The struggle for news value in the digital era. *Journalism and Media*, 4(3), 902-917. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia4030058>
- Van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4.2, 249-83.
- Van Dijk, T. (1995). Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis. In Schaffner C. & A. Wenden (Eds.), *Language and Peace* (pp. 17-33). Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary Approach*. Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Pompeu Fabra University.
- Van Dijk, T. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 352- 371). Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. 2004. *Racism, Discourse and Textbooks: The Coverage of Immigration in Spanish Textbooks*. History Foundation.
- Van Dijk, T. (2006a). Ideology and Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11(2): 115–40. Wiley & Sons.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society*, 17(2), 359-383. Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical Discourse Studies: A Socio-Cognitive Approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 62 86). Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2011). Introduction: The Study of Discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 1-7). Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2013). *News as Discourse*. Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 466-485). Wiley-Blackwell.

- Van Leeuwen, T., & Kress, G. (2011). Discourse Semiotics. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 107-125). Sage.
- Van Dijk TA (2006) Politics, ideology and discourse. In: Wodak R (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics: Second Language and Politics*. 2nd ed.
- Wehrey, F. M. (2013). *The Forgotten Uprisings in Eastern Saudi Arabia*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Williams, L. (2014, March 29). Inside Doha, at the heart of a GCC dispute. *The National*. <http://www.thenational.ae/world/qatar/inside-doha-at-the-heart-of-a-gcc-dispute>
- Widdowson, H. (1998). The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Applied Linguistics* 19 (1): 136–151.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2004). *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Blackwell.
- Warshagha, A. (2019). Representation of Voices and Social Actors in Al-Jazeera and CNN News Coverage of the 2014 Israeli-Gaza Conflict. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Malaya: Malaysia]. <http://studentsrepo.um.edu.my/10610/>.
- Wodak, R. (1995). Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse analysis. In J. Verschueren, J. Östman & J. Blommaert (Eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics* (pp. 204-210). John Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. (1999). Critical Discourse Analysis at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 23(2), 185-93.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory, and methodology. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1–33). Sage
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about -a Summary of its History, Important Concepts, and its Developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-13). Sage.
- Wooffitt, R. (2005). *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. Sage.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2022). *Making sense of media and politics: Five principles in political communication*. Routledge.
- Zayani, M., & Ayish, M. I. (2006). Arab Satellite Television and Crisis Reporting: Covering the fall of Baghdad. *International Communication Gazette*, 68(5-6), 473-497