

Translation and Cultural Representation:
Russia Today and Al Jazeera English Coverage of Egypt and
Syria

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ABSTRACT

Meaning-Making in the Arab Spring: Translation and Cultural Representation in Russia Today and Al Jazeera English Coverage of Egypt and Syria's Uprisings

By Haitham Aldreabi

This thesis examines communicative and processual meaning-making from linguistic and translation perspectives, whereas the latter is approached as a form of intercultural mediation. It explores the role of translation in disseminating guided, or sanctioned interpretations, in the host language by capturing interpretations meant to reinforce or subdue narratives circulating on public levels through resituating the translated events in different contexts. Re-contextualisation, as the study explores, plays a role in reopening texts for interpretations when viewed in light of importing different aspects previously underrepresented from the source language. These aspects result in adopting, rejecting or reinforcing its meanings by the socio-cultural system of the target language. To do so, the study explores how communication unfolds, meaning reshaped and transformed during media mediation and translation. The flow of media messages and how they interrelate are investigated in light of linguistic and translation perspectives. The research questions circulate how do messages impact other messages and how did they alter narratives dynamics through repositioning participants and identifying them in relation to each other and the unfolding events. The research aims to reveal the impact of re-narration and how identifying participants of immediate relevance to the unfolding events promotes the perspective of an intended participant in conflict. Repositioning participants, in turn, impacts the narratives that the translations are elaborated within constructively. The study had borrowed tenets offered by framing analysis and CDA to assist the narrative account of translation studies in its attempts to investigate the chronological developments of narratives to meta and disciplinary narratives from ontological and public narratives. The study investigates the emergence of narratives that challenge the dynamics of the status quo or aim to sustain them, as well as the roles of intertextuality and re-contextualisation in such interaction.

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List of Abbreviations

AJE: Al Jazeera English

BMS: Broadcasts Monitoring System

CAT: Computer-Aided Translation

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CDS: Critical Discourse Studies

CEE: Central and Eastern European Countries

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency (USA)

DTS: Descriptive Translation Studies

ICC: Inter-Cultural Communication

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JTR: Journalistic Translation Research

KSA: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

MiT: Metaphor(s) in Translation

MMS: Media Monitoring System

MR: Members Resources

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NFO: Need for Orientation

PDA: Political Discourse Analysis

PL: Political Linguistics

RT: Russia Today

SL: Source Language

SNC: Syrian National Coalition

ST: Source Text

TL: Target Language

List of Abbreviations

TS: Translation Studies

TT: Target Text

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nation Security Council

WMS: Web Monitoring System

Chapter 1 Study Background and Introduction

1.1 The Inception of the Uprising

Cairo, Egypt, January 25th 2011

It was intentionally coinciding with the Egyptian ‘Police Day’, celebrated annually and dating back to 1952, which saw the inception of an uprising that overthrew the Egyptian monarchy and establishing the Republic of Egypt in the same year (El Tawil, 2018). Egyptian activists, after nearly six decades of annual celebrations on January 25th, called for a mass protest that would redefine this date, with the intention of launching another uprising to overthrow the Egyptian regime. Rather than customarily celebrating ‘Police Day’, protesters had decided to use this day to protest police brutality, amongst other reasons (Ibid.). Their protest would bring about profound social and political changes, including electing the then outlawed Muslim Brotherhood candidate, Mohamed Morsi¹, as fifth President of Egypt. Following the initial protests on January 25th, the protesters called for mass gathering on what became known as Friday of Anger² on January 28th, which witnessed the beginning of interest taken by international news outlets beginning to realise its scale. This included Russia Today (RT), while Al-Jazeera English (AJE) showed interest and made extensive coverage from the 25th. In contrast to January 25th 1952, January 25th 2011 enjoyed extensive televised coverage. It showed indications of the emergence and competition between narratives that aimed to maintain the status quo or challenge it. The uprising in Egypt, however, was initiated from Tunisia whereas the media delivered the spark that had provoked it.

On December 17th 2010, a 26-year-old Tunisian street vendor set himself on fire out of frustration and anger because the authorities had confiscated his produce, as he was selling fruit and vegetables without a license (The Guardian, 28/12/2010). His actions would echo throughout the Middle East and North Africa, and resulted in a series of protests and counter protests that rapidly intensified to large-scale uprisings and full-blown civil conflicts in the suddenly rebellious region. Following its inception in Tunisia, the Arab Spring wave swept through its primary turns in Egypt January 25th 2011, Yemen

¹ His name is spelled differently across different channels, the spelling used by Al Jazeera is chosen for this research.

² Some news stories translate it as Friday of Rage. This research chose the translation of Al Jazeera as its coverage is the focus of this study.

February 11th 2011, and Libya on February 17th 2011, before reaching Syria on March 15th, 2011.

Seven-and-half years later, the wave of protests that had swept through the Arab world triggered by Bouazizi's self-immolation would cause the fall of several governments, the rise of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and civil conflicts in Yemen, Syria and Libya. It would not have been possible for protests to cause the fall of governments or civil disputes without creating narratives upsetting the status quo. In other countries, the uprisings managed to question the existing narratives at least sufficiently to prolong the conflict, for narratives need adherents and participants to subscribe to their interpretation of reality to survive, otherwise the conflict would be resolved in a relatively shorter period and would not normally amount to civil war. This follows the possibility of the dynamics of existing narratives, albeit resilient, to be altered and the relations between participants to be reconfigured, as in the case of the meaning of January 25th, which was challenged after being accepted as 'Police Day' for 59 years. The changeability of classifications of participants, disagreements over identifying who the terrorists are, disputes over whether the Muslim Brotherhood should be banned, and others circulating the narratives of the Arab Spring – as this research investigates – show a competition in promoting the perspectives of external versus directly related participants in the conflict. The diversity of perspectives is expected to be echoed in the media representation and translation which allows investigating networked narratives that follow different interpretations and frames. Furthermore, it is reasonable to expect that these representations will vary across countries and languages in the Arab World, and so the translation of events³ will matter in view of the fact that they capture and promote a particular narrative interpretation from a set of narratives that have the capacity to create meanings revolving around the degree of legitimacy of the uprising. The study therefore aims to address the construction of networked narratives in its effort to investigate the processual meaning-making through considerations and assumptions offered by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and narratives in translations studies (TS).

³ Media events as networks: the study's approach to media event is concerned with it as form of mediation and meaning-making that is derived from the interruptive quality which breaks down existing social frames of sensemaking and allows establishing new frames and narratives (Morgner, 2018). This emphasis sheds light on the role of networks in reshaping and transforming meaning to allow considering the role of translation in mediating the narratives of the events (Ibid.).

1.2 Narratives in and from Uprisings

Uprisings and similar disruptive events have a highly interpretive dimension streaming from interpretative and orientational frames that impact the perception based on hearer's background and knowledge (Gillan, 2008, p.250). Their disruptive quality breaks down established narratives and opens up a search for new meaning, for instance, a competition on interpreting what reality is by observers and between the directly involved participants. Therefore, different subjective and contextual meanings emerge that elaborate networked narratives themed by different plots and patterns; their translations will depend on their potential influence on the development of narratives and their construction process.

Arab Spring uprisings and the consequent civil conflicts were no exception. Shortly following its inception, the Syrian conflict rapidly became of interest to neighbouring countries and others around the world. This injected the emerging narratives with further voices, each aiming to promote their perspective of the ongoing conflict as being the most accurate depiction of reality. These voices were, in turn, either in favour of the government or the opposition. The narratives' development is not elaborated over a small period or in a few texts. Their continuing evolution sees major turns in episodes happening throughout the unfolding events that might lead to reevaluating or reinforcing certain perspectives. One of the significant turns took place two-and-half years following the Syrian uprising's inception. On August 21st 2013, international news outlets, as well as foreign and local voices, responded to breaking news aired by, the Saudi-owned, Al Arabiya news channel. The voices and channels that captured them were divided on the subject of the suspected chemical attack between whether it had happened and who had deployed the chemical weapons. Consequently, the integration of new voices and the subsequent unfolding events kept the narratives' dynamics subject to continuing shifting and alterations. These changes are embedded in the complexity of uprisings of this scale, re-contextualising their events, the interlinked possibility of reinterpreting and shifting perspectives, development of the uprising, and the number of voices narrating the events. The competition among participants in promoting their narratives can be assessed through examining the news outlets that had given voice to conflicting participants and promoted their perspectives, which resulted in repositioning the consumers.

Global media events like the Arab Spring do not take place in culturally homogenous space. The Arab World includes many nations, cultures and languages, but through establishing links and connections across its borders, diverse Arab Springs became *the*

Arab Spring. This study opted to highlight the poly contextuality structures in this media event's representation and translation. Any communication taking place across linguistic and cultural barriers calls for mediation and translations considering the multilingual dimension of events – a key aspect of global communication that is rarely addressed. This caters to audiences who are interested in the unfolding events, members of different cultures, speakers of different languages, or both. This might explain the relative popularity of this topic in the English-speaking world. Google search for 'Arab Spring' shows 139,000,000 results to news reports, academic articles, documentaries, vlogs, and others. However, the Google search for its Arabic equivalent الربيع العربي ar-Rabī' al-'Arabī only generates 8,750,000 results⁴. It is also the case in scholarly interest in this topic: according to Al Maghlouth et al. (2015, p.420), 75% of the articles on the Arab Spring are produced outside the Arab World and were written mostly in English and French, which follows that translation played a role at some point. In translation and media coverage, as in any story retelling, the perspectives and narratives being captured and transferred determines much of the ensuing meaning(s).

The news coverage of political conflicts, uprisings, coups, or demonstrations – particularly on large scale such as the Arab Spring – are typical discursive events in the fields of narratives where conflicting meanings can be observed. It is fertile ground for political discourses to surface and flourish where they could be investigated in light of the narrative account of translations. This relationship led to the emergence of “scholarly interest in the link between language and politics”, an approach which had been fruitfully adopted in TS and “resulted in the development of Political Linguistics” (PL) (Schäffner, 2012a, p.104). This approach brought the ties closer between CDA, in which the term re-contextualisation originated, and the coverage of news channels where languages are approached as social practices from TS perspective (Ibid.). This relationship is further highlighted in the case of coverage of events that include translations to be integrated into the socio-cultural systems of the target language (TL).

The search for the nature of narratives and the constituents of meanings, and how meanings are made has seen turns in disciplines other than the study of languages. This includes sociology, which investigates “plot-governed approach from where events gain their meaning” (Bamberg, 2010, p.5); and psychology, where some approaches, for instance, examined “how narratives emerge from complex constitutive influences based

⁴ As of July 17th 2018.

in specific cultural and historical matrices” (Singer, 2004, p.439). Following the cultural turn in TS, narrative accounts of translations began showing interest in explaining the features of a diversity of texts produced on a particular topic, which elaborate one reality but from different angles. Due to its nature in dealing with various types of texts, translation encompasses a range of considerations, including those which are in line with Singer’s remarks regarding interpretations of translations being sometimes impacted by recalling past events or relying on places of historical, cultural, or religious significance in elaborating, guiding or restricting its meanings.

Rather than approaching it as a technical or linguistic act, translation, as this research argues and further elaborates in coming chapters, is concerned with the contextual dimension and re-embeddedness of meanings when a text is transferred across linguistic and cultural barriers, and its role in transforming and reshaping the meaning in the host language socio-cultural and linguistic systems. Media translation and narratives of conflicts such as the Arab Spring highlight the advantages of such approach. It comes in the form of how narratives continuously evolve over relatively extended periods. In which case, the meaning of one text is impacted by a series of other texts circulating within the same discourse, as well as establishing links with other discourse(s) and importing narratives. The focus is therefore on such linguistic networks and narratives “in the sense that media messages [...] refer to other media messages” (Thompson, 1995, p.110). Creating a connection with other discourses may come in the form of importing narratives through retelling past narratives or voicing external voices to restrict or redirect the interpretation of the unfolding event.

The diversity of the Arab Spring’s events and the number of the voices narrating them, as well as the cultural and political diversity of the region and that they are extensively covered in international news channels make this event an excellent opportunity to test, expand and revisit theories of modes of communication and translations. It would not have been possible to mediate the Arab Spring events without translators, as they were covered in English. Since participants narrate the story differently, legitimising their claims in the process, the conflict has multiple interpretations; whereas channels capture an interpretation to be translated and transferred, leading to empowering one narrative which usually elaborates the perspective of a participant in the conflict including the speakers of the translated speeches. Therefore, this research addresses how media texts refer to other media texts from the perspective of media translation and narratives in meaning-making. This study defines meaning-making in translation as realised through

its role in intercultural mediation, rather than re-language texts. Mediation refers to processes and factors that impact interpretation prior to the act of translation, re-contextualisation and repositioning of narratives in the TL's context which may further reinterpret, reject or reinforce them, depending on the manner of their representation (Liddicoat, 2016a, pp.348-349).

1.3 The Narrative Dimension of Translating the Arab Spring

The complexity of the Arab Spring and the struggle to classify its participants and events is what makes it advantageous for testing and expanding theoretical considerations of TS. This is partially attributed to the injection of perspectives of a diversity of local and foreign voices in the existing narratives. There is a possibility that each voice will position the events in different narrative or discourse to highlight their perspective. Grouping the contexts in the 'Arab Spring' limits the space for separate contexts and factors that distinguish between the individual uprisings of Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Libya and others. As Violi (2000, p.113) puts it:

The relationship between context and lexical meaning is often approached from the point of view of how context influences some hypothetical and pre-existing non-contextual lexical meaning. This question implies an underlying distinction between context-free meanings and meanings which are context-bound. What I would like to suggest is that meanings are never completely context-free but are instead always indexed to some standard context of reference.

For this reason and others detailed in later sections, this study opts to address the uprisings separately, for grouping them marginalises factors that contribute in challenging or maintaining narratives for the unrests in Syria, Egypt, and others as their differences are not reflected in 'Arab Spring'.

The continuity of disagreements in classifying participants and the uprisings can be seen as a consequence of the competition between narratives, in which case they can be, at least partially, attributed to the manner existing narratives' dynamics are being challenged or preserved. This is because translations of speeches are impacted by the way earlier stories had represented the speakers, reconceptualised the speeches, and repositioned the participants. From this sense, it is not a question of putting up with a continuing level of disagreement; it is an effort to investigate how they continued to dominate the uprisings, an area that seems to be largely ignored in journalistic translation

research (JTR) and representation of conflicts. These ambiguities are important because they contributed to prolonging and intensifying the events which resulted in a power vacuum that, in turn, became breeding and fertile ground for terrorism and eventually the rise of ISIS. The competition of narratives often improves the situation related to socio-cultural aspects, such as challenging narratives that kept people divided on ideological issues, racism, and discrimination by emphasising interpretations previously underrepresented. However, the competition of narratives can also lead to civil conflicts and terrorism. From this sense, it has applications to be considered not only in translation but also in media communication, politics and intercultural communication (ICC).

1.4 Chapters Overviews

Including this introductory chapter, the main body of the study consists of six chapters. The structure of the study is designed to address media representation and translation of two uprisings in two news channels and two countries. It starts by grouping the methods adopted and study context in the first three chapters then separately addresses the Syrian and Egyptian uprisings to highlight their differences. Rather than combining the examination of the processes of their meaning-making, the study opted to test the adopted approach in different settings. The second chapter situates the research within the contexts of existing body of research on Arab Spring and TS to further highlight and show the significance of research gap. It also presents a selected range of publications forming the thesis' theoretical framework and argumentation, and its contextualisation in recent studies on TS and narrativity.

Following an overview of further research needed, the third chapter explains the methodology intended to answer the research main questions and to address the identified lacunae in research. The chapter conceptualises the research methods regarding the development of narratives and the role of their competition in mediation and translation. The chapter also details the methodological procedures of sampling, data collection and analysis; it justifies the choice of coverages and periods focused on. It introduces the data collection design and how the information regarding labels and classifications were retrieved from the databases mentioned below.

The fourth and fifth chapters explore the processual meaning-making. They explore two media events with the aim to stand on how the narratives of the Syrian and Egyptian uprisings were constructed respectively. They focus on key assumptions of narrative theory in TS, which intimate the ways in which narratives are constructed to question the

Chapter 1 Study Background and Introduction

representation of reality and the manner in which they were contextualised and (re)narrated. The narratives created for the suspected use of chemical attack in Syria and Egypt's January 25th revolution are addressed in these chapters in order to understand how particular meanings were constructed from the narrative account of translations. They address how such construction is contested or maintained across cultural and linguistic barriers through approaches to mediation and narration in TS.

The last chapter summarises and reflects on the study's findings in relation to the existing debates in TS and their implications for practice and research. It presents the main findings and outcomes in relation to mediating, translation and re-contextualising the Egyptian and Syrian uprisings in the context of TS theories and other interlinked and related disciplines. Based on the findings presented in the fourth and fifth chapters, it proposes a number of topics for future research and the possible contribution to other areas of research where this study, due to its interdisciplinary nature, can be built on.

Chapter 2 The Arab Spring and Translation Studies: An Overview of Existing Literature

2.1 Synergies between TS, CDA and Framing

This chapter aims to synthesise the assumptions and insights offered by TS, CDA, and framing that are frequently used to investigate meaning-making in spoken and written texts. They often accompany the concepts of narratives, discourse, and context with what they include of linguistic elements to analyse texts. The proposed synthetic approach aims to provide a theoretical explanation for the variety of factors which affect the meanings produced. The differences in messages and mediation processes in news construction of events covering conflicts call for different approaches in TS, such as the self-referential, media memory, and selectivity of what is to be translated and aired, among others as shown in the following chapters. Established approaches of mass communication have mainly focused on the impact of the Arab Spring in highlighting socio-psychological effects and research of media audiences (Abaza, 2012; Wolfsfeld et al. 2013; Lahlali, 2011, 2014; Halverson et al., 2013). In a similar fashion, other approaches have focused on the intentions and motivations of journalists, media professionals and citizen journalists (Burns et al., 2014; Robertson, 2013; Chorev, 2012; Ben Moussa, 2013). Such research is directed by the underlying communication model that either highlights the sender or the receiver. However, this study pays particular attention to the message with a view to narrative connection to messages over time. Such a conceptual focus, inspired by TS, CDA and framing, aims to address the lack of focus on networked narratives of the Arab Spring. Therefore, this study aims to show how meanings are created and given prominence to project the perspectives of disputing participants. They impact the meanings and interpretations of the translated speeches and the overall event in which they are situated. This is to show how the particular analytical approach can be adopted to widen the understanding of the field of TS in general and its narrative account in particular.

The core assumptions this research tests emerge from TS perspectives, whereas TS narrative account is reinforced by methods borrowed from CDA and framing analysis and integrated into the questions on how speeches are interpreted, their topics re-contextualised, their speakers represented, and how this impacts the linking of media messages into a media event narrative. Framing in narratives and the question of authorship among others are essential in the narrative account of translations. However,

since the translations this research intends to investigate are translations of news coverage and were impacted by other episodes that had represented the speakers and participants differently and (re)positioned them, borrowing approaches from frames and CDA can be advantageous. In this regard, Bassnett (2014, p.134) noted that:

Although there is an established body of research into news reporting in both print and other media, the interlingual dimension has received very little attention until recently, and this is surprising given the demand for international news and the existence of large international news agencies and media companies.

This includes considerations of linguistic elements, intertextuality, and giving importance to certain aspects of the uprisings over others, which impact the representation of events and participants.

The televised coverage of the unfolding Arab Spring provides an opportunity to address this point. This is in order to address how RT and AJE had reached different interpretations of the same translated speeches mainly through situating the speeches in different media narratives. The global media events in question take place in Arabic-speaking nations and are covered in English news channels, where translators are joined by other active agents in mediating the unfolding events. This chapter argues how Baker's approach to narrative theory in TS can be bolstered by conclusions offered by Fairclough and Wodak's framework in CDA, framing and audience-making in analysing the meaning-making in the TV coverage during the Arab Spring. Investigating the narratives elaborated in its translations needs to pay attention to the episodes before and after the conflict, which had represented the speakers as trustworthy or dishonest, or the interlinked portrayal of the issues they had talked about as more or less important than other issues they tackled. Assumptions of authorship, discourse, reframing, re-contextualisation among others contribute to understanding the steps leading different interpretations of the translated speeches; they decide how the speeches were re-contextualised and placed in relation to a particular narrative circulating within a set of narratives. To some extent, different narratives examine the dispute that had provoked the uprising in relation to preserving the status quo or unsettling it.

2.2 Chapter Structure: Sections Overview

This chapter presents a range of existing literature on the Arab Spring to shed light on the gap in research identified above, the approaches that researchers have adopted, and

their findings with regards to social and traditional media. The chapter offers definitions of key terms and frames classification assessments to specify the arguments this research follows to lay the foundation for the methodological consideration presented in the following chapter. Specifying the definitions and perspectives this research is grounded in is key because the definitions of narratives and frames do not only vary across different disciplines but also among scholars within the same discipline due to their centrality in humanities (Baker, 2010, pp.24-25). The chapter then focuses on research concerning narrative theory, coming to a focus on translations and the process of communication. It presents the evolution TS has undergone before arriving at specific frameworks this research intends to follow. For example, integrating translations in this proposed synthetic framework needs to consider them as translations rather than source texts (ST)s. Otherwise, it ignores an essential aspect of mediating its meaning, i.e. its re-contextualisation, whereby the new context is viewed from both its source context and to which narrative it contributes in constructing or unsettling.

Narrative theory in TS, as introduced by Baker (2006; 2014), is an effort to explain the mediation process that occurs across linguistic and cultural barriers when the texts are transferred and integrated within the socio-cultural system of the targeted language(s). From this view, consideration of the narrative draws on the act of translation as form of re-narration rather than linguistic transference, for, as explained later, events are re-narrated through the contexts in which they are resituated, the manner in which the events and participants are represented and the way the narrative was translated to begin with. Since narrative theory in TS considers the bigger projected narrative and is mainly concerned with how narratives evolve, considerations of CDA are advantageous for the fragments that constitute the meanings of relatively smaller episodes within the bigger narrative. The section on existing research adopting CDA aims to show how it can be integrated into the proposed framework of this thesis. It needs to be in line with TS assumptions of meanings not being confined within the text to be translated, but having a relational dimension across different texts and thus being active agents in mediating the events. This focuses attention to the questions of different postures in such relational networks, for instance, who is narrating what, whose perspective is being represented, the issue of authorship, who is being privileged, and who is being addressed. For narrative theory, re-contextualisation is a means to create meanings of importance to certain aspects of 'reality' motivated by an attempt to centralise a specific narrative. This is more evident in the case of contesting narratives' dynamics such as how AJE had attempted to

do in both Syria and Egypt. However, RT's efforts were motivated by an attempt to sustain the existing dynamics, in which case re-contextualisation is relatively limited and the point of emphasis will be to reinforce the existing meanings, an area that the framing analysis can contribute to.

The framing analysis is discussed in relation to the plots and patterns constituting the underlying themes of narratives. Certain aspects of the uprisings were emphasised and represented as more important than others and worthy of concern, which facilitated contesting established narratives. This research aims to integrate some of its arguments with the discussion on narratives to provide further analysis for the methods offered by narrative theory on the subject of re-contextualisation and Need for Orientation (NFO). Framing allows for looking beyond issues of objectivity and bias or assessments of the standards of objectivity which earlier research had focused on (e.g. Entman, 2010, p.390). Research on Al Jazeera concluded "Al-Jazeera's placement in the sphere of deviance is comparable to the categorization of Communist perspectives as propaganda during the Cold War" (Samuel-Arzan, 2010, p.81). This research does not attempt to assess objectivity standards, as factors, such as social classes, religious beliefs, social and cultural backgrounds, and political orientations will have different assessments and standards (Alozie, 2007, p.216). This can be attributed, at least to some extent, to the fact that news outlets coverages "do not operate in a social, political, or ideological vacuum. No news-gathering and reporting system is fundamentally non-ideological, apolitical, or non-partisan" (Du, 2016, p.101). From this perspective, the focus on media framing frees us from the traditional objectivity and bias binarisms which tend to oversimplify the process of re-contextualising, constructing and mediating messages and their role in translation. In which case, it is seen as being driven by different patterns in narrative construction processes. These could come in the processual form of (re)identifying the participants and providing a thorough understanding of the opposite (Hansen et al., 2010, pp.157-158). This is relevant for this study due to the observed structures in the original narrative based on the themes of protagonist-antagonist and 'us versus them'.

Therefore, the key aspect of framing analysis that is advantageous to this research is the fact that it implies meanings can be created differently based on the manner of how the events were re-narrated, which is in line with the notion of translation as intercultural mediation. Since one of the main assumptions it offers says it can impact the meaning, this follows that different meanings are created in the process of mediation. From this perspective, it offers the opportunity to investigate the impact of narratives on meanings

through the association or dissociation with discourses which, in turn, correlates with what is represented as more or less important and highlight the impact this has on the effect the speaker of the translated speech had intended, an issue of significance from TS perspective which needs to be accounted for.

2.3 Research on New and Old Media in the Arab Spring

Mainstream research on the Arab Spring had highlighted the role of social media (Ali and Fahmy, 2013; Elghamry, 2015; Wolfsfeld et al. 2013; Chorev, 2012; Halverson et al., 2013; Robertson, 2013). Chorev (2012, p.121), arguing that “in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the number of people using the internet increased in the Middle East (1825%) and Africa (2357%)”, investigated issues concerning coordinating the masses, reaching larger audiences, accessibility, and challenging information monopoly. Similarly, Burns et al. (2014, p.110) add that “the substantial level of Arabic tweets in the case of #egypt certainly point to the fact that Twitter – and, by extension, other online media – did play a role in informing, organizing, and reporting protest activities in the country”. Research on the early stages of the uprisings focused on whether the social media platforms played a significant role. From this perspective, research on social media such as Burns et al., 2014 and Chorev, 2012 are useful in the sense that the number of conflicting feeds they observed for #Egypt, #Syria, #Jan25, #Libya, and others related to political figures such as #Mubarak and #Assad are indicative of the different existing narratives of the uprisings that were aired and motivated responses. They are also indicative of a narrative that contests the status quo, perhaps more so than a narrative that aims to sustain it. Significant differences have been tweeted by RT and AJE audiences as their narratives were contradicting; however, most of the observed feeds came as a reaction after large-scale protests took place, not before or during from global audiences (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013, p.128). This is in addition to findings by research on social media that had focused on the emergence of narratives such as those of martyrs in Tunisia and Egypt (Halverson et al., 2013, p.322) which were utilised by AJE’s narrative.

From another perspective, Elghamry (2015, pp.255-256) discusses the role of social media as an alternative source to state-run channels. He exemplifies this with “the creation of the ‘We are Khaled Said⁵ Facebook’ page” (Ibid., p.259). Sakr (2012, p.333) pointed out social media had circulated that “Said had filmed two policemen handling

⁵ A Facebook page named after “‘khaled Said’ who was killed by police personnel in Alexandria” (Elghamry, 2015, p.259). The page is available at <https://www.facebook.com/elshaheed.co.uk/>.

drugs and they beat him to death. Police told his family he died from swallowing drugs, a story contradicted by photographs of his shattered face”. The mentioned page was also the first to call for the protests on January 25th 2011 (Elghamry, p.259). However, Elghamry’s research does not consider the pro-government feeds nor that the relative absence of pro-government feeds is due to the general feeling that traditional media had voiced them.

People in favour of the status quo had no reason to launch social media campaigns to say they are in favour of the said position before the uprising or to participate in pro-government protests or creating similar social media pages during the uprising. From this perspective, the number of anti-government feeds, although suggestive, do not necessarily mean that most of the Egyptians disagree with the traditional media. One could also argue that the protesters reverted to social media because they failed to gain access to traditional media due to their illegitimacy from the perspective of official news channels. Wolfsfeld et al. (2013, p.119) describe this situation as “the citizens who most need the media are the ones who have the most difficulty exploiting it”. Furthermore, according to Sakr (2012, p.325), “one dilemma in tracing back processes is deciding where a narrative should begin, because each factor that contributes to new outcome is itself an outcome of what went before”. This is further complicated in the tendency of social media to be episodic, usually focusing on sudden events; therefore, this presents issues for interlinked stories and the focus on individual countries or a specific social class. New media is typically used by the young, secular and educated, more so than other social groups, hence the discourse’s emphasis is on the youth (Aouragh, 2012, p.153). This analysis would have sufficed if there were no international media channels on the ground covering the events live such as CNN, BBC, RT, and AJE. The examined broadcasts utilised feeds from social media to assert their narratives (Robertson, 2013, p.338), an area more relevant to this thesis. Sakr (2012, pp.322-323) argues that though much has been written on social media, how social media interacted with televised coverage has been relatively ignored. Using social media feeds is joined by other efforts in constructing or challenging narratives when allied with traditional media.

Fahmy has published several works on Al-Jazeera and social media during the Arab Spring. One of her main focuses is the explanation of how Al-Jazeera influences its audience in cultivating a particular attitude towards certain conflicts which could later be reflected in social media feeds following airing the coverage of major events (Fahmy and Al-Emad, 2011). Her focus shifted to social media between the years of 2012-2015 to

investigate the roles played during the Arab Spring before shifting back to televised news and newspapers 2015-present. She co-published two works in 2013 on social media representation and role in the uprisings of Libya, Egypt, and Iran. Based on their investigation, they concluded that “traditional media continue to maintain a strong hold on citizen journalists’ comments” and though they are “no longer the sole influence in setting the agenda”, they “were still the driving force for creating political blogs” (Ali and Fahmy, 2013, p.62). They concluded that although social media provide a powerful source for news, their immediate effect is they “provided a valuable resource for traditional media that had the ability to pick and choose stories that fitted their organizations’ routines” (Ibid., p.67).

Halverson et al. (2013, p.316) agree with this observation in their research on how narratives are reinforced, created or contested in social media during the Arab Spring stating: “the stories of Bouazizi⁶ Martyrdom took shape on a range of and by exchange between traditional and new media platforms”. This follows that the messages underwent mediation and selectivity processes to challenge or maintain a narrative which further highlight the limitations of censored and controlled citizen journalism (Ibid., p.58). Similar to Fahmy, Robertson (2013, p.338) examined how channels, including RT and AJE, utilised feeds from social media in cases where they support the meanings they intended to construct. A further Egypt-specific limitation to social media approach is that the Egyptian government disconnected the internet and mobile phone services for a few days during the uprising, which caused “90 percent drop in data traffic to and from Egypt” (Richtel, 2011). Consequently, the feeds that continued to flood social media platforms were communicated by people outside Egypt basing their interpretations on mediated messages and narratives traditional media constructed. This research therefore aims to show how traditional media narratives reconfigured the relations between participants and mediated the unfolding events in relation to participants, following the narrative account in TS perspective.

This is not to say that social media played no role in the Arab Spring, but, as argued by Sabry (2013, p.23), there is a “symbiotic relationship between traditional and new media. Al-Jazeera Arabic was extremely influential in mediating the Arab revolutions because its journalists understood both the ‘affective’ and ‘effective’ potential of such

⁶ Bouazizi: “it is now widely accepted that the ‘Arab Spring’ was initially triggered when Muhammad Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, burnt himself to death on December 17th, 2010, in protest against the bad conditions he lived in” (Dağtaş, 2013, p.20).

combination”. The dominant choice of social media sources is traditional media, and the most circulated entries are written by former or current traditional media journalists (Ali and Fahmy, 2013, p.62). The responses on social media were based on a constructed narrative showing a correlation between what was broadcast and the feeds that followed the televised news. They were based on mediated messages the users were exposed to. For example, in investigating the new media in the Arab Spring, Wolfsfeld et al. (2013, p.128) observed that reverting to social media is more likely to come in the form of a reaction to protests, saying that “a significant increase in the use of the new media is much more likely to *follow* a significant amount of protest activity than to precede it” (emphasis in original). Despite the advent of social media, traditional media managed to retain its dominance, one of the reasons being:

They have privileged access to information sources and concentrated sources – as well as required procedures to feed constantly the public sphere with reliable information on events that audiences do not have direct access to, such as wars, political decisions in foreign countries or in institutions holding low transparency levels (Lycarião and Sampaio, 2016, p.41).

This follows that the social media users turned to traditional media sources that are covering the protests (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013, p.128). The audiences, in turn, take their responses to social media, responses that are influenced by the manner of the narratives the media they received their information from had constructed. The traditional media then selects certain feeds from social media to be aired in their broadcasts to reinforce their narratives highlighting the relation between ‘old’ and ‘new’ media (Robertson, 2013, p.338).

2.4 Mediation and Translation

For millennia, translation facilitated communication between various communities, but it was not till 1980s that it became an independent academic discipline, as Schäffner (2012, pp.866-867) argues: “with the establishment of Translation Studies as an academic discipline in its own right since the 1980s, the theoretical discussion has expanded to investigate cultural, systemic, cognitive, ideological, and sociological aspects of translation and interpreting”. This is perhaps due to its interdisciplinary nature, encompassing terms of communication, linguistics, cultural, and social theories. As in most interdisciplinary academic fields, scholarly resulted in disagreements on issues concerning assessing translations, application, and, like in journalism, ethical concerns.

This is partially due to the different types of texts to be translated (such as texts of political, religious, cultural, legal, medical, and educational nature) and the purpose of translating them. For example, before TS, a linguist would value issues such as coherence and readability over messages effects and delivery unlike sociologists. These are further highlighted in today's spread and demand for international news broadcasting that needs to mediate events across cultural and linguistic barriers. Such disputes called for a separate academic discipline that would find a way to consolidate these factors and link them to the type of texts and the purpose of translation. Further extensions of this field continued to be published, resulting in the 1990s cultural turn in TS, on which Baker had based her approach to narratives and introduced narratives to TS where it became relevant to this study.

The cultural turn in TS means that “translation is no longer seen as a primarily linguistic process, but one that recognises that translation is a culturally contexted activity influenced by factors that lie outside what is normally understood by language” (Liddicoat, 2016b, p.354). Consequently, “the function of translation had shifted from mere language transfer to dynamic cultural representation by highlighting its cross-cultural dimension” (You, 2017, p.465). This emerging understanding of translation brought about changes to how translation is understood most notably of which the notion of translation as a form of ICC (Liddicoat, 2016b, p.354) on which narrative theory is based. Liddicoat (2016b, pp.354-355) points to the mediating role of translation, as being a process of meaning-making between ST and cultures on the one hand and target texts (TT) and culture on the other. However, he (Ibid.) also acknowledges that more research needs to explore the processes involved in mediating. Similarly, Wilmot (2017, p.86) argues from the perspective of language in international business and power that some research continues to argue equivalence is achievable which entails translation is a routine act and research on that translation is culturally bound is yet to be sufficiently challenged. On a practical level, she (Ibid.) argues that “the cultural approach rejects this perspective as being somewhat simplistic and suggests that language and meaning are culturally bound, and thus, translation should not necessarily be a search for equivalence but an endeavour to try and contextualize meaning across different languages”. Since this implies that meanings are not confined within the text to be translated, the question is therefore which approach is best suited to answer how meanings are made in different modalities.

2.4.1 Narration and Translation

As a general classification of approaches to TS, there are the linguistic/textual and the contextual/intertextual approaches. Baker's (2006; 2014) translation as re-narration and Liddicoat's translation as mediation (2016a; 2016b) approaches are motivated by the latter as they were based on the cultural turn in TS which had replaced and is critical of the original heavy reliance on linguistics. Baker was the first to "put forward the idea of exploiting the analytical tools of corpus linguistics to study the product and process of translation from a descriptive rather than prescriptive point of view" (Laviosa, 2002, p.18). The cultural turn in TS, which was introduced in the 1990s by Bassnett and Lefevere, extended the scope of TS by offering theoretical explanations for issues that original theories such as dynamic/functional, foreignisation and domestication, or formal equivalence offered little or limited explanation. This included the role of society, culture, context, and interpretations in meaning-making and vice versa.

The cultural turn in TS motivated the recent works of Baker (2006-2016), Asimakoulas and Rogers (2011), and Buhrig et al. (2009) on translation and narratives, translations and oppositions, and translations as ICC respectively, addressed in more details below. Traditional scholarship seems to be preoccupied with equivalence in their assessments of whether the message's effect was preserved. Though this approach acknowledges the roles of intertextuality in that meaning is not confined to the text as part of it comes from the context in which the text is re-narrated, it signals an assumption of neutrality in the act of translation and views the process of translation as a neutral operation merely transferring the text into the TL to facilitate communication (Baker, 2006). This approach assumes that there is no conflict and even if there is, the mediator is not an active agent, an assumption that narrative theory rejects (Ibid.). From narrative theory perspective, mediators are embedded in the narratives that are being developed whether consciously or unconsciously; therefore, there is no narrative-free position because there is no unmediated access to reality (Baker, 2014, p.158).

According to Baker (2006), these assumptions aggravate the fallacies in previous research because they led to the preoccupation with binarism. As a result, they view translations in light of either foreignising, domesticising or source-oriented, as opposed to target-oriented translations which in reality do not reflect the complexity of human behaviour (Ibid.). They also assess translations from the point of view of readability, cohesion, faithfulness, and linguistic matters, as well as a traditional emphasis on quality rather than ethics (Baker, 2006). This is comparable to research on objectivity and bias

in media coverage. For example, Sturrock (2009, p.62) argues that “languages may converge but not merge; it is in the act of translation that their apartness manifests itself”. Assessment or analysis of translations’ quality often considers more prominently linguistic issues such as fluency and smoothness; however, the narrative approach looks first at the impact of re-contextualisation and re-narration and what constitutes this impact. Finally, they tended to isolate the role of translators from that of other agents in the production of translations, as well as isolating texts from each other rather than linking them. Narrative theory, on the other hand, does not focus solely on the isolated instances of the ST because, in its view, narratives are networks that are not elaborated by a single person nor comes into being through single instance (Baker, 2006). Narrative theory highlights the larger narrative through the impetus of looking beyond the individual texts and attempting to link them together in order to address how certain set of translations are parts constituting one reality, one narrative, or making meanings of certain incident or alternatively, to challenge an aspect of reality by emphasising another aspect that is more favourable to the constructing narrative (Ibid.). Also, this study follows the narrative account in investigating the translations because the linguistic approach dictates the meanings are confined within the texts. However, the coverages at hand require consideration of intertextuality and re-contextualisation because they are thematic in nature and covered in different languages.

2.4.2 Narration, Translation and Conflict from the Perspective of Mona Baker

Baker, who linked narratives to TS by expanding the typologies of narratives and narrativity features (as further detailed in the following chapter), defines conflict as “a situation in which two or more parties seek to undermine each other because they have incompatible goals, competing interests or fundamentally different values” (2006, p.1). From this perspective, conflict is not confined to the armed/political and therefore can be adopted in the current research, where it will be useful for both characterising the conflict between participants and the conflict in constructing competing narratives. This study adopts Baker’s approach for the following three reasons. First, Baker (2006, p.39) extended the definitions of disciplinary narratives to include any narrative regardless of field, instead of being confined to social theories and extended the scope of public narratives to include political activism. The narratives in question are discussed in more detail in the typology of narratives below. Second, her explanation of how meta (master)

narratives⁷ are constructed is insightful. Baker (2006, p.45) argues that “an interesting question, and one that Somers and Gibson do not address, is how a meta-narrative comes to enjoy the currency it does over considerable stretches of time and across extensive geographical boundaries”. Baker (Ibid., p.48) concludes that “narratives do not travel across linguistic and cultural boundaries, and certainly do not develop into global meta-narratives, without the direct involvement of translators and interpreters”. This study accepts this assumption and allies it with the role played by broadcasting in disseminating narratives across international news outlets. Third, Baker (2006, pp.50-51) adds another point which earlier research had failed to acknowledge: “the elements of a narrative are always placed in *some* sequence, and that the order in which they are placed carries meaning. Neither Somers and Gibson nor Burner⁸ discuss this feature in any detail” (emphasis in original).

Baker (2007, p.151) expanded her discussion on the link between framing and translation where she draws on “narrative theory, sociology and the study of social movements to examine some of the ways in which translators and interpreters reframe aspects of political conflicts, and hence participate in the construction of social and political reality”. Baker’s approach to frames agrees with Entman’s (2007, p.164) for framing is defined as “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation”. This is of relevance to the Arab Spring uprisings for their “complex overlap in socio-cultural and political temporality” (Sabry, 2013, p.23) which their mediation in televised coverage needs to situate in different recipient cultures. Baker (2007, p.156) summarises this as:

the notion of framing is closely connected to the question of how narrative theory allow us to consider the immediate narrative elaborated in the text being translated or interpreted *and* the larger narrative in which the text is embedded, and how this in turn allows us to see translational choices not merely as local linguistic challenges but as contributing directly to the narratives that shape our social world. (emphasis in original).

⁷ Existing literature calls them either master narratives or metanarratives. To maintain consistency, this research uses ‘metanarrative’.

⁸ Baker is referring to Burner, Jerome (1991), *The Narrative Construction of Reality. Journal of Critical Inquiry*, 18 (1), pp.1-21.

The implication of decisions taken during mediating texts and translating them, including adding/omitting a term or a story, might not be apparent in a single text. The narrative theory, therefore, encourages looking beyond the text at hand to make sense of such decisions. In this sense, frames are not restricted to political, social, or cultural aspects. They could be of any category or a combination of them since Baker had expanded the scope of the disciplinary narratives.

In response to the Arab Spring, Baker (2013, p.23) investigated the tools activist groups employed to voice a position in a conflict through translation. Drawing on Hernadi (cited in Baker, 2013, p.24), Baker argues that there are two motivations to narrate: ‘self-assertive entertainment’ and ‘self-transcending commitment’; for both Baker and this research, the latter is of more relevance. This motivation leads the narrative to “replace indifference by the social or cosmic commitment either to change the world or to change ourselves” (Hernadi, 1980/1981; cited in Baker, 2013, p.24). In 2016, Baker investigated the Egyptian uprising, where she argues despite the large amount of research on the revolution, “one aspect that has received no attention in public or academic circles so far concerns the language-based practices that allow Egyptian protestors to contest dominant narratives of the events unfolding in Egypt” (2016, p.1). She (Ibid., p.6) approached this issue from prefiguration aspect which she defines as “attempting to construct (aspects of) the ideal society envisioned by activists in the present, rather than at some point in the future when the conditions for building a more equitable society may be more conducive to effecting positive change”. This assumption has an important consequence to be considered: current behaviours embody political principles whereas the principles themselves are based on meaning derived from a given narrative (Ibid.). Since there is no unmediated access to reality, re-narrating stories contribute to configuring the reality as others apprehend it (Baker, 2014, pp.158-159).

2.4.3 Intercultural Communication and Narrative Theory

Since the notion of narrative has attracted the attention of scholars from diverse disciplines, various definitions for this concept exist. According to Baker (2010, pp.24-25), in the fields of socio-pragmatics and literature, narratives, albeit powerful, are nonetheless optional means of communication where there are several other modes of communication such as argumentation, which mainly differs from narrative in it being acquired through learning. In social theory, as presented in Somers (1997), Somers and Gibson (1994), and Baker (2006; 2010), narratives are neither optional nor limited to

personal level. In Baker's (2014, p.158) words, sociological narrative approach "draws systematically on a much broader, constructivist understanding of narrative as our only means of making sense of the world and our place within it". This notion was earlier put forth by Somers and Gibson (1994, p.41; cited by Baker, 2010, p.25) that everything the audience "know is the result of numerous crosscutting story-lines in which social actors locate themselves". From this perspective, another area where Baker and Somers' respective works share views is that narratives are not necessarily restricted within a specific set of texts nor confined within one discourse while texts are always located in discourse. Consequently, a range of texts and discourses articulate one narrative while a narrative is not constructed in the separate texts which asserts the role of intertextuality. There are four different types of narratives that articulate stages of meaning-making for an approach that will follow this view of narratives.

Before going into more detail on the typology of narratives, it is important to specify the link between ICC and TS because the different stages of the four types of narratives encompass different communication modes. In addition, the communication form under discussion is translation as intercultural mediation that takes place across linguistic and cultural barriers. The scholarly interest paid to this relationship is relatively recent. This is because the attempts to establish this link before the cultural turn in TS were unsuccessful due to the heavy reliance on textual material and linguistics (Buhrig et al. 2009, p.1). For example, House (2009, pp.7-8) argues that the starting point to constructively link the two disciplines is to make use of the functional approach in investigating the texts and the discourses that are embedded in them. This is because narratives utilise values and beliefs in their construction; however, transferring them to different culture might impact their meanings because values differ from one culture to another. House (Ibid., p.9) points out that there are four levels of culture: general, societal, national, and personal. Based on these levels, she (Ibid.) defines culture as "whatever a person needs to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its (i.e. a society) members". House (Ibid.) concludes that "the important and recurrent aspects of culture are thus the cognitive one guiding and monitoring human actions and the social one emphasizing what is shared by members of a society". On a practical level, the importance of such issues comes to light when translations draw on important aspects of culture where, due to individual and groups differences, contextual meanings emerge and thus situated in different narratives though they might be comparable linguistically. With such differences and the existence of different, possibly conflicting, interpretations, and

since theoretically only one interpretation can be translated, this links translation to the discussions on frames in observing which interpretation was given prominence and selected to be translated.

From this perspective, different interpretations are based on different frames where, for example, an action can be differently if situated in political or scientific frame. Conflicting meanings can come in the form of different frames leading to reframing the originally intended effect when the text/speech is translated. Since there is a conflict, the participants' perspectives, as argued earlier, are context-bound mainly contextualised in economic, social, and political aspects reinterpreting the translations accordingly. House (2009, p.18) refers to this as “cultural filtering in translation as intercultural communication” where she argues, as a mediator, the translator views a given subject in the source language (SL) from the perspective of the TL. However, since the examined texts are produced during conflicts, the TL has at least two voices presented by the main participants in the conflict. This results in inserting certain aspects of the target culture in the ST, changing the original intended effect in the process. Efforts were observed in promoting narratives; the works of Somers and Gibson (1994) and Baker (2006; 2014) explain the evolution of narratives. Based on the discussion above, the integration of political and scientific frames among others impact the process of narrative construction. This might come in the form of giving voice to scientists, experts, analysts, or officials, which allows passing their judgments of what the translated speeches had addressed. This form and others related to importing narratives result in creating new meanings which often lead to evolving narratives going through the four types of narratives discussed below.

2.4.4 Types of Narratives: How Meanings Evolve

Somers and Gibson (1994) and Baker (2006) identify four types of narratives: ontological, public, conceptual/disciplinary, and meta/master narratives. Narratives, in general, are defined by Baker (2006, p.19) as “public and personal ‘stories’ that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour. They are the stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people, about the world(s) in which we live”. The ontological narratives, sometimes referred to as personal narratives, are “the stories that social actors use to make sense of – indeed, in order to act in – their lives” (Somers and Gibson, 1994, p.61). This entails the definition of one participant indirectly defines others. Therefore, participants are placed by the narratives and by themselves within

certain groups impacting meanings by assigning their capacity in re-narrating the events. . Baker (2009, p.226) stresses the identity aspect, saying ontological narratives “are narratives of the self, typically stories which locate the narrating subject at the centre of events”. In this respect, both agree that identity from a narrative perspective is changeable; it adapts to the narratives which one becomes exposed to. This is important for news coverage since “the attempts to define self and identity rely on self-representation, i.e. mental construction about us as persons in terms of what we are identifying with and how we are identified (usually by others)” (Bamberg, 2010, p.4).

Translation plays a role in this interaction in three ways: a) choosing the symbols, connotations, classification, descriptions that might be related to a certain group more than the other; b) the selectivity of what to be translated, i.e. what the audience is exposed to; and c) inserting interpretations and speculations based on what was said. These lead meanings to be associated or dissociated with speech acts restricting or reinterpreting them in the process due to related culture-bound factors. This might include the social classes, religious views, political orientation, or other factors impacting individuals’ identities, the aspects they put in higher regard, and the manner they identify with participants and share their views. Based on this, ontological narratives are somewhat scattered opinions that have minor differences but hover around a relatively smaller number of public narratives when the main aspects are isolated from everyday life situations.

Isolating these aspects from everyday situations in the thematic coverage leads to highlighting the public narratives⁹ which are the stories that circulate on communities’ level. Somers and Gibson (1994, p.62) define public narratives as the “narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to inter-subjective networks or institutions, however local or grand”. Baker (2009) extended the scope of public narratives to include political activism. However, contrary to what the name may suggest, any number of versions of a public narrative may exist within the same community. The diversity in the versions and disagreements could trigger attempts to promote a certain narrative which may eventually lead to competition and conflict including further conflict in situations where conflict already exists. This is because the competition of narratives may surface inconsistencies in them by voicing experts or it might lead to unrests when the values and beliefs in them are challenged. Baker (2006)

⁹ They are also known as shared narratives; however, to maintain consistency, the term public narrative is used in this research as it was chosen by Baker.

exemplifies this with the many existing conflicting narratives about the 2003 war in Iraq, religious fundamentalism, and LGBTQIA rights. One possible reason for the existence of conflicting public narratives is that they are constantly changing and shifting (Baker, 2006, p.3). This has four consequences.

First, since they are constantly changing and shifting, not all the group members will come to share the views of the newly constructed narrative, which could result in a new conflict. Second, their constant shifts for members that subscribe to them means they need to be exposed to the steps leading to the changes, a generalisation that cannot be made for all individuals. Third, since reasons that trigger these changes include scientific discoveries or social, cultural, and political shifts, the changes will not occur at the same pace for every group of a given community, as there will be other factors contributing to the manner of constructing the new narrative, such as the role of social class, education, age, gender, religion, or other factors. Fourth, the changes are made possible by new meanings created through questioning or reinterpretation in accordance with the newly introduced understandings that the voiced experts had surfaced. These four consequences signal the manner of repositioning the stories in relation to a participant in the conflict. From a translation perspective, Baker (2009, p.226) argues that “every time we translate an article for the media, a novel, a religious sermon or a political text of any kind we automatically give currency to the set of public narratives encoded in it, irrespective of how or why we translate it”. This view can also be applied to news coverage because similarly to how translations from this perspective are the retelling of past stories in a different context, news stories can be viewed the same, particularly for the translations of speeches. At any rate, the debates in public narratives sometimes call for experts’ opinions to settle them. This includes issues such as the political or the economic situation, which calls for voicing political analysts, experts, and scientists whose efforts, in turn, facilitate the emergence of the disciplinary narratives.

The disciplinary/conceptual narratives as defined by Baker (2006, p.39) are “the stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of enquiry”. Therefore, this type of narrative has two important consequences to be considered. First, they can reinforce an existing public narrative or challenge it by drawing attention to issues previously underrepresented. They have the potential to draw the attention to aspects that would not normally be attached to the unfolding event, such as the link between the uprising and oil prices which could have a devastating impact on the already challenged global economy, as portrayed by RT. This notion is also shared

by CDA where it is argued “control of knowledge crucially shapes our interpretation of the world, as well as our discourse and other actions” (Van Dijk, 1993, p.258). This might restrict narratives to certain aspects of reality that highlight a public narrative from within a set of narratives that are focused on the social reform, not the political or economic situation for instance. Second, since they can import external narratives or speak to global audiences, they expand the scope of audiences who are being identified with the conflict, which could result in creating a metanarrative.

Metanarratives are disciplinary narratives reinforced to a level that they evolved to be globally shared and accepted, or at least less frequently contested. Narratives, from a metanarrative perspective, are stories that legitimise a particular issue from various discourses and serve as underlying theme for events. For example, a metanarrative could include a number of disciplinary narratives, such as the economic, social, and political stories, that are either legitimising or critical of the Egyptian uprising, while showing the possible effect on the rest of the world. In this case, it groups the discourses that are elaborated within a larger narrative. Baker (2006, p.48) argues that metanarratives are only made possible with the act of translation because of their border-crossing nature. This follows that translators will be joined with other active agents in mediating messages through televised news.

On a practical level, the ontological narratives are the stories from the Egyptian and Syrian uprisings coverage that identify participants such as the theme of ‘us versus them’ and classifies other participants accordingly. The public narratives are the conflicts as seen by the opposition and the governments because ‘us and them’ are attached to different participants. The disciplinary narratives include the evidence of the use of chemical weapons which may support either perspective, the experts’ opinions on oil prices and global economy, and encouraging other dictators around the world to commit crimes against their people unless the international community takes action. The metanarratives are the grouped together into disciplinary narratives that either support the opposition or the government. Metanarratives gain wider audiences by creating meanings of global concerns for participants who are not necessarily directly involved. The typology of narratives needed to be specified because in translation, a narrative might not maintain its quality when it is recontextualised. A disciplinary narrative in the SL might be a public narrative in the TL due to the aspects of reality embedded in it because the socio-cultural system of the SL differs. However, it can also be reinforced in the SL when

it draws on other aspects of reality more favourable to the SL system, which highlight the role of context in translation as this research intends to do.

2.4.5 Typology of Audiences: Repositioning the Listener/Reader-Interpreter

The relevance of the role of audiences and how they are placed in the communication process to the arguments presented above becomes more evident when taking into account the means media outlets deploy when engaging the audiences and encouraging them to identify with an intended participant. This is to present the notion of NFO that is discussed below under a framing section on the one hand, and the targeted audiences and framing by labelling from translation perspective (Baker, 2006, p.122). For McQuail (1969, p.82), the communicator (i.e. the news channels) needs to know the target audience(s) for the mediations process and meeting their expectations. This is in line with one of the narrativity features concerned with how participants' configured relationship in relation to the events and each other are essential in assessing the dynamics of the narratives. Therefore, changes constitute part of the meaning-making process whereas "in translation and interpreting, participants can be repositioned in relation to each other and to the reader or hearer through the linguistic management of time, space, deixis, dialect, register, use of epithets, and various means of self-and other identification" (Baker, 2006, p.132). This could be added to the notion that media messages are seen in the light of other subsequent and related media messages as the events of a global media event are unfolding (Morgner, 2011, p.144). In this sense, the audience is not presented as being external to media representation but is embedded and constructed in media narratives (Ibid., p.147). This leads to consider the context in which events are resituated along with the frames it emphasises depending on which other media stories are used to elaborate an earlier or consecutive story, translations included.

In turn, this raises the questions on audience-making within networks of media narratives, in which "the public become involved, and what public reactions and associations are captured by the mass media?" (Ibid.). Therefore, reconfiguring the relation between participants might lead to repositioning events and recontextualising them because it impacts the position from which participants re-narrate stories. In his investigation of news coverage of the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Morgner (Ibid.) observed efforts of relating the audiences to the unfolding events came in the form of "it is a tragedy not only for his family, but for all of us" (The Sunday Times, 1963, p.3; cited

in Morgner, 2011, p.147). This is somewhat comparable to AJE's messages of self-referential nature, such as reports on refugee crisis where there are an estimated one million children among them saying: "just imagine if this [refugee camp] was your reality now, or if this was your earliest memory"¹⁰. Such effort signals the notion of what McQuail (1969, p.77) termed 'anticipated audience' and interaction in which the consumer reaches understandings and develops orientations due to the conversations initiated by the media. The importance of these efforts is better understood when thought of as determining how audiences are not simply being positioned but rather encouraged to identify themselves, as well as identifying others in the narrative in relation to themselves (Morgner, 2011, p.147). Leading to audience interpretations, reactions, and perceptions of an issue as members of the public rather than as individuals since they were addressed as such (Ibid., p.152).

In the typologies of audiences as discussed by McQuail (1997), there are two main classifications to be considered: the group sizes and media-audience relationship. The first aspect of classification is largely connected to the nature of the story where public will be of interest of a group of groups and social will be mainly of interest of a group within a larger community. However, McQuail (1997, p.30) adds that "at some point, a notional line divides those 'audiences' that are in the public sphere from those in private, expert, or professional circles". To investigate how this line is drawn, this research adopts narrative theory while adding to the notion presented by McQuail, the lines, links, and relationships between the audiences and other participants within the conflict. In McQuail's (1997, p.109) words, "the relationship between sender and receiver is central to any consideration of the media audience concept. Unlike the case of face-to-face contact, mediated (and specially mass-mediated) communication always involves a spatial and social distance between participants". Typically, such gaps are filled using a variety of strategies that enforce shared understandings (Ibid.); however, the existence of conflicting narratives in the Egyptian and Syrian uprisings implies at least one of these narratives empowers the gaps/differences rather than bridging the gaps or highlighting similarities, in which case messages would favour the status quo, while the latter contests the narrative dynamics sustaining it.

¹⁰ AJE 23/08/2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35621>.

2.4.6 Translation, Audiences, and Narratives Typologies: Practical Level

From translation perspective of narratives, both Baker's framework of narratives and Lefevere's approach to translation (1992, p.14), agree on "translations are not made in a vacuum and translators function in a given culture at a given time". From this view, translations situate stories in different contexts while its new place is decided by the manners of reframing/re-narrating that gives prominence to different aspects. According to Hatim and Mason (1990: 57, 64-65; cited in Asimakoulas, 2011, p.9):

The relational logic of meaning-creation is not a feature of literature or the more creative types of texts only. It underpins all types of communication, translation included. Meaning-creation in translation is a dialectic process, requiring senders and recipients of messages to contextualize communicative intentions while using register in a meaningful way, with mediating translators always making judgements as to what the likely effects of conveying these intentions in a different context will be.

Viewing translation from this perspective ultimately draws on the ideological struggles and the competition in narratives. According to Delistathi (2011, p.209) who investigated the translations produced by the Communist Party of Greece, "the control of translations did not decide the outcome of these ideological struggles, but it played a significant role in them". From this perspective, the ideological struggle affects the interpretations by impacting the context, and as a result, each interpretation is translated differently (Ibid.).

In general, since narratives are not elaborated in a separate text, other subsequent media messages will either challenge the existing narrative or reinforce it (Baker, 2010, p.25). This follows that narratives assert intertextuality in the creation of meanings which are investigated by tracing back the separate but related stories. The notion of intertextuality as understood here is "a perspective of both reading and writing texts as a way of looking at a text's interaction with prior texts, writers, readers, and conventions" (Wang, 2006, p.72; cited in Aslani and Salmani, 2015, p.83). The separate stories are investigated in light of CDA to consider issues such as authorship, context, and language. Mason (2009, p.143) agrees with this view in that translators and readers alike bring to the texts their preconceived assumptions and dispositions.

Fairclough (2001, p.118) observed that listeners/readers bring to the interpretation their own background and preconceived understandings. Translators themselves are

listeners/readers and the way they interpret events impacts how they translate them. Based on this, the question arises of how the events were framed, narrated, and translated (mediated) to influence the outcomes of their interpretations. In Mason's (2009, p.143) words, "language users have their own discursive history: their previous experience of discourse which, in turn, shapes their own perception and use of discursial features". Such discourses can be triggered through the process of recontextualising, as the next chapter discusses in more detail. Overall, translation from narrative perspective provides an opportunity to further examine the meaning-making in the broadcasts on a more analytical level and reinforces the framing analysis and CDA.

2.5 CDA: Re-contextualisation, Mediation, and Meaning-Making

Similar to the discussion above on how TS developed from the original heavy reliance on linguistics and textual material, CDA and the more recently termed Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) were traditionally primarily linguistic analysis paradigms and enhanced with development emerging mainly from interdisciplinarity (Phelan, 2017, p.375; Forchtner, 2017, p.359). From this perspective, this take on narratives in translations is in line with Hansen et al.'s (2010, pp.153-154) 'structural semantics', whereas the approach lies between formalism and structuralism allowing space for the language of narratives (including its tone and tenor) to construct meanings. This research attempts to cope with this emerging trend by borrowing considerations from CDA to be used in TS perspective of narratives. Most notable is re-contextualisation – how narratives retain their meanings when transferred to different culture as voices narrating them or the values embedded in them might be interpreted differently. In the process of mediating an event to be broadcasted, journalists, as translators, need to re-contextualise the events. In a similar manner to how translators are viewed as co-authors (Schäffner, 2012c, p.119), in how they inject the translations with elements from their personal narrative that they subscribe to (Baker, 2006, p.22), journalists participate in constructing social and political realities. Also, in the same manner how translations have double intertextuality where their meanings are, at least partially, derived from other texts in their SL(s) and culture, as well as in their TL(s) and culture and "translators do not transfer meaning as such, but communicative values" (Schäffner, 2012, p.123).

According to Schäffner (2008, p.3), whose research dedicates much focus on translation and politics where politics is usually mediated and disseminated by mass media,

The mass media play a fundamental role in mediating between politicians and the public, nevertheless, media translation of political communication is rarely explicit; it remains invisible, filtering, transforming and reformulating speech without acknowledging the process involved.

Similarly, Baker (2013, p.23) adds that translation “does not mediate cultural encounters that exist outside the act of translation but rather participates in producing these encounters”. In this sense, translation and media coverage share similarities. Baker (Ibid., p.24) notes that translation “does not reproduce texts but constructs realities, and it does so by intervening in the process of narration and renarration that constitute all encounters, and that essentially construct the world for us”. This thesis sets out to apply these observations on networked media narrative construction in the pursuit of how meanings are made in media coverage that constructs, captures and mediates narratives, notions that can be further investigated in light of CDA.

The following chapter discusses how is CDA adopted. This chapter details which approach to CDA is deemed more suitable to work alongside narratives from TS perspective in how meanings are made and re-contextualised. Since the general approach to CDA is aimed at aiding in addressing the identified research gap through reinforcing the narrative theory, this thesis sought an approach to CDA that does not conflict with the assumptions narrative theory and frames in narrative offer. The approach that would fulfil this objective is one that would examine how the enacted discourses shape the relations between participants and vice versa, how the discourse is shaped by the enacted ideologies, and how the discourse shapes reality (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). According to Fairclough (2005, p.60), “perhaps the greatest divide within discourse studies is between those who see detailed analysis of texts as a *sine qua non*, and those who do not”. This study takes into account the manner of classification of participants as starting point to emphasise texts to be produced later for meanings that could come in the form of what is and in related sequential texts, what must be done (Ibid., p.62). This follows that the point of emphasis is the communication process rather than the language itself, which in turn is seen from this sense as social practice. The approach needs to assist in linking the narratives’ separate incidents through considerations of intertextuality in the process of their evolution. It also needs to provide a further theoretical explanation to deriving the meaning from different contexts including the process narrative theory sees as re-contextualisation when they cross linguistic and cultural barriers.

Having said that, and based on the discussion in the previous section, the take on CDS needs to find a balance between the content of the texts and the visibility of the active agents in mediating stories and narration, since the texts this research is concerned with are media coverage, where *discourse* can be used in the sense of “meaning-making as an element of the social process” (Fairclough, 2016, p.87). “Social process can be seen as the interplay between three levels of social reality: social *structure*, *practices* and *events*” (Ibid., p.88, emphasis in original). However, for this research, this is altered to how were these elements represented in two conflicting coverages since they mediate “the relationship between general and abstract social structures and particular and concrete social events” (Ibid.). That is, for this research this shows how individual elements are linked to be the cause/result of the protesters’ behaviours in one channel that might differ in the representation of another channel. This includes how their demands are reframed differently to be for instance either resulted by their ignorance in economics or their political awareness.

For Fairclough (Ibid.), discourses from this sense “are semiotic ways of constructing aspects of the world (physical, social, mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors”. Adopting this take on how media represents these elements and links them to the protests causes will contribute in examining both “hegemony and antagonism”, where hegemony is understood to refer to “situations where particular discourses obtain social dominance” (Carpentier, 2017, p.345) and efforts taken to maintain such dominance such as promoting the narratives of the status quo. On the other hand, antagonism refers to efforts to challenge existing narratives dynamics that had sustained the status quo preceding the inception of the uprisings. Antagonisms “attempt to destabilise the ‘other’ identity but desperately need that very ‘other’ as a constitutive outside to stabilise the proper identity” (Ibid., p.346).

From CDA perspective, meaning is creation of social systems and since social systems are interpretable, meanings are changeable (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). For the meanings to be changeable entails the possibility to reconfigure the dynamics of the narrative through repositioning the participants regarding their relation to each other and the events. This research draws primarily on Fairclough’s (1995) take on CDA to investigate the separate stories which, when pieced together, project a particular narrative. The framework adopted by Fairclough is suitable for this research because it allows space to consider the textual material from socio-political and cultural contexts.

Since narratives, as explained above, argue that the meanings are not created in separate texts, they reject that the meanings are limited to the use of language because otherwise the meanings would be confined within one text. This notion shares common ground with this take on CDA. Coffin (2001, p.99) defines CDA as “an approach to language analysis which concerns itself with issues of language, power and ideology”. As a result, language, from this perspective, is understood as a form of social practice rather than an abstract system of linguistic material (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Coffin, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001). As Mason (2009, p.86) argues, discourse, from this view, holds close ties to the terms ideology and personal narrative when the latter is defined as “the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual’s or institution’s view of the world and assist their interpretations of events, facts and other aspects of experience”. This research accepts the assumptions this approach offers; however, its focus is altered in this research to how were the meanings created rather than assessing the enactment of ideologies in given texts. The enactment of ideologies, therefore, is not seen as an end, but rather as a means to investigate the process of meaning-making and narrative construction or contestation for, as later chapters show, they facilitated importing politically charged narratives.

2.5.1 CDA and the Arab Spring

Prior to the events of the Arab Spring, most research adopting CDA had focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict and 9/11 media representation (Bazzi, 2009; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Bayley, 2007; Lahlali, 2011; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009) and the first and second gulf wars (Barkho, 2010; Entman, 2004; Ponton, 2007; De Vreese et al., 2001; Aday, 2005; Brown, 2005) Though the differences between these events are considerable, works prior to the Arab Spring can still be of relevance, particularly when they do not conflict with adopting narrative theory and frames. For example, Bazzi (2009, p.3) examines the language representation of media and summarises her research as investigating:

The ideological, symbolic, and cultural components expressed in language, which serve as a way of representing the conflict meaningfully. In this study, I am not interested in who is right or wrong in their beliefs but in the way meanings are produced, shared and consumed by particular society through the media apparatus. More specifically, I am interested in analysing media discourse in times of conflict.

Such works provide a background on the importance of meaning-making and their influence on audience’s identification which could result in different interpretations and, by extension, translations.

In adopting CDA on the Arab Spring, research understandably focused on the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood. Such works are important because they show the significance of this organisation, which this research also considers a primary participant in the Egyptian uprising. The influence of its representation surpasses that of other opposition groups in Egypt, and it is seen by both RT and AJE as the leading opposition group in Egypt. The Brotherhood's representation needs to be considered, for it affects the meaning of the uprising and its classification in media is linked to meanings of the uprising's legitimacy since it is the main opposition party. This indirectly impacts translations because the Muslim Brotherhood represents the uprising, and the translated speeches were mainly addressing their demands and actions. For example, Al-Zo'by and Başkan (2015, p.409) argue that "the critical discourse that has dominated reform narratives in the UAE is largely derived from a wider discourse on the role of law in state-society relations and the trust in generations between government and citizens". Therefore, the representation of the Brotherhood as a leading legitimate or illegitimate opposition group will either challenge this narrative or assert it. Since some of the discourse is derived from the trust between the government and citizens, representing positively a group that was banned by the government will have an impact on the government representation and, by extension, the meanings of the words uttered by the spokespersons of the government or the organisation itself.

It will challenge or support the government narrative depending on whether the Brotherhood's demands are represented as legitimate. Al-Zo'by and Başkan (2015, p.411) concluded that "the Brotherhood is the prime agent in generating and sustaining a discursive opposition" and "augmenting the gravity of the challenge, the discursive opposition deployed was not predominately religious in character, but largely embodied civic and 'liberal values' in its critique and fundamentally challenged the state's claim to political and social legitimacy". While one channel agrees with this observation, the other represents it as a banned group for its extreme religious ideas. In this context, CDA considers, as Al-Zo'by and Başkan (Ibid.) observed, the Brotherhood messages for the "diverse public matters ranging from public morality to economic, political, and social development" for their possible role in the evolvement of narratives of the uprising's legitimacy or lack thereof.

Research on CDA and media continued to show interest in the Muslim Brotherhood after the step-down of Mubarak and their accession to power following the presidential elections in June 2012. Existing research shows that AJE continues to support the Muslim

Brotherhood, saying that AJE expresses “full support of the Muslim Brothers [Muslim Brotherhood] presenting them as the positive ‘self’ and reflecting their cause, positively” (Al-Radhi et al., 2016, p.151). They (Ibid.) also added:

Throughout this register, AJE aims to provide the reader with the interim authority’ view about the Muslim Brotherhood, depicting it as a terrorist organisation. At the same time, it succeeds to correct such negative view about the Islamists and their organization. Furthermore, it succeeds in exposing the interim authority’s evil plan to deform them. Thus, AJE is keen to reflect the Muslim Brotherhood positively whereas the Egyptian interim authority, negatively.

These observations made on later periods highlight the importance of the need to revert to the beginning of the challenge of the narrative where the original narrative that sustained Mubarak’s rule for 29 years had been contested as well as the narrative that sustained banning the Muslim Brotherhood since 1954. These, in turn, are reflected in the frames of the media coverage and, by extension, the translations produced of speeches that had talked about this organisation.

In his qualitative research on the Arab Spring televised coverage by BBC, CNN, and Al Jazeera, Mensah (2015, p.89) combines Fairclough’s dialectical-relational and Wodak and Reisigl’s discourse-historical approaches of CDA. He (Ibid., p.95) argues how stories covering Libya and Egypt are reinforcing pre-existing beliefs of the public by framing them from political contexts. This is in line with the discussions in later chapters where the study observed the different emphasis between the humanitarian and political aspects between AJE and RT, who sought to unsettle and preserve the socio-political currents respectively.

For this study, the distinction between AJE and RT’s humanitarian and political focus is derived from the empirical material (texts, narratives) they are elaborated within. The political focus expressed in the empirical data is restricted to the state/government and is contrasted with the humanitarian, apolitical and overarching. Frames of, as Crow and Lawlor (2016, p.476) describe them, what is emotionally charged – often shown in humanitarian stories – are prevalent in AJE’s coverage. The humanitarian emphasis is linked to media narratives that are based on “images of the victims of the conflict, notably the suffering and damage caused by war” (Jasperson and El-Kikhia, p.116). This is important for this study for it focuses on narratives and texts constructions and the consequences of re-contextualising events to participants representations and

translations, speakers included. Their distinction had interacted differently with the socio-cultural values and issues that are embedded in the narratives of conflicts particularly in prioritising different aspects of reality and hence impacting the translations, producing such headlines as: “massacre or mass hysteria?”¹¹ in response to opposition claims. The analysis of the humanitarian and political metanarratives that served as the underlying themes of AJE and RT narratives are better understood in CDA in relation to the underlying narratives that they operate with this distinction.

2.5.2 CDA and Translation

Aligning the specified takes on translation and CDA can contribute to addressing the gap in relation to translation and context and translation as intercultural mediation. An important motivation for Al-Hejin (2012, p.311) in expanding the scope of TS is JTR. For Al-Hejin (Ibid.), “concerns have been raised in the field of Translation Studies (TS) that the sensitive role international news translation plays in discursive process such as globalisation, conflict and political discourse remains largely underestimated”. Such issues, however, have been investigated thoroughly by Schäffner and Baker. The question is then on the approaches to be followed in CDA and translations for the purpose to be later used in exploring the roles of framing and re-contextualisation. To this end, translations continue to be regarded as translations when appearing in the news coverage, not as STs. This is because regarding them as STs overlooks an important mediation step, i.e. the process of translating and re-contextualisation. This is to be added to the possibility that taking stories in isolation might not signal differences that exceed language variations between journalists (Molina, p.186). Fairclough’s opinion on the translated texts being approached as ST is summarised by Al-Hejin (Fairclough, 1999, p.186; cited in Al-Hejin, 2012, p.312) as “that such an analysis is problematic when the translated text is treated as though it were part of the source language’s sociocultural context”. Therefore, integrating translations in CDA which is normally “a primarily monolingual research tradition” calls for a “*multilingual* CDA” approach (Al-Hejin, p.312) (emphasis in original).

Due to the nature of the events of the Arab Spring, research on this subject had not only garnered interest in the socio-cultural aspects. Al-Sowaidi’s (2017) research focuses on political discourse analysis (PDA) in investigating the slogans both pro and anti-government protesters chanted. The slogans were mostly in Arabic and the media

¹¹ RT 20-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

channels translated them. However, such approach to PDA is unsuitable for the current study for the following three reasons. First, it contradicts one of the central assumptions narrative theory offers of there is no unmediated access to reality and a researcher's interpretation of the slogans might differ from the protesters' due to being situated in a different narrative. Second, the analysis of such slogans will be limited to why protesters chanted them and what effect they could have. This is because it needs to consider "the co-text, situational context as well as socio-cultural and historical context" as such aspects determine the meanings derived from the produced texts (Filardo-Llamas and Boyd, 2017, p.411). Finally, such approach should focus on social media because the slogans that were broadcasted went through a process of selectivity and were filtered to what suited the narrative a channel intended to construct. The interpretation of such slogans will, therefore, differ depending on what was omitted/added, the interpretation will differ between the protester and the broadcaster because of their different contexts, and perhaps, more importantly, it negates the individual differences between the protesters themselves of how they interpreted the slogans that they were chanting and focuses on their translation.

According to LoCastro (2003, p.48), from a pragmatics perspective, understanding the intended meaning is the responsibility of both the speaker and listener; the speaker must take the context into consideration to ensure conveying the intended meaning, this includes, but not limited to, the intentionally ambiguous messages. Consequently, the speaker/participant might intentionally or unintentionally lead the other party to interpret a given issue differently; however, in the case of mass communication, a wide variety of individual and group differences can impact interpreting messages of this nature. Following this approach to PDA, therefore, will be based only on the assumption of what most protesters had intended to convey. On the other hand, analysing how mass media convey a specific meaning with the intention to identify the listener with a participant by promoting an intended interpretation is more assertive of the process of meaning-making, including selecting and airing slogans and the way they derived the meanings.

Other researchers at the American University in Cairo (AUC) adopted discourse analysis in investigating the graffiti, poetics, and rap music produced by the Egyptian protesters at Tahrir Square and songs of the Syrian uprising (Gibbon and Hawns, 2012; Sanders, 2012; Sanders and Visona, 2012; Abaza, 2013). Much of their focus was on arguing that these street arts are indicative of the political awareness the protesting educated young adults have, particularly in prioritising the step-down of their presidents.

However, attention is given to the textual aspect rather than to repositioning participants through social and cultural contexts which this research assumes meanings in translations are derived from and ignores the role of traditional media. For example, later work by Lahlali (2014, p.12) took consideration of such aspects for the slogans of Tahrir Square and concluded that there is a wide variety of disputes amongst the protesters, including their political perspectives and orientations such as secular, religious, and liberal values. That is, though protesters chant same slogans, they intend to convey different meanings and their messages, albeit uttered using the same speech act, enacting different ideologies and identify with different participants and hearers. Abaza (2013, p.9) claims “to follow these drawings on a daily basis could turn into a fascinating sociological endeavour portraying an accurate and inventive visual chronology of the revolution”. This assumption, however, negates the possibility of the different interpretations and oversimplifies the roles played by factors including social and political contexts.

Another research focused on CDA and framing in American late-night comedy shows on the Arab Spring (Purcell et al., 2017). However, analysis of this sort is not suitable for the current research for the following three reasons. First, the jokes are based on the interpretation of a premediated news story such as:

And in a rambling call to a TV station, Moammar Gadhafi ranted about his enemies, blamed others for his problems. He said he is feeling fine and he is willing to go back to work. So he’s like the Charlie Sheen of Libya now (Letterman, February 2011; cited in Purcell et al., 2017, p.514).

Analysis of this sort ignores mediating and translating this news story because Gadhafi made his statement in Arabic. Second, such as the nature of comedy shows, their purpose is entertainment rather than being informative, though Purcell et al. (2017, p.514) base their arguments on “the superiority theory of humor is a manifestation of one’s feelings of dominance over another”. This assumption, however, is a generalization. Third, this approach is limited in scope and limits the frames and narratives to shorter episodes though, due to the nature of such shows, stories can be both episodic and thematic. Overall, such events can be of valuable addition if used by the media coverage as tools to construct their narratives.

Such works are not as relevant for Guzman (2016), who aligned CDA with framing theory in investigating the coverage of the early stages of the Egyptian uprising. Her research was motivated by the differences between CNN and FOX’s coverages in

classifying Mubarak as a main participant in this conflict or other participants of this conflict including the Muslim Brotherhood and protesters. Some reports present him as “an ally, detailing how he has helped the United States, and quoting U.S. officials who state Mubarak is a U.S. partner”, while other stories “position Mubarak regime as an ally, but one who is increasingly a liability because of its human rights violations” Guzman (2016, p.87). These observations were based on the manner news stories are framed; the previous examples of representations, for example, are derived from political and social frames respectively. Guzman (2016, p.90) took into consideration the audiences, i.e. the American public, in relation to how were they positioned to interpret the terms used. For example, she (Ibid.) considered the classification of the protesters and the uprising to conclude:

Journalists refer to anti-government participants as “protesters” and “demonstrators,” labels that do not carry violent connotations, and describe their actions as a revolution. The use of “revolution” draws a connection between the protesters’ actions and the United States’ own struggle for democracy. Equally important, the events are not a “rebellion,” a term with a connotation of anarchy.

This observation is in line with the previously discussed metanarratives’ role in audience making by representing the events to be subjectively related to the hearers and, by extension, to identify with a participant. In this instance, if audiences (the American public) are positioned, then they are more likely to be positioned closer to the protesters highlighting meanings of legitimacy. Guzman (2016, p.92) describes the role of frames as “powerful because they impart meaning” and “these media frames explain who the revolution participants are and how they relate to audiences”.

Similarly, Aslani and Salmani (2015, p.81), who investigated the translation of leading newspapers coverage of the Arab Spring, argue that “throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effect in translation” (Fawcett, 1998; cited in Aslani and Salmani, 2015, p.81). Guzman and Aslani and Salmani’s observations have an important consequence to be considered. Frames are both static and dynamic. Frames are dynamic in the sense that “their application to a particular group can shift” and static in the sense that “the same familiar frames are relied upon to explain this region” (Guzman, 2016, p.94). However, from translation narrative perspective, the frames that are used to explain a different region can be seen as episodes of external narratives in which case they do not necessarily elaborate different narrative, but it is a process of re-contextualising. Based on this, analysis of this

sort can be developed by aligning it with TS narrative theory to consider the larger projected images and how were they created rather than focusing on bias as the case in Aslani and Salmani's (2015, p.86) research. It can also be developed by adopting this theoretical consideration on another country that is witnessing the Arab Spring. In doing so, more comprehensive and analytical considerations come to being. With its close ties to metanarratives, this approach of CDA shows a potential area of reinforcing translations from narrative account.

Existing literature also draws a link between CDA and metaphors in translation (MiT). Translating texts of political nature often draws on concepts of ideology and conflict and research addressing such issues often attempts to define these terms. In making their points, politicians, for reasons including relating to the public or the everyday working-man, swaying public perception or gaining support, might use a language metaphorical in nature. The general rule in translating metaphors is that transferring them word-for-word often leads to miscommunication due to their context-bound nature (Yousif, 2010, p.321). This entails a process of re-contextualisation to preserve the intended meaning and effect which where CDA plays a role. From this sense, it is possible that meaning can be lost by transferring the words using literal translation. In his investigation of media translation of political interviews, ideology for Bulut (2012, p.910) "in its broadest sense, is the stand one takes in life in keeping with his/her background, training and view of life". Conflict is "the negative result of an interaction in a situation depending on the interests and the balance of gains and losses of the parties in communication" (Ibid., p.911).

Where considerations of conflict and ideology exist, approaches of CDA are usually adopted. Perhaps this can be more direct in the case of translating political metaphors because of their multiple meanings and resituating them in different media narratives and, by extension, interpretations not to mention that "most abstract concepts have metaphorical origin" (Danesi, 2002, p.50). It is expected that texts of political nature will appeal to audiences that belong to both opposition and pro-government who already have differences because otherwise, the conflict would not exist. Their appeal therefore will possibly draw on values and beliefs that had previously rendered their narrative resilient. These values and beliefs, in turn, could establish links to discourses of ideological nature such as stability and terrorism, as shown in later chapters. The findings of Bulut's (2012, pp.919-920) research reveal that in translation, "the sensitivity of a political metaphor is based on its ideological content in its source political context" and "translation of a

political metaphor can be analysed with regards to the indicators of its source and target contexts (situation, sender, receiver)". These findings assert the roles of translators and journalists as active agents and the importance of the political metaphors, as well as CDA assumptions of the authorship and roles of both sender and receiver in communicating meanings. This, in turn, allows the current research to go beyond the issue of their possible effect to more analytical considerations.

Further areas earlier research explored are normalisation, localisation, and entextualisation in translations produced for journalistic purposes. Van Doorslaer (2012, p.1047) borrowed the concept of "entextualization" to describe "the process in news translation in which the original text is made subordinate to the journalistic purpose of recontextualization". From this perspective, entextualisation holds close ties with both narrative theory and framing on one hand, as well as CDA on the other. Normalisation is defined as "the tendency of translators to conform to the conventionally established and standard practices typical of the TL, which would, in turn, result in relatively higher conservativeness and repetitiveness, and a lower diversity of language use in translations as well" (Xia, 2014, p.6). On the other hand, localisation does the opposite in attempting to domesticate foreign culture-specific norms in the target culture (Ibid.). This approach works in certain limited contexts, particularly in translating literature and in situations where stylistic and creative features are held in higher regard. This is normally linked to the purpose of translation, i.e. for entertainment or informative purposes. It has its merits in consolidating faithfulness and delivery. This is because, due to cultural differences, transferring a text needs to consider various factors that impact the meaning, such as religion, history, or symbolism.

The retelling of past stories in form of media memory to restrict the interpretations of the currently unfolding events was observed in the coverage of both RT and AJE, as later chapters show. This can be investigated in light of both narrative theory and CDA since they came in some places to refute or support translated speeches and impacting the context. These two, in turn, shed light on the shifts of emphasis as the framing analysis in the following section discusses. From CDA and a historical perspective, Achugar (2017, p.392) asks "what does the past mean today?", "how is the past used to serve current political agendas?", and "how do we use the past to give meaning to ourselves as individuals and members of groups?". She (Ibid., p.393) argues how its main influence exists in the (re)production of history, to be recalled at times they best suit the constructed meanings. Though her focus differs, the notions proposed can be adopted in this research

to consider how the construction of meanings in media converge. This, however, entails consideration of both reframing and narrative, as comprehensive examination needs to consider that much of the impact stems from shifting the prominence from one aspect and delivering it to others, which sometimes leads to the narrating of events from the perspective of other participants.

2.6 Framing Analysis

For this study, the interest paid to the frames is motivated by the attempt to investigate the impact of giving more prominence to certain aspects of reality over others on the interpretations of translations and the meaning-making process. Weaver (2007, p.143) observed that there is a notable “growth in framing studies from the first half of the 1990s to the present”. For some scholars (Fahmy and Al-Emad, 2011; Barnett and Reynolds, 2009; Weaver 2007), this growth is owed to framing relevance in providing theoretical explanations for media communication and their role in influencing the meanings, particularly towards conflicts where the investigation aims to reveal how different perspectives of the same conflict are portrayed by empowering intended aspects of the concerned conflicts. This could come in the form of representing a participant or event in light of an intended aspect of the conflict. The term representation from narrative approach was discussed earlier; however, as understood in CDA in the previous sections, it refers to “the creation of a mental space stimulated by a text (Chilton 2004: 50)¹² – advocate in favour of incorporating a cognitive dimension within the study of PD [political discourse]” (Filardo-Llamas and Boyd, p.419). This take asserts calls for the consideration of context.

As the later chapters show, since the events can be re-contextualised differently while encompassed in different frames, the manner how the events were framed needs to be considered because they establish links to different discourses. Adding this to how CDA often pays considerable attention to meanings about modality, as well as different, perhaps conflicting, meanings, in different modalities (Ibid., p.420) corresponds with framing analysis and narrative theory in questioning how are meanings made. Benkhedda (2016, p.43) summarises their connection as “authors’ unspoken processes of shaping or framing, as it were, readers’ perception of the events/story contained in individual articles (framing theory)” and “authors’ strategies to draw on and consolidate prevailing narrative patterns of reality construction (narrative theory)”. Frames as this research view them are

¹² Chilton, P. (2004), *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

means of making certain aspects of reality more prominent than others which results in meanings of which aspect is more important and therefore their analysis needs to consider both of what was included and excluded (Entman, 1993, p.52). This notion is shared by CDA, where Fairclough (2005, p.63) points out “that any strategy for acting upon highly complex economic and political realities requires ‘discursive simplification’, selectivity in terms of what is included and excluded, and hence the construction of discourses as ‘imaginaries’”.

2.6.1 Types of Frames: Thematic and Episodic Coverages

Though research on framing in media and communication is not new, there seem to be disagreements among scholars on its definition. This theory was first introduced in Goffman’s *Frame Analysis* (1974). Goffman (1974, p.22) identified the primary broader classes as “natural and social” wherein natural frames, “no wilful agency casually and intentionally interferes, that no actor continuously guides the outcome”. On the other hand, the social frames “provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling efforts of intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being” (Ibid.). Moreover, news stories are ‘emplotted’ where “various elements of reality are brought together to form a consistent or at least coherent story” (Van Hulst et al., 2014, p.458). This implies that in social frames, some messages are not just mediated, but also selected in an intended order with intended proportions by active agents. This could include their creation in the process of re-contextualising them where some elements are borrowed from the host context to lend meaning to the original. The frames, in this case, might come as clarification to satisfy the needs of a wider scope of audiences and audiences from different cultural background; however, they could also be a mechanism to pass evaluations, interpretation, or speculation. For example, reverting to frames of religious extremism might lead to speculation that “Islamic extremists might snatch the fruits of the Arab Spring” (Ha, 2017, p.288). As reported in NYT (3, May 2011; cited in Ha, 2017, p.288), “...despite his death, Bin Laden’s goal may yet be achieved”. Similar observations were made by RT on both Syria and Egypt..

It is important to note that there are two types of stories coverage: episodic and thematic. According to Iyengar (1991, p.14), most televised news is episodic in nature, focusing on separate isolated stories in cases where the limited context for the story is more important than the broader context. This, however, is expected to be the trend in the absence of global media events such as the ones this research focuses on, whereas in the

coverages at hand, almost all the stories are of thematic nature. Iyengar (Ibid.) summarises, in thematic news coverage, the focus on contexts and the surrounding environment is an inseparable part of the meanings. The importance the distinction between episodic and thematic becomes known with the different effects they have on how texts lend meaning to other texts and establish links to other discourses. In some instances, “both coalitions and storytellers are likely to select from a long list of issue attributes to select only the most salient, compelling, and emotive topics for public discussion” (Crow and Lawlor, 2016, p.476). For this research, this is focused on the perspective of how this effort fits within narrative construction and evolution. The thematic coverage develops a narrative gradually while employing various types of frames that support the narrative being constructed and challenge the frames that contradict it. On the other hand, the episodic story is relatively sudden, and since it will not be the centre of media focus for longer periods, nor it is normally an issue mounting for public concern as its impact is relatively limited. From the TS perspective, since narratives are not constructed in separate isolated stories, thematic nature of news coverage is essential for narratives to be constructed along with the meanings they elaborate.

2.6.2 Framing and Thematized Coverage in Meaning-Making

Observing the broadcasts shows that the coverage of both RT and AJE are thematic in nature, or as Sabry (2013, p.24) puts it, “the Egyptian revolution, especially the last 18 days, was depicted by Al Jazeera as one continuous and coherent event/drama”. Both Syria and Egypt’s coverages utilised past narratives in their constructions. For this to be established, texts are linked to each other in order to be (re)interpreted in accordance with what was emphasised, added or omitted. A similar observation was made by Morgner (2016, p.61), where he paid attention to the *thematized* construction of global media events and the “interaction of time, communication and meaning-making”. Morgner (Ibid.) notes that the past can provide the context in which the events can be both assessed and evaluated, as well as highlighting the significance of the event’s nature. Different past events could be recalled, and the same past event can be recalled differently each invoking diverse, perhaps conflicting, contextual meaning(s). This follows they allow constraining or (re)directing the interpretation of the event in such thematized coverage which ultimately impacts the translations or the representation of their speakers.

For translation, this is linked to the effect intended by the speaker who tackles issues that media outlets may or may not have already represented as (un)important. Therefore, it is linked to the events overrepresented or underrepresented that may lead to reinterpret the topics addressed/ignored in the speeches as exaggerations or accurate depictions. This corresponds with narrative theory in offering interpretations that could potentially unsettle the existing dynamics. For example, news on issues of public concern, such as asylum seekers, could be framed as an economic burden (RT) or as a humanitarian issue (AJE). Other similar observations included an uprising can be presented by media as the country is descending into chaos, or that people are breaking the barrier of fear, as in the case of RT and AJE's descriptions respectively on the first week of the Egyptian uprising.

2.6.3 Meaning Creation: Re-contextualisation and NFO

Since narrative theory pieces together the separate texts for their meanings impact each other, selectivity of what to be aired and its consequences mainly re-contextualisation need to be considered. While framing and context are addressed within frames investigation, the issues of situating the events in different socio-cultural system, selectivity and media language including additions and omissions are investigated from narratives and translations perspective for their process included mediating across languages.

Chernov et al. (2011, p.143) argue that sometimes, the audience may already have all the information they wish about a given issue, resulting in low uncertainty even though they have high relevance, such as issues that had been stable for a long time. This might include issues such as child labour, slavery, abortion, and freedom of speech. However, since the media events this research focuses on are of relatively sudden uprisings and conflicts that resulted in major social and political changes which highlight the role of NFO from narratives perspective. This is related to narrative theory in the sense that, for narratives to be maintained, they sometimes need to be contextualised in ambiguity frames. As Symeou et al. (2015, pp.734) summarise, "the greater the NFO that a particular public has regarding an object, the greater will be the transfer of salience from the media to the public". The existence of conflicts and the antithetical narratives concerning them are indicative of a high level of uncertainty and relevance. As later chapters show, efforts were observed to raise the level of ambiguity to certain aspects of reality over others. This correlates with CDA particularly the use of passivised verbs to conceal the agents or nominalisations (Hansen and Machin, 2018, pp.134-136). This

included the refugee crisis, oil prices, and encouraging dictators around the world to commit similar atrocities unless Assad is deterred, for both RT and AJE had raised the NFO for audiences who are not directly implicated in the unfolding events to be subjectively involved.

For translation and this study, this is linked to “incorporating the notion that critical valence influences public salience within cultural contexts” (Symeou et al. 2015, p.747). This comes in the form of voicing critics who “can play a distinct role in the process of salience transfer to the public” (Ibid.). For the current study, this can be applied to the experts, politicians, diplomats, scientists, and officers who were interviewed or quoted by RT or AJE. The same manner in which critics highlight aspects that would otherwise be unknown or underestimated, the experts and scientists featured in RT and AJE’s drew on issues of global concerns beyond Syria and Egypt to expand frames and, by extension, the narrative. This is because experts’ opinions might bring audience’s attention to dimensions of narratives that could contest the values in the existing narrative by reinterpreting them. This, in turn, can raise NFO for a particular aspect of reality after the values used in maintaining them were contested, including the previously stable aspects in a given culture, which is favourable to a given narrative or contest others. This ultimately impacts the meanings derived from the translations. For example, an expert in economics might bring to the public attention the effect the Syrian uprising may have on oil prices (RT). From narrative perspective, this is seen as the evolution of narratives from public to conceptual (disciplinary) narratives.

With the existence of different narratives and conflicts, both participants and news channels have different perspectives which are reflected in their decisions on which issues are more important and then airing them accordingly. Their NFO might differ depending on whose perspective the narratives had them seeing the unfolding events from. The translations, in turn, capture the issues that the patterns of constructing networked narratives had represented as more important. This sometimes comes in the form of ‘us’ and ‘them’ whereas ‘us’ is usually positively portrayed while ‘them’ is negative (Spiessens and Van Poucke, 2016, p.324). For example, this could include efforts such as labelling opposition as terrorists (them) or peaceful activists (us). This leads to emphasising the aspects outlined by the groups represented as (us) and degrading that which is outlined by the group labelled (them).

This is of importance to translations because in some cases, the narratives are elaborated within a limited scope of frames that restrict, maintain, or redirect the intended impact of

translations. The channel might focus on the humanitarian frame and, by extension, the channels create meanings of importance and relevance for the humanitarian aspect rather than the political or the economic, which might either be in line with or contested by the speech to be translated. Or, as Lycarião and Sampaio (2016, p.32) put it, “public agenda would react to the media agenda by incorporating its most pronounced issues”. This is usually investigated following a quantitative means of data collection and analysis, and while it hints at the public perception of a given issue, it tends to ignore the linguistic and contextual components of the narratives they are elaborated in and realised through creating different meanings. For example, it explains why meanings of importance are given to the humanitarian and social aspects in AJE coverage of Egypt’s uprising over the political aspect which aids in explaining the impact on translations but faces limitations to explain how the narrative that contains the humanitarian aspect was created or contested.

The purpose of investigating frames is not locating them or identifying them, but rather to have a better understanding of their role in impacting meanings or interpretations of translations and narratives. As Nelson et al. (1997, p.226) summarise:

Frames tell people how to weight the often conflicting considerations that enter into political deliberations. Frames may supply no new information about an issue, yet their influence on our opinions may be decisive through their effect on the perceived relevance of alternative considerations.

This highlights one of the reasons why this research has opted to investigate the coverage of two channels of two uprisings: a narrative can be better understood when its frames are compared to that of narrative guided by a different construction pattern. For example, narratives might circulate humanitarian, political, social, and economical aspects. Different narrative focus on different aspects that best serve its construction. The relation between narratives and frames can be summarised as a representation of a given story in a manner leading to a seemingly intended interpretation of an intended narrative (Baker, 2006). One of the tools earlier research focused on is investigating translations. Translations offer a relatively direct gateway to start from by considering the interpretation and the excerpt that was selected to be translated and the manner it was translated.

2.7 Research Questions

The research questions are based on addressing the following main issues. First, as this chapter shows, there is a tendency in the existing body of research to ignore the subject of processual meaning-making in translation as re-narration and mediation. This results in underestimating the factors contributing to narrative development for meanings derived from different frames and contexts. Second, much research is conducted on assessing media bias and the standards of objectivity, social media, and the impact of media. The issue of reconfiguring narrative dynamics by reinterpreting the values and beliefs embedded in them has received relatively less attention. With the integration of the first issue, this research intends to deconstruct the terms Arab Spring and Arab World. To do so, the study questions how meanings were challenged and constructed through reconfiguring the relations between participants and (re)identifying the audiences with a participant in the conflict. The questions have a number of sub-questions that guided the sampling process, detailed in the following chapter.

1. How were the Egyptian and Syrian uprisings' participants (re)positioned in relation to the events and themselves in AJE and RT narratives?

In general, the frames deal with how certain aspects of reality were given more prominence over others. In doing so, they give rise to issues that were previously underrepresented. These surfacing issues can change the dynamics of the narrative by reconfiguring the relation between the participants who subscribe to aspects that were given more/less prominence (Baker, 2006, p.132). Frames, therefore, explain how the narratives absorb or reject aspects of the event differently based on how their participants were represented and events linked to discourses. This could be expanded to include the translations of speeches. The participant who talks about the issues that other messages had portrayed to be important is situated at the centre of the narrative might be more identifiable. This promotes seeing the events from an intended participant perspective which affects the interpretations of the events and the translated speeches addressing the same aspects of the events. Accordingly, the following points will be considered:

What frames were used?

How were frames utilised?

Whose perspective do they support? and

Are the channels using the same frames for both Egypt and Syria?

RT and AJE's classification of participants, e.g. naming the opposition as terrorists, as opposed to peaceful activists or civilians respectively contextualise the event. This is because classifying the opposition as terrorists undermines aspects that the opposition's narrative need to be constructed including the right to protest. Since this research takes into account the formulation of narratives in the news coverage, the participants can be seen as characters. For Lombardo and Damiano (2012, p.416), "characters are the medium through which the story is conveyed to the audience. As such, they provide a powerful instrument of identification for the audience, leading to what Coleridge¹³ termed the 'suspension of disbelief', i.e. the immersive experience of the story world". In their coverage of the Syrian uprising, RT argued that an American-led strike will lead to "global financial damage" stating that oil prices are ascending to its highest level since 2011, threatening global reserves. In rising to \$150US per barrel, such a level could have a "disastrous impact on the already challenged global economy"¹⁴. Such speculation adds effect and new meaning to the translations.

2. How were translations and the intended effects impacted by the competition of narratives?

This question deals with the development of narratives. This is because different frames, patterns of construction, and plots directed the development of the uprisings narratives which resulted in interpretations and meanings that either aid preserving the status quo or contravene it.

How were news stories impacted by other news stories in thematic nature of the news coverage?

How did the channels represent the participants, including the speakers?

What translation strategies were utilised?

What factors distinguish the Syrian uprising from the Egyptian?

The noted differences in the cultural and social representation in RT and AJE's coverages of Syria and Egypt's uprisings motivated this initiative. This is because the narratives utilised values and beliefs embedded in the socio-cultural systems in their construction. These need to be accounted for in the process of re-contextualising them across linguistic and cultural barriers during the act of translation.

¹³ They (Ibid.) refer to Coleridge, S.T. (1817, 1985), *Biographia Literaria*. Princeton University Press.

¹⁴ RT 28-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35667>.

3. How were the narratives dynamics reconfigured through translation and cultural representation?

This question encompasses the efforts of the previous two and guides the current research in its synthetic approach discussed earlier and further explained in the following chapter. It attempts to reinforce three main theories it adopts by joining their merits to address the same coverages from narrative perspective of TS.

How did channels link separate stories to each other and (re)defined them using other stories in form on voicing experts or importing narratives?

How did the channels use media memory and self-reference in advancing their narratives?

What was excluded and what was included?

What impact does the participants' relation have on frames and narratives and vice versa?

This question deals with the tools utilised by RT and AJE to link earlier established (meta)narratives to the currently constructing narrative, including recalling past metanarratives and importing external narratives in the efforts to establish links to discourses that can lend them meanings. It questions the sphere of influence intertextuality had on the meanings being constructed and repositioning the participants as well as impacting the translations. For example, it sometimes came in the form of media memory, where past events were retold to restrict speculations or interpretation of the event and in other places; it came in the form of offering alternative interpretations to the values that the existing narrative utilises and rendered it resilient. Drawing on past stories to direct the interpretation of the unfolding stories has three levels of consideration. The first of which is the lexical level on issues, including labelling participants and events. Second, CDA considers the authorship and the purpose asking "why, at a given time, out of all possible things that could be said, only certain things were said" (Ball, 1990, p.3) which is linked to Hansen et al.'s (2010, p.155) observation on the intentional ordering of the construction of narrative. Third, there is Baker's (2006, p.21) notion of importing narratives, where she argues that "the retelling of past narratives is also a means of control. It socializes individuals into an established social and political order and encourages them to interpret present events in terms of sanctioned narratives of the past".

2.8 Concluding Remarks

From a theoretical perspective, this research intends to expand considerations offered by TS by borrowing approaches from frames and CDA to address its role in the processual meaning-making in news translation. Integrating the assumptions offered by framing in relation to the levels of uncertainty and degree of relevance to intended aspects of the events promotes certain interpretation on the expense of others. This plays a role in how the speeches are interpreted and meanings created in the process. The question of context in translation and the notion of translation as intercultural mediation and their link to how meanings are created in relation to the translated speeches during the Arab Spring from frames and CDA requires further research. This is to show how specific considerations of re-contextualisation from TS can maintain or contest a narrative when transferred across cultural and linguistic barriers through the manner of situating the transferred events in the TL socio-cultural system. For example, in the case of translating political metaphors, Bulut (2012, p.919) argues that political metaphors “may or may not lead to conflict depending on the translational decision taken”. In the case of the existence of two conflicting narratives, as this research shows, RT and AJE’s translations differ to fit the constructing narratives. The translations, therefore, provide examples to support the process of meaning-making that include strategies adopted in representing the speakers before translating their speeches. Similarly, Van Doorslaer (2012, p.1049) describes this issue using the term “journalator”, conflating journalist and translator to imply that translations are valuable tools utilised by journalists to construct or to support their networked narratives.

Since frames can either limit or expand audiences’ understanding of specific issues and that narratives change in subtle or radical ways depending on what they are exposed to (Baker, 2006, p.3), the manner of limiting or expanding it is discussed in light of frames in narratives because it provides theoretical explanation for the process of re-contextualisation. Narrative theory pieces together the group of produced stories after they underwent expansion or limitation process to analyse the broader narrative, while CDA and translations look at the episodes which are contained in it. The Arab Spring provides an opportunity to address the underestimated area of the interlingual dimension of global media events. Existing research on the Arab Spring is not limited to communication theories, translation, and media; however, this chapter sheds light on various ways earlier research had approached the Arab Spring and other theories from these perspectives for their relevance to the current study. It shows how this intends to

Chapter 2 The Arab Spring and Translation Studies: An Overview of Existing Literature

contribute to the growing interest in the fields of translating for news coverages and how it creates meanings. This includes the notion from TS of framing by labelling and its consequences for meanings and context which is defined as “any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, item or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative” (Baker, 2006, p.122).

Chapter 3 Methodological Procedures

3.1 Background to the Methodology

Narrative theory in TS recognises that established narratives tend to be resilient when faced by efforts of contesting them (Baker, 2007, p.167). Their resiliency, however, is not an inherent feature of all narratives. In TS, some narratives utilise specific takes on values and beliefs emerging from socio-cultural and religious aspects or facts from social or natural sciences that had allowed the existing narrative to be constructed and maintained for relatively extended periods. This notion corresponds with McCombs' (2014, p.51) observation on media of that "some attributes are more equal than other attributes. Some are more likely than others to be noticed and remembered". However, during translation and re-contextualisation, some of the values embedded in a narrative might be reinterpreted. Narratives of conflict and their sometimes disruptive nature may invoke new possibilities for reinterpretation, search for meaning and revalidation of existing frames of interpretation. This could introduce aspects previously ignored, which either results in reinforcing a given narrative or degrading it by reinterpreting the values and beliefs because "any narrative, from the story of the invasion of Iraq to the story of human evolution, circulates in many different versions" (Baker, 2006, p.20). In addition, the credibility of the voices narrating the events can be either enhanced or damaged depending on how they were represented, other participants classified, and their relation to the events and the other participants in the conflict.

The current research seeks to investigate news coverage and translations produced in times of conflict while considering social and political aspects that were narrated throughout the event. The literature review chapter showed various approaches addressing the topic of constructing such social and political 'realities' and shedding light on the present debate on how meanings are transformed and reshaped during translation. Addressing the central research questions is not an aim by itself. Rather, it is an attempt to offer an alternative approach for investigating networked narratives in times of conflict in general and the Arab Spring in particular to shed light on the multilingual aspect of such events, rather than ignoring the role of translation in mediating the events, intercultural mediation and meaning-making.

3.2 Study Design and Chapter Structure

This chapter is divided into three main levels of consideration, moving from general to specific, detailing the processes within each level and links it to the next. The first deals with the assumptions frames offer to the media event, because topics addressed/ignored in the translated speeches were represented as unimportant/important which impacts the way they are interpreted. The second level investigates how these frames are utilised by media and resulting in narratives guided by different patterns of construction and frames as this research shows from AJE and RT's coverages of Syria and Egypt's uprisings. This level adopts narrative theory to consider the construction of the conflicting narratives. This includes, but is not limited to, the use of translations as a tool and the role of the translator as an active agent joined by other active agents in the construction of social and political realities in the TL. The third level considers the separate episodes that when pieced together project a given narrative. To do so, it adopts CDA approach on the separate, but linked, episodes in the form of media stories to uncover their link and how were their meanings constructed. This is because this research draws on narrative theory and CDA's notions with regards to re-contextualisation and mediation. This is to address how the narratives dynamics were altered and the relations between participants reconfigured. To do so, accounting for re-contextualisation is critical, for context plays a significant role and the meanings are not confined to the language of the text itself. Texts impact each other particularly for the issue of beliefs and values that were utilised or contested in the narratives' construction. Therefore, it pieces texts together rather than looking at them in isolation.

The current study adopts a mainly qualitative method due to the type of texts and the variables that contribute to the meanings, which require interpretive process on the textual material, one that computerised analysis is unable to perform due to its reliance on linguistic materials and numerical data. In some instances, the parties have the same name across different channels; however, due to earlier stories that presented them differently or linked them to other participants, different connotations are attached to these names across different channels, as the figures towards the end of this chapter explain. Also, connotations can differ from one culture to another, as observed by Khawileh and Kuwaileh (2012, p.23) for terms such as "jihadi" and "martyr". They can also differ in the same culture of who is considered martyr due to the ongoing conflict. Alternatively, the difference can come in both connotations and the terms used to classify them, such as the opposition in Syria being presented as terrorists (RT) or peaceful activists (AJE). The

impact of classifying one group exceeds story that mentions them; in later stories, the representation of the government forces is influenced by the representation of the opposition forces and vice versa. The meaning changes when government forces open fire on peaceful activists compared to opening fire on terrorists, although the message might say government-led airstrike bombed the opposition in both channels. Ultimately, this creates an impact on the translation produced for officials' or opposition leaders' speeches talking about the bombardment, whereas they are either interpreted as airstrikes against civilians or terrorists.

Therefore, using quantitative methods will only be useful in limited contexts. This investigation uses quantitative method to highlight the types of frames used by each channel in aiding their narrative construction. It is limited because the study focuses on how frames contextualise the events. For example, though both channels may frame a political conflict from a humanitarian perspective, their meanings might differ due to the reported number of casualties: were the people killed peaceful activists or terrorists, killed by terrorists or government forces, and the interlinked meaning of whether security forces actions are justified. The quantitative approach then is limited to narrative level offering supportive argument to each channel in its distinct construction of reality rather than comparative analysis of the two channels. This approach requires deconstructing the terms of Arab Spring and Arab World, which existing literature on the Arab Spring, albeit extensive, has largely ignored. Existing literature approaches the Arab World as a single entity and, by extension, the Arab Spring as a single media event whereas this research distinguishes between Syria and Egypt's uprisings.

3.3 Case Study Selection

3.3.1 Egypt and Syria's Uprisings

The focus on the Arab Spring 2010-present in general and the uprisings in Syria and Egypt, in particular, are motivated by the following reasons. The Arab Spring events occurred in 19 out of 22 League of Arab States members (Arab League) and motivated unrests ranging between protests and militant actions in Asia, Europe, the Americas, and Africa, such as the 2011 UK anti-austerity protests and England riots of 2011; the 2011 Chinese pro-democracy protests; the 2012 Mexican Indignados Movement; the American 2011 Wisconsin protests; and Greece and Spain's 2011-12 protests (Gerbaudo, 2013, p.87). In 2015, Canadian researchers carried out a comparative analysis between the Arab Spring and youth protesting in Canada during 2012, adopting CDA on the news covering

both events (Gulliver and Herriot, 2015, p.206). However, the most notable uprisings took place in the Arab countries because they brought about major political and social changes which allowed investigating the role of reconfiguring the narratives dynamics and meanings. Of the most notable outcomes of the Arab Spring so far are the civil wars in two countries – Libya and Syria –, and the government being overthrown in four countries – Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Tunisia –, two of which the governments were overthrown twice – Egypt and Yemen. Consequently, the choice was narrowed down to a country where a civil war erupted and a country where the government was overthrown multiple times.

Egypt is the biggest Arab country in terms of population with 97,041,072¹⁵ people, over twice as many as the second most populated Arab country, Algeria, with 40,969,443¹⁶. Egypt's population counts for almost one-quarter of the combined population of 22 countries in the Arab League. It is also the most politically influential in the Arab World. It founded the Arab League and had been hosting its HQ since its formation in Cairo on March 22nd 1945. Since its formation, the Arab League had eight Secretary-Generals, seven of them being Egyptians. The uprising in Egypt had also received significant international attention in media, as Guzman (2016, p.81) notes: “the event received more coverage in the United States than any other international news story from 2007 to early 2011”. Also, research on the Arab Spring media representation needs to take into consideration the Muslim Brotherhood as an influential participant. The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928, six years following the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Although it is banned in most Arab countries including Egypt, it played a major role in the uprising and managed to seize power in Egypt following the fall of Mubarak's government but did not remain in power for long as the Egyptian military overthrew Mohamed Morsi in a coup on July 3rd 2013. This adds to the significance of the Egyptian uprising in comparison to other Arab Spring uprisings. Al-Zo'by and Başkan (2015, p.403) state:

In the first half of the 20th century, Egypt enjoyed an unchallenged status as the main center for both religious and modern education in the Arab world not only attracting students from, but also exporting professionals to other Arab countries.

¹⁵ CIA World Factbook (Egypt): July 2017 estimate, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html>.

¹⁶ CIA World Factbook (Algeria): July 2017 estimate, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ag.html>.

Such a status greatly facilitated the expansion of the Egyptian-origin Muslim Brotherhood across other Arab countries.

On the other hand, the Muslim Brotherhood although appears in the representations of other uprisings such as in Jordan, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, is absent from the Syrian uprising. It has been banned in Syria since 1980, which was followed by Hama Massacre of 1982 with an estimated 5,000-25,000 people killed (Kahf, 2001, p.229), effectively removing the Muslim Brotherhood from Syria. The study then sought to examine an uprising that the Muslim Brotherhood did not play a major role in.

In addition to the difference stemming from the absence of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Syrian conflict was chosen because it had suffered the highest casualties with 470,000 killed as of February 2016, 6.1 million internally displaced and 4.8 million externally displaced¹⁷. The events of the Syrian conflict were also based on the use of chemical weapons against civilians, which if true, constitutes a war crime. Unlike Egypt's uprising, whose impact on other countries was relatively limited, the uprising in Syria had a global impact, which resulted in raising the level of NFO. This mainly came in three forms: the numerous calls for UN intervention, which, if not taken would encourage other dictators around the world to do the same; the refugee crisis; and the rise of the terrorist organisation ISIS, which had been carrying out attacks around the world. The Syrian uprising had also shown political conflict and proxy war between the regional powers of Iran and Saudi Arabia who supported the government and the opposition respectively (Berti and Guzansky, 2014, pp.26-27). For narratives, this meant the injection of foreign voices narrating the events from their perspectives along with the external narratives they import.

Since the narrative account in TS recognises that narratives are populated with participants (Baker, 2006), the manner of representing the speakers and (re)contextualising their speeches affect the meaning-making process as an important prior step that precedes translation. The study therefore chose the translations of two key speeches and the representation of the third of Mubarak's speeches; first, second, and third weeks. The latter marked the uprising's end and the first voiced the first official response to the uprising making them important turns in the events with significant impact on other texts in the communication. In between, the second speech came as a response to the uprising gaining momentum and violence committed in the second week.

¹⁷ Human rights report as of February 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/syria>.

Due to the presence of conflicting accounts that elaborate networked narratives following different frames, speeches voicing opposing participants are helpful in tracing narratives construction for they highlight different aspects of reality and underrepresent others such as political awareness or economic ignorance on the part of protesters. For Syria, the study considered the translations of two officials and two opposition leaders due to RT and AJE's decision not to air Assad's speeches. The speeches selected were the first to be aired by RT and AJE in response to news on weaponised chemical agents attack. A speech from officials and another from the opposition leadership were aired by RT and AJE respectively following Al Arabiya breaking the news. Similarly, the two speeches that followed the UN investigation team report of finding traces of chemical weapons.

3.3.2 AJE and RT News Channels

The previous chapter justified the choice of televised news over other sources of media. This section explains why the Qatari state-funded AJE and the Russian state-owned RT were selected. Due to the controversy that surrounds it, existing research on the focused channels shows that Al-Jazeera has been relatively more investigated, particularly by scholars researching frames in comparison to other channels covering the Arab Spring. This trend remained the same before and during the Arab Spring uprisings. Al-Jazeera "was founded in 1996 under the auspices of the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.53), but it gained wider international audience in 2001 "with its exclusive coverage of the war in Afghanistan" (Ibid., p.54). Al Jazeera's coverage prompted harsh criticism because unlike its counterparts, their coverage included airing Bin Laden videotapes (Ibid.). This, in turn, seems to have promoted much research and debate among scholars from media, communication, and politics on issues including frames, bias, and standards of objectivity. This is due to a general feeling of giving voice to a participant grants them a platform that allows them to narrate events from their perspective rather than being othered.

However, according to Johnson and Fahmy (2010), Al-Jazeera holds an extremely high rank for credibility, surpassing that of CNN and BBC. Similar observations were made for Arab viewers before and during the events. According to Miles (2005, p.277), "an Arab survey covering several countries, carried out by the UAE's University of Sharjah, found Al-Jazeera the most credible out of all the Arab news channels during the war"¹⁸.

¹⁸ In this quote, Miles refers to the second Gulf War. He also made a similar observation for the earlier war in Afghanistan (Miles, 2005, pp.277-278).

During the Arab Spring, Al Jazeera continued to be seen by Arab audiences as the most credible source of information and it enjoyed the highest rates of viewers (Bosio, 2013, p.335). In June 2013, IPSOS and SIGMA research agencies published results stating that Al Jazeera is “the most-watched news channel across the Middle East and North Africa” and that it “has more viewership than all other pan-Arab news channels combined” (Al Jazeera, 2013). Furthermore, from TS perspective, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, p.54) stated “like CNN, Al-Jazeera reaches out to global audiences. Both channels have found a niche in mobile, diasporic audiences which go beyond traditional geographical boundaries and identify a new dimension of the global”. Reaching for global audiences highlights the role of translation and re-contextualisation in its coverage.

RT and AJE were chosen not only because they are the most viewed channels in the Middle East, but also their broadcasts show the most distinction from each other. The significance of AJE is usually highlighted by two main factors. First, according to Seib (2012, p.1), to whom the term ‘Al Jazeera effect’ is usually attributed, the Arab Spring

was happening on home territory, and the channel had the expertise and the reportorial staff on the ground at levels its competitors could not match. For English speakers around the world, AJE was the indispensable, go-to source of information about what was happening in the streets of Tunis, Cairo, Sanaa, and elsewhere in the suddenly rebellious region.

Second, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, p.53), who focused on news translation, argue that in the context of Western media dominance being challenged “with the appearance of non-Western players, which have recently acquired a new significance in the global media field. The most important of these is Al-Jazeera”.

Al-Jazeera initiated a revolution in the Arab World by breaking with regional tradition that had subordinated the media to the government and by introducing new democratic practices in broadcasting (Ibid.).

Therefore, since this research intends to uncover the processes that lead to creating different meanings through re-contextualising and translating the events based on how earlier texts had represented the speakers; narrated the events from different perspectives; reframed the uprisings; re-contextualised the events across cultural and linguistic boundaries; and repositioned the audience in relation to speakers; channels that project narratives guided by different patterns of construction are essential. It facilitates standing on the steps taken to create meanings such as the considerations of what was omitted

which otherwise would not be known. Also, RT states that it “acquaints international audiences with a Russian viewpoint on major global events”¹⁹ while for AJE, it provides “voice for the voiceless” (Seib, 2012, p.1). This included giving voice to Bin Laden through airing his tapes as well as other extremist groups and terrorist organisations (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.54).

3.4 Data Collection and Sampling

The original method the research was based on for data collection and sampling was for using the databases of Media Monitoring System (MMS), which includes web monitoring system (WMS) and Broadcasts Monitoring System (BMS) hosted at Texas A&M University and available in five languages, including Arabic and English, supported by computer-aided translation (CAT). These projects started recording televised coverage and social media feeds one week before the inception of the Arab Spring, which made them advantageous for this research. They included records of 20 million social media inputs, including Twitter and Facebook. Thus, it was later renamed and became known as the Arab Spring Archive. With the help of the supervisory team, access was granted in early stages of research and the agreements signed and further information are available in Appendix A. However, six months into the research, in April 2015, MMS databases were lost for an unidentified reason. Texas A&M University was unable to isolate the problem and the databases remained unrectified. The research then sought alternatives in various places including Department of Media Studies at Stockholm University, which stated that due to copyrights regulations, they are accessible only by their departments’ staff and students, while copies were not permitted. The searching process then looked at Cairo University, Egypt which offered access to their collection of news coverage in newspapers and 858-An Archive of Resistance (Appendix C). Over the following few months, attempts to contact Al Jazeera research centre-Qatar, RT, and AUC were undertaken before this research decided to use the sound and moving image databases held at the British Library. The database is accessible for registered readers inside the rare collection section, whereas taking stills, transcripts, and videos is not permitted due to copyrights restrictions (Appendix B).

In using the British Library databases, the research focuses on the period of January 25th-February 11th 2011 for the coverage of RT and AJE for the Egyptian uprising, sometimes referred to as January 25th Revolution, marking its beginning to the step down

¹⁹ RT website, <https://www.rt.com/about-us/>.

of the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, on February 11th 2011. It also focuses on the period of August 21st-September 10th 2013 of the Syrian uprising for the coverage of the alleged chemical attack which became a global media event resulting on numerous UN calls for sanctions. The selected periods included airing translations of speeches and statements from both officials and opposition leaders. The sampling included the reports on the chemical weapons attack, speeches and the reports analysing the speeches and government response.

The messages in the reports are quoted in the following two chapters in illustrating how the narratives were constructed and contested. The footnotes provide the date and the channel that aired them since, in many cases, the dates are necessary as the messages are of thematic nature and therefore their timing holds part of the meaning, as argued under features of narrativity in later sections. The Sounds and Moving Images Archive hosted at the British Library offers the recorded coverages of several channels including AJE and RT. It provided the needed material to carry out this research and others focusing on televised news coverage. However, due to copyright restrictions, the research opted to rely on how the news channels managed to construct their narratives by utilising the use of language. Language in this sense is not an abstract system, but rather a form of social communication where the meanings are not confined within isolated texts, as issues such as contextualising, the (re)ordering, classification, relations, and others influence meaning (Weedon, 1987, p.41).

The sampling process did not only focus on what is usually considered to be prime audience viewing time; it considered all that was recorded by the British Library during the periods this research focuses on. This included interviews, interaction with social media feeds, reports of past events and analysis. This is because they represent different tools narratives utilise to import, recall, reconceptualise and construct disciplinary and metanarratives through giving voice to experts, officials, and witnesses, who emphasise different aspects of the conflict. Second, as in the nature of such events, the unfolding events can have relatively sudden shifts that are aired accordingly. Third, the reports' purposes varied, some reports aimed to reinterpret the events, others to redefine the participants and some to provide context and background information. The sampling process isolated the reports based on bulletins and headlines on daily basis to trace back narratives for Syria and Egypt coverages. The figures towards the end of this chapter and the appendixes provide more details on how the texts were isolated and classified into events, participants, and hearers. The recorded broadcasts varied in length and times,

sometimes two or three 3-8h broadcasts per day approximately 83h for 20 days for AJE on Syria's uprising coverage and 51h for RT, averaging 4h,15m~ and 3h~ respectively.

CDA, narrative account of translation, and framing analysis agree on that what was omitted, included, and added are equally important, for they both can lead to the reinterpretation of the events and translations. One way to assess these aspects, which themselves encompass sets of processes, is to consider the broadcasts of another channel that had followed different interpretation of reality and positioned participants accordingly. This is because channels include what is deemed favourable to the narrative they intend to construct, while excluding that which is not (Fairclough, 2003, p.53). It will be difficult to assess what was excluded from coverage because the flow of information is usually limited in times of conflict. Without considering the representation of other channels, a question will be raised on the possibility of excluding a specific event because another simultaneous event is deemed more significant. For example, in RT's coverage, the participants in the clashes at the ancient village and the significance of Ma'loula (Syria) were specified saying in "Syrian government forces are now battling to clear Al Qaeda-linked rebels from the ancient Christian village of Ma'loula"²⁰. The extensive coverage continued till the village was cleared from rebels two days later. However, it appeared only in AJE's ticker as 'clashes near Ma'loula'. The following sections show how simultaneously investigating two channels provides the means to consider what was omitted and what otherwise would not normally be known. Throughout this chapter, the incident at Ma'loula village, the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), and media memory are used to exemplify the adopted method. This chapter further explains the methods used in sampling to retrieve and codify data obtained from the consulted databases. Towards the end of this chapter, an explanation of the features of narrativity and assessments that are essential to the process in the figures presented.

3.5 Narrative Analysis and Translation Studies

The study adopts methods of framing analysis and considerations of audience-making to offer explanations of how certain views are legitimised while others are devalued, and how particular groups are included or excluded (Herbst and Beniger, 1994, p.95). As later chapters show, political events can be situated in economic or social/religious frames, which results in extending and developing narratives through highlighting the

²⁰ RT 08-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/36094>.

significance of the event and consequences reaching other discourses. Frames in this sense offer the explanation of how certain issues are given more prominence over others, and how this is linked to the representation of a participant or event, including the speakers and their speeches. For example, this research considers the role of the manner of representation in the narratives elaborated and meanings created based on (re)positioning the participants in relation to events or each other. Therefore, the incident at Ma'loula is portrayed in RT's narrative as an issue of great importance for it hypothesises the rise of extremism. However, in the meanings created by AJE, this might not be as such due to the manner of its representation as a marginal subject and excluding the significance of this village. This, in turn, will be reflected in the intended effect of translations addressing this issue.

As outlined by Herbst and Beniger's (1994, p.95) notion on legitimising or devaluing opinions, the study observed that they came in both lexical and narrative levels. For example, on lexical and sentence level, it constituted labelling participants as terrorists or activists. The method considers labelling as means to undermining or supporting participants or perspectives which, in turn, impacts the aspects of reality these participants intended to highlight. On a narrative level, this came in the form of reframing and re-contextualising the events which included importing external narratives, voicing experts and recalling past narratives that lend meanings to the events. The study investigates these efforts and attaches them to reconfiguring the dynamics of a narrative. The method needed to consider conflicting accounts because such efforts sometimes rely on values and beliefs embedded in the narratives, contesting them is equally important to how the event was translated and therefore inattention to it would result in ignoring an important step in the mediation process. The example of the village shows that AJE's messages were restricted by omitting this incident and therefore the question is not how they were interpreted it, but rather how would omitting this incident impact the translations.

Narrative and narrativity dimensions come as a later step that follows the participants' repositioning through classifications and representations. Because repositioning participants either reconfigures or reinforces the existing narrative dynamics (Baker, 2006). For TS, this means how the events were re-contextualised when situated in the TL, for much of the mediation took place when the events were transferred across linguistic and cultural barriers. The method opted to classify the processes into their relation to disciplinary narratives and metanarratives as discussed below under features

of narrativity. Following this method shows the steps of how a given story is (re)framed and situated in different media narratives through a process of giving prominence to specified aspects of an event. For RT, it situates events within government's, as participant, frames allowing it be centralised in the narrative. To do so, RT needed to reinforce the existing narrative's dynamics by emphasising the values and beliefs that were utilised in constructing it: the value of suppressing extremism and terrorism.

The following level on narrativity could relate to promoting such narrative, but it is more directly concerned with contesting its dynamics and replacing it with an alternative interpretation of reality. The method considers several efforts most notably of which is highlighting aspects that existing narratives' dynamics had ignored or underrepresented, as was the case observed in AJE's coverages and translations. For example, the Muslim Brotherhood is a primary participant in Egyptian uprising for both channels, but represented differently. This moved from the decision to mention the Brotherhood, classifying it as banned group for its extreme views (RT), or as a movement seeking democracy (AJE) , and hypothesising what will they bring to Egypt: chaos (RT) or stability (AJE). RT's messages, at least in comparison to AJE's representation, is unfavourable to the banned extremist organisation that might bring chaos to Egypt, allowing the pattern to be maintained. By signalling detachment from the Brotherhood, RT's messages distance the Brotherhood allowing their voices to be given less prominence. This ultimately gives bigger platform for the government perspective allowing it to be given prominence and preserve the translations' intended effect. It has been discussed how (re)classifying participants can reconfigure the narrative dynamics. The method then needs to address how the channels representations redefined events and participants because narratives tend to be resilient as discussed earlier. Apart from offering possible alternative reinterpretations, narratives relate to providing background information that allow passing evaluations and predictions. Therefore, the method links frames to the role of intertextuality, whereas media messages are impacted by other media messages, translations and speeches included.

3.6 Translation and Opposition: Conflict and Narrativity

The method investigates the role of the inconsistencies that had surfaced through voicing experts and importing external or past narratives in the competition in developing narratives. This is for the observed patterns in narrative construction circulate the race of attaching meanings of prominence to certain events which reframe and re-contextualise

events. The steps channels followed to support their narratives and perspectives included giving voice to experts or airing messages that undermine voices or interpretations that contradict their own. In her investigation, Baker (2006, p.25) says in the “elaborate cycles of dominance and contestation of dominance and the complex interplay between power and resistance, some form of translation is almost always present”. Since translation, as seen in this thesis, gives the chance to challenge or support a given narrative by transferring it to a different context, the news coverage will be even more prevalent in doing so. This is because the news coverage will include translations as well as other means to support or challenge this translation, visuals and experts’ opinions included.

Adopting a narrative account of translation offers an opportunity to observe the meanings made during the translation process and attaching them to the senses made in other stories as well as the following step of situating them in the TL socio-cultural system. This is motivated by the thematic nature of RT and AJE’s coverage for both Egypt and Syria’s uprisings. The objective of Baker’s approach for translations is summarised as narratives aiming “to supplement, a strand of narrative emerging primarily from psychology and social and communication theory, the crucial idea of which is that narratives do not merely present, but constitute, the world” (Harding, 2012, p.287). The method this research intends to go by attempts to further develop the relevance of narratives to translations as well as their relativity to CDA and frames when approached as a form of intercultural mediation.

3.6.1 Translations as Intercultural Mediation

Narrative theory from TS as adopted in this study does not isolate the produced translations from other stories but rather links them to the larger narratives in which they are (re)situated. The method does not rely on translations tests paradigms of back-translations, bilingual or word-for-word to test the choice of equivalence for it goes beyond linguistic concerns, the method is more related to sense-for-sense and beyond to considerations of meanings derived, impacted, restricted or redirected from intertextuality, contexts and re-contextualisation, wherein the previous chapter showed further research is needed due to the lack of research on context in TS. Therefore, back-translation, bilingual or word-for-word testing paradigms would not be suitable due to their heavy reliance on the text and linguistics whereas sense-for-sense and the study’s focus on context-for-context require looking beyond the texts to the overarching narratives they are resituated within. News outlets can support or refute speeches by

utilising various techniques such as giving voice to experts who provide evidence in support or against, airing footage that aids their narrative, and re-contextualising the speech. From relevance theory in TS, as argued by Pym (2014, p.35), and CDA, if the context is known, subjective interpretations will follow because language users do not communicate in language alone, instead “by the relation between language and context”. The method then needs to address the question of how are the stories (re)contextualised and what sources were used in its intertextual dimension.

“Nothing has meaning ‘in isolation’. The problem is always what kind of context?”, asks Carbonell (1996, p.86). The method considers (re)contextualising the stories a step in the mediation process. This includes the stories that, followed airing translated speeches or preceded them and highlighted different aspects of the conflict. They usually came in the form of commentary or interpretations to what was mentioned in the speech. They were also impacted by (re)framing the topics that the speeches had focused on and representing the speakers. The method adopted uses these observations to stand on how narratives are empowered, degraded, or maintained when translated and transferred to the socio-cultural system of the TT. This is for some of their aspects might be reinterpreted due to historical, social, or political aspects in TL systems or the mediation process. Carbonell (1996, p.85) also says that “when the actual procedure of cultural transmission takes place, the linguistic, as well as the overall semiotic structures of the source (object) culture, are made to cohere in the light of the structures of the target (subject) culture. Rather than textual translation, a contextual translation takes place”.

The adopted approach to frames offers an explanation for certain aspects of reality to be seen more prominent than others. These elements, in turn, could either agree with the opposition or the government’s perspective. When Mubarak talks about the political situation in his speech, while the media had already created a meaning that the economic aspect is more prominent than the political situation, the implication that will be reached is that “Mubarak is out of touch with his people”, which AJE had indeed concluded in their commentary on his speech²¹. With different contexts and frames, events are either situated in different narratives or within the same narrative. In case of the latter, narratives evolve, whereas they are degraded if the empowered aspect reconfigures its dynamics . From this sense, the method agrees with the functionalist approach of translation particularly text-processing action which concerns “combining verbal and nonverbal

²¹ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

elements, situational clues and ‘hidden’ or presupposed information” (Nord, 2014, p.25). Consequently, “the source text is no longer the first and foremost criterion for the translator’s decisions; it is just one of the various sources of information used by the translator” (Ibid.). The different sources of information used are then looked at from CDA and frames perspective.

3.6.2 Piecing and Tracing Back Narratives

Since a narrative is not elaborated in a single instance, particularly disciplinary and metanarratives which require relatively extended periods (Baker, 2010, p.25) and that they would not gain acceptance without multiplicity of voices narrating them (Baker, 2006, p.30), the method considers how their meanings are elaborated over a stretch of episodes, whereas earlier and consequent stories impact the intended meanings. The method agrees that narratives are a “form not only of representing but of constituting reality” (Burner, 1991, p.5; cited in Baker, 2012, p.25). This follows that narratives evolve since they need more than one text to be elaborated and the method adopted in this research needs to trace back the narratives to stand on how were they constructed, and, by extension, the meaning created throughout their development including translating and re-contextualising them. In Baker’s (2012, p.25) words, “a given narrative, in the social and communication sense, is not necessarily traceable to one specific stretch of text but is more likely to underpin a whole range of texts and discourses without necessarily being fully or explicitly articulated in any one of them”. To classify the types of narratives, questions were asked on who are the presumed intended audience? What sources were used? How did media say what happened? And how did media narrate why is it happening? Such as, were the actions of protesters a response to police brutality or was the police brutality a response for protesters’ actions?

The method this research intends to follow agrees with the assumption narrative theory offers of narratives do not evolve on their own; they are created through a process of mediating and (re)contextualising that coherently follow intended patterns. Previously established metanarratives were utilised by RT and AJE in their construction of their current narratives. In this regard, Baker (2006, p.47) says:

The effect of invoking established meta-narratives, with their own specific histories, to promote new ones can never be predicted, because these histories can release different associations and details in the minds of one’s immediate audience

as well as the opponents that the evoked meta-narrative is meant to subdue or discredit.

The study therefore considers the possible narratives to be invoked based on what was recalled, then classifies them with regards to the themes underlying them as humanitarian or political. For example, by recalling the metanarrative of the 1980s of the Kurdish incidents in northern Iraq, AJE compares what Saddam Hussein did to the Kurds to what the Syrian government is doing to its citizens, potentially reviving narratives of genocide and possibly the holocaust. On the other hand, the recalling of the metanarratives of the coloured revolutions by RT saying that the uprisings in Egypt and Syria will only bring chaos and destruction could possibly revive the narratives of the American Civil War 1861-1865, the Chinese Civil War 1927-1947, or when expanded to the effects on world economy, it might revive narratives of recession, and political concerns of Russia-US relations to the narratives of the Cold War.

3.6.3 Narrativity: Features and Processes

Due to the complexity of how narratives work, the methodology separates this section into two parts based on the features of narrativity, then follow it with figures to detail the process. The first part addresses temporality, relationality, causal emplotment, and selective appropriation. The second section discusses particularity, genericness, normativeness, and narrative accrual. The method adopted to narrativity draws mainly on Somers and Gibson (1994) and Baker's (2006; 2014) approaches, whereas temporality is based on Baker and Hansen et al.'s (2010) approaches because "neither Somers and Gibson nor Burner discuss this feature in any detail" Baker (2006, p.51).

A) Temporality, Relationality, Causal Emplotment, and Selective Appropriation

The view on constructing meanings through (re)sequencing the elements of a narrative is shared by both TS and mass communication. For TS, temporality denotes "the elements of a narrative are always placed in *some* sequence, and that order in which they are placed, carries meaning" (Baker, 2006, pp.50-51, emphasis in original). Therefore, the events sometimes lose some of their chronological order for the thematic nature of a given narrative when it is (re)interpreted (Ibid., p.51). Same view is also shared by Hansen et al. (2010, p.155) – whereas the chain of events follows a sequence for "texts are seen as constructed; that is, the unfolding of a narrative is far from being accidental or natural,

rather, it is the result of information being manipulated, edited and released for specific narrative purpose”. The importance of this feature for this research’s methodology comes in stories that recalled past narratives in form of media memory, episodes that utilised feeds from social media in an attempt to reflect public perceptions, or episodes that were moved up and emphasised with their potential impact on translations. Retelling past narratives, giving voice to experts, and utilising social media feeds are possible at any time that serves a given narrative. In this regard, Baker (2006, p.55) says “temporality also means that everything we perceive, our narratives of the world, are history-laden (Somers and Gibson 1994: 44) and that history, in turn, is a function of narrativity”. This follows that temporality also highlights intertextuality as an important aspect of both narratives and CDA for they would not have been rearranged if their meanings were not impacted by other episodes. Baker (2006, p.54) says “temporality is not just about the past and the present but also, and crucially, about the future” (Baker, 2006, p.54).

The second feature is relationality, which means that “it is impossible for the human mind to make sense of isolated events or of a patchwork of events that are not constituted as a narrative”. The method this research adopts reinforces the link between temporality and relationality to stand on how the events were constituted in a narrative. This includes the previously mentioned example under frames section, where Guzman (2016, p.90) hypothesises “the use of ‘revolution’ draws a connection between the protesters’ actions and the United States’ own struggle for democracy”. This draws connection with the process of re-contextualisation as seen through both CDA and TS. Since this signals re-contextualisation of events and establishing links to other discourses to lend them meanings, the question the method asks is how stories were repositioned in relation to participants directly involved in the conflict. In this specific example, the answer is through classification of events and participants.

The third feature is causal emplotment concerned with responsibility. “While relationality means that every event has to be interpreted within a larger configuration of events, causal emplotment ‘gives significance to independent instances, and overrides their chronological or categorical order’” (Somers, 1997, p.82; cited in Baker, 2006, p.67). This follows that, while meaning of separate incidents might be shared, their joined meanings concerning one another might be the subject of disagreement or debate. For example, in relation to the broadcasts covering the Syrian government, one narrative will say the Syrian government bombarded certain areas as a response to the Syrian opposition attacks, while a different perspective will say the Syrian opposition attack came as a

response to the government's indiscriminate bombardment. The two narratives have the same information of attacks done by both parties; however, their meanings are different regarding who had provoked the attacks and whether it was a reaction or an act of aggression on the government side.

The fourth feature, selective appropriation, holds closer ties to framing where "some elements of experience are excluded and others are privileged" (Baker, 2006, p.71). The question to be addressed is how the selectivity in narratives was done and how does the method this research adopts addresses them. The research links this feature of narrativity to framing where the narrative or frame follow construction patterns that are based on giving prominence to specific issues on the expense of others favourable to the participant who shares the same views of what is more/less important. For Baker (2006, p.72),

it is not just a question of theme or central subject of the narrative then but also a question of our location in time and space, and our exposure to a particular set of public, conceptual and meta narratives that shape our sense of significance.

This follows that a prior step to what is selected or given prominence is the process of rec-contextualisation. A narrative cannot ignore certain aspects without a process of giving prominence to others that include situating favourable participants and events at the centre of a given narrative, because otherwise it will be difficult to promoted as objective which leads to the second half of narrativity features concerned with maintaining the pattern of construction to promote the intended interpretation of reality.

B) Particularity, Genericness, Normativeness, and Narrative Accrual

First, particularity from narratives' perspective, as this research sees it, refers to how places, events, and participants in a given narrative are identified in relation to one another and/or in relation to one of their aspects (Baker, 2006). Participants, in the existing narrative, are in configured relation whereas a narrative guided by different patterns needs to unsettle this relation to reconfigure its dynamics. The classification of participants does not only identify them but also other participants in the same narrative. Because meaning differs when a government mounts an airstrike on terrorists compared to civilians. To maintain such patterns and the frames they fall under, efforts ranging between emphasising certain aspects to deletions and additions are sometimes observed.

Second, genericness in narrative perspective refers to genres or the kinds of narrative such as drama, folktales, tragedies etc. Baker (2006, p.85) expanded the consideration of genericness to non-literary genres. For the nature of this research's focus, the method adopted focuses frames. The types this research is mainly concerned with are political and humanitarian frames for the study found they are correlated with challenging the existing narratives and maintaining them respectively in the Egyptian and Syrian uprisings. The frames are then needed to sustain the emphasis on either the opposition or the government's centrality to the narrative during the flow of subsequent media messages by coherently highlighting aspects of the conflicts accordingly. Consequently, this feature is linked to language and power from CDA perspective. Baker (2006, p.95) terms this as policing saying: "at various points in history and various parts of the world some genres have tended to be more 'policed' or tightly controlled than others, with higher levels of regimentation generally serving the interests of those in power". However, this research is not concerned with issues of ethics and censorship as much as with how this will affect the translations and the narratives they circulate within.

Third, normativeness, in general, refers to how a particular narrative gets its currency to be ultimately considered a story worth retelling and, by extension, promoted (Baker, 2006, p.98; Burner, 1991, p.15). This sometimes comes in the form of a consequent step to emphasising underrepresented aspects in the existing dynamics. Alternatively, normativeness could also be understood as the effort of legitimising a narrative following situating its most prominent aspects or voices at the centre of events and by doing so, messages that reconfigure participants relations with regards to the utilised values are highlighted. In the focused broadcasts, this came in the form of experts and officials adding their voices to narratives being constructed, as well as refuting the other voices narrating the event from different viewpoint. From this sense, this feature overlaps with the selective appropriation discussed earlier.

Lastly, narrative accrual, as this research's method sees it, is concerned with how narratives evolve by acquiring more information through the exposure to the subsequent new media messages and experts given voice. This is to be understood in light of how media messages are identified in relation to other subsequent media messages. For Baker (2006, p.101), it is a process of how "stories continually gather more detail, acquire more depth, and proliferate through the process of narrative accrual". From this sense, this feature can be seen as the sum of the efforts classified under the rest of the other seven features mentioned above. This is because a narrative can evolve, but since this method

sees it as a consequence of reshaping and transforming meanings, the narrative accrual is guided by different patterns of narrative construction. For example, it will not evolve to contradict what it had earlier suggested (selective appropriation), it will not voice opposing voices unless it is for the purpose of attempting to refute the contradicting voices (normativeness), and the appearance of subsequent media messages can be reordered (temporality).

The discussed features of narrativity “are not discrete; they inevitably overlap and are highly interdependent” (Baker, 2006, p.103). Many of their processes are linked and based on each other, such as the case between normativeness and selective appropriation, and narrative accrual to the rest of the features particularly in thematic nature as the case this study investigates. Therefore, this methodology chapter opts to discuss these features because the research’s question of how meanings are made. This needed to include not only how meanings are made in different modalities, but also how they are contextualised and situated in the TT socio-cultural system. One of the processes to be addressed in answering this question is how narrative construction is maintained when situated in different system, as their aspects and voices might differ from one culture to another, which might lead to degrading them from disciplinary to public narratives. For the method this research adopts, they do not just overlap with themselves, but also with considerations discussed under framing and CDA with what they offer of intertextuality, rec-contextualisation and using language as a form of social practice assumptions.

3.6.4 Frames in Narratives

The take Baker has on framing narratives relates to the combined efforts of editors, publishers, and translators (2006, p.105). For this research, the method adopted focuses on translators, reporters, journalists, and news channels as active agents. This is not to contradict Baker’s take, but to render it more specific to the current research objectives. The features discussed in the previous sections ultimately lead to the question of “how these features may be renegotiated to produce a politically [or humanitarian] charged narrative in the target context” (Ibid.) whereas the produced narratives aim to defend or restore the status quo or to challenge it through dissociation or association with the speaker (Ibid.). Aside from framing by labelling discussed by Baker, there are two considerations for frames from the narrative account in translations: ambiguity and space.

A) Ambiguity

From frames in narratives view, the approach to ambiguity correlates with NFO. The high relevance has been discussed earlier, and it is shown that it does not necessarily come naturally as it could come through engaging discourses and establishing links, importing narratives, or extending a narrative. Indeed, earlier research has noted Al-Jazeera's tendency to stretch the narratives, saying it is the most popular channel in the Middle East and "although predominantly regional in scope, the consequences of its reporting are truly global and the channel is reaching out to new international audiences" (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.54). The study findings assert this observation, as detailed in later chapters, through meanings of encouraging other dictators around the world to commit the same atrocities unless Assad is stopped.

For this study, the method expands this consideration to the role it plays in meaning-making through utilising doubt surrounding selected frames. The high relevance and high uncertainty are not just indicative of many public or disciplinary narratives circulating within the contexts of the uprisings, but also of the currency each enjoys. Baker (2006, p.107) points out "the same set of events can be framed in different ways to promote competing narratives, with important implications for different parties to the conflict; this often results in *frame ambiguity*" (emphasis in original). For example, in both the Syrian and the Egyptian uprisings, reinterpretations offer ways to reevaluate the events. They could lead to ambiguity in comparison to the existence of one interpretation dominating certain aspects of the conflicts, which are thus framed differently by different narratives circulating within the same context, as well as different contexts after the processes of re-contextualisation. For Goffman (1974, p.302), framing ambiguity is "the special doubt that arises over the definition of the situation" (cited in Baker, 2006, p.108). Public narratives may have the situation framed as a civil war, war on terrorism, uprising, youth movements, or unrests. One of the techniques contributing to the narrative evolvement is situating the event in a relatively unknown frame, causing doubt on defining the situation which could allow the evolving narratives to pass its evaluations, as was observed from RT's efforts in linking the uprisings to world economy and oil prices.

B) Space

"It is important to note that treating frames as an active and conscious strategy does not mean that it is not subject to various types of constraint or that the strategy is not restricted by the context in which it is exercised" (Baker, 2006, p.109). For this study, the method

investigates the process of reframing, for it is governed and restricted by various factors. Framing space holds close ties to normativeness feature. It follows that space from which participant re-narrate stories is allocated by frames of space (Baker, 2006, pp.107-108). Participants tend to focus on particular aspects of the event, i.e. humanitarian, economic, or political, in which case voicing them allows promoting such frames and interpretation of a given narrative. As Baker (2006, p.109) summarises:

Participants in any interaction play different roles (announcer, author, translator, prosecutor, lecturer, military officer, parent), engage in the interaction in different capacities (speaker, reader, primary addressee, overhearer, eavesdropper), and take different positions in relation to the event and other participants (supportive, critical, disinterested, indifferent, uninformed outsider, committed). The sum total of all these possibilities constitute what Goffman calls the frame space of a participant.

In this sense, frame space also correlates with the degree of centrality of given participants to narratives and selective appropriation where if the participants had, for example, conflicting arguments or perhaps re-evaluated their position, their new views might be omitted as they are no longer in line with the intended constructing narrative. However, in the coverages of both Syria and Egypt, there are voices that had to be aired by both channels, such as those of Mubarak and ElBaradei. The method this research adopts in addressing such situation is that frame space can also be given by resituating the participants through interpretations, speculations, and attempts to refute as well as the manner of representing them. This results in placing the speakers in different capacities which impacts their translations. This, in turn, reverts the speaker to the frame space where his speeches fit the narrative as the new meanings that are attached to it indicate he is either exaggerating, being deceitful, is (un)trustworthy or an (un)informed outsider based on where the speaker is situated in relation to the represented events.

3.6.5 Narratives' Assessments

This study draws on Baker's (2010, pp.28-29) narratives testing paradigms as it allows further analysis of narratives and their construction. Many of the approaches assessing translations' power of influence are based on Fisher and Venuti's takes, who say, "translation wields enormous power in the construction of national identities for foreign cultures and hence can play a role in racial and ethnic conflicts and geopolitical confrontations" (1993, p.36). The way in which translations can have such influence may

come in different forms. For this research, the focus is on the construction of narratives because the construction of national identity on the basis of utilising or reinterpreted values and beliefs will have to come in a form of narrative based on giving prominence to different frames.

A) Coherence

Baker (2010, p.28) says that “a narrative may be ‘tested’ in relation to three types of coherence: structural or argumentative; material; and characterological”. For this research, the material and characterological coherence are of direct relevance, while the structural is marginal. Structural coherence is marginal because the way this research approaches testing narratives is not to see how well they are constructed, but rather to examine the very process of constructing them. To clarify, the structural coherence “relates to internal consistency-whether or not the narratives reveals contradictions with itself” (Ibid.). It would be of more relevance to descriptive translation studies (DTS), especially for technical and audio-visual translation. In the case of media events, the situation can change in various ways as the events are unfolding. Therefore, testing narratives from a structural coherence perspective will not aid addressing the research main questions and would unnecessarily further complicate the analysis.

On the other hand, this research looks more closely at the material and characterological coherence. The “material coherence is a question of how a narrative relates to other narratives that cover the same issue and what we are familiar with” (Baker, 2010, p.29). The absence of certain stories which were deemed unfavourable to a constructing narrative is regarded as an effort to maintain material coherence on the narrative level. Therefore, it is seen from characterological coherence rather than structural coherence. Maintaining the material coherence is important not only to constructing a narrative but also to allow it to establish links to discourses coherently and eventually evolve to the status of a metanarrative. This can provide further explanation of omissions such as the village of Ma'loula, which was omitted from AJE's coverage but extensively covered by RT. Thus, Baker (2010, p.29) says “a narrative can be tested with respect to the ‘facts’ it might downplay or ignore, the counterarguments it chooses not to engage with, and so forth”.

Testing the characterological coherence also aids in understanding an important aspect of meaning-making, i.e. how are the voices represented. Baker (Ibid.) notes that the “characterological coherence assumes that the reliability of any narrative depends very

largely on the credibility of its main characters as well as the characters narrating it”. Based on this, this research’s methodology adopts characterological coherence testing to see how participants were classified, situated in relation to the centre of the narrative, and represented before they were voiced, or their speeches translated. For example, a group will have more credibility if it is classified as a group of peaceful activists (AJE) and will have no credibility if classified as a group of terrorists (RT). The impact of this classification reaches other participants who are fighting against them and ultimately the larger narrative. Baker (Ibid.) summarises this as:

Once we decide that a given person is trustworthy, honourable, courageous, and so on, we are prepared to ‘overlook and forgive many things: factual errors if not too dramatic, lapses in reasoning, and occasional discrepancies’ (Fisher, 1997, p.316; cited in Baker, 2006, p.29).

Much of this relies on how the speakers were represented and how other stories had resituated and contextualised their speeches. Baker’s notion correlates with CDA in the question of who is narrating what and how is it narrated?

B) Fidelity

The second narratives testing paradigm is the fidelity test. The method adopted in this thesis is not concerned with how accurate the media depiction of reality is; however, the fidelity test is adopted because it aids in addressing the primary question by asking questions in relation to how the narrative promote its values, how they represented facts, and how was the reasoning constructed. This is since the existing narratives dynamics had utilised values that rendered them resilient and the narrative that aims to unsettle this relation needs to reinterpret or resituate these same values. Baker (2010, p.29) summarises the fidelity test as:

Assessing (a) the elements of a narrative that may be regarded as its reasons (i.e., examining it largely from the perspective traditional logic: patterns of implicature and inference, representation of facts, etc.) and (b) the values that the narrative promotes.

The aim of the fidelity assessment for this research is similar to that of Baker’s; however, it is altered to fit the objectives of this research. For example, the broadcasts used forms of implication such as saying some protesters are violent; they acknowledge that there is violence, but there are also others who are not violent. Another perspective might say

most people are peacefully protesting. Though the two messages have the same meanings and can be translated similarly, the difference comes in the effect they had due to the emphasis. For Baker (Ibid.), “assessing the values explicitly or implicitly promoted by a narrative means asking what effects adhering to it would have on the world”.

For this research, the aim is to explore how disciplinary narratives interact with frames circulating public narratives. This became useful in attempting to provide a theoretical explanation for disciplinary narratives that emerged from issues of human rights, children education and wellbeing, democracy, religious minorities and others. In Baker’s (Ibid.) words, the “ability to judge narratives on the basis of their moral implications and the values they promote that ultimately guides human behaviour and allows communities to gather around a given narrative or set of narratives”. The implications narratives have will not be possible without meaning-making drawing attention to aspects that can reinterpret the values embedded in the narratives because otherwise, they will be difficult to contest. Since the messages are grouped within a given narrative, their meanings in relation to a speech that challenges the narrative they are gathering around will be influenced. The merit this assessment paradigm has goes beyond offering explanation as to why certain groups unite around certain set of narratives; it offers explanations of how the narratives were constructed as well as came to have their currency, which in turn sheds light on the sizable agency on the part of various actors (Baker, 2010, p.30), certainly media outlets and translators amongst the most notable of which.

Overall, the method this research intends to follow will ultimately address the question of how metanarratives come into being and how antecedent metanarratives contribute to examining patterns which influence the derived meanings and meaning-making process of a given conflict through (re)identifying participants, re-contextualising events, and reconfiguring narratives dynamics. For this reason and others, the four types of narratives needed to be considered to show how narratives maintain their level when translated and contextualised to evolve in the TT in order to investigate context-for-context translations. In this regard, Baker (2006, p.48) says that “narratives do not travel across linguistic and cultural boundaries, and certainly do not develop into global meta-narratives, without the direct involvement of translators and interpreters”. This research’s approach to the types of narratives includes the involvement of media outlets, which will also involve translations as well as other forms of communication. The elaborated narratives differ depending on what metanarrative was invoked because metanarratives contextualise the texts in the TL socio-cultural system. They will ultimately impact the manner in which

the participants are (re)situated in the narrative and their capacity in re-narrating its events. Baker (2006, pp.46-47) summarises this as “the way in which a longstanding, established meta-narrative may be used to lend weight and psychological salience to a developing public or meta-narrative”. Therefore, this take on narratives in TS provides a further theoretical explanation to how frames can give salience to specific issues over others leading to new meanings to be derived through establishing connections to certain issues that might not necessarily be of immediate relevance to the current uprising or to restrict viewing the uprising from the assessment guided or restricted by the imported or recalled past (meta)narratives.

3.7 Constructing Networked Narratives

The figures below are structured following Baker’s (2006; 2014) definitions of the interdependent and overlapping narrativity features, frames in narrative, narrative assessment and coherence in relation to labels, intertextuality, order of appearance and re-contextualisation of events. They detail the processes the method used to retrieve and explore the construction of humanitarian and politically charged narratives from the consulted databases and archives. They explain how meanings were derived from establishing links to discourses, the classification of participants and events, narratives evolved, and emphasis given to certain aspects of reality over others. This research built on their relevance to re-contextualisation from CDA perspective, intertextuality, and cognitive meanings as well as framing. Further information is available in Appendix D.

Based on Baker’s (2006) notions of translation as re-narration and narratives’ evolvments, the narratives in the diagrams below evolve from ontological to metanarratives going through public and disciplinary narratives. This process encompassed re-contextualisation, voicing experts, and utilising values or beliefs. Each step encompasses a set of intertwined, overlapping and highly dependent features of narrativity and narratives construction assessments. They are further explained under CDA and framing sections including considerations of overlexicalisation, classification of social actors, and representation of social actions (Hansen and Machin, 2018, pp.123-134).

Re-contextualised: Contextualisation in this diagram comes as consequence of framing. The framing had selected certain aspects and given them prominence, a process that included labelling, characterisation and classification of participants. The events are thus situated in different contexts. Being placed in different contexts follows re-

contextualisation which means they establish links between the host and the source contexts which results in grouping the public narratives and facilitate the construction of disciplinary narrative. The method in this study pays attention to rec-contextualisation for the lack in research addressing context and context-bound meanings and the research aim to move beyond sense-for-sense to context-for-context translation.

Voicing experts: Voicing experts allowed establishing links to discourses and other possibilities previously underrepresented that can lend meanings to the narratives and texts being constructed (Baker, 2006). This was accomplished by adding speculations, predictions, and interpretations. They can also import external narratives and recall past metanarratives to promote a particular interpretation on the expense of another. In doing so, the disciplinary narratives sit stage for metanarratives because they promote links to values and beliefs.

Values and beliefs: Utilising values and beliefs can give the needed currency to a specific disciplinary narrative to evolve to metanarrative (Ibid.). They can widen the scope of audiences and reinterpret or undermine the aspects existing in the contexts of the uprising or embedded in its narrative (Ibid.). In the examined texts, they also came in form of importing past narratives to lend meaning to the events.

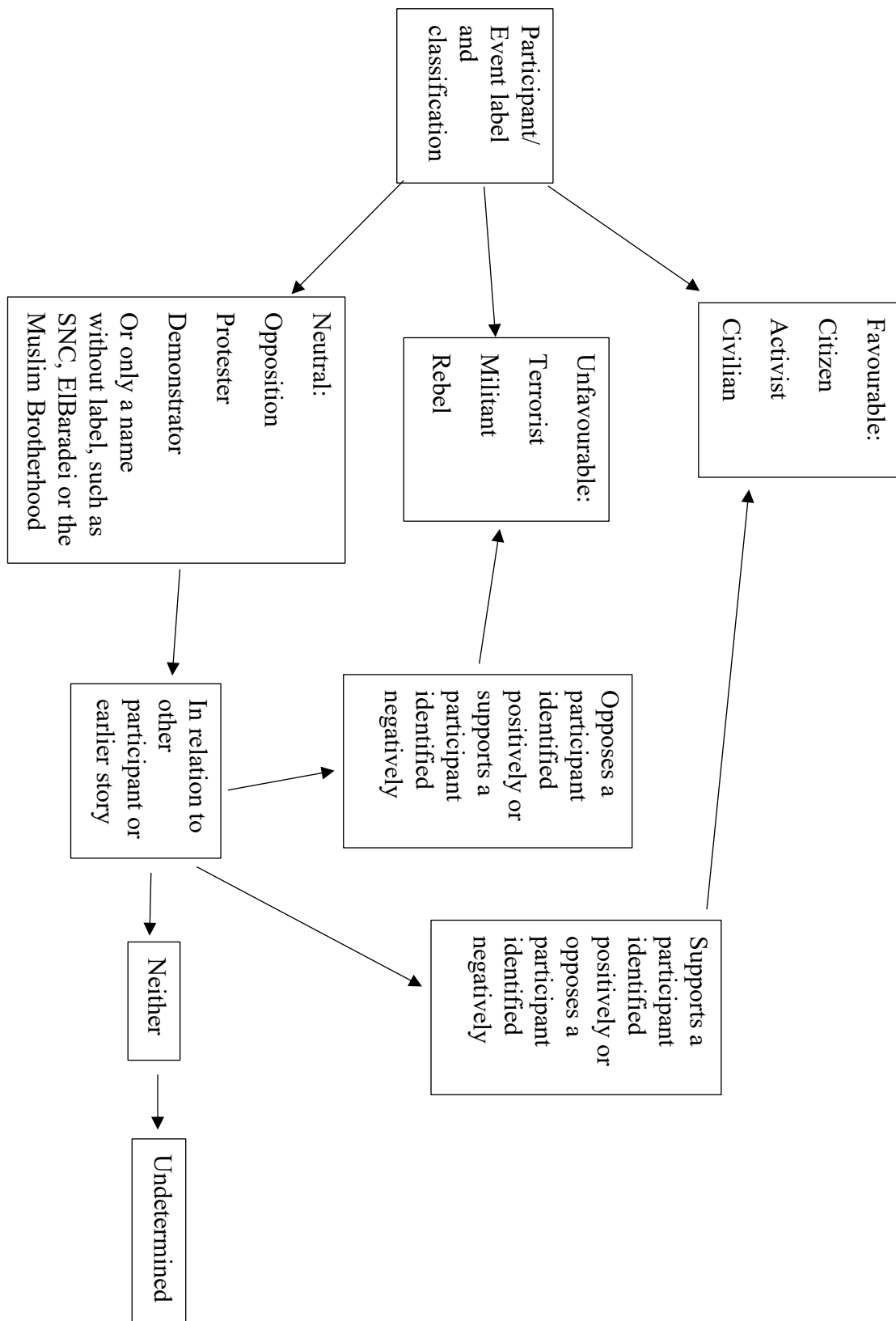
Figure 1 explains the narrative assessment in relation to classifying participants and their actions. This is linked to the narrative dynamics in the sense that participants are in a configured relationship whereas redefining one impacts others. This is to be understood in light of how media messages are identified in relation to other subsequent media messages.

Figure 2 explains the impact of highlighting certain aspects of reality on the expense of others.

The process of a narrative gaining currency and polyvocality is illustrated in **Figure 3**. It is concerned with how narratives evolve by acquiring more information through the exposure to the subsequent new messages, giving voice to experts, and re-contextualising events through establishing links to discourses that can lend them meanings. The process therefore illustrates three steps: re-contextualisation, voicing experts, and utilising values and beliefs. These steps represent the process of evolving from ontological narratives to metanarratives going through public and disciplinary narratives. Each of the steps led to different observations with regards to framing the events leading to situating events in humanitarian and political contexts.

Figure 4 summaries the impact constituted from altering the narratives' dynamics, presented in the other figures on meanings and translations. It is concerned with explaining how metanarratives gained its currency and its potential impact on meanings when recalled in form of past metanarrative to restrict or sanction currently unfolding events.

Figure 1: Baker's (2006) Narrative Assessment: Participants and Events Classification



Based on the favourable or unfavourable labels in the previous figures, the causal emplotment can be decided for civilians/citizens as not being to blame, unlike terrorists/militants/extremists. This either degrades or supports the aspects highlighted when the event is narrated from the viewpoint of terrorist or civilians.

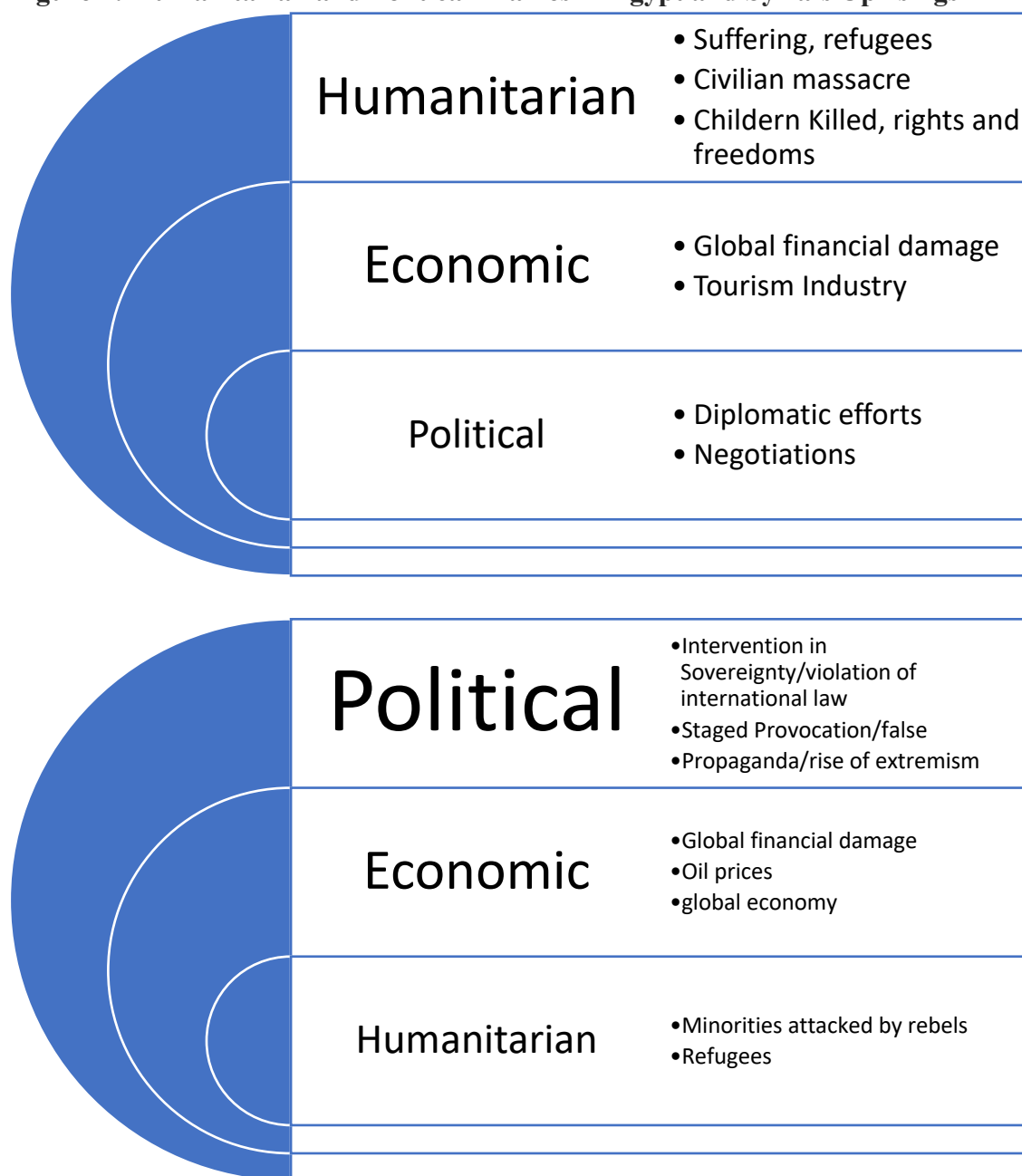
Favourable to dynamics of status quo

- uprising will lead to:
- more corruption
- negatively impact global economy
- extremism/terrorism
- sectarian conflict

Favourable to unsettle the existing dynamics

- the regime rigged the elections
- Police brutality/ military deployed chemical weapons
- Corruption
- poverty and unemployment

With these differences, the emphasis can be shifted because the labels determine much of the participants' credibility. If the opposition participants are classified as activists, then they are given a more prominent platform, which allows emphasising the aspects of reality they consider to be important, resulting in the following and vice versa when classified as terrorists. When they are classified as terrorists, it favours the government suppressing them which, in turn, promotes their opinion and justifies their 'brutality', leading to replacing the humanitarian narrative as the central theme and degrading it. The following illustrates how the two sides differ in their emphasis.

Figure 2: Humanitarian and Political Frames in Egypt and Syria's Uprisings

In order to reinterpret values and beliefs embedded or utilised in the conflicting narrative, events sometimes need to be contextualised in order to open avenues for possible reinterpretations when attached to different set of aspects of reality, as later chapters illustrate. For example, the narrative either needs to view the humanitarian aspect through the political situation or vice versa. Recontextualisation came in different forms. It included rearranging (temporality) to emphasise an aspect it needs to be situated in and labels. Together, these ends either impact the meanings the speakers intended to convey or reinforce them. The following explains how the observed narratives had evolved.

Figure 3: Baker’s (2006) narrative Development from Ontological to Metanarrative

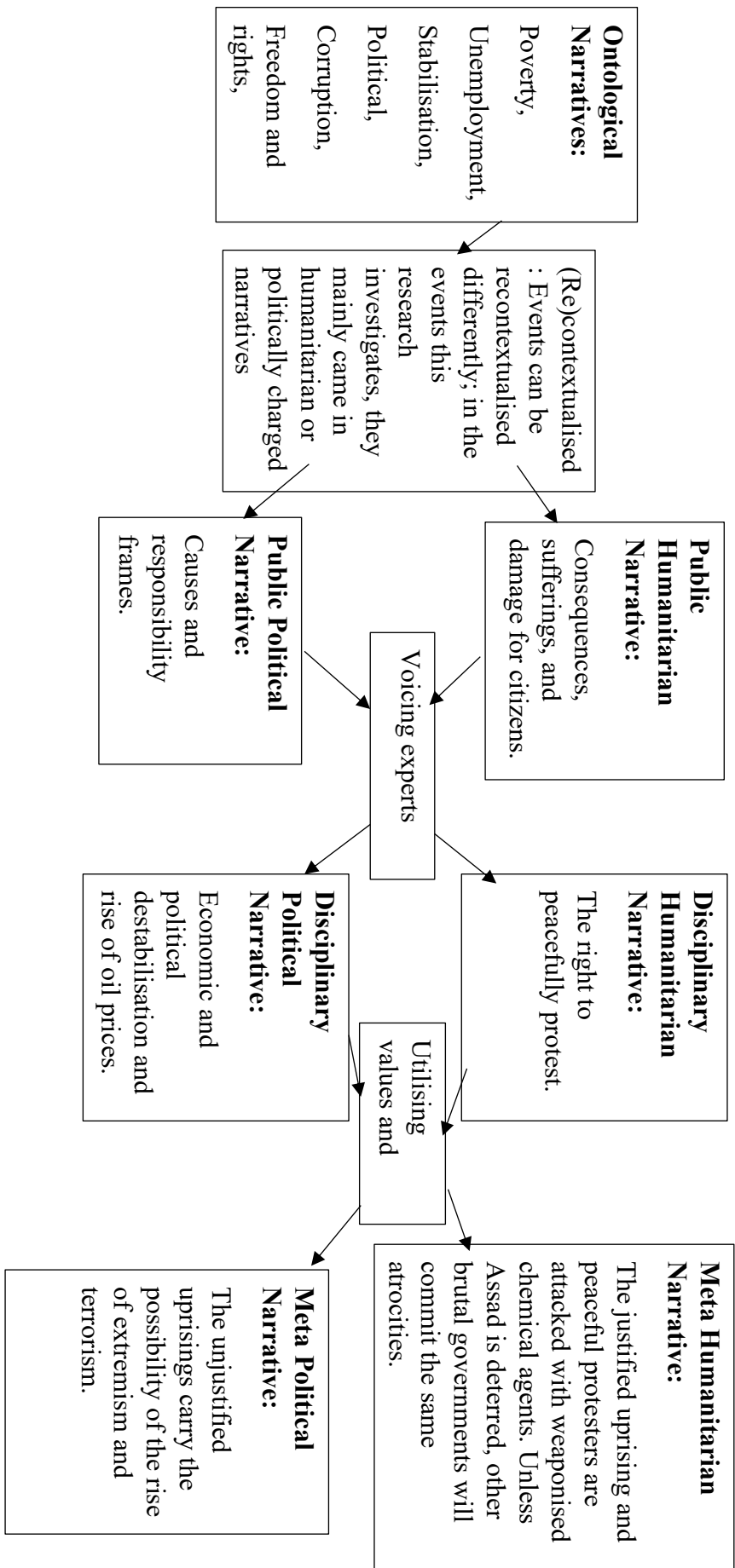
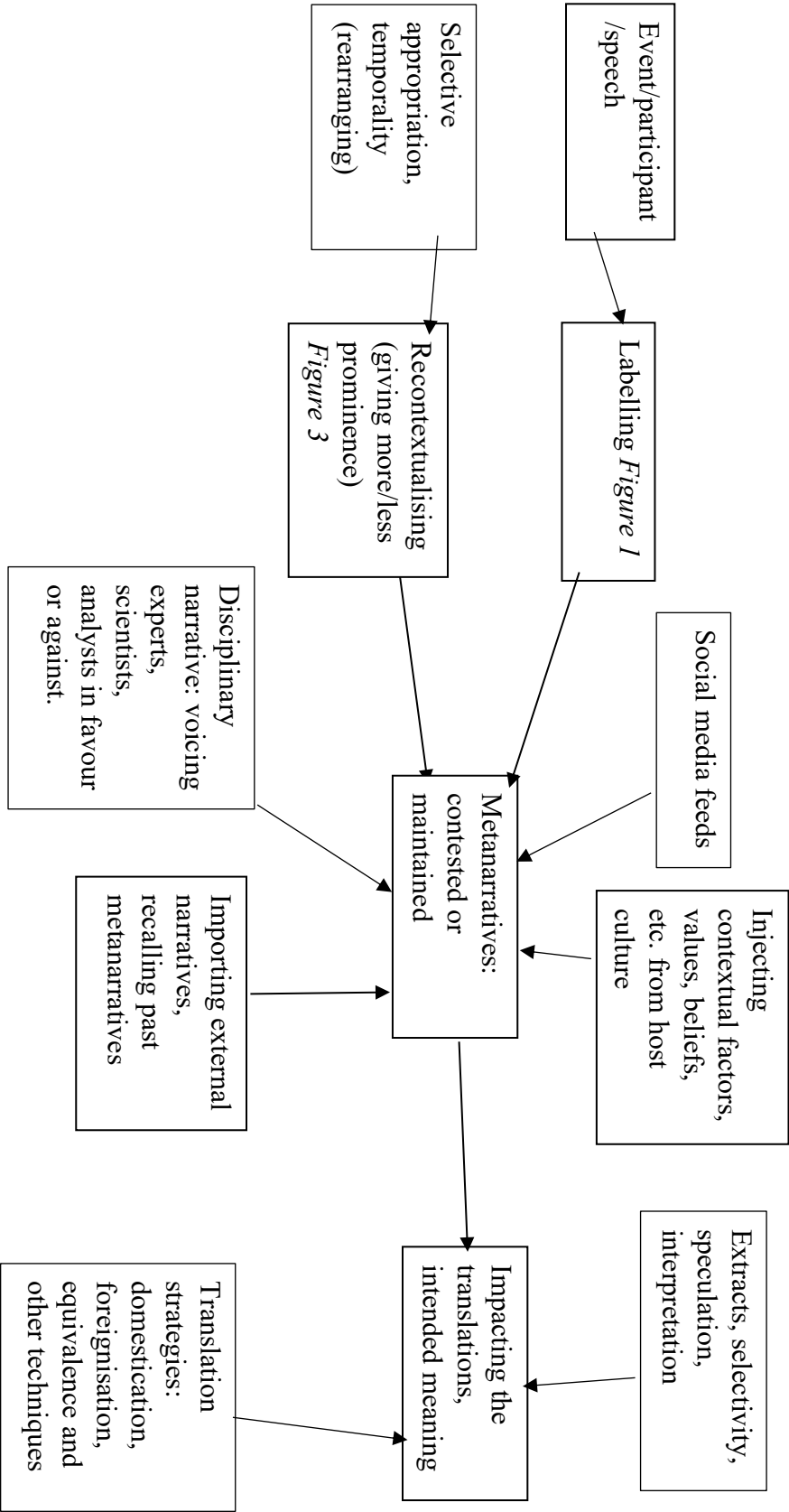


Figure 4: Baker’s (2006) Narrative Dynamics (Re)configuration and Translation



3.8 Story Level: Textual and Discursive Frameworks

The approach to intertextuality adopted in this study draws on Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.276) explanations on how meanings derived from a given discourse are linked to other earlier and/or subsequent discourses. Their approaches allow space for considering texts from their social and political contexts; they are in line with the narrative level and contribute to the analysis by examining the linguistic practices as a form of social practice. In exploring discourse practice's traces in a given text, Fairclough (1992, p.85) distinguishes two types: manifest and constitutive intertextuality.

The former is the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text and are manifestly marked or cued by features on the text, such as quotation marks, whereas the latter, which Fairclough also calls interdiscursivity, refers to the configuration of discourse conventions – how a discourse type is constituted through a combination of elements of orders of discourse (Praham, 2016, p.868).

For example, RT's response to the American officials' call for "humanitarian intervention" in Syria was that past American-led "humanitarian intervention turned into a humanitarian catastrophe on the ground"²². Fairclough (1992, p.63) argues that discourse is "a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation". Actions and representations include predictions or interpretations based on past events, as well as experts or officials' opinions that aid in re-contextualising the events in the disciplinary narratives. In a speech, a politician might emphasise the political aspect of a given event and an expert might draw on the political aspect to add speculations for economic aspects which re-contextualise the event. The TL's culture might not be as concerned with the political aspect leading to its discourses to be associated with the different highlighted aspects of reality. This follows the question of "how a text's choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants" (Fairclough, 2001, p.97) as the following sections explore and illustrate.

3.8.1 CDA and Re-contextualisation

The role of CDA comes when assessing the context from which RT and AJE represent events which impacts the meanings lend. Examples of this can be observed throughout coverages of the uprisings elaborated implicitly or explicitly in terms of who is

²² RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35706>.

responsible, evaluations, and consequences. This included reports of how much the protests will cost the countries, the predictions of the rise of militant groups, and the predictions of repeating the scenarios of the coloured revolutions. This is in line with Baker's (2007, p.167) 'Reframing Conflict in Translation', in which she says narratives "are stories that we come to subscribe to –believe in or at least contemplate as potentially valid – and that therefore shape our behaviour towards other people and the events in which we [or they] are embedded". The discourses from this sense are translated and imported, and they are concerned with describing the way different meanings are made when they accentuate a given context or when restricted by associated discourses. This follows that much of the meaning is impacted by the associated or dissociated discourses, a process that differs from one context to another.

CDA considers the wording in the story level, based on asking how reality is divided to select a fragment which suits a particular narrative or sets of narratives (Fairclough, 2001, p.96). Narratives are not only constructed on perceived beginnings but also projected ends (Baker, 2006). The projected ends followed questioning what provoked the uprising, i.e. political awareness or ignorance in economics, or seeking freedom and rights or to cause instability. This gave emphasis to questions of whether it will lead to chaos, destruction or the rise of extremism based on what was portrayed to be its motivation and the interlinked question of whether it is justified. Different focuses and evaluations or predictions resulted in different lexical choices in classifying participants, their demands and actions, and events. Since their connotations impact the derived meanings, analysis on lexical level is important for the subsequent frames and narratives are based on the aspects that the chosen context had highlighted. Hansen and Machin (2018, pp.121-123) term such attempts 'lexical analysis' and 'overlexicalisation' whereas the former is concerned with evaluative terms such as the different meanings derived from 'claimed' and 'told' as the following example from RT and AJE illustrate. In their response to breaking news on chemical weapons attack, using 'accuses'²³ or a source 'says'²⁴ is comparable to 'claimed' and 'told' for the latter connotes eyewitness. Overlexicalisation is concerned with the "abundance of particular words and their synonyms or where there is evidence of over-description" (Ibid., p.123). For example, AJE insisted that the uprising is planned by the 'young people'; 'young' does not add to

²³ RT 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

²⁴ AJE 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35431>.

the moral panic or frames of social fragmentation or anarchy unlike ‘youth’, which might indicate anti-social behaviour (Hansen and Machin, 2013, pp.115-116).

Establishing links with discourses sometimes comes as a step in re-contextualising an incident whereas translations import values and interpretations to the TL context causing transformations during the mediation process. Fairclough (2001, p.96) argues discourse “constitutes a particular way of dividing up some aspects of reality which is built upon a particular ideological representation of that reality. In this way, the structure of vocabulary is ideologically based”. Baker (2007, p.167) adds that “rather than ignoring the choices that do not fit into the repeated pattern, recognizing this interplay between dominance and resistance allows us to elaborate a more complex picture of the positioning of translators and to embed them in concrete political reality”. For example, the public or disciplinary narratives circulating within the context of the Syrian uprising indicate there are conflicting views on how the uprising is defined. When a channel opts to divide an aspect of reality by framing the conflict as a civil war, it selects an existing disciplinary narrative to be built on which invokes a set of ‘ideologically based’ vocabulary. In comparison to civil war, terms such as unrests or protests are understatement; such efforts are better understood in features of narrativity in TS because they underline processes of re-narration.

Due to their relevance to the proposed translation as re-narration, context and discourse, the method considers naming and reference, classification of social actors, representation of social actions, use of passivised verbs, and nominalisation (Hansen and Machin, 2018, pp.124-136). First, naming and reference relate to descriptions assigned to participants such as father hugs the bodies of his two dead daughters in which case AJE humanises him²⁵. Second, classification of social actors includes personalised or impersonalised, individuals or collectivised, specific or generic, nominalised or functionalised, anonymised, and aggregated (Ibid, pp.127-129). For example, personalising or impersonalising participants from the Egyptian uprising coverage included *ElBaradei* demands... or the *opposition* demands.... From the Syrian coverage, this included “Arab League say Assad is fully responsible”²⁶ in comparison to Saud Al Faisal say Assad is fully responsible. The impersonalised classification, as in the case of ‘Arab League’, is usually “used to give extra weight to a particular statement” (Ibid., p.127). Individuals or collectivised included *Ahmed Mahmud* was killed while filming the police beating

²⁵ AJE 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35489>.

²⁶ AJE 01-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35845>.

demonstrators in Tahrir Square²⁷ or *journalist* was shot and killed. Naming participants “individualise them and therefore allow us to associate with them as real people” (Ibid.). Narrative account uses such observation and relates them to humanitarian frames.

Specific or generic included *Ma'loula* was attacked or the *Christian village* was attacked. In the second case, the place “is represented as a type. This is used here to place the story in a particular news frame” (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.128). Using “the Christian village” draws on frames of minorities rights, religious extremism, and religious freedom. Nominalised or functionalised included *Mubarak* or *the Egyptian president* stated the protests are being infiltrated. The use of functionalisation reduces participants “to their role which may in fact be assigned by the writer” (Ibid.). This corresponds with, the discussed earlier, narrative account notion of frames of space in assigning the capacity from which a participant re-narrates an event (Baker, 2006, p.109). Anonymised included *locals* say they have seen no evidence of a chemical attack²⁸. Aggregated is concerned with quantifying participants and representing them through statistics whereas “this kind of employment of statistics can be used to give the impression of research, of scientific credibility, when in fact we are not told specific figures” (Hansen and Machin, p.129). This included “two months of bombings. *Thousands* of people are dead as a result, both Serbs and Kosovo Albanians”²⁹ and ElBaradei “knows everyone supports him and he is seen as a national figure. Egyptians are proud of him, and he was welcomed by *thousands*”³⁰.

Third, in considering the representation of social actions, the method is concerned with the ‘unspecified reactions’ and ‘abstractions’ (Ibid., p.134). For example, “army responds after Al-Qaeda linked rebels raid 5th-century Christian shrine”³¹. Unspecified reactions

are often used to conceal certain kinds of actions, in these cases what the ‘reaction’ or ‘response’ actually comprised. This can of course be used to gloss over the fact that very little was done at all, for example, where a politician says that their party has responded appropriately (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.134).

²⁷ AJE 07/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5399>.

²⁸ RT 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

²⁹ RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35706>.

³⁰ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

³¹ RT 08-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/36094>.

Abstractions are processes where “actions become generalised and non-specific and abstract away from the more specific micro-processes that make up actions” (Ibid.). For example, “the role of the national community must go beyond sympathy”³².

Fourth, passivised verbs from the discussed sense are related to the quality of suppression in that “who acts and who has responsibility can be obscured” (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.134). Certain participants are “only shown as active agents where they do something bad. Where they are associated with anything positive they are represented in a passive role where things are done for or against them” (Ibid.). Using passive verbs allows emphasising the object and omitting the agent such as “police stations have been raided” or museums have been looted³³. These categories correlate with the narrativity features of normativeness and selective appropriation. Fifth, “nominalisation [...] is the transformation of a process into a noun construction, creating further ambiguity” (Ibid., p.136). For example, in RT’s coverage, it first uses the passivised verb to omit the agent in reporting that the world economy took a beating then presented as a noun “the already challenged global economy”³⁴. “Nominalisations can be used to create ambiguity and thereby distract the reader” (Ibid., p.137) such as “we need to put an end to the killing of the Syrian people and forcing the Syrians to flee their country. An international investigation is quite important...”³⁵. ‘The killing of’ and ‘an international investigation’ are “processes that have been transformed to remove agency” (Ibid.). Finally, using modals such as may or must and adjectives such as possible or probable is “a characteristic of language that tells us about people’s commitments to what they say and also about their own sense of perceived status” (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.138). For example, “senior figure in the organisation told AJE Mubarak must indeed step down. It is the time for the military to intervene and save the country”³⁶. This correlates with the characterological coherence in TS in the sense of in what capacity a participant re-narrates events.

Fairclough’s definition of discourse attaches it to political objectives, and though this is not the main reason to use CDA in this research, it offers explanations to some processes and tools utilised in meaning-making, frames, and narrative construction from political import of narrativity as well as contesting narrative’s dynamics on story level.

³² AJE 24-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35523>.

³³ RT 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5164>.

³⁴ RT 28-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35667>.

³⁵ AJE 24-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35523>.

³⁶ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

This is because these categories “help us think about the way that one text represent participants” (Ibid.). This research also pursued an approach that links CDA to TS to offer explanations of individual stories. In general, this approach considers translation as “an act of intercultural communication [...] where the translation strategy is decided by the purpose of the translation and the function of TT in the target culture” (Munday, 2012, p.133). Therefore, the link between translation and CDA that this research follows is the functionalist approach of TS to CDA on the story level; it offers space for re-contextualisation, cognitive meanings, and narrative account of translation to CDA on narrative level when the events are mediated and transferred to the language of the host culture. Culture, as discussed in this research, is not approached from the anthropological sense. Rather, it is concerned with “linguistic-cultural relativity” and “pragmatic meaning” (House, 2009, p.11) from translation in ICC perspective which correlates with the discussed take on CDA. This is to say that “pragmatics is the study of language in use. It is the study of meaning, not as generated by the linguistic system but as conveyed and manipulated by participants in a communication situation” (Baker, 2011, p.230; cited in Munday, 2012, p.148).

TS narrative account focuses on constructing reality rather than representing it as realised through reproducing content in the TL through translation’s role in re-narration and mediation across languages and cultures (Baker, 2013, p.24). Translation reproduces content through resituating events in the contexts of the TL that invokes reinterpretations through establishing links to discourses guided by the socio-cultural system of the host language. For TS,

observational statistical studies can convey information about patterns within large populations, but they have difficulty unpacking issues of causal direction, measuring concepts in context, and making explanatory or interpretive claims about individual cases. Interpretive and case study methods are strong at the latter three tasks and at uncovering the meaning participants attach to symbols and interaction (Bennett, 2015, p.985).

Therefore, while CDA and narratives relate to the context in the sense of how a meaning is communicated, content relates to what is being communicated. It therefore considers the linguistic and structural categories of plots, characters in narrative, and episodes. The critical reading of the content of the broadcasts considers that a story contains several

texts³⁷ and the texts which were chosen to be given prominence over others are the ones considered to be episodes in the larger narrative because they are linked to framing in narratives. For example, the nominalisations existing in “the response was anything but peaceful, and the result was coloured with pain”³⁸ indicate observations to be considered under causal emplotment and normativeness on beyond lexis level for TS. Examining media content can aid in exploring how news “reflect social and cultural issues, values and phenomena” (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.89).

The current study relates between translations’ role in importing and exporting values and beliefs in narratives construction or contestation and frames that underline metanarratives. This correlates with the functionalist approach of TS in the sense of classifying the language function of texts and their communicative aspects. Exploring content provides “indication of relative prominences and absences of key characteristics in media texts, but the inference that can be drawn from such indications must be firmly anchored in a theory that articulates the relationship between media and their social contexts” (Ibid., p.92). For this, the study relies on narrative account of TS for translation as re-narration and mediation.

TS narrative account recognises that narratives are not chronologies and “the way in which time, sequence and spatial setting are used to construct a narrative is meaningful in its own right” (Baker, 2014, p.167). Since narratives are not chronologies, the content of narratives is filtered and reordered to highlight certain perspectives which raised the question of narratives (Baker, 2006, p.17). The method included the channel and the date of airing the episodes as shown later to be linked to challenging the representation of banned organisations and redefine them. In which case, reporting their translated speeches followed challenging the circumstances of banning them in the narrative dynamics. The method considered and classified the imported narratives, external narratives, and recalled past metanarratives. This led to consider the selective representation of certain aspects and overrepresenting others (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.100). Translation as re-narration and mediation used this observation to trace the patterns that contextualise stories in humanitarian and political contexts. This in turn was linked to CDA and the functional approach of TS to consider the lexical choices. The aim was not only to explore how a particular place, participant, or event is defined, but also to consider consequent descriptive characterisation and judgments (Ibid., pp.104-105)

³⁷ In the sense that there are texts within texts and narratives within narratives.

³⁸ AJE 26/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5078>.

due to their relevance to re-situating the events, impacting the participants configured relationship, and the overall narratives' dynamics. This was focused on certain lexical choices such as 'terrorist' as opposed to 'citizen' or 'activist' as opposed to 'rebel' because they index the manner of representing core characteristics of narratives' dynamics to maintain or contest them and invoke a search for new meanings. It also considered the emphasis on victims as opposed to political considerations to be linked to humanitarian and political contexts. Therefore, it paid attention to the use of 'victim', 'mother', 'father', 'children', 'grandmother', and others. It thus aids TS narrative theory in tracing the narrative by revealing the frames and patterns that guide the processual meaning-making process on sentence level as explained in the diagrams earlier and further explained in Appendix D.

3.8.2 Framing, CDA and Translation

The method allies framing and narrative account of TS because considerations of framing can benefit from TS and vice versa. Due to their relevance in certain contexts, the relatively young discipline of TS can benefit from the more researched area of communication whereas communication can benefit from the more specialised area of cross-languages and cultures mediations in TS particularly translation as re-narration and inter-cultural mediation where meanings are transformed and reshaped when associated or dissociated with imported or exported discourses. As argued in the previous chapter, TS preoccupation with the binarisms of formal-dynamic equivalence, foreignisation-domestication, and source-target translation aggravated the fallacies of previous research because in reality such dichotomies do not reflect the complexity of human behaviour and the narrativity dimension of texts (Baker, 2010; Tymoczko, 2006; Myskja, 2013). Streamlining the texts and translational choices into generalisations such as that of foreignisation or domestication disguises the fact that a text can contain elements of both (Myskja, 2013, p.11). Similarly, the restrictions of evaluative dichotomies of negative-positive and favourable-unfavourable for example called for more flexible and complex concepts such as framing (Hansen and Machin, 2018, pp.106-107). Framing benefits through enriching the understanding of translation's role in re-contextualisation and importing or exporting narratives across languages and cultures along with associated discourses, evaluations, and definitions. This relates to issues of difficulties in assessing how frames overlap and where one pattern of framing ends and others begin (Ibid., p.107).

The interruptive quality of narratives of conflict invokes the search for new meanings that follow breaking down existing social frames of sensemaking which in turn draw on redefinitions and revaluations that guide the patterns of constructing networked narratives (Morgner, 2018). This correlates with frames in the sense of “selecting and highlighting some facets or events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (Entman, 2004, p.5). The ways in which some aspects are selected, highlighted, and connected include translations’ role in importing or exporting narratives along with associated discourses that translations mediate between the SL and TL. Through importing narratives, translations lend meanings to existing evaluations and definitions because, as Fairclough (2016, p.87) argues, discourses are not discrete and overlap with each other.

It has been argued that “the integration of discourse analysis in translation studies (TS) goes back to the functionalist theories of translation” (Aslani and Salmani, 2015, p.82). In general, the functionalist approach to TS is concerned with classifying the language function of texts and, by extension, their communicative aspects in relation to reproducing content. In the informative function, the language is logical and represents objects and facts whereas in the expressive function, the language is aesthetic and expresses the sender’s attitude, and operative function where the language is dialogic and appeals to the receiver (Munday, 2012, p.112). For example, deconstructing one of AJE’s narratives in Syria of the government forces displacing its people to separate stories shows how stories can relate to all three types specified. Presenting figures of how many were displaced articulates the informative function, saying the Syrian government is to blame is a text of expressive function, and asking the audience to imagine if this was his/her home – referring to refugee camps – is a text with operative function. The diversity of the use of language noted is regarded as a form of using the language as social practice, and their communicative aspects, in turn, are seen as indications to follow different interpretations of the events in reproducing content.

Based on the example above, the method adopted aims to stand on what Munday (2012, p.139) calls “strands of meaning” as realised through reproducing content in translations. He identifies three types of strands of meanings: “ideational”, “interpersonal”, and “textual”. The ideational meaning “provides a representation of the world or an event”, the “interpersonal” meaning “enacts social relationships”, and the “textual” meaning “makes a text hang together in a coherent way” (Ibid.). “Analysis of the lexicogrammatical patterns of transitivity, modality, thematic structure and cohesion can

help reveal how the strands of meaning are constructed in a text” (Munday, 2012, p.140). However, as the previous sections show, the complexity of how certain texts dissociate or associate with discourses sometimes calls for an interpretive process as well as considerations of intertextuality. The ideational strand mediates between content and context and could be linked to framing analysis i.e. giving salience to the humanitarian aspect of the conflict for instance. The interpersonal strand identifies the relationships between participants as well as identifying the participants themselves; it has consequences to be considered under both CDA and narrativity. The textual meaning strand affects the meaning of messages due to the established links; it therefore correlates with intertextuality in the sense that “discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier as well as those which are produced synchronically or subsequently” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.276).

Since discourses are not discrete, the manner of how translations import, export, transform and reshape discourses can be explored under TS narrative account and framing to reveal the patterns of strands of meanings and how they associate or dissociate with discourses. For example, in its translation of Mubarak’s January 28th 2011 speech, in which he stated the uprising is “causer of further mayhem, chaos, and destruction”³⁹, RT added what this means is “EU suffering from waves of immigrants”⁴⁰. In contrast, AJE saw it as an attempt to justify police brutality against the citizens protesting peacefully and for that “Mubarak has earned the hatred and disregard of the Egyptian people”⁴¹. In the first example, RT’s translation draws on responsibility frames and exports discourses to the TL where EU is a participant subjectively involved. AJE’s translation of how the peacefully protesting citizens suffered “five people killed in Cairo, 11 killed in Suez and 170 wounded”⁴² imports narratives associated with discourses relating to democracy and draws on humanitarian frame in its focus on “images of the victims of the conflict, notably the suffering and damage caused by war” (Jaspersion and El-Kikhia, p.116).

With regards to the features of narrativity discussed earlier, the study considers the stories aired in relation to re-contextualising translations produced. It allies them with CDA’s focus on the story level which followed the focus on patterns of relationships and their inferences in the reproduced translations’ contexts. The method therefore pays

³⁹ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

⁴⁰ RT 28/01/ 2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5144>.

⁴¹ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

⁴² AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

attention to the themes and their communicative aspects in how they relate to giving prominence to aspects previously underrepresented in the makeup of narratives' dynamics through importing narratives and establishing links to discourses. It relates to exploring the narrativity dimension of translations in revealing the underlying themes constituted of the derived reinterpretations from lending meaning through establishing the links. The study pays attention to both units of language use and referential units. For example, it accounts for the use of passivised verbs and typifying an event, character, or any key characteristic of narratives that serve to highlight a particular frame such as 'the Christian village' in comparison to 'Ma'loula'.

The study focused on the humanitarian and political frames as realised through situating the re-narrator at the centre of the narrative to assign the capacity from which a participant re-narrates an event. The emphasis on humanitarian and political frames correlated with centralising the opposition and the governments respectively. They relate to giving emphasis to certain aspects because they signal the implied credibility such as re-narrating the events as a victim, perpetrator, (un)informed outsider, or (un)informed insider it also applies to the lexical choices of for example using witnessed in comparison with claimed. The discussed earlier CDA considerations under classification of social actors, representation of social actions, and others and TS narratives notion on the capacity from which a participant re-narrates an event offers possibilities to consider the focus that centralises different participants in the narratives. In (government), the story focuses officials' perspectives regarding the events. In (military, clashes or terrorism), the focus is on the bombardments, armed groups, attacks and counterattacks. In (humanitarian), the story gives emphasis to the victims by drawing on minorities, victims, children and women as well as humanising them such as father, mother, and grandmother. In (political), the story focuses international relations, oil prices, global economic situations, UN, and international law. Frames can be seen as "selective views on issues – views that construct reality in a certain way leading to different evaluations and recommendations" (Matthes, 2012, p.249). This correlates with TS narrative account notion of how translation as re-narration constructs reality rather than representing it (Baker, 2013, p.24). Therefore, "politics, issues and events are subject to different patterns of selections and interpretations" (Matthes, 2012, p.249).

Entman's (1993; 2004; 2007) explanation of framing with regards to selecting and highlighting some aspects of reality could apply to the interaction between the texts and the sources who re-narrate them as well as translation's role in establishing links to

discourses through importing and exporting discourses. Drawing on the functionalist approach of TS, the study accounted for the communicative aspect of imported, recalled, and exported narratives respectively. Their communicative aspects are concerned with subjectively involving the addressee (self-referential), recalling “past narratives to highlight salient features of the current situation as elaborated in their narrative of the here and now” (Baker, 2006, p.20) (memory), and ‘rhetorical possibility’ which highlights issues that existing narratives dynamics had ignored in order to facilitate reconfiguring them (rhetoric) (Ibid., p.162). Much of this was related to importing narratives, the sources who gave prominence to certain aspects over others, and the emergence of disciplinary narratives or as consequences of their emergence. In both cases, disciplinary narratives are linked to voicing (experts) such as analysts, diplomats, or doctors who are either supporting or critical of official voices, policymakers, minister, etc. categorised under (government), (opposition) parties or figures such as SNC, Muslim Brotherhood, or ElBaradei, (civilians), (Russia), and (USA). However, in many cases, sources are impacted by framing by labelling that impacts both their capacity in re-narrating the events and the context of what they re-narrate. In TS, framing by labelling is defined as “any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative” which serves to provide “an interpretive frame that guides and constrains our response to the narrative in question” (Baker, 2006, p.122). The study paid attention to labelling in relation to CDA’s classification of social actors and representation of social actions, discussed in previous section (Hansen and Machin, 2018). This is because they establish links between typifying events or participants and the frames they invoke or highlight such as the protesters labelled pro-democracy or anti-Mubarak, or opposition labelled activists or terrorists.

This called for consideration that account for the lexical choices. Past research distinguished between nominal and descriptive characterisations whereas the former are “words that label or describe the acts in a manner that merely indicates what happened” and the latter are words that “contain judgments about the acts or perpetrators within their denotative and connotative meanings” (Picard and Adams, 1991, p. 12; cited in Hansen and Machin, 2018, pp.104-105). For example, nominal categorisations included ‘opposition’, ‘demonstration’, ‘people’, ‘unrest’, ‘protesters’ and ‘conflict’ whereas descriptive categorisation included ‘terrorists’, ‘rebels’, ‘anarchy’, ‘hypocrisy’, ‘peacefully’, ‘violent’, and ‘revolution’. For Guzman (2016, p.90), labels used in the

Egyptian uprisings such as “revolution” to describe the event or the protesters drew a connection between “the protesters’ actions and the United States’ own struggle for democracy”. For translations, they relate to the effect of importing and exporting narratives on the discourses associated or dissociated in the TL. Mason (2009, p.143) argues “language users have their own discursive history: their previous experience of discourse which, in turn, shapes their own perception and use of discoursal features”.

The history-laden metanarratives “release different associations and details in the minds of one’s immediate audience as well as the opponents that the evoked meta-narrative is meant to subdue or discredit” (Baker, 2006, p.47). For Morgner (2016, p.70), the value-laden nature of “historical contrasts serves to install this relevance at different levels of society, creating meaning that positions events at a global level”. Labels sometimes draw on MiTs which in turn correlate with socio-cultural norms of the imported or exported discourses. In the previous example, labelling the protesters ‘pro-democracy’ in comparison with ‘anti-Mubarak’ draws on frames of dictatorship and diverts the emphasis from Mubarak is democratically elected. For TS, MiTs serve as a mapping tool from one domain to another which establishes connection “between two unrelated concepts or areas of experience that allows one to think and talk about one of these concepts or areas in terms usually reserved for the other” (Schäffner and Shuttleworth, 2013, p.94). In this sense, MiTs are linked to contexts and intertextuality and their role in reproducing content and framing. In TS, political metaphors, as Bulut (2012, p.918) puts it, “are lexical items that are frequently used in political texts. The sensitivity of a political metaphor is based on its ideological content in its source political context”. Bulut (Ibid) also argues “different target alternatives may reflect different translational strategies”. The existence of the uprising, amongst other reasons, could lead to conflicting views about the political metaphors in the Syrian and Egyptian uprising in the source contexts, at least in comparison to stable regions. The more complex question is then to consider which content from ST context was transferred to which TT context and how. Bulut (2012, p.919) argues that “translation of political metaphor can be analysed with regard to the indicators of its source and target contexts (situation, sender, receiver)”. This is because the “context-based indicators shape up the ideological value of a source lexical item as well as how this value may be lessened or intensified in the process of interpretation” (Ibid.).

Therefore, due to the dependence on background socio-cultural norms, Fairclough (2001, p.117) argues:

The relationship between text and social structures is an indirect, mediated one. It is mediated first of all by the discourse which the text is a part of, because the values of textual features only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions (part of MR⁴³) which give textual features their values.

The method considers the manner of how values and beliefs were utilised and linked to the unfolding events because they contribute to narratives' resiliency and impact the context through introducing evaluations and definitions. Through temporality, intertextuality, and re-contextualisation, the subsequent media messages impact the meaning derived through establishing links such as that in the 'revolution' example above. This could be brought about by utilising values and beliefs in resituating a participant or event at the centre of a given narrative, which might lead to the re-evaluation of the values. The role of intertextuality and features of narrativity come into the interpretive process with regards to the content in the question of what is being communicated and how to question the context. They correlate with tracing back the stories that had reframed the event through re-contextualising incidents or participants, translations and their speakers included.

3.9 Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides the methodology this study is based on and intends to follow. It discusses how the specified takes on translation, CDA, and frames can address the central research questions. It aims to answer how meanings and the narratives they circulate under were constructed or contested from TS viewpoint, enriching the understanding of TS in the process. It details the process of consideration of each of the frameworks as well as how they work together to provide comprehensive, in-depth analysis to how networked narratives during uprisings are constructed and how are links with discourses that can lend, transform, and reshape meanings are established. The discussed theories work together, whereby each explain a step in the process of mediating stories of the uprisings and, by extension, making meanings. Their strength can also be seen in that they further support an explanation of viewing stories from different viewpoints due to

⁴³ Not to be confused with Fairclough's Meaning Relations, e.g., synonymy, hyponymy, and antonym (2001, p.96). In this quote, Fairclough refers to Members Resources in the sense of what the reader/hearer/audience bring to the interpretation from their own background and preconceived understandings (Fairclough, 2001, p.118).

the complexity of narratives and their creation. This is important for values and beliefs embedded in the narratives as contested through re-contextualising the events. Through translation, imported and exported discourses had surfaced and offered alternative interpretations through association and dissociation with the TL and SL discourses because discourses overlap. They allowed reinterpreting the values when resituated in different contexts.

On its own, the question of what is being communicated will not aid tracing back narratives for two reasons: First, narratives are not chronologies and their messages are sometimes reordered to give prominence to certain aspects on the expense of others; second, it could be argued that they are attempts to domesticate a text to abide by the norms of the TL. It is key to trace the larger narrative that observes a pattern of the decisions taken coherently on different aspects of reality, contesting or maintaining the same narrative or the underlying theme. In this sense, the method adopted builds on the works of Bassnett and Lefevere (1990, p.4; cited in Munday, 2012, p.192), who dismissed the linguistic approaches of TS, saying that they “have moved from word to text as a unit, but not beyond”. In the following two chapters, the study explores translation as re-narration in the view of context-for-context translation and intercultural mediation where the meanings are transformed and reshaped.

Chapter 4 Syria's Uprising(s): Translations, CDA and Narratives

4.1 Chapter Objectives and Structure

In its process, translation identifies the target culture in its attempt to rewrite the ST content in different cultural and linguistic frames. In doing so, participants from the SL's context are identified and resituated in the TL's context, depending on the manner of how the uttered or written text was translated and mediated when the context is seen from cognitive view. The host contexts of the TL do not necessarily absorb the introduced elements, but possibly replace certain existing features with the newly introduced or reinterpret them. This is because they could be contradictory, in which case they cannot both be absorbed; rather they compete with each other, leading to surfacing inconsistencies between them. This leads to reconfiguring the relations between participants. Consequently, they degrade the narrative, maintain it, or reinforce it in the new context. Based on this, this chapter investigates how the narrative's dynamics are altered through repositioning and reinterpreting participant's relations. This chapter shows interest in the connection between media and translation as a form of meaning-making and intercultural mediation influenced by current studies in CDA, framing, and narrativity in TS. It aims to investigate the rules and steps of creating connotations, interpretations and versions of the same story or the more prominent projected narratives of Syria's uprising.

The three-way analysis combining CDA, narrative theory and media rhetoric covers the texts from different angles. CDA tackles the issues of authorship, linguistics, asks when, why, and how certain things were said, which are linked by narrative theory to the representation of the speakers, repositioning the participants, and identifying them concerning each other and the events. Frames deals with the interlinked issue of transferring salience to the aspects of the uprising that existing dynamics underrepresented. This included emotions, self-referential narratives, and media memory. It establishes a relationship with both created narrative and other subsequent media messages, whereas media messages are contextualised by other media messages. This chapter addresses the translations of the speeches of two opposition leaders from Syrian

National Coalition (SNC)⁴⁴ and two officials: George Sabra⁴⁵, Ahmad AlJabra⁴⁶, Walid Al Mualem⁴⁷, and Omran Al Zoubi⁴⁸.

The structure of this chapter and the following move from laying the foundations for contesting narratives to constructing metanarratives in investigating the multilingual dimension of news coverage when events are translated and broadcasted in different linguistic and socio-cultural systems. To do so, they look at the broadcasts from narrative theory perspective as reinforced by CDA and framing analysis from audience-making and NFO. They adopt the eight interlinked features of narrativity which correlate with the ambiguity and space frames in narratives that aid in investigating centralising aspects and frames in the elaborated narrative. They also consider narrative coherence and fidelity assessments from narrative and CDA perspectives, for the broadcasts included efforts of re-contextualisation. To do so, the chapters need to explore reshaping and transforming meanings through establishing links to other discourses and, by extension, how narratives evolve from ontological to metanarratives, going through public and disciplinary narratives. They move from considerations on the lexical level to beyond lexis and narratives going through frames, NFO, and media persuasion and rhetoric to investigate the manner in which the narratives were maintained or contested, including the values embedded in them. These are echoed through how participants relations to each other and to the conflict reconfigure the narrative dynamics, which ultimately impacts produced translations.

4.2 Meaning-Making on Lexical Level: Participants and Events in Media Classification

This section explores the social and cultural dimensions of the meanings of texts as realised through the use of language, including labelling and classification which translate to networked narratives following different interpretations. Labels and classification can have an impact on the meaning through deciding the discourse(s) in which the events are situated. Saldanha (2008, p.151) argues that “discourse is both conditioned and shapes social relationships, and that it is necessary to adopt a critical stance towards the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed”. According

⁴⁴ It is sometimes referred to as the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces; however, the name used by AJE was also used in this thesis to avoid possible misunderstandings.

⁴⁵ Acting President of SNC.

⁴⁶ President of SNC.

⁴⁷ Deputy Prime Minister of Syria and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sometimes written as Walid Muallem/ Walid Mohi Edine al Muallem. This chapter opted to use the spelling RT and AJE had used (Al Mualem).

⁴⁸ Syrian Minister of Information.

to Emmitt and Zbaracki (2010), over time, viewpoints develop and then seen as natural due to a process of meaning-making. On a basic level, this includes constant use as they become normalised or less frequently questioned when faced by counter-arguments, which are usually dismissed as inadequate, misleading, biased or false (Ibid.). This is not limited to civil conflicts or unrests, it could include issues such as slavery or gender equality.

Theoretically, narrative dynamics were reconfigured at least by a sufficient number enough for the uprising to take place. In the case of conflicts, subscribing to particular narratives might draw on meanings of national identity. Therefore, in comparison with the issues mentioned above, translating and re-contextualising narratives of conflict, and situating them in the TT socio-cultural and linguistic systems will have greater impact on meaning, for they are (re)interpreted through the host culture norms. Analysis of the multilingual dimension of translated broadcasts from this aspect first looks at the way meaning is made in different modalities⁴⁹. This approach considers discourse as a way of “representing a particular aspect of reality from a particular ideological⁵⁰ perspective” (Ivanic, 1998, p.17). Discourse is not only a way of speaking and writing but also of thinking which represents a further dimension that is in line with the notion of the context being cognitive in TS (Ibid.). A key point is therefore how certain stories are resituated in discourses in relation to participants or perspectives. This allows studying the broadcasts in terms of whose narrative/opinion do they promote because they index the way the broadcasters are enacting ideologies in order to answer, at least partially, how they created the meanings because “language is not an abstract system, but is always socially and historically located in discourses” (Weedon, 1987. p.41).

In TS narrative account terms, this section is of relevance to the narrative features of particularity and genericness which, in turn, correlate with the features of causal emplotment and normativeness on beyond lexis level. On lexical level, perhaps it is best to start with how participants are identified through lexicogrammatical patterns and the chosen lexis. This shows how first steps for altering the narrative dynamics are taken since narratives, specially metanarratives, tend to be difficult to change. Such efforts

⁴⁹ It addresses how the meanings were created, related and organised on the textual and communication level.

⁵⁰ Ideologies in this chapter are considered as “representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintain and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2003, p.9). In this sense, it is in line with meaning-making and that the narratives are guided by different patterns in their construction.

articulate the narrativity feature of particularity. Their identification on lexical level impacts how the events are framed which correlates with the feature of genericness. According to Baker (2006, p.86), the “genres encode participant roles and power relations”. To clarify, this included the manner of how broadcasts classify the participants in line of who is weak and oppressed by a powerful but ill-advised or unfair entity (Ibid.). For example, to emphasise the humanitarian frames over political frames, the opposition⁵¹ needs to be classified as peaceful activists (AJE) whereas frames of anarchy draw on classifying them as terrorists (RT). This impacts translations because meanings of social movement are more likely to emerge when the participants are classified as peaceful activists in comparison to armed rebels or terrorists which draw on political narratives and meanings of instability. This is for ‘terrorists’ do not have the interests of the state in higher regard, rather, the instability serves their interests.

This is in line with the notion of broadcasters (or any text producer) being able to direct their target audience towards an intended position of predetermined conclusions and interpretations (Schäffner, 2015). For translation and CDA, it is linked to the process of re-contextualisation. The relative absence of research on context in TS might be attributed to the fact that the notion of context in translation did not have a definition that can be adopted by translators for sense-for-sense translation (Melby and Foster, 2010, p.1), and it is relatively recent, as it came after the cultural turn in TS. To examine the context, two levels need to be accounted for: cultural and situational contexts (Xia, 2015, p.652). Baker (2006b, p.322), however, distinguishes between ‘cognitive’ and ‘social/interactive’ context. She (Ibid., 322-323) argues that contexts can be seen as mental constructs rather than social situations. Therefore, “a cognitive view of context, then, will tend to draw a relatively clear line between what is in the world and what is in the mind of the language user or translator” (Ibid., p.323). This includes identifying them with the participants since “cognition-oriented definitions of context encourage us to see translational behaviour as motivated by a series of ultimately unverifiable assumptions on the part of the translator” (Baker, 2006b, p.323). For example, in its reports, AJE refers to the opposition forces as civilians and their actions as strive for freedom, while RT refers to them as militants and terrorists or extremists with links to Al-Qaeda, whereas

⁵¹ According to RT, the main body of the opposition forces is the armed group of Al-Nusra which is the Al-Qaeda branch in the Levant and classified by most countries as a terrorist organisation. According to AJE, the main opposition body is the SNC, which is recognised by most regional and global countries and had been representing Syria at the Arab League Summit following the suspension of Syria's membership on November 12th 2011.

these “Al-Qaeda linked militias thrive on US war on terror”⁵². Both AJE and RT sometimes call the rebels as opposition, but RT⁵³ describes anti-government groups and actions as “terrorism” and “militant”. While terrorism is self-explanatory, the word militant means “favouring confrontational or violent methods in support of a political or social cause” (Oxford, 2018). It connotes different meanings when compared to words such as citizens, activists or people, as used by AJE⁵⁴.

In other separate incidents, AJE refers to anti-government speakers as activists, while RT refers to them as rebels. In his investigation of BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera coverage of the middle east, Barkho faced a similar issue and stated: “perhaps nowhere in the world is naming so important as in the Middle East and most probably there has never been so much confusion and haggling over what word to use to describe an action, a place, or a group as in this volatile region” (2010, p.73). The word ‘activist’ is defined as “a person who campaigns to bring about political and social change” (Oxford, 2018). Rebel, on the other hand, is defined as “a person who rises in opposition or armed resistance against an established government or leader” (Ibid.). First, the word activist connotes peaceful actions and peacefully protesting, and unlike rebel, it is not as often attached to be an outlaw. The word rebel is not as close to citizens and civilians as the word activist. Second, activist does not signal armed resistance and the use of violence in the pursuit of group’s own political or ideological aims like ‘rebel’. Therefore, speeches justifying airstrikes against activists would be impacted from the narrativity dimension.

Consequently, messages are centralising the viewpoint of the opposition in the narrative when classified as activists and represent the government forces as oppressive for denying them the rights to peacefully protest unlike for terrorists or militants. This example illustrates the creation of meaning on the textual and communication level. Another way to look at this is that discourse encompasses dimensions of context because “discourse is not a mere function of language. Rather, discourse is to put it crudely, the condition by which language as a structure of systems exists” (Luke et al., 1990. p.40). Therefore, such actions signal the conditions and possibilities which enabled the broadcasters to create the meanings they intended. In this case, it came in form of resituating the events and participants in relation to the centre of the narrative to give them more or less prominence. The immediate effect of these classifications is identifying

⁵² RT 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35488>.

⁵³ RT 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35488>.

⁵⁴ AJE 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35431>.

the participants in relation to the opposition or the government which reconfigures the dynamics of the narratives.

The difference in classification impacts meanings of government-led airstrikes, whereas classifications come to be shown as the actions of participants is what determined how they were classified. The meaning derived justifies the government's actions for it emphasises protecting civilians. The intended effect of translated speeches that say the government launched airstrikes against the opposition is relatively preserved when they were classified as terrorists; however, conflicting meaning will emerge when the airstrikes targeted an opposition classified as activists. This could also be seen in the range of meanings over whether the airstrikes were a response to their terrorism or means to subdue peaceful activists. To be classified as a terrorist, one presumably had committed an act of terrorism, intended or conspired to carry out a terrorist attack, funded terrorists, or incited or coached others to do so. This follows, classifying them as terrorists draws on meanings of deterrence, compacting extremism and most importantly a meaning of counter-attack because they had already committed acts that rendered them terrorists. On the other hand, to be classified as peaceful activists or civilians means the opposition did not take up arms against the government prior to the bombardment. The airstrikes in that case are unjustifiable and constitute war crime that had pushed civilians to take up arms to protect themselves against Assad's dictatorship and in pursue of their rights. This example illustrates the narrativity feature of causal emplotment. Although unconfirmed at that stage, this could have impacted the meanings of the focused suspected chemical attack.

4.2.1 The Chemical Attack: Claims versus Accusations

The breaking news that attracted world attention through UN and international news channels was first broadcasted by, the Saudi-owned, Al Arabiya on August 21st 2013. It was quickly accepted by AJE, while RT was sceptical, asking "massacre or mass hysteria⁵⁵?", which had set foundations for primary frames and patterns that will guide the narratives' development thereafter. This dispute allows investigating the meaning-making process. The following considerations investigate how these conflicting accounts were promoted into narratives, engaged the participants, and impacted the effects of translations. RT chose words that seemingly aimed to emphasise the issue of where the accusations came from. This allowed RT to reframe the accusations in a political context.

⁵⁵ RT 20-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

For example, while AJE said activists say and the government denies⁵⁶, RT⁵⁷ said the rebels accuse the government, but both officials and locals say they have seen no evidence of a chemical attack. It then added that the first to break this news was not opposition media, but the Saudi Arabian network Al Arabiya, and stressed, as it believes, that “Saudi Arabia has its own agenda inside Syria; it is anti-President Assad”⁵⁸. RT added on the next day, these reports came from “biased regional media”⁵⁹. RT stressed on linking the ongoing conflict with the interests of other countries and their possible interventions, an attempt that was not made by AJE on the first week of the chemical attack, but followed finding traces of weaponised chemical agents. RT diverted the emphasis in interpreting these accusations concerning who is benefitting from promoting them. In translation terms, this approach is often referred to as critical literacy⁶⁰. This raises questions for the narrative of who is doing what to whom? Whose interests do texts serve? Who is being marginalised or silenced and who is given voice? RT had raised the same questions in their reports for the news of the alleged chemical attack.

The following translation clarifies this process. AJE's broadcast on August 21st, the first day of the alleged attack, started by airing a translated speech in the first five minutes delivered by “an activist”:

The number of victims from children and others is very high. I carried in my own hands 50 dead children. The worst thing about what happened is the indiscriminate nature of the attack and the ignorance of the people who did not know what to do when the attack took place”⁶¹.

In support, AJE added, “pictures appear to show dozens of dead bodies that have no visible wounds or trauma”⁶². It is useful to look first at how RT portrayed this story to facilitate understanding how the story was being positioned to be interpreted differently. For RT, it was rebels accusing the government of launching a chemical attack. But the first two minutes focused on how they carried their investigation and said: “we have been talking to locals who confirm there was fighting earlier, but they insist there have been absolutely no signs of any chemical attacks”⁶³. Similar to how participants heard both

⁵⁶ AJE 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35431>.

⁵⁷ RT 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ RT 22-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35443>.

⁶⁰ Analysing the texts with the purpose of examining the ideologies at work.

⁶¹ AJE 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35431>.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ RT 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

claims, it is possible that AJE and RT heard the voices of both those who said there had been an attack and others saying there was not. For the following episodes over the next 15-20 minutes, the channels then opted to give voice to who is agreeing with the frames they intended to emphasise.

There are two aspects to consider from the terminology used in these two broadcasts. First, the source of information is labelled by AJE as an activist and by RT as rebels. The differences between activist and rebel signal the level of credibility attached to this source by the respective broadcasters, as information from activists, at least in comparison to rebels, is expected to be neutral and objective. Second, to state that this source *says* an attack took place differs from saying the source *accuses* because the latter does not connote an eyewitness account. Therefore, following the accusation by saying locals “insist there have been absolutely no signs of any chemical attacks”⁶⁴, signals RT's efforts of discrediting the rebels as a reliable source of information when consulting eyewitnesses. In which case, the meaning derived is politicised by rebels to gain international support. AJE did the opposite by reporting there are “dozens of dead bodies that have no visible wounds or trauma” to signal that the victims were not killed by conventional weapons.

Both RT and AJE added their interpretations, speculations and predictions to the ongoing conflict. For example, before the UN investigations team reached Syria, AJE reported on the second day, August 22nd 2013, that “government forces fired rockets loaded with toxic gas into Eastern Ghouta” and following reports stated that over 1000 people were killed⁶⁵. RT reported on the same day that “there is no confirmation of the use of chemical weapons” and it also emphasised that if they had been in fact used, then the opposition is to blame, basing their speculation on two points: Syrian regime forces are winning ground, and the timing of the attack is unfavourable for the Syrian government, as there were UN inspectors in the region.⁶⁶

Referring back to the three questions mentioned earlier shows that AJE and RT partially create meanings by resorting to the following pattern. AJE's broadcasts are consistent with what the activists had to say, and therefore, they serve the interests of the opposition. Baker (2006, p.83) describes such effort as subverting familiar storylines. She (Ibid.) argues that “familiar storylines can be deliberately satirized to communicate social or

⁶⁴ RT 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35409>.

⁶⁵ AJE 22-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35444>.

⁶⁶ RT 22-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35443>.

political messages". The interpretation that is likely to emerge is that activists were indiscriminately attacked by the government because they were gaining international support for their rights to peacefully protest was denied. On the other hand, RT attempts to discredit the opposition (terrorists) who would have deployed weaponised chemical agents had they laid their hands on them. These observations can be seen from the narrativity feature of particularity, where the classification of participants impacts the meanings derived. In comparison to activist, a participant who is classified as a terrorist have no credibility. This needs prior steps to establish the meanings of terrorism for the opposition for marginalising them will be, at least relatively, acceptable. This is because it might be seen from the following angle: since they have no credibility, giving terrorists the opportunity to voice themselves would only give them a platform to promote their ideas; therefore, silencing them is justified. These signal efforts to reconfigure the dynamics of narratives through (re)identifying its participants which, in turn, resituates them in relation to the centre of the narrative and facilitates re-contextualising its events.

4.2.2 CDA and Identifying Participants Through Religious References

Religious references were also observed in the coverages. Due to their significance and potential role in meaning-making, sacred references cannot be ignored in relation to was omitted and emphasised. Both impact the narrative and this study attempts to explore the social and cultural dimensions of texts meanings. In addition, narratives sometimes utilise religious aspects and other forms of values and beliefs in their construction. This follows that, in contesting them, they will be resilient, and the proposed reinterpretation needs to be constructed without contesting them. Religious aspects contribute significantly to social and cultural dimensions of texts which, in turn, show how the language used by media creates realities by critically engaging with information concerned with political events (Ekström and Patrona, 2011). However, excluding them does not necessarily entail it is not part of creating realities, but creating a different reality in which the values are not challenged. Both including and excluding them might be a consequence of earlier messages broadcasted and meanings created. Therefore, the decision to include or exclude them might be motivated by attempts to reinforce or to sustain the constructing narratives which is seen through the narrativity feature of selective appropriation and maintaining material coherence.

For example, two weeks after the alleged attack took place, the Syrian village of Ma'loula was attacked. Though the clashes were taking place in almost every populated

area including the capital Damascus, Ma'loula was the centre of RT's focus for three days, 6-8th September 2013. AJE merely mentioned this in their news ticker on the 5th of September⁶⁷ as clashes with government forces near Ma'loula⁶⁸, along with names of other villages and towns. On the other hand, RT provided more comprehensive coverage of this incident, which seemed to have been an effort to construct themes of 'us versus them'. CDA distinguishes between naming participants (specific) or identifying them as a type (generic); the latter is usually employed to situate an event or participant in a particular frame (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.128). RT started by classifying the village as "Christian village" to reframe the event and draw on meanings derived from minorities rights and compacting extremism. RT identified the significance of this village in stating that it is "an ancient Christian village" where Aramaic "the language of Christ is still spoken" and has a "5th-century shrine". RT added that since "Al-Qaeda linked rebels" besieged this village, this signals a "surge of extremism within the opposition forces"⁶⁹. AJE, on the other hand, did not use 'generic category' in classifying it and opted for 'specific' in naming the village (Ma'loula) in its ticker.

RT added: "army responds after Al-Qaeda linked rebels raid 5th-century Christian shrine" and "meanwhile, the Obama administration is considering a scheme to train Syrian rebels".⁷⁰ RT did not specify what did the military operation comprise. Under the representation of social actions from CDA perspective, 'unspecified reactions' "are often used to conceal certain kinds of actions, in these cases what [...] the 'response' actually comprised. This can of course be used to gloss over the fact that very little was done at all" (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.134). RT continued its coverage of this incident on the following day, with "Syrian government forces are now battling to clear Al-Qaeda linked rebels from the ancient Christian village of Ma'loula"⁷¹. RT intended to shed light on the importance of this village for the rest of the world by saying that "Christian pilgrims from all over the world used to take this road⁷² to travel to one of the most significant shrines and one of the holiest places in Syria. Its residents still speak Aramaic; the language Jesus Christ is believed to have spoken". In both popular cultural and religious references, Jesus Christ is often attached to meanings of peace and emphasising him "as Prince of Peace, called upon his followers in every age to seek ways of peace and not war" (Pelikan, 1985,

⁶⁷ AJE 05-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/36019>.

⁶⁸ AJE wrote its name as Maaloula in their ticker, but since RT had more extensive coverage of this incident, the spelling used by RT was chosen.

⁶⁹ RT 07-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/36078>.

⁷⁰ RT 08-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/36094>.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Live footage of the ongoing operation at the village. Road: Damascus-Aleppo highway.

p.168) and for communities of “kingdom of righteousness and love among all men and women” (Schillebeeckx, 1986, p.47).

Mentioning Jesus Christ perhaps impacts the arguments that say the opposition is peaceful activists, as well as expanding the scope of conflict narrative. In doing so, RT injects its narrative with values that will contribute to its resiliency in face of attempts to unsettle it with AJE's narrative. RT added, “the militants attacked this village because they know American missiles will not strike a UNESCO site and the army will not dare hit it either. It is a safe haven for them”.⁷³ RT then added speculation that “if America strikes, Syria's major military facilities will be targeted and destroyed. No one can say what the war on the ground will look like, but certainly, this place [Ma'loula] will no longer look the same”.⁷⁴ RT also added that “Saudi Arabia and Qatar sent billions of dollars in cash and weapons to Syrian rebels”.⁷⁵ RT concluded their broadcast on this story during their next day broadcast on the 8th of September by saying that “RT entered the ancient city with the help of the Syrian army after the government announced militants were pushed back”.

This incident is linked to previous stories in identifying the participants and audience-making, which might explain the emphasis given by RT and the decision of omission by AJE. Therefore, there is a need to go back and trace the narratives leading to the occurrence of this media event. This story conflicts with the narrative constructed by AJE because it undermines one of its main participants and the values embedded in it; therefore, AJE decided to omit this media event for being unfavourable to the narrative. However, there is also the possibility that AJE chose not to include this episode in their broadcast because it was deemed less necessary than other events happening at the same time. As a result, rather than looking at the language used in separate incidents, there is a need to link subsequent media messages to reach conclusions on the relations between them and whether they were emphasised or given less prominence due to systematic meaning-making process. The different treatment of the period leading to the Ma'loula incident in terms of what aspect of reality is viewed more significant signals different highlighted perspectives. This research classified the reports from several angles; the first of which is what the reports focused on without taking into account who is being given voice or whose viewpoint is aired, as the following table summarises.

⁷³ RT 07-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/36078>.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Table 1: AJE and RT Story Focus (Syria)

(N=298)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (p-value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Government	9	6.38	31	19.75	40	13.42	9.88 (0.0017)
Military/Terrorism	24	17.02	25	15.92	49	16.44	0.84 (0.81)
Humanitarian	46	32.62	19	12.10	65	21.81	22.80 ($p < 0.001$)
Political	46	32.62	78	49.68	124	41.61	25.34 (0.023)
Opposition	16	11.35	4	2.55	20	6.71	13.07 (0.003)
Total	141	100.0	157	100.0	298	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 38.044; df = 4; \chi^2/df = 9.51; \text{Cramer's } V = 0.3573$$

News covering the actions taken by the government was more focused on by RT. This included their efforts to evacuate areas where fighting is taking place. Military operations were covered with a comparable quantity of reports, but, as later tables show, they were represented differently. AJE focused more on the humanitarian aspect of the conflict, with reports mostly on children and women situation and civilian casualties, despite omitting the Christian village incident. On the other hand, RT focused more on the political point of the dispute, linking it to Russian-American relations, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. News of opposition was relatively missing from RT's coverage following the village incident. The majority of the reports on resistance came before the attack on Ma'loula then became less after being dismissed as terroristic.

References to religion widens the narrative scope and enriches its contexts. This offers further possibilities for re-contextualising the events and is or relevance to NFO. As argued earlier, narrative theory in TS investigates values and beliefs role in re-contextualising events. Utilising religious references such as the mentioning of Jesus in the coverage impacts the dynamics of narratives. The three religions that believe in Jesus – Christianity, Islam, and Bahá'í – share the view of Jesus as symbol of peace, according to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), their combined adherents exceed half the world population with Christianity (31.4%) and Islam (23.2%)⁷⁶. Although it cannot be generalised to say it impacts the opinions of all their followers, it is nonetheless

⁷⁶ CIA 2010 estimate, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/xx.html>.

significant and needs to be acknowledged. In addition, apart from those who believe in Jesus Christ, others might be interested as it is a form of terrorising minorities. RT emphasised the religious as well as the historical aspect of this village in their coverage and considerations taking into account this element would aid explaining such emphasis. Since this chapter focuses on how meanings are made, the religious representation of the conflict at Ma'loula village needs to be considered, for it aids maintaining the existing narrative as well as contests AJE's interpretation. This episode can be seen as recalling past metanarratives of what Jesus Christ signifies and symbolises religiously, historically, and culturally. This chapter, therefore, reverts to this aspect in later sections to address this issue regarding narratives, retelling past narratives, and narratives evolution.

4.3 Analysis on a Level Beyond Lexis: Narrative Theory

Consideration beyond lexis mainly pieces the separate episodes in the thematic coverage to stand on the larger narrative. It draws on the narrativity features of temporality, relationality, causal emplotment, normativeness, and narrative accrual, as well as the narrative assessments from CDA perspective to consider the material and characterological coherence. Respectively, RT and AJE needed to unsettle and maintain the narrative that says the Syrian regime is regarded "as an illegitimate pariah by most other regional and international actors" (Dannreuther, 2015, p.77).

Due to the correlation between the narrativity features, an important aspect that follows is the question of intertextuality and how the meanings are derived from earlier messages and expected to influence other subsequent media messages. The key point to be started with is the feature of temporality, as it explains how the order in which the messages appear create an intended meaning through highlighting the frames accordingly. Causal emplotment and normativeness build on the features discussed under the meaning-making on lexical level. Since the participants in question were classified as peaceful citizens as opposed to rebels or terrorists, it follows who is to blame based on how they were typified, as well as whether the government airstrikes are justified or constitute a war crime. This process needs to consider the manner of how the context was mediated and how the unfolding events themselves were contextualised. Considerations of this sort are essential on the three analysis levels because they are steps towards evolving narratives to metanarratives and therefore it is necessary to pay attention to them. On this level, the question relates to both enriching the public narrative as seen from

normativeness perspective in delivering it in an up-to-date manner and reframing them in relation to a participant, event, or place.

An important point to be addressed therefore is from whose viewpoint are the events narrated because it signals the placements of participants in relation to the constructed narrative and their capacity in (re)narrating its events. This in turn considers the news sources from the sense of who is being given voice or silenced. This sometimes came in giving voice to participants, but in many cases this space was given to experts, witnesses, civilians, and others who added their voices in support of the main participants.

Table 2: AJE and RT News Source (Syria)

(N=298)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (<i>p</i> -value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Government	10	7.09	32	20.38	41	13.76	9.56 (0.002)
Correspondents	14	9.93	31	19.75	44	14.77	4.87 (0.027)
Experts	15	10.64	8	5.10	23	7.71	2.96 (0.086)
Opposition	23	16.31	5	3.18	28	9.40	13.62 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
Civilians	18	12.77	7	4.46	25	8.40	6.11 (0.013)
UN	10	7.09	6	3.82	16	5.37	1.48 (0.22)
Both government and civilians	0	0	15	9.55	15	5.03	13.47 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
Both opposition and civilians	5	3.55	0	0	5	1.68	5.57(0.018)
Russia and allies	10	7.09	28	17.83	38	12.75	6.72(0.01)
US and allies	36	25.53	25	15.92	63	21.14	4.27(0.069)
Total	141	100.0	157	100.0	298	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 68.63689; df = 9; \chi^2/df = 7.62632111; \text{Cramer's } V = 0.159974002828303$$

RT gave voice to the government more than AJE, which tended to do so with civilians and experts, some of whom more than once. Usually, giving voice to a participant tends to promote their viewpoint; however, both channels did this in order to refute them, including the translated speeches. This chapter later turns to classifying the reports in terms of whom they undermined based on figure 1 presented earlier.

4.3.1 Intertextuality in Narrativity and Translations

The approach to narratives and narrativity in this section merges their definition as “concepts of *social epistemology* and *social ontology*. These concepts posit that it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social

world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities” (Somers, 1994, p.606, emphasis in original). Baker’s notion (2006, p.19) is also significant: “acknowledging the constructed nature of narratives means that we accept the potential existence and worth of multiple truths. This is a key issue in claiming that narratives have political import and that they can unsettle and contest hegemonic views of the world”. Therefore, constructing ‘social identities’ is affected by the manner in which the identities of the participants who re-narrate the events are represented. This means that for translators, reconfiguring the relation between participants is possible through unsettling dynamics that guide the existing views which results in altering the dynamics of the narrative. This view of texts correlates with Fairclough’s (2003, p.10) notion of “texts as elements of social events” where “we are not only concerned with texts as such, but also with interactive process of meaning-making”. This sometimes distinguishes between local and external narratives which are also episodes of the larger constructed narratives. Narratives are not genres or textual forms because they mediate and construct realities instead of representation of reality; as Shenhav (2006, p.246) discusses, narratives have the “ability to serve as a tool for describing events and developments without presuming to voice a historical truth”. The matter in question is then whose perspective is represented over a stretch of texts in the constructed narrative and how it impacts translations.

Therefore, the unit of analysis for the translations mentioned below is not in their semantic accuracy, quality or equivalence, but the holistic narrative that is being constructed and how the translator’s choices participate in (re)narrating a story from particular perspective (Schäffner, 2013). To do so, it links the texts that guide meanings and interpretations derived from the manner of representing the speaker, as well as the issues addressed in their speeches. For example, stories from AJE covering the situation of the refugees, children, and representing the government actions, albeit different, aid the same narrative and equally impact the translated speeches. Wolf (2002, p.33) argues that since translating is socially-regulated, social aspects needs to be examined, for “the analysis of the social implications of translation helps us to identify the translator as constructing and constructed subject in society and to view translation as a social practice”.

The question that should be tackled at this stage is how the narratives were created from these subsequent media messages rather than whether they are accurate depictions. The reason is that the way the story is retold (re)configures a set of relations between the

participants which later develop into narrative (Baker, 2006). Thus, how did the two press releases covering the same event develop two distinct narratives, and what is the role of the translated texts in that process? This transformation became possible through narration, i.e. providing a narrative dimension for relatively general and abstract messages or adding interpretations, speculations and points of view that established links to discourses that can lend meanings to the events. In the previous sections, meanings made in separate incidents were addressed and the next step is linking these separate incidents to understand the broader constructed narrative, because narratives are not elaborated in single texts (Baker, 2006). For example, a text that identifies participants or their actions as terrorists or activists impacts meanings in later texts produced by them, mentions them, or by a participant they are in a (re)configured relation with, translations included. This is because it affects meanings attached to government actions, though both channels might refer to them as government-led airstrikes, but the meaning derived is impacted by the questions of what will be the consequences, who was targeted, how, when, and why.

4.3.2 Translation of Al Mualem's Speech

Since this section traces not only which narrative is being elaborated, but how is it being developed. The question is how did AJE and RT produce a dynamic dimension to seemingly static media events STs, whereas the changes reconfigure the relations to other participants and their identities. What at first glance seemed to be a series of links between merely unfolding events developed into stories retold differently with links to regional and global interests. If one is to assume a narrative is governed by the way it is produced, then the main steps lay in the process of developing the most abstract messages into multi-meaning messages through interpretation and identification processes whereas translations re-contextualise and transfer some of them. Bassnett (2014, p.124) summarises this as "translations are visible traces of individual readings".

In AJE's translation and coverage of his speech, Al Mualem warned of the danger of military intervention because it would please the Al-Qaeda affiliated opposition. AJE responded to this message by saying that "the regime is trying to bank on this, trying to build on this by constantly, constantly highlighting the threat of the presence of Al-Qaeda forces on the ground"⁷⁷. AJE also added if no action was taken, "it will encourage other brutal governments around the world to use force on their people". For AJE, the situation

⁷⁷ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35642>.

is not only of concern of the Syrian government and people; it is of global interest. The actions taken can be related to the narrativity features of particularity and narrative accrual. Since the situation in Syria was reframed in a manner that raised the possibility of its effect on the rest of the world, it is seen as an attempt for audience-making through raising their NFO. This is usually linked to the evolution of narratives to disciplinary narrative, which allows the narrative to give voice to experts or political analysts. AJE voiced experts in its broadcasts following Al Mualem's speech. This could also be related to the feature of particularity, in the sense that the Syrian government, which earlier broadcasts had represented as oppressing citizens and indiscriminately killing them using chemical weapons, is no place to warn of impending terrorism.

On the other hand, RT's coverage of Al Mualem's speech was first themed by highlighting that there is no evidence for the use of chemical weapons based on accounts from reporters on ground and civilians. This supports the statements in his speech. The reports then focused almost solely on two translated statements from Al Mualem: "radical groups will take advantage of any western intervention" and "bombing Syria would boost anti-West extremists"⁷⁸. They have also added that this would repeat Iraq and Libya's scenario and "the real intention is far from defending the civilians"⁷⁹. Later, it was added that the people are "being told lies just like weapons of mass destruction in Iraq to justify another war". As a result, a new meaning of political nature is being created stemming from who is promoting these claims and to what purpose, rather than focusing on whether they took place. These narratives, therefore, are elaborated textually, but there are elements existing here that need to be considered to piece this episode within the larger narratives they also operate under. The supportive interpretations included episodes of media memory, such as repeating the 'scenario' of Iraq, which this chapter discusses later. On this level, the meaning derived seems to be interpreted in the context and discourse of staged accusations where the retelling of past narratives had sanctioned the interpretations. Since the reports focused on two statements relating to political aspect of the conflict, there is an effort to reframe this episode by highlighting one point of reality. Both channels mentioned Iraq in their evaluation of the Syrian conflict, the order of appearance of this reference needs to be considered. In RT's coverage, it carried the meaning of destabilisation and spread of extremism while for AJE, it came in highlighting the humanitarian aspect for both governments used chemical weapons against civilians.

⁷⁸ RT 30-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35747>.

⁷⁹ RT 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35620>.

The construction of these narratives went first through a process of turning statements from informative into constructive to open them for reinterpretations and revaluations on the basis of intentions and credibility of the speaker, as well as past events and issues of global concern. The statements in Al Mualem's speech present what the intervention could bring to the region from his perspective. In AJE and RT's coverages, broadcasts aimed to refute or support what seemed to fit the narrative they intend to construct. This came in the form of interpreting the speeches from the perspective of the opposition, as opposed to the government perspective, which will draw on different frames and different classification of participants. These efforts, in turn, show relation to the feature of particularity, where the perspectives are primarily based on how events, places, participants and their actions are classified. Therefore, the constructed meanings are a series of rules that govern the purport of the messages. The process of refutation or supporting statements signal the initial steps of this transformation. The links with other subsequent media messages will then be contradictions used to refute, and consistency in others used to support. As a result, the broadcasters had to reframe the events to maintain the narrative's material coherence. For AJE, it was the humanitarian perspective and the effect the conflict has on global level. For RT, it is the political frame. The stories emphasised, therefore, are based on the aspect of reality that needs to be given more prominence, which in turn will be consistent with Al Mualem's speech as cast by RT and contradictory for AJE.

Based on this, the critical reading of the content of the broadcasts considers that a story contains several texts and the texts which were chosen to be given prominence over others are the ones considered to be episodes in the larger narrative. Therefore, three aspects should be considered: what was previously broadcasted; what was given more/less prominence; and the cultural, political and social factors which the broadcasts utilised throughout the coverage of the unrest in Syria. The broadcasters provide their reading of the conflict from behind the cover of intertextuality (Schäffner, 2012b). It is important to note that there are two ways to tackle narratives from the mentioned aspect. The first relies on the communicative process as a method for constructing a narrative and therefore it is studied by asking who is narrating what; what is the extent of the involvement of the broadcaster; and what methods are they using to construct their narrative. The second relies on the interpretive process and how the broadcaster came to the conclusions they presented, as it should show, at least partially, how was the meaning constructed from additions and omissions which aimed to contest or maintain a

narrative's dynamics. Since different meanings emerged from privileging different aspects of reality and ignoring others, additions and omissions have relatively more direct impact on the meanings.

4.4 Additions and Omissions in Shifting the Focus

Both additions and omissions contribute, at least partially, to constructing narratives by altering meanings. They have different forms, ranging from emphasising a certain aspect or adding interpretations, to omitting an event or importing a narrative and featuring it in their broadcast. They are seen from the perspective of the narrativity feature of selective appropriation perspective, which in turn encompasses a set of interconnected considerations.

4.4.1 Additions

The following are the excerpts chosen to be translated from Al Mualem's speech produced and aired by AJE⁸⁰:

We are all hearing the drums of war being beaten around us. These countries are willing to launch an aggression or military act against Syria. I believe the pretext of chemical weapons is false, baseless and groundless. And as I said, I challenge them to produce any single piece of evidence.

The British Foreign Minister said the Syrian forces removed all traces and the aftermath of chemical weapons attack. To them, we say these traces are not removable simply for the reason they are in areas held by the armed groups. Secondly, the UN stated yesterday that it is still possible for the inspection team to document their investigation in these areas. Therefore, the statement made by the British Foreign Minister is baseless and unfounded. He is willing to propagate false information to the public.

The meaning that was intended by the speaker is the following: if the traces did not exist, it is because the weapons were not used rather than the traces were removed. However, AJE added the following to the translation:

There is no doubt here. Chemical weapons were used on a massive scale on August 21st outside of Damascus. There is also very little doubt and should be no doubt for

⁸⁰ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35621>.

anyone who approaches this logically that the Syrian regime is responsible for the use of chemical weapons on August 21st outside of Damascus. We have established with a high degree of confidence that the Syrian regime has used chemical weapons already in this conflict.

AJE reached this conclusion based on that the Syrian government carried airstrikes on the same area. These airstrikes, from their perspective, were meant to hinder the UN investigations⁸¹. As a result, new meanings and effects were added to the translated speech not intended by the speaker. These efforts could be seen from the perspectives of persuasion and rhetoric to present an argument that seemingly has valid proponents (Walton, 2007, p.96). One form that seems to be appearing in AJE coverage is reconfiguring “the text so that the argument contained in it is represented by a set of statements analyzed as premises or conclusions in a sequence of argumentations” (Ibid., p.281).

AJE broadcasted its interpretation to show how they came to this conclusion. It had first presented that it came as a response, for “the opposition makes gains in Aleppo⁸²”. They raised the question of “even though it has not been confirmed who used it yet, can anyone outside the regime ranks be capable of it?”⁸³. This question is not necessarily seen from causal emplotment perspective, because earlier AJE broadcasts had identified the opposition as peaceful activists. Messages that say bombardment against them took place would carry the meaning of justified action. The remaining possible interpretation is to hide the traces which illustrates the narrativity feature of relationality. AJE addressed the counter-arguments that seemed to have been standing in the way of constructing their narrative. Therefore, they added: “you could argue it was accidental, misuse by a local commander, even possibly a rebel trying to get intervention against the Syrian government”⁸⁴. However, they have concluded that “the only one capable of doing this would be the Assad regime”⁸⁵. AJE based this on the idea that the government is not cooperating with the UN inspectors and that “the evidence will not remain on the ground for long. They kill people quickly and disappear quickly”, adding that “it is unlikely that the rebels have any access to sophisticated chemical weapons” and “weaponised chemical agents are one of Assad's most prized possessions”⁸⁶. Therefore, “he will make sure his

⁸¹ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35642>.

⁸² AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35621>.

⁸³ AJE 22-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35444>.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ AJE 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35489>.

most loyal guards are guarding them and securing them”⁸⁷. Possibly, this is to address the counter-argument that says officers deployed them without Assad's consent and can be seen from fidelity test of narratives. Together, these two steps are seen as attempts to promote the narrative to allow experts to be given voice in order to become disciplinary narrative, which indeed took place in following broadcasts as the next paragraph details.

To support their argument that says only Assad is capable of deploying them, AJE needed to show their narrative “has the more convincing argument, taking into account burden of proof” to “persuade the other to come to accept his or her viewpoint” (Walton, 2007, p.89). Therefore, AJE broadcasted that “Assad has the largest chemical weapons arsenal in the Middle East” and “it is a very developed programme that he has been developing for the past 30-40 years”⁸⁸. AJE also quoted, on the same day as Al Mualem's speech, British Prime Minister David Cameron's statement which says: “there is no 100% certainty in any intelligence report, but what we know is this regime has huge stock of chemical weapons”. AJE added to Cameron's statement the following emphasis: “we know they used them ten times prior to this last large-scale use. We know they have the motivation and opportunity, whereas the opposition does not have these things”⁸⁹. They also added that the attack seems to be in some detail which why it points towards the regime. AJE⁹⁰ reported that the attack began with conventional pre-bombardment to blow the windows and doors of buildings out, so the chemicals could get into the buildings much more easily. The chemical agents are heavier than air, so the rockets deployed couple hundred feet above the ground would sink down and then begin finding the lowest levels, going to cellars and shelters where the earlier bombardment has forced the people into (Ibid.). As a result, this increased the casualty count and the Syrian army entered the area once they knew the chemicals lost their effect (Ibid.). Finally, AJE added that the wind direction on the day of the attack was from a westerly direction, which was “very suggestive”⁹¹.

By voicing experts who highlighted such somewhat scientific pieces of evidence and analysis, the narrative evolves to disciplinary narrative. The disciplinary narrative, however, does not circulate on its own, but rather operates within sets of narratives. Efforts of promoting this particular narrative had been spotted through emphasis and

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ AJE 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35489>.

⁸⁹ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35621>.

⁹⁰ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35621>.

⁹¹ AJE 26-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35554>.

voicing experts in weaponised chemical agents and scientists who added their voices in support. The efforts of developing a narrative are also viewed from narratives' fidelity assessments. This shows how both channels opted to present their arguments scientifically to base their arguments on seeming facts rather than speculations. The proposed framework in this study is not concerned with engaging the scientific proofs. However, although both RT and AJE claim their arguments are based on facts, facts cannot be contradictory, which follows subjectivity, different interpretations, and/or sources accounts differences were involved at some point. However, this research addresses this effort from fidelity in narrative assessments, the CDA perspective and normativeness, and from the narrativity features as a means of delivering the needed currency for the disciplinary narrative to be maintained, contest other narratives and eventually evolving.

The narrative at this stage is disciplinary and can be further given currency to become a metanarrative. To do so, AJE needed to expand the scope the narrative to encompass and group a set of different set of disciplinary narratives together. The first step towards achieving this involved raising the level of NFO through meanings derived from issues of global concern. Since NFO is based on high uncertainty and high relevance, attempts of establishing links to other discourses and importing narrative need to be located. This became apparent in AJE's message – that if no action was taken, “it will encourage other brutal governments around the world to use force on their people”. At this stage, this is not necessarily a call for action; it could also be seen as an effort to represent the events to external participants as subjectively involved in the sense of humanity rather than observers which may result in them injecting the narrative with aspects from their contexts.

For this case, both channels agree that the emphasis should not be on whether the UN find traces. However, the meaning that was created differs in both channels. RT draws on political frames and portrays it as:

whatever the UN inspectors find, it will not alter the situation because they want war. If the UN find traces, then the regime will be blamed because the US established well that the government is the only one capable of doing it. If the UN did not find traces, the US would say the regime removed the evidence”⁹².

⁹² RT 26-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35554>.

Thus, the meaning RT intended to portray is that the decision had already been taken. This was further emphasised with their subtitle: “Pre-emptive inspection: Assad will be blamed, US and UK want war”⁹³. The way narratives can be elaborated is diverse. It is not just visual and textual elements that determine the shape of the narrative but also regarding ordering the components. (Re)ordering and (re)categorising elements can privilege a specific narrative and/or degrade another. For RT, it is a meaning of political in nature, as some countries sought an excuse to launch a military intervention. Therefore, the political frame needs to be maintained at the centre of RT's narrative and guides its construction and re-narration. For AJE, the meaning is humanitarian in nature, whereby people are attacked with chemical weapons by the Syrian government that is delaying inspections to hide the evidence. The question for AJE, therefore, is what the response should be rather than pursuing investigation that is being hindered by the government and the traces of weapons that may have already vanished. This delivers prominence to the humanitarian frame and situates it at the centre of AJE's narrative.

4.4.2 Omissions

The process of selectivity of what is to be aired can be addressed from framing in the sense of giving voice to some participants at the expense of others allows them to express their perspective on the conflict rather than for their perspective to be voiced by a conflicting participant. This comes in several forms ranging from omitting a speech or incident to, as Hansen and Machin (2018, p.134), abstraction or using passive verbs to omit the agent and giving emphasis to the object. This gives prominence to some aspects of the narratives over others because the participants given voice differ on what issue of the conflict is more important. Therefore, choosing not to give voice to a participant results in omitting the aspect they consider to be more critical, which, in turn, sanctions the frames that guide the narrative's construction. For events, they can be seen through the narrativity feature's selective appropriation, whereby a channel might decide to exclude a given incident from their coverage. For participants, on the other hand, it could also be seen from the narrative theory perspective of space frames, in which certain participants are only given voice when they are emphasising certain aspects of reality to decide the capacity from which they re-narrate the events. The same applies to events, and places that are usually featured when favourable to the narrative. This research investigates how were the omitted episodes represented in the other channel that bases

⁹³ RT 26-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35554>.

the narrative on a conflicting interpretation or viewpoint to see how it could be reframed. This is to give equal attention to both that which was excluded and that which was included to be in line with both narratives in TS and CDA. This is linked to the translations produced and the possibility of how they contribute to reconfiguring the relations between participants.

The shift in stories covering and the emphasis on them seems to be not only influenced by speeches delivered by officials, but also by the broadcasts of rival channels. The general pattern observed in the broadcasts shows AJE usually attempt to reframe the officials' speeches and maintain that of the opposition forces, while RT does the opposite. To do so, both RT and AJE need to disprove each other. Therefore, this might explain the prominence given to certain events at the expense of others, as in the case of the coverage of Ma'luola, discussed in the previous section. It can be seen now that linking the story of the clashes happening in Ma'loula to the larger narrative does not fit the narrative AJE intended to construct but supports that of RT significantly. The reason is that it fulfils the mentioned prediction made in the translation of Al Mualem's speech, which AJE sought to reframe: the extremists who benefit from interventions and thrive on instability are infiltrating the opposition forces.

In addition to selective appropriation, this incident can also be viewed from characterological coherence because it impacts the speaker's representation. Baker (2010, p.29) says that the "characterological coherence assumes that the reliability of any narrative depends very largely on the credibility of its main characters as well as the characters narrating it". Finally, the omissions are seen from material coherence perspective. The "material coherence is a question of how a narrative relates to other narratives that cover the same issue and what we are familiar with" (Baker, 2010, p.29). Therefore, the absence of specific stories to constructing a narrative from the media coverage is also regarded as an effort to maintain material coherence on the narrative level. These three considerations are interlinked; the selective appropriation impacts how a participant is represented, the manner of representation reframes the events, and how one participant is represented impacts how others in the same narrative are represented. Together, they contribute towards reconfiguring the relations between the participants and events.

Additions and omissions are guided by selectivity of what is to be translated and broadcasted; thus, it is seen as a process of altering the messages existing in the translations by diverting the coverage to different aspects of reality. They result in making

certain information or episodes more explicit or implicit in the produced translations (Baker, 2006). For example, some statements were themed with definiteness, but as a consequence of these strategies, they became texts open to interpretations and subject to criticism, including the addition of somewhat scientific proof by voicing experts in weaponised chemical agents. These scientific proofs resulted in surfacing inconsistencies and contradictions in the existing interpretations which led to degrading them; therefore, narratives based on different viewpoints are reinforced, for participants in a given narrative seek alternative interpretations following their revaluation. The final aspect is filtering, especially culture-related filtering. This approach was applied mostly on translations concerned with culture-specific norms and values that are embedded or utilised by narrative construction. In narratives, participants identify with others emphasising what they find to be important, in which case omissions and additions might contribute to whom they identify with, impacting the speeches in the host context of the TL in the process.

4.5 Narratives and Conflict: Translation and Opposition

Both channels attempted, in some reports, to discredit each other and the participants in the conflict. For example, RT responded to the arguments put forward by AJE with as it calls “logic check”⁹⁴. 1. Reported numbers of victims: “During WWII, 80 million people were killed. What does it [the number] tell us how they died?” 2. The reported symptoms of those who were killed or injured: “how does this answer who was behind this?”. 3. US intelligence cites a “witness account”. They are “contradicting accounts because of which side they support”. RT also added that the videos used by other channels as proof were unverified. RT argues that these videos could have been filmed anywhere and that there are reports suggesting they were released before the alleged attack took place. In another incident, RT reported that the Syrian army found chemical agents in rebel tunnels⁹⁵; however, AJE said that these weapons were used by the regime. AJE also added that the Syrian regime reporting on these incidents had been so fallacious over a long period, making it hard for them to accept what they had to say. AJE concluded that it is hard to accept “that they have any merit whatsoever”⁹⁶.

The competition between channels can be seen in two ways: it is an attempt to widen the narrative scope and promote their narratives; and necessary to engage in counter-

⁹⁴ RT 26-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35552>.

⁹⁵ RT 25-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35531>.

⁹⁶ AJE 24-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35523>.

arguments to maintain the integrity of their own narrative. At any rate, both ways of looking at this issue signal efforts to promote a distinct narrative, either by establishing links to other discourses to lend meaning to the events or reinforcing a given narrative or both. This is important for narratives as it allows them to evolve. However, since the reframing and re-contextualising taking place follow different patterns of interpretative means in mediating translations (Liddicoat, 2016a, p.349), the credibility of voices and reliability of sources are essential for meanings to be preserved. Therefore, damaging their credibility is important to unsettle the narrative dynamics either by shifting the emphasis to underrepresented aspects that reside at the centre of the narrative or establishing links to external narratives. It is important to consider the facts integrated into the narratives and how channels presented them is discussed in the following section.

4.5.1 Factual Narrative and Factual Language

This section is mainly concerned with the normativeness and narrative accrual as features of narrativity. They are, in turn, interlinked with the narrativity feature of temporality. Since there were debates between experts and an ongoing UN investigation in Syria, the broadcasts had to cope with the subsequent factual media messages as the events were unfolding. The starting point when addressing a set of broadcasts that are themed with factual analysis is narrative accrual, which is mainly focused on investigating how narratives evolve to be metanarratives from grouped disciplinary or public narratives. In this coverage, it came by giving voice to experts and providing speculations based on issues related to wind movements, symptoms of exposure, and weaponised chemical agents' deployments. The second consideration is normativeness, which is concerned with how a narrative gets its currency and become a story worth retelling to highlight the participant who re-narrates it, paving the way for the integration of components of metanarratives. In this case, this came by means of expanding the targeted audience by promoting the meaning an issue of global concern. This sets up an 'us and them' scenario, because it impacts the world not just the Syrians, in which case the events are not represented to the as outsiders but as subjectively involved (Morgner, 2011, p.147). Fairclough (2001, p.118) argues, communicators bring to the interpretation their own background and preconceived understandings; representing the events to communicators as being subjectively involved highlights repositioning them in relation to a given narrative, whereas the position in narrative redirects interpretations and reframes events.

A channel can create meaning, definition, or classification, but to be maintained, it needs to refute the counter-arguments which are circulating the set of narratives it is elaborated within. On the second day, August 22nd 2013, RT raised the question of why then, just a few days after a team of UN inspectors arrived in Damascus to examine previous suspected cases of chemical weapons use and because the regime forces are already achieving victories on the ground and there is no need to deploy chemical weapons. AJE responded in their broadcast on the following day, August 23rd 2013, saying the timing was irrelevant because the inspectors would investigate whether chemical weapons were used or not, not who used them. AJE also added that “the regime does not feel it needs to prove or disprove anything. For them, these international organisations are interfering with Syria's inner affairs”⁹⁷. AJE reported that the regime's aim was to induce fear in the population and armed opposition. Before moving on to address the issue of capability, AJE concluded with a form of media memory. They reported that since 2011, “whenever there was a delegation that was sent to try to reason with Assad, the response was by the fourth division led by his brother, Maher, to go on some sort of rampage in one location or the other”⁹⁸.

Meaning is considered to be created when it becomes normalised, maintained, naturalised and less frequently questioned (Emmitt and Zbaracki, 2010). However, in a few cases, a channel had to address an argument that itself had presented earlier. This happens because of the development of stories and the related subsequent media messages. To illustrate, two days following the alleged attack, on August 23rd, AJE reported that the regime was not cooperating with the UN inspection team and they added: “if the Syrian government delays the access of the inspectors, the evidence will certainly point towards their responsibility for the attack”. Two days later, AJE reported on August 25th, “Syrian government says it will allow the UN inspectors access, but what will they find? Much of the evidence may have already been destroyed”. They added: “any decision by the Syrian government to open the sight to UN inspectors was too late to be credible”. And finally: “the credibility of these inspections is in doubt because so much time elapsed. There has been shelling; there has been the opportunity to tamper with evidence”⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ AJE 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35489>.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ AJE 25-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35542>.

As a result, giving access to the UN inspectors by the Syrian regime was an important point in the direction of the meaning-making process. Its impact on the narrative resulted in the need to draw on external narratives to maintain the narrative construction pattern for internal narratives dynamics were reconfigured. The following broadcasts witnessed a shift in emphasis that resulted in creating different meanings not related to whether chemical weapons were deployed or who had deployed them, but rather what the response should be. This is because, at this stage for AJE, it was unquestionable that the Assad regime did use chemical weapons and hindering the UN investigation was meant to hide the evidence. The reference to international community, emphasised from the 26th August 2013 onwards, eventually needed to draw on episodes of external narratives as the next section focuses on. Integrating episodes of external narratives in the current narrative often includes the process of re-contextualisation for the imported discourses and raising the NFO level.

4.5.2 Episodes of External Narratives

Episodes of external narratives and consideration of audience-making need to be addressed simultaneously because they group discourses in the networked narratives. This is because the efforts of extending the narrative, and by extension, widening its scope are efforts of evolving disciplinary narratives to metanarratives from the narrative theory perspective, whereas the events are contextualised in the TL(s) from where the external narratives could be imported. Such efforts facilitated the emergence of 'us versus them' scenario to impact translations. Such a process is complicated and encompasses all the narrativity features discussed in the methodology chapter, as well as the narratives assessments and frames in narrative. The features of narrativity and assessment in this sense correlate with each other and need to be addressed as such. Since they will be promoted in a different context, investigating mediating stories needs to consider reframing on both story and narrative level. Reframing follows different patterns due to the contexts in which the events are resituated which might result in further conflict.

For example, RT added a new meaning to the conflict with their broadcast for the day following the speech delivered on August 27th. The shift in meaning-making was motivated by the finding of traces of chemical weapons. RT reported on August 28th: "evidence of chemical weapons attack is found, but no evidence the government had used it". They were critical of the result of this investigation by saying: "fog of war: legacy of lies clouds western push to bomb Damascus", adding that western powers used "lies in

Iraq before", "supplied the opposition with chemical weapons", and "fabricated lies to invade while the purpose is for economic and strategic decisions"¹⁰⁰. These statements signal significant shifts in meanings and frames.

The emphasis was shifted to global economy by reporting on potential "global financial damage", stating that oil prices ascended to their highest level since 2011, threatening global reserves, if rising to \$150US per barrel, such a level could have a "disastrous impact on the already challenged global economy"; "Turkey's economy took a beating"; "investors are pulling their cash from the markets", and "most worryingly, this all happened before the attack even began". RT concluded its August 28th broadcast by saying: "so most likely, more bad news if it indeed goes ahead". This was followed by the airing a brief report on the continuing rise in numbers of victims in the sectarian conflict in Iraq for the previous four years, which, as RT portrays it, is the result of the US led military intervention. This shift shows efforts to relate different audiences to the conflict.

RT report August 28th 2013

Killed	4109	4147	4575	4903 so far
Year	2010	2011	2012	2013

In doing so, RT imported external narratives and decontextualized the translations to be situated in economic and political frames, with consequences to be considered for humanitarian aspect. For AJE, the narrative needed to be situated in humanitarian frames with consequences of economic and political nature (figure 2).

In response to Al Mualem's speech on August 27th 2013, in which he stressed that the way to solve the conflict is through the UN security council, AJE reported that the UN's efforts would be futile because the council is "high jacked" by Russia and China, who will use their powers of veto. In doing so, AJE restricted the translation's effect to interpretations based on humanitarian rather than political frame. Al Mualem also stressed the fact that the UN inspection team still did not finish their investigations and this far, there was no evidence that chemical weapons were used; if they were, then the opposition forces are to blame. AJE focused the emphasis in their broadcast in the same day on that the question is not whether the weapons were used, nor whether the regime is to blame – the question is what the appropriate response would be. On the other hand,

¹⁰⁰ RT 28-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35667>.

RT created a different meaning by reporting that “intervention without UN mandate is a very grave violation of international law” and that it “risks repeating past mistakes”. RT raised the question of “who is the world police? The US? NATO? It should be the UNSC”¹⁰¹.

Another meaning that AJE attempted to construct is the government's responsibility whether the opposition or the military deployed the rockets. AJE constructed this meaning by providing the following argument: whether the government or the opposition forces used the weapons, the outcome remains the same for the people who were killed. If in fact, the government launched an attack, then it is a war crime, and if the opposition is to blame, then the government is incapable of protecting its citizens. Possibly, this was to divert attention from delving into who committed this war crime to what should be done, or to address the counter-argument that saw the opposition as responsible. In doing so, AJE attempted to restrict the narrative of the opposition being responsible, as well as the political frames to public narrative, whereas the disciplinary and metanarrative were to be based on the humanitarian frames that is situated at the centre of the constructing narrative. However, this could also be seen as an attempt to discredit Al Mualem's speech, because if chemical weapons were used, according to him, then the opposition forces are to blame. The question AJE focuses on is whether to launch a military airstrike without UN consent because, as it portrays, UN efforts as futile due to the Russian and Chinese veto. These messages signal efforts directed to impact narrative's characterological coherence by discrediting participants and voices that are not in line with the narrative the channel intended to construct.

4.5.3 Discrediting Opposing Voices: RT

From both narrative theory and CDA perspectives, the question of who is narrating precedes the question of what is being narrated; and for the latter it is more related to the context instead of the content. The questions then raised are how participant in a given narrative are being represented; where the narrators are situated in a given narrative; and in what capacity would they narrate the events. This is to consider the previously discussed narratives assessments from a characterological coherence perspective, whose impact exceeds the currently presented participant in identifying who the other participant

¹⁰¹ RT 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35620>.

is. In his speech, Al Mualem was critical of John Kerry and the US, stating that they accused the Syrian regime despite the lack of evidence.

Being a popular political figure, John Kerry poses a challenge for RT's narrative. RT supported Al Mualem by attempting to discredit Kerry as a leading voice of the counter-argument. RT reported that John Kerry is a Vietnam veteran and "five decades ago, America used Agent Orange and uranium shell-shock" and "20 million gallons of chemical weapons", which had affected "three million people spanning three generations". It then reported this as a double-standard of the United States, saying: "it is quick to blame others for things it does itself, the moral and political hypocrisy of Washington"¹⁰². Moreover, RT discussed "America's own murky past", claiming it used uranium in Iraq, and added in their second broadcast for the same day that "many children [were] born with mutilations, without eyes or without limbs"¹⁰³, which is in line with the previously discussed political frame with humanitarian consequences (figure 2). In some cases, a channel might choose not to engage counter-arguments, in which case it would go under selective appropriation and material coherence from narrative assessments; however, RT seems to have chosen to engage this counter argument for two reasons: to discredit main opposing voices and to extend their narrative to include meanings of political conflict and because it allowed them to recall past metanarratives. This, in turn, will be a step towards evolving local narratives through importing external political narratives that are empowered with humanitarian frames along with the associated discourses they invoke.

The manner of how the ambiguity frame is elaborated in this example provides a further explanation to extending the scope of the narratives and utilising past narratives to transform and reshape the meanings derived. Drawing on the past narratives of US military interventions in Iraq, Vietnam, and others could be seen not only as an attempt to discredit the opposing voices but also to import narratives that can lend meanings to the unfolding events. In this sense, discrediting opposing voices correlates with re-contextualising events because new meanings were lent to the events. With such efforts, narratives evolve through gaining currency through fidelity and normativeness, identifying the participants through particularity, and linking earlier stories to the currently unfolding event to restrict their interpretations. This is due to "narratives of the past define and determine the narrative present" (Baker, 2006, p.20). RT used a form of

¹⁰² RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35700>.

¹⁰³ RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35706>.

media memory to support this new constructed meaning based on their speculations. It reported: “looking back at previous military interventions that followed that route” such as “NATO bombing of former Yugoslavia”, portraying it as a “possible blueprint for the intervention in Syria”¹⁰⁴. It touted this report as a “bleak record of US intervention posing a gruesome fate for Syrians”¹⁰⁵.

RT claimed that none of the NATO states participating offered a legal justification for their actions. It also says that this intervention was labelled “humanitarian intervention” and with the help of a “very one-sided” media campaign, it was “engraved in the public memory especially in the west as a success story”¹⁰⁶. According to that report, “little has been reported that the humanitarian intervention turned into a humanitarian catastrophe on the ground”¹⁰⁷. RT says that what some call a success was “two months of bombings. Thousands of people are dead as a result, both Serbs and Kosovo Albanians; after 78 days of NATO bombings, Serb forces withdrew from Kosovo, there was an ethnic cleansing of nearly quarter a million Serbs and other minorities from Kosovo”¹⁰⁸. RT also claims that “allied forces used cluster bombs and attacked civilian infrastructure including power plants, bridges, factories, the HQ of Serb radio and television and even the Chinese embassy and yet despite all the destruction and casualties, Washington saw it as a victory”¹⁰⁹. Possibly, RT did not just give much emphasis on the use of the phrase “humanitarian intervention” to discredit the US, but also as a response to its rival channel, AJE. In the broadcasts leading to the mentioned report, AJE argued that without a UN mandate, US does not have legal right to attack another country unless it is for humanitarian intervention, to which RT said previous American-led humanitarian interventions became “humanitarian catastrophe”¹¹⁰.

Table 3: AJE and RT Attempts to Undermine Participants (Syria)

(N=298)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (<i>p</i> -value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Government	86	60.99	0	0	86	28.86	86 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
Opposition	0	0	53	33.76	53	17.79	50.15 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
Russia	21	14.89	0	0	21	7.05	23.38 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)

¹⁰⁴ RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35706>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35706>.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

US and allies	0	0	55	35.03	55	18.46	52.04 ($p < 0.001$)
US and Russia	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
US and government	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
US and opposition	0	0	43	27.39	43	14.43	40.69 ($p < 0.001$)
Russia and government	30	21.28	0	0	30	10.07	33.40 ($p < 0.001$)
Russia and opposition	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
Undetermined	4	2.84	6	3.82	10	3.36	0.84 (0.64312273)
Total	141	100.0	157	100.0	298	100.0	

$\chi^2 = 286.5245$; $df = 9$; $\chi^2/df = 31.8360556$; Cramer's $V = 0.326852262028488$

Undermining of participants included labelling and classification of them as terrorists. AJE's undermining of Russia included messages saying they used their veto to protect a nation accused of committing war crimes, in which case, they are identified through defining whom they support. RT undermining of the US included messages relating to 'bleak' records of US led military interventions or presenting 'false' evidence.

In order to further support their new constructed meaning, RT reported stories of what happened in Iraq and Libya from their perspective to import narratives that can aid re-contextualising the events and lend meanings. RT reported "several years later, the US made the case of unilateral intervention in Iraq. In that case, it did not even bother to seek UN approval"¹¹¹. RT claimed that "Washington presented false evidence and went on the mission to remove Saddam Hussein from power". It also claimed that nearly two hundred thousand Iraqis died as a result, millions lost their homes and many continued to die in terror attacks every day. RT then reported that "in Libya, NATO went beyond its UN mandate and affectively carried out a regime change. What was called a humanitarian intervention resulted in a nation engulfed in chaos and terror"¹¹². AJE responded to these speculations made by both RT and Al Mualem by reporting that experts deemed a limited strike as unlikely to change the direction or the momentum of the war, rather "just sending a strong message" to the regime.

Overall, these speculations aid the dynamics from which the meanings in the translated speech of Al Mualem are derived. He stressed that the solution needed to come from the UN but did not state reasons for his proposal. RT's coverage, if any, supported Al

¹¹¹ RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35706>.

¹¹² Ibid.

Mualem by discrediting opposing voices. Discrediting opposing voices from outside of Syria needed to draw on episodes of external narratives which would, in turn, go through a process of re-contextualisation. For these reasons, these efforts are linked to the features of normativeness, where a story becomes worthy of retelling by emphasising aspects that had previously been underrepresented to reevaluate the voices and the events accordingly. In doing so, the narrative associates or dissociate with a set of discourses to create meanings. This leads to narrative accrual, where the narrative shows a tendency to be seen as metanarrative.

4.5.4 Discrediting Opposing Voices: AJE

While RT attempted to discredit the US as a primary voice of its counter-argument, AJE attempted to discredit Russia as the leading voice for its counter-arguments. AJE reported that Russia was shielding a government accused of war crimes. They also added that, though Russia urged the opposition forces to give access to the UN inspectors, “the Syrian government still refuses access to UN inspectors”¹¹³. AJE also created the view that Russia was not willing to accept any evidence regardless of the circumstances, i.e. they ignored the evidence. The meaning derived from this interpretation suggests that there was no need for the investigations which allowed them to divert the attention back to the aspects that best served their narratives. These narratives reported that Russia and China “are going to protect the Assad regime no matter what it does, no matter what evidence is produced, they are going to say it is inconclusive, action is not justified”¹¹⁴. AJE’s narrative portrayed this as ignoring facts on the part of the Russians, especially after they stated, “the US has access to satellite photography, human resources, samples from the areas that were attacked”¹¹⁵. Possibly, this came as a response to RT’s coverage in which they used a form of media memory to show how the US invaded Iraq, which shares borders with Syria, based on intelligence reports that later turned out to be false.

4.6 Media, Communication and Persuasion

Two further aspects noted in the broadcasts that need to be accounted for are language of emotional and media rhetoric, which in turn denote efforts to maintain the humanitarian frame at the centre of the constructing narrative. This can be connected to both local as well as external narratives that are imported to re-contextualise the events.

¹¹³ AJE 24-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35593>.

¹¹⁴ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35642>.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

They are both related to a fidelity test in narrative assessments, and to a lesser extent narrative coherence. A fidelity test of these aspects is mainly concerned with questions of how the narrative promotes its values or reinterprets the values in an existing narrative. This included questions such as asking the audience to imagine if this was their home in referring to refugee camps, as the examples below illustrate. Both media communication and persuasion efforts discussed here correlate with temporality, genericness, and narrative accrual, as well as indirectly causal emplotment. Since both refugees and opposition are classified as civilians, the entity responsible for their displacement is the Syrian government.

In response to the efforts taken by AJE and RT to discredit opposing voices, both channels sought alternatives. This is because “characterological coherence assumes that the reliability of any narrative depends very largely on the credibility of its main characters as well as the characters narrating it” (Baker, 2006, p.29). RT¹¹⁶ had interviewed Nigel Farage¹¹⁷ in which the questions focused on the issues Al Mualem had talked about in his speech; Farage’s answers were in support of Al Mualem. Farage said the following in response to why they are not waiting for UN investigators to finish their job: “they think it is unlikely to get UN resolution passed through the UNSC. They have been keen to intervene for long. They have been arming the opposition”¹¹⁸. The question then posed by RT related to the decision that had been already made, to which he responded: “yes, the question is what are the aims and objectives of this mission”, then adding that “since Tony Blair’s time, starting with Bosnia, we seem to get in foreign wars with alarming regularity”¹¹⁹. He used Afghanistan as an example, saying: “we have now been in Afghanistan for longer than the First and Second World Wars added up together” and concluding that “can we please find out for certain that it was Assad that used the weapon” and “moral outrage on its own is not a good enough reason to get involved in a war that could have unforeseen consequences”¹²⁰. The focus of the interview then shifted to issues of global concern, to which Farage replied: “the real worry is we have Iran and Russia on one side, and we have Britain, France and America on the other side. Military intervention could lead to something far bigger and far more worrying than what are we seeing at the moment”¹²¹. He also wondered whether tackling the issue was worth the

¹¹⁶ RT 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35626>.

¹¹⁷ The leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) at the time.

¹¹⁸ RT 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35626>.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

risk: "like Iraq and Afghanistan, we tend to make things worse, not better. And horrible though it is, there is nothing the British military can do to make things better".¹²²

On the other hand, AJE¹²³ broadcasted their translation of Saud Al Faisal's¹²⁴ speech:

The regime in Damascus has exceeded all boundaries, all limits and is dealing without mercy. The regime in Damascus exceeded all red lines; it has no fear of Allah [God] almighty, no ethics, and no respect for the principles of international law.

This new voice was further strengthened by subtitles such as "Arab League say Assad is fully responsible". In their discussion on classification of social actors, Hansen and Machin (2018, p.127) distinguish between personalised and impersonalised classification. The impersonalised classification in saying the Arab League in comparison to Saud Al Faisal "is used to give extra weight to a particular statement" (Ibid.). The Arab League suspended Syria's membership in 2011 and later gave its seat to the SNC. Based on the discussion above, the integration of voices from the Arab League by AJE shifts the emphasis away from the view that the US wanted to launch military intervention despite the lack of evidence. The voices from the Arab League in support of the opposition held the view that it is not a question of US interests, but a demand by regional and neighbouring Arab countries. This allows reverting the emphasis to the humanitarian frames rather than emphasising the political frames.

Temporality is essential for this discussion because the time of airing the following examples determines much of the intended meaning. While RT attempted to redirect the attention to the political aspect, AJE sought to do so towards the humanitarian frame. The humanitarian frame is then seen in the light of genericness because the events at hand are of political conflict. With these new frames and meanings, the narrative gains currency as a story worth retelling which impacts the frame space of the re-narrator and his capacity in re-narrating the events. This, in turn, is seen in the light of normativeness and ultimately evolving in the light of narrative accrual. Lastly, these features indirectly correlate with causal emplotment. This is due to the emergence of the following meaning: people, especially children, who have been refugees from early stages of the conflict, or who had been indiscriminately killed with weaponised chemical agents and other conventional means cannot be blamed for it. Reports elaborating these meanings included

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ AJE 01-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35845>.

¹²⁴ The then Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs.

engaging the audience using first person, asking them to imagine themselves in the unfolding scenario, classified as self-referential episodes. Media memory included retelling past narratives of wars in Iraq, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Bosnia. Media rhetoric included the situation of religious minorities, elderly, women, and children, as summarised below.

Table 4: Episodes of Media Persuasion and Communication (Syria)

(N=50)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (p-value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Self-referential	10	37.04	0	0	10	20.00	8.52 (0.0141)
Media memory	4	14.81	18	78.26	22	44.00	11.37 (0.0033)
Media rhetoric	13	48.15	5	21.74	18	36.00	2.41 (0.2996)
Total	27	100.0	23	100.0	50	100.0	

$\chi^2 = 31.63852$; $df = 2$; $\chi^2/df = 15.81926$; *Cramer's V* = 0.562481288577673

Such reports are seen from the perspective of promoting a narrative. For AJE, this mostly came as self-referential and media rhetoric, for it emphasised the humanitarian frame. For RT, it came in the form of recalling past narratives, particularly political narratives to restrict the reinterpretation and identification of participants in their efforts to preserve the narratives' dynamics.

With such different functions attached to different types of reports, it is important to consider the functionalist approach in TS, in the sense of assuming the translator as an active agent, an expert in both culture and language (Schäffner, 2012a) and playing a role "in both disseminating and contesting public narrative¹²⁵ within and across national boundaries" (Baker, 2006, p.4). Translations, like media, often contribute towards giving visibility to certain aspects of culture by choosing what audiences are exposed to, familiarising the targeted language in the process with aspects of reality related to contextualising an intended narrative. The translations then use them as a form of contextualisation of extracts, i.e. selectivity in publication. The later stage constitutes broadcasting the extracts in different order to fit the narrative. For example, moving up references to certain issues gives them more prominence, such as featuring them in the captions, as well as transformations, supporting them by experts, additions and emphasis on other issues. The functionalist approach therefore is interconnected with the

¹²⁵ The normalised or neutralised publicly shared understanding of a given issue.

sociolinguistic approach. The sociolinguistic approach involves a shift from focus on structure to focus on function¹²⁶. In the same manner of there being a relationship between the purpose of reading a text and interpreting it or the manner or perceiving it (Swanson, 1987, p.242), there is a relationship between the purpose of translating a text and translation.

4.7 Translations of Al Zoubi, Sabra, and Al Jabra

In the broadcast covering the translated speech delivered by Omran Al Zoubi on August 21st, the first day of the alleged attack, AJE used a style comparable to what Wodak termed politics of fear in their response to his speech (Cohen-Almagor, 2017, p.120). In this instance, it came in the form of a strategy to convince others by exploiting their fears and preconceived ideas. The excerpt that was chosen to be translated says:

Everything that has been said is ridiculous, naïve, unscientific, illogical and subjective. We mean what we are saying. There is not any use of that weapon at all. The military operation that is taking place on the ground is a successful one and our forces are making progress on all sides facing the armed groups.¹²⁷

AJE responded: “look at the children and the babies who are dying or dead, I am not sure that they can be convinced to fake it”¹²⁸. This is an added effect to the translation which resulted in altering the meaning and as a result attaching a different meaning to the translated speech in the TL that was not intended by the speaker in the SL. At the same time, it supports the translation of George Sabra's, opposition leader, speech which was aired on the same day but not featured in RT's coverage.

Is that the first time for the regime to use chemical weapons? Today's crime represents a cornerstone in the system of the regime to continue the killing of the Syrian people. The killers feel safe, it is now a genocide. The UN will feel a bit concerned and US will declare more red lines for nothing.¹²⁹

To further support this, AJE humanised participants in their video of a man holding the bodies of his daughters saying: “this man moans his two daughters; he asks what have they done wrong”¹³⁰.

¹²⁶ Looking at the linguistic phenomena from within social, political, cultural and historical contexts.

¹²⁷ AJE 21-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35431>.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

Three days later, AJE used the same video they used to refute the speech mentioned above but with different commentary: “a crying man hugging his two dead daughters”. The coverage had also included video of dead women, children, cats, and flock of sheep to assert the meaning of killed indiscriminately and not by conventional weapons¹³¹. AJE added “the two tiny bodies hang limp in his arms. What will I do now, cries the father. A man destroyed by grief”¹³². Through humanising the father, emphasis is given to the themes of loss and family, which is in line with the general pattern AJE seems to follow: the humanitarian aspect of the conflict. Finally, the added emphasis is shown in the concluding statement AJE had accompanying this video: “Pictures like these of the many men, women and children indiscriminately killed by what all evidence suggests was a chemical weapons attack continue to shock the world”¹³³. This report was followed by the following translation for the leadership of the opposition forces.

On August 24th 2013, AJE¹³⁴ reported that “the new president of Syrian National Coalition [Ahmad Al-Jabra] has called for urgent international intervention in Syria”. The translated speech that RT commented on but did not broadcast says:

The role of the national community must go beyond sympathy. We need to put an end to the killing of the Syrian people and forcing the Syrians to flee their country. An international investigation is quite important and to discuss the situation with the decrees within the first and seventh charter of the UN despite high jacking the council by Russia, China and some other countries in the council who are not really in support of the Syrian cause and case.

Though the matters discussed in this speech are echoed throughout the coverage of the media event at hand, and it can be linked to many broadcasts that were reported after it, this case differs from the rest of the translations included in this chapter. The reason is that it can be argued here that AJE emphasised one of the possible interpretations that fits its narrative. This asserts the notion discussed earlier of the functionalist approach of how translations can be used as a tool to investigate meanings when it transfers one of the possible interpretations. In the other translated speeches, the broadcasters attempted to emphasise certain aspects by supporting them or refuting other issues mentioned in the speeches. Al Jarba did not, at least in this speech, explicitly call for “urgent international

¹³¹ AJE 23-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35489>.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ AJE 24-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35593>.

¹³⁴ AJE 24-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35523>.

intervention", which was AJE's interpretation, as he was asking for international investigations and discussing this situation at the UN, which AJE was opposing based on their interpretation of it being high jacked by Russia and China. He also did not say the UN efforts are futile due to "high-jacking the council by Russia" as AJE had narrated it to be. Referring back to the notion of the purpose of the translation impacts the manner of how it was interpreted explains why "the role of the national community must go beyond sympathy" was understood as a call for "urgent international intervention in Syria". They reported a commentary on this speech that the Syrian people are losing hope because the UN efforts will not mount to a fair solution, since the council is being "high-jacked" by Russia and China. At any rate, the way the channels dealt with these three translated excerpts can be investigated in light of altering narratives dynamics.

4.8 Media Rhetoric in Reconfiguring the Narrative Dynamics

The importance of self-referential episodes lies in how they relate, at least partially, to external discourses which, when grouped and associated, became external narratives. Since narratives absorb new meanings with the integration of external events, it is a crucial aspect of the meaning-making process. Some of the reports, though linked in some cases directly to the translated speeches, require a different approach. The reason is that they are classified according to attempts not only intended to persuade, but also to inspire actions through extending the narrative. However, to retain focus on messages, there is, in translation, an alternative way to approach a representation that seemingly intends to inspire actions for speakers of different language or members of a different culture. Messages of this sort can carry the meaning of justifying the actions taken by the Syrian opposition. If actions are inspired by people outside Syria, then it attaches the meaning of legitimacy of actions taken inside of Syria. From this sense, meanings of legitimacy, rationality, and valid claims by the Syrian opposition can be derived which will also follow that the opposite meanings are attached to the actions of the Syrian government. Such meanings can be themed by either humanitarian or economic and political frames, for they all have the potential to implicate meanings for external participants to be subjectively involved.

For this to be illustrated, one needs to revert to how the participants were classified to initiate tracing back the narratives. Looking at AJE's narrative shows that the opposition in Syria was repeatedly referred to as peaceful citizens, civilians, or activists, which in turn indirectly identified the government as a dictatorship. At this stage, the ontological

narrative preceded this classification and became a public narrative, as it circulated among other narratives and sets of narratives which define the participants differently. In this incident, the feature of particularity which defined the participants corresponds with the feature of causal emplotment. Therefore, since the opposition is a group of peaceful activists, the government bombardment was unjustified. This contradicts other public narratives that may classify the participants as terrorists, in which case the bombardment came as a response to their terror attacks. The narrative then goes through processes of selectivity to maintain this classification, as well as external narratives to aid re-contextualising and extending it. As a result, the incident at Ma'loula village was excluded from AJE's coverage. To further support their narrative that is based on classifying the opposition as civilians, the events were framed from a humanitarian perspective showing the refugee camps, which in turn shows a story that displays the feature of genericness.

With the flow of the subsequent media messages, the public narrative evolved to disciplinary narrative with efforts in giving voice to experts, scientists, and officials, particularly on the subject of the deployment of weaponised chemical agents and exposure symptoms that called for experts' opinions to be aired. These motivated stories illustrating narrative fidelity, frames of space and ambiguity, and characterological and material coherences, which are vital in promoting the constructing narrative. As a result, the question of intertextuality encompasses all three levels. This chapter shows that the final evolution towards metanarrative for AJE's coverage was based on raising the level of NFO through reframing. The point that was given much emphasis was raising the level of high relevance where the meanings of valid claims can be derived from the representation. The features discussed in this section could be traced back in a manner that leads to this end.

In this sense, all the features of narrativity, assessments, and frames in narratives are correlated with the feature of narrative accrual. Since framing can be defined as "selecting and highlighting some facets or events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman, 2004, p.5), it correlates with more than one feature of narrativity, most notable of which are selective appropriation and narrative accrual. This follows that, since there are at least two metanarratives, one being that of the opposition captured by AJE and the government's which is captured by RT, their main difference in meaning-making is how the episodes are interpreted, from the perspective of the opposition or the government.

For example, after their coverage of Al Mualem's speech on August 27th 2013, AJE broadcasted a few minutes later live footage from one of the refugee camps with the following commentary: "imagine if this was your home, not for one month or even six months, but for over eighteen months. Then imagine sharing it with sixty thousand others. It is no wonder then the Syrians living here are losing hope of ever returning home. As Syria's war drags on, the initial relief felt by these refugees escaping the conflict has disappeared"¹³⁵. AJE also added in a second broadcast later the same day a report of a family that lost eleven members. AJE said that she lost "her children and grandchildren" and that she had lost eleven relatives, including six children.¹³⁶ Though RT did not use self-referential narratives to construct meanings, they attempted to extend their narrative, but with a different approach. They relied on issues concerning global economy and terrorism. As RT portrays it, a military intervention will be in the interest of the Al-Qaeda affiliated opposition who will be "delighted"¹³⁷ and that a military intervention will benefit the anti-West extremists.

4.9 Concluding Remarks

This chapter shows how the social, political, and cultural dimensions of meanings can be contextualised in the process of meaning-making and the role played by translation as intercultural mediation therein. It uses AJE and RT narratives of Syria's uprising to illustrate such process for they contributed to reconfiguring the relations between participants and events and impacted the translations. The messages are correlate with the perspective of the opposition when classified as peaceful activists or civilians and to the government perspective when the opposition is classified as terrorists, extremists or militants. Classifying them as terrorists or as activists is not elaborated in a single text, as it needs to be justified and maintained throughout the coverages which needed to recall different past events, contextualise and reframe the events. The analysis sheds light on how translations of speeches delivered by officials and notable opposition leaders can either function, as the cornerstone to construct or contest narratives when they invoke different associations and meanings. Saying that Syrians are fighting for their country would be interpreted in AJE's narrative that the activists are striving to rid their country of Assad's dictatorship, while in RT's narrative, it would be understood as the government is battling the terrorists.

¹³⁵ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35621>.

¹³⁶ AJE 27-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35632>.

¹³⁷ RT 01-09-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35800>.

The range of illustrative examples in this chapter aims to demonstrate that the relation between the mentioned episodes is not established by unfolding events alone, but due to a systematic meaning-making process that had redirected interpretations, re-contextualised translations, and restricted the frames that guided them. The pattern observed in this chapter shows that AJE tended to reframe and situate the events in humanitarian narratives whereas RT focused on the political frames. The examples used show the impact of lexical choices on both translations and reports prepared to cover a channel's interpretation of that translation. Since this media event is political in nature, politically sensitive concepts were examined in the light of cultural, socio-political and historical contexts, as in the case of the use of media memory by RT. Compared to AJE, RT made its political position clearer: it is opposed to US foreign policy and questions the motivation of the US intervention. In RT's coverage, the language used is ideologically motivated, which is important because acknowledging this observation shows, at least partially, how they created different interpretations on these episodes, which in turn contributed to maintain the existing narrative that AJE intended to contest.

Chapter 5 Egypt's Uprising(s): Translations, CDA and Narratives

5.1 Chapter Objectives and Structure

Following the discussion on Syria, this chapter sheds light on the translations and representations of the Egyptian uprising. It continues the discussion presented in the previous chapter on how narrative dynamics are reconfigured or maintained by (re)identifying participants and their relations. This chapter investigates the coverage of RT and AJE of the 18-day unrest in Egypt (January 25th Revolution) that led to the resignation of Hosni Mubarak on February 11th 2011. Rather than directly addressing how news channels translated speeches differently, this chapter intends to reveal how the messages were repositioned in relation to participants' perspectives and the speeches interpretations from their perspectives through considerations of framing analysis, narrative account, and CDA. The translations of Mubarak's speeches are discussed towards the end of this chapter because the focus is how they were resituated differently and associated with different discourses, as this chapter shows through choices that determined the different classification of participants, narratives, protagonist-antagonist theme, and the manner of voicing the participants. It intends to show the translations are restricted through the encouragement to view the events from the perspective of protesters (AJE) or the government (RT). The differences came in form of unsettling the dynamics or preserving them. These aspects are articulated in the form of interpretations, speculations, additions, or omissions, usually appearing in episodes following airing the speeches. They either preserve the intended effect or reframe the events addressed in the speeches.

This is to be seen from framing perspective, as well as intertextuality and re-contextualisation from translation as intercultural mediation and re-narration perspectives. Narratives are then traced back to pay attention to the way in which their participants were represented and voiced. As is the case in any narrative, the manner of representing its participants determines much of the consequent interpretation through meanings of whether they are credible or exaggerating. These meanings are then linked to the translations of speeches towards the end of this chapter, following the analysis of them in the first two sections on lexical and beyond lexis levels. Observations led to different levels of what is viewed as the meaning-making process by association or dissociation with specific discourses and interpretations of the unfolding events. The

thematic nature of the broadcasts shows the link between how the messages were (re)situated and linked to different discourses which led to (re)interpret the translations. This included the influence of other media messages broadcasted before or after the speeches.

5.2 Meaning-Making on Lexical and Sentence Level

An essential first step is the consideration of linguistic integration in social reality. From the narrative perspective, texts and translations are neither separated from other factors influencing the constructed greater narratives nor other texts whether they are within the same narrative or set of narratives. To clarify, when earlier texts classify participants as violent while others classify them as pro-democracy, the effect extends to texts produced later that might be interpreted in a manner that echoes their activities. For protesters to be classified as pro-democracy, it entails that Mubarak is a dictator and questions the integrity of the presidential elections, for it implies that he had rigged the elections, abused power, or both. House (2013, p.19) argues that the focus on translated texts implies meanings are contained in the text itself while there is “a shift from the semantics of the text to the pragmatics of text interpretation”. This observation is in line with the broadcasts this chapter focuses on. However, since the translations of the events are influenced by the mediation process, the question is how were events re-contextualised. The latter assumption is offered in the narrative theory of there being no unmediated access to reality (Baker, 2006, pp.18-19).

From the narrative account perspective, this is seen through the narrativity features of particularity and temporality, which in turn correlate with the feature of causal emplotment on beyond language use level. On the lexical level, particularity feature shows how the impact of classifying participants goes beyond the immediate effect of classification to frames that display meanings of legitimacy and illegitimacy of protests and, by extension, whether the police actions are justified. This, in turn, is argued within the correlated feature of causal emplotment. Meaning derived is police actions are unjustified when there are intensified police crackdowns on protesters previously classified peaceful. The meaning created is that people are not allowed to protest peacefully. On the other hand, the derived meaning differs when the messages emphasise the police or security forces are stopping the violent anti-government protesters who had looted museums and police stations and freed terrorists from prisons. The derived meaning is that the police are doing their job in protecting the majority peaceful Egyptians

and keeping peace and order. This is in line with Mubarak's speech: "shouldering my first responsibility to maintain the homeland security and the citizens' safety"¹³⁸.

This example illustrates the role intertextuality has in the constructing narratives. This is for messages are interacting with other messages that can lend them meanings and facilitates re-contextualising them in the TL. In both cases, the feature of temporality plays a vital role in these two distinct meanings created; the order in which the elements of classification appear carries essential meaning. It determines whether the police actions came as a response to the violence committed by the protesters, or whether the violence committed was a response to the police crackdown that denied protesters their right to protest peacefully. Therefore, if messages later attempt to justify police actions or opposition leaders saying the police arrested protesters, the meaning will, as House (2013, p.20) says, be impacted by "subjective understanding, their personal background, and their contextual knowledge". Following narrative theory's point of there being no unmediated access to reality, a question arises on what is considered as "subjective understanding". Since the factors mentioned by House have been influenced by the earlier representation through repositioning, the question then needs to revert to earlier stories by tracing back narratives.

In their classification of participants, both channels reported on the February 2nd clashes between protesters. While RT reported "pro- and anti-Mubarak demonstrators clash"¹³⁹, AJE reported clashes between "pro-democracy protesters and those fighting for the government"¹⁴⁰. Calling the protesters 'pro-democracy' casts doubt on that Mubarak was democratically elected president. Similarly, while RT described the protests violent, saying "dozens have been killed in the violent anti-government protest"¹⁴¹, AJE reported it as peaceful, saying "protesters are holding peaceful and celebratory demonstrations"¹⁴². These classifications signal the critical role to be played by intertextuality. This chapter turns later to this aspect to investigate it in light of the relation between stories' (re)positioning and their consequent translations and interpretations. This is because resituating stories in different contexts impacts the meanings derived. However, at this stage, a significant aspect of the meaning-making process is noted. The meanings created attach responsibility to police (AJE) and the protesters (RT) which echo the narrativity

¹³⁸ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

¹³⁹ RT 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5260>.

¹⁴⁰ AJE 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5270>.

¹⁴¹ RT 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5164>.

¹⁴² AJE 01/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5235>.

feature of causal emplotment. The meaning created turns interest towards whether the actions are legitimate.

Extending this aspect of consideration to the sentence level provides further examples. This is to investigate opinions or beliefs as embedded or overlapping in the examined texts, because the texts often both shape and be shaped by such aspects (Lahlali, 2011). From this perspective, Lahlali (Ibid.) draws on Fairclough's notions by using the following example. He (Ibid.) argues how violence or death can be presented differently, depending on choosing whether to include a mention of the motive. The previous example sheds light on the word choice where he (Ibid.) argues it could be called killing, murder, massacre, holocaust, or extermination. The motive could alter the meaning because the meaning derived is that police raids are needed to maintain law and order whereas the motive could either sustain this meaning or challenge it. For example, AJE opted exclude the motive of the government in "more than 100 killed in protests in a 24-hour period"¹⁴³. It differs from RT's message for the same day in both numbers and motives saying, "10 people have been killed while trying to break into the Interior Ministry"¹⁴⁴. For this separate incident, RT's message seems to undermine protesters and challenge the meaning of them being peaceful. Peacefully protesting would not include attempting to break into the Interior Ministry, while AJE's message is critical of the government particularly when AJE stressed that "protesters are holding peaceful and celebratory demonstrations"¹⁴⁵.

This section had shown observations made on the first week of the uprising on efforts aim mostly to classify the event and the participants. They signal different patterns RT and AJE intend to follow, which would later yield conflicting narratives of the Egyptian uprising. Following these patterns reveals how the narratives evolved. At this stage, they are public narratives because they are concerned with the interlinked questions of whether it was justified protest or anarchy and whether it should be allowed to continue. These were derived from the narratives' projected ends; would the uprising bring to Egypt chaos or freedom. With the developments, meanings of religious and political nature surfaced. The newly created meanings do not only contribute to the narrative evolution but also contests counter arguments by re-contextualising the messages. Such choices often both impact and are influenced by the intended effect of the translations of speeches.

¹⁴³ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

¹⁴⁴ RT 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5184>.

¹⁴⁵ AJE 01/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5235>.

5.2.1 Translators as Mediators: Creating Political Meanings

Both RT and AJE expanded the political meaning of the uprising to include foreign countries which, in turn, added voices and established links to discourses. Certain statements in the speeches are contextualised within this constructed political discourse that might alter the meaning initially intended by the speaker. This is further highlighted from the perspective of narratives evolution. It has been argued that “news stories about political conflicts are a form of social construction, in which some frames are more likely than others to serve as the underlying theme of news stories” (Wolfsfeld, p.54). From viewing translation as mediation perspective, Cronin (2006, p.63) argues that “the complexity of translation does not lie only in the process of translating the message but in the situation in which, in late modernity, translators as mediators can find themselves”. Thus, the question is directing the stories to establish links to intended discourses in a variety of discourses that can lend them meanings.

ElBaradei's representations in RT and AJE coverages were no exception. This is because his representation sheds light on the narrative assessment from characterological coherence perspective and encouragement of whether to see events from his perspective. The first to make mention of ElBaradei was AJE. RT's representation, therefore, may have opted to engage this counter-argument to maintain the credibility of its sources since he was represented extensively by AJE. RT opted to discredit ElBaradei, because, according to AJE, he gives legitimacy to the uprising. The introduction of a seemingly credible voice to a different narrative would indirectly weaken the narrative RT intended to maintain, otherwise they would not have chosen to mention ElBaradei since he is, in RT's view, unknown. These could be the reasons why RT opted to engage this counter-argument which exemplifies the feature of particularity. Engaging with this counter-argument is vital for the meanings RT intended to construct because it could not promote a particular interpretation contested by a set of narratives before discrediting the conflicting voices.

5.2.2 Mohamed ElBaradei: Representation of RT and AJE

RT and AJE's different representation of ElBaradei ranged from different points of emphasis to contradictions. This was expected to occur because unlike the position taken by RT, ElBaradei was in favour of the uprising. In the first week, both channels attempted to represent him in light of what other protesters thought of him. When ElBaradei made his first appearance at Tahrir Square, where the majority of the protesters were amassed,

RT said, “very few Egyptians know ElBaradei”¹⁴⁶, while AJE reported, “the vast majority welcomed him”¹⁴⁷. However, RT represented him in a political frame. This is important because the framing of the speeches translated in the sections below is influenced by this aspect. Through translation as mediation, RT established links with political discourses represented.

AJE identified ElBaradei on the first day of the uprising as “leading opposition figure in Egypt who previously predicted what he called an explosion in Egypt”¹⁴⁸. AJE also reported that he based his prediction on that the government is repressing an entire nation, maintaining martial law for the past twenty-nine years, rigging elections, suffering a poor economy, and social fragmentation¹⁴⁹. This is in line with the narrative AJE intended to construct, including calling protesters pro-democracy because it implied that Mubarak had rigged the elections. In the first and second days of the unfolding events, the meaning AJE intended to create was one of legitimacy, and the protesters’ actions as justified, in which case the police crackdown was not. This may have motivated representing ElBaradei as main participant that can re-narrate the events because adding his voice would be valuable to the constructing narrative. AJE added, “the vast majority welcomed him not only because it gives them more credibility and legitimacy, but also some sort of protection”¹⁵⁰. AJE also reported that ElBaradei “knows everyone supports him and he is seen as a national figure. Egyptians are proud of him, and he was welcomed by thousands”¹⁵¹. From CDA perspective, quantifying participants such as ‘thousands’ is used to give impression of scientific credibility (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.129). AJE provided background information on ElBaradei, mentioning he is a Nobel Peace Prize winner in 2005¹⁵², and supported by Amr Khaled¹⁵³, who saw him as respectful and sincere, with the ability to lead the uprising¹⁵⁴. This, in turn, articulates the narrativity feature of normativeness, in the sense that it delivers currency to this particular narrative through voicing a public figure.

¹⁴⁶ RT 31/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5207>.

¹⁴⁷ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

¹⁴⁸ AJE 25/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5056>.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Egyptian TV host who has been compared with Dr. Phil, Rick Warren and Pat Robertson (Nomani, 2007).

¹⁵⁴ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

These actions can also be seen from frames in narratives perspective, or, more specifically, frames of ambiguity and space. RT intended to reduce the level of NFO to ElBaradei, in which case stories do not represent him central to the narrative with capacity to re-narrate its events. This came in attempting to construct the meaning that he was backed by the US, which, for RT, amounted to a form of American interference in Egypt's sovereignty. Frames of space show how he was restricted to a position that did not allow him to represent the protesters, since for them he was unknown and unwelcome, as the following paragraph illustrates. A meaning that AJE intended to make the opposite. In his investigation of BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera, Barkho (2010, pp.103-104) observed similar actions and argues from social implications perspective, "the presence of what is ostensibly viewed as background information particularly in BBC and CNN stories gives way to pass evaluative comments by publicly embracing one side of the conflict and vilifying the other". Though AJE's background on ElBaradei does not go as far as to vilify the other, at least not explicitly, it does seem to side with him because it enabled AJE to evaluate ElBaradei positively through saying he is a respectful and sincere Nobel Peace Prize winner. It could be argued that identifying one party in the conflict as sincere and respectful might imply the other is not, for a sincere person would not be in favour of an illegitimate uprising. This classification is important because with ElBaradei as the leader of the protests, it refutes arguments that the protesters are uneducated, violent or looters whose interests serve instability.

Unlike AJE's representation, which is related to the social aspect of the uprising, RT's representation of ElBaradei was themed with political considerations. RT reported, "ElBaradei is a secular man and he will be a choice that very much will be supported by the US and other Western powers"¹⁵⁵. RT also added on the following day that "he is a figure who earned his reputation on the international stage. But in Egypt, people say he has the backing of US and Western powers, and this does not present him in a particularly good light because they [Egyptians] say he has been painted with the same brush that paints Mubarak"¹⁵⁶. A meaning that could be derived from this representation is that nothing will change. RT also added, "he appealed to the Muslim Brotherhood and they have given him their backing"¹⁵⁷. The significance of emphasising the relation between ElBaradei and the Muslim Brotherhood is more evident when taking into consideration RT's representation of the Brotherhood, summarised in the following section as a banned

¹⁵⁵ RT 31/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5207>.

¹⁵⁶ RT 01/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5232>.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

organisation for its extreme views. RT added, “ElBaradei’s belated attempt to getting on the opposition might be too late” and “he is part of the international crisis group with close ties to Western interests”¹⁵⁸. RT concluded, “the US allegiance is divided between the current president and the would-be challenger” for that is the reason “the American media has built up ElBaradei”¹⁵⁹. RT then hypothesised that “Egyptians do not like him, they only support him because they hate Mubarak”¹⁶⁰.

Overall, the narratives remain public at this stage, for they are concerned with the (il)legitimacy of the uprising. However, attempts to evolve distinct narratives are noted for both channels. For RT, it came in the form of discrediting potentially influential voices. AJE attempted to further support the meaning that the uprising is legitimate by voicing two influential figures. Political and social frames were observed due to the points the channels attempted to emphasise. At any rate, since RT attempted to identify ElBaradei with the Muslim Brotherhood, the representations of RT and AJE of this organisation needs to be addressed. It was observed that AJE made no mention of ElBaradei’s backing by the Muslim Brotherhood at that stage. This could be explained through the narrativity feature of temporality, which means that “the elements of a narrative are always placed in *some* sequence, and that order in which they are placed carries meaning” (Baker, 2006, pp.50-51, emphasis in original). Unlike RT, AJE opted not to make mention of the relation between the Brotherhood and ElBaradei till after they challenged the existing narrative of the Muslim Brotherhood as an organisation banned for its extreme views.

5.2.3 Participants Relationship in Meaning-Making: The Muslim Brotherhood

In examining narratives, the relationship between participants influences, at least to some extent, the manner how the participants are classified since they are defined in terms of each other. The stories that represent two different participants (ElBaradei’s and the Muslim Brotherhood) can either support or challenge each other based the relation representation. RT’s representation of ElBaradei as a politician backed by the banned Muslim Brotherhood reduces his integrity. At the same time, the Muslim Brotherhood’s integrity is impacted when it is backing a politician coached by US intelligence agencies, as portrayed by RT. Identifying a participant through their relation to one another

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

contributes to the narratives' evolvement. This is because the narratives that circulate within the larger projected narrative or set of narratives will each have their distinct levels of NFO, particularly from the level of relevance to associated discourses. To clarify, some discourses might be associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, but not to ElBaradei or vice versa. The process of identifying the participant they are directly linked to by identifying other participants will raise their level of relevance to the other participants, and, by extension, their overall NFO, which in turn is important for promoting frames. This leads to grouping the associated discourses with ElBaradei and the Muslim Brotherhood, and the different aspects of reality emphasised in them, in which case the narrative evolves. Alternatively, when one or both are represented in a capacity that does not allow them to re-narrate the event such as uninformed outsider, the stories unsettle the dynamics of the new meanings and aid in maintaining the narrative of the status quo.

AJE reported on the first day of the uprising that "Muslim Brotherhood insists it [the uprising] is planned by the young people"¹⁶¹. Using 'young people' has a more positive connotation, unlike 'youth', which might indicate anti-social behaviour (Hansen and Machin, 2013, pp.115-116). In contrast with its counterpart, AJE gave voice to the brotherhood. This action corresponds with previous AJE's choices to give voice to participants whom most other channels would not. In its coverage of Afghanistan War in 2001, AJE gained international attention for giving voice to Osama bin Laden, including his controversial tapes (Lahlali, 2011). AJE reported that a "senior figure in the organisation told AJE Mubarak must indeed step down. It is the time for the military to intervene and save the country", while stressing that "the brotherhood did not organise the protest, but they are participating"¹⁶². AJE defined the organisation as "the brotherhood, as a Muslim movement, seeks to establish democracy, justice and freedom in Egypt" and "the Brotherhood is not seeking power"; "the Brotherhood asks for releasing their political detainees who sacrificed their freedom for Egypt"¹⁶³. A statement that agrees with AJE's previous report states: "twelve to fourteen thousand political detainees are in Hosni Mubarak's jails"¹⁶⁴.

Based on this, AJE's representation of the Muslim Brotherhood contributes to the meaning that the protest was justified. To clarify, since the largest opposition party, the

¹⁶¹ AJE 25/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5056>.

¹⁶² AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

¹⁶³ AJE 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5167>.

¹⁶⁴ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

Brotherhood, “seeks to establish democracy, justice and freedom in Egypt”¹⁶⁵, these legitimate and reasonable demands have not been delivered by the Egyptian government. This contributes to the meaning AJE intended to construct of that Mubarak is a dictator who banned this opposition party and imprisoned activists, as well as setting up the idea of banning them as illegitimate and signalling authoritarianism and dictatorship. These stories therefore establish links between the discourses elaborated by ElBaradei and the Muslim Brotherhood.

RT, on the other hand, reported that the “Muslim Brotherhood have been outlawed for its extreme views”¹⁶⁶. While AJE reported “there is little proof of its involvement”¹⁶⁷, RT defined the organisation as the “Muslim Brotherhood, the country’s largest opposition party, with Islamic agenda”¹⁶⁸. RT then attempted to establish a relation with Iran to define the Muslim Brotherhood through their relation and, by extension, ElBaradei. In this case, they re-contextualised the event through importing political narratives, for example: “The Brotherhood gets its funding from Iran and Tehran is already cashing in. Its foreign minister says the protest shows the need for an overall change in the region and Ayatollah Khamenei¹⁶⁹ has called the protest an Islamic awakening”¹⁷⁰. In this case, RT predicts the emergence of “one big Islamic Caliphate fuelled by religious movements”¹⁷¹. Based on this, the representation of ElBaradei as associated with the Brotherhood is what needs to be focused on, rather than the representation of the Brotherhood separately. AJE’s narrative says a movement that seeks to establish democracy, justice and freedom backed ElBaradei, while RT’s says an organisation that is banned for its extreme views and funded by Iran backed ElBaradei. Contrary to AJE’s portrayal, RT’s representation of the Brotherhood is in favour of the status quo by drawing on meanings of the uprising was unjustified for it would not have positive outcomes for Egypt or the region. Based on this, translations tackling this issue will be influenced by preconfigured narrative dimension of the events.

These observations highlight mainly the narrativity feature of particularity and in this case, it corresponds with the narrative frame of ambiguity in which case the status quo is favourable when the situation is faced by many uncertainties. In this sense, the frame of

¹⁶⁵ AJE 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5167>.

¹⁶⁶ RT 31/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5207>.

¹⁶⁷ AJE 27/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5205>.

¹⁶⁸ RT 07/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5396>.

¹⁶⁹ Supreme Leader of Iran.

¹⁷⁰ RT 07/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5396>.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

ambiguity in narratives inescapably follow identifying participants concerning one another. By doing so, it ultimately transfers salience to the protesters/people who identify with one of the participants that the stories are giving voice to. It transfers the salience to aspects both participants might emphasise, since they are defined in terms of their relationship, although it is possible a participant initially identified with only one of them or neither and may share relatively fewer aspects of the uprising to focus on. For example, in RT's narrative, some stories interpretations might not have been influenced by RT's cynical representation of ElBaradei but may have been when links were established to the discourses encompassing the Muslim Brotherhood. To illustrate, the Muslim Brotherhood usually focuses on the political aspect, whereas ElBaradei on the social. Intertextuality aided establishing the relation between specific aspects of social and political narratives in order to lend meanings between the two aspects. This led both aspects to absorb new derived meanings and to be empowered through the links, in which case, the events are re-contextualised and the narrative evolves.

Overall, the observed AJE and RT representations of the brotherhood are consistent in their representations of ElBaradei. Both RT and AJE focused on the relation between ElBaradei and the Brotherhood. In doing so, they identified ElBaradei by identifying the Brotherhood. Such actions signal the links between the participants, which is an important factor in the narrative's dynamics. Since from narratives account perspective episodes are pieced together and are not tackled separately, the observations highlight the importance of the role played by intertextuality in deriving the meanings from the contexts. For this reason and others discussed in this chapter, the narratives need to be traced back to see how they were constructed. Having discussed vocabulary and lexical choice which continue "to be a central component of many content analyses, often drawing also on a wider linguistic and discourse analytic framework" (Hansen et al., 2010, p.113), the chapter links the observations to the narratives they operate under.

5.3 Analysis on a Level Beyond Lexis and Sentence: CDA and Narrative Theory

The manner in which the participants are represented signals the pattern that guides narratives to either unsettle or preserve the dynamics, which are in turn promoted to be disciplinary narratives by giving voice to experts, diplomats, politicians and analysts. In this sense, as the narratives expand, the number of narratives reduces the closer it arrives to becoming a metanarrative. This is because a specific set of ontological narratives

becomes a public narrative. On the next stage, relatively few public narratives are promoted and joined to become disciplinary narratives, in which case the voiced diplomats and/or experts degrade other narrative, allowing salience to be delivered to intended aspects of reality that impacts translations. However, media coverage of any global media event may build on this aspect to create different narratives as this section shows. The first aspect to be considered here is framing. This is because before promoting a public narrative, salience needs to be given to an intended aspect of the uprising to be represented as an issue worthy of concern, such as how the Brotherhood backed ElBaradei.

In her investigation of terrorism coverage, Powell (2011) noted that any media event could be framed from different perspectives which in turn repositions the stories interpretations. This could come in the form of the meaning that the government is ignoring what the people demand if salience was delivered to different aspects, because the stories had represented what is the most crucial aspect differently. The process of creating meaning from this sense is realised through (re)narrating the story from the perspective of the opposition, government, civilians, foreign nations, or any set combining two or more participants.

The table below summarises how the selected two channels opted “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, cited in Scheufele, 1999, p.107). These assumptions are in line with the previously mentioned features of narrativity but use different names for them, such as causal emplotment instead of causal interpretation/responsibility and fidelity assessment instead of moral evaluation¹⁷². Iyengar (1991, p.8) argues that “causal responsibility [causal emplotment] focuses on the origin of the issue or problem, while treatment responsibility focuses on who or what has the power either to alleviate or to forestall alleviation of the issue”. These aspects are echoed in the translations produced, for they could come in different frames, such as the focus on origins of a given issue being in a social frame or the focus on possible solution could be political, economic or social, which creates patterns for the overall narratives, as discussed below.

¹⁷² To maintain consistency, this research opted to choose the terms used in Baker's *Translating and Conflict* (2006).

Table 5: AJE and RT Story Focus (Egypt)

(N=237)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (<i>p</i> -value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Government	22	17.19	24	22.02	46	19.40	0.7 (0.4)
Humanitarian	49	38.28	14	18.84	63	26.58	14.32 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
Political	18	14.06	39	35.78	57	24.05	11.54 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
Uprising	39	30.47	32	29.36	71	29.96	0.02 (0.88)
Total	128	100.0	109	100.0	237	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 26.60; df = 3; \chi^2/df = 8.87; \text{Cramer's } V = 0.335$$

Reports talking about measures taken by the government went under 'government'. Reports talking about civilian casualties and violations of human rights went under 'humanitarian'. Reports drawing attention to the involvement of foreign countries and the possible outcome on global political stage went under 'political'. Finally, the reports broadcasting the uprising itself and the events taking place at Tahrir Square and other places where protesters were amassed went under 'uprising'.

Regarding government and uprising perspectives, the results in the table above show that there are no statistically significant results with *p*-values 0.4 and 0.88 respectively. On the other hand, statistically significant results are observed in humanitarian and political aspects. These results are in line with previous chapter and the findings published by Aday et al. (2005), who observed that AJE tended to focus on humanitarian issues, including civilian casualties and their suffering. This signals the focus AJE had on broadcasting the protesters' perspective of the uprising to promote seeing the events from their point of view. In AJE coverage, the highest percentage was for humanitarian aspect (38.28%), and the least was on political aspect with (14.06%), while RT was the opposite, with political being the highest (35.78%) and humanitarian being the lowest (18.84%). For TS, Bennett (2012, pp.22-23) states that the news can be utilised "to influence what the public regards as important for them to think about in society and politics". To do so, stories re-narrate events following establishing links as discussed in previous sections to impact the meanings through the contexts lent from the linked discourse.

The narrativity feature of genericness does not only explain how meanings are made through frames, but also how frames promote a specific narrative from a set of narratives.

This correlates with who is being given a more prominent voice and what is the most crucial aspect of the uprising. Therefore, the emphasis of RT and AJE's on the political and humanitarian frames respectively are seen through frames and audience-making. This influences the re-narrated stories' meanings through the context they come to be resituated in. For example, it explains such messages that followed the speeches which had focused on the political aspect by RT, while AJE stated "Mubarak sounds absolutely out of touch with his people", to which correspondents later concluded that "Mubarak has earned the hatred and disregard of the Egyptian people"¹⁷³.

News channels do not only choose the focus but also the interlinked voices who usually focus on the same issues they want to be heard more to deliver currency to intended narrative. Ginneken (1998, p.85) argues in the context of "the politics of loud and whispering voices" that "news is based on a selective articulation of certain voices about supposed events: not only the voices of journalists themselves but also their sources". He also adds (1998, p.89) in the context of credibility that "journalists are ready to believe, and have the public believe, some sources and not others". Sources could include the speaker of the translated speech. Fairclough (2003, p.53) argues that "framing can be conducive to an interpretation favourable to a group and unfavourable for another". However, it is important to note that movements often seek to be voiced by media perhaps more often than the government. McAdam (2011, p.276) argues that "most movements spend considerable time and energy in seeking to attract and shape media coverage of their activities". This could be owed to the fact that the government's narrative is already constructed, while the movements are constructing their narrative on different interpretation to contest that of the government, while, as argued before, narratives tend to be resilient when faced by efforts to unsettle or reconfigure their dynamics.

It is also important to note that voicing a participant does not necessarily entail being in favour of their narrative. A channel might give voice to a participant and then attempt to refute their statements, including the translated speeches, or a channel may have to broadcast important speeches for instance, but the speeches might undergo a process of selective appropriation, adding speculations, interpretations, and predictions. From the relation between voices and discourse perspective, Barkho (2010, p.42) argues that "when discourse is contextualised, voices taking part in it do not enjoy equal opportunity to power, emphasis and authority". Both RT and AJE gave voice to both parties; however,

¹⁷³ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

they were not equally heard, as the table below summarises. This could give prominence to given participants because it results in emphasising the aspects the voiced participants believe to be more important. Consequently, it could promote the contexts that the voiced participant draw on.

Table 6: AJE and RT News Source (Egypt)

(N=237)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (<i>p</i> -value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Government	16	12.50	26	23.85	42	17.72	4.28 (0.04)
Opposition	25	19.53	11	10.09	36	15.19	3.45 (0.06)
Civilians	24	18.75	9	8.26	33	13.92	4.66 (0.03)
Government and Civilians	0	0	7	6.42	7	2.95	8.22 (0.004)
Opposition and Civilians	16	12.50	3	2.75	19	8.01	7.00 (0.008)
UN	6	4.69	0	0	6	2.53	5.10 (0.02)
Social Media	6	4.69	0	0	6	2.53	5.10 (0.02)
Correspondents	11	8.59	10	9.17	21	8.86	0.02 (0.88)
Russia	0	0	16	14.68	16	6.75	18.8 (<i>p</i> < 0.001)
US	5	3.90	6	5.50	11	4.64	0.32 (0.56)
Experts	19	14.84	21	19.27	40	16.88	0.68 (0.40)
Total	128	100.0	109	100.0	237	100.0	

$\chi^2 = 57.62$; $df = 9$; $\chi^2/df = 6.40$; Cramer's $V = 0.49$

The same reports classified in the previous table are classified here concerning who was given voice. This included officials, activists, opposition party leaders, former ambassadors to Egypt from Russia and US, and economic and political analysts. Results reveal that RT gave voice to the opposition 10.09% of the time, less than half the amount it did to the government (23.85%). In contrast, AJE gave voice to the opposition 19.53% of the time, compared to 12.5% for the government. It is important here to make the distinction between RT and AJE's definition of "Egyptians". When AJE used "Egyptians", it referred to both the opposition and other civilians, and they were given voice 12.5% of the time, compared to RT's 2.75%. Such as the following two AJE

statement: “Egyptians from all walks of life took to the street”¹⁷⁴ and in reporting their collective voice: “Egyptians demand cheaper food and more freedom”¹⁷⁵. However, RT used “Egyptians” to refer to the government and civilians who were not protesting and voiced them together 6.42% of the time, compared to AJE’s 0.0%. For example, “Egyptians want the international committee to stay out of their affairs”¹⁷⁶. Most notably was the complete lack of AJE airing of Russian views (0.0%) compared to RT (14.68%), while they both gave voice to the US in a few cases – 3.9% and 5.5% respectively. For example, RT reported that Russia saw that “Egypt should resolve the crisis by itself, no outside pressure is needed”¹⁷⁷. The lack of AJE’s articulation of the Russian view is perhaps due to the Russian focus on the political aspect.

The importance of how participants were voiced correlates with the features of narrativity, frames in narratives, and narratives assessments. First, it highlights the feature of normativeness, in the sense that it gives currency to certain aspect of a narrative by voicing participants who emphasise it and attempt to degrade existing narratives by drawing attention to aspects of reality that previous narratives had ignored. Second, it highlights the frames of space and ambiguity in narratives. The frames of space from this sense is linked to how participants are allocated spaces in re-narrating a given narrative, whereas some are silenced under selective appropriation. Finally, the manner of giving voice to a participant may allow them to increase their credibility if they maintain the pattern that guides the narrative, which leads to reinforcing or degrading of the narrative that they are main or secondary participants in. This is important because any narrative needs reliable sources that can promote it. In this instance, this comes in the form of characterological coherence and indirectly fidelity. Fidelity assessment comes as the following step to establishing sources as reliable, which in turn will promote a narrative through the manner they present facts through experts and analysts giving currency to a narrative to become disciplinary.

Barkho (2010, p.43) explains: “we are aware that hard-news discourse is of multiple voices but need to see how these voices are represented”. From CDA perspective, main and secondary voices need to be distinguished. This can be done by asking why certain participants were voiced. For example, a channel might voice a participant who is expected to side with the government such as a leading figure in the ruling party but

¹⁷⁴ AJE 25/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5056>.

¹⁷⁵ AJE 27/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5205>.

¹⁷⁶ RT 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5260>.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

siding with the opposition. Alternatively, a channel might voice participants and then attempt to refute them using visuals, experts, witnesses, UN statistics or other voices. This was more evident in case of covering officials translated speeches. Voices can also come in support of main voices. Such efforts were noted relatively more in AJE's broadcasts which could be explained by an attempt to challenge the existing narrative that had sustained Mubarak's regime for the 30 years leading to the uprising.

Though the previous table classifies the reports in term of who was given voice, voices from same entities can differ in the aspects they emphasise. For example both channels voiced the opposition; however, RT tended to voice the political aspect of the protesters' views. For example, in their criticism of Mubarak, RT reported the protesters repeatedly saying, "thank you, Mr Obama, this is your friend, Mubarak is your friend"¹⁷⁸, while AJE stressed that "their demands remain the same. Whether [the protesters] are secular, liberals, religious or conservatives, no political or ideological speeches by protesters so far"¹⁷⁹. In addition, an antagonist-protagonist theme was observed on story level, whereas participants are classified as 'us versus them'. If the reported stories sought to create a protagonist-antagonist structure, the voices heard following the establishment of this theme are examined in light of who is narrating what. It follows the question of credibility of these voices as well as their capacity in narrating the events, which is a created meaning by itself as well as influencing the meanings of what these voices and others opposing them utter.

These themes are linked to causal emplotment, selective appropriation, and genericness as well as indirectly narrative accrual. Seeing the conflict from the government perspective will most likely lead to the view of the protesters' (antagonist) actions as unjustified, causing chaos and mayhem, while the government forces (the protagonist) are struggling to maintain law and order. For this theme to be established, most of the opposition voices need to be silenced by an earlier story presenting them as violent and thieving. Seeing the conflict from the government perspective would build on frames of political nature while seeing it from the opposition perspective sheds light on issues of humanitarian, economic, and social frames. These differences, in turn, call for different voices prioritising these aspects accordingly; therefore, they elaborate the feature of genericness. Together, these considerations promote at least two narratives simultaneously, creating distinct meanings in the process and surfacing inconsistencies

¹⁷⁸ RT 31/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5207>.

¹⁷⁹ AJE 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5270>.

that provoke the need to reinterpretations and revaluations. These different aspects of the uprising that were emphasised with the manner in which participants were given voice signal the existence of a set of disciplinary narratives that had evolved from public narratives through situating them in different contexts as well as establishing links between the discourses they are elaborated within. They became disciplinary with giving voice to experts that had drawn the attention to aspects that were ignored in the constructed narrative. This impacts the meanings and reinterprets reality, in which case they could contest the narrative or defend the status quo. This included economic and political considerations and the impact the uprising has on the tourism industry.

Overall, investigating the antagonist-protagonist theme is linked to which side each channel supports. This becomes evident when reports of thematic nature are pieced together. This might result in constant attempts to portray the uprising as potentially resulting in dividing Egypt on ideological issues. In his investigation of media coverage of Oslo Accords and Arab-Israeli conflict, Wolfsfeld (1997, p.104) remarks that “one of most effective ways of undermining a movement claims is to have it framed as unimportant, weird, or *dangerous*” (emphasis added). This signal framing of a text or utterance regarding other texts because when one text is portrayed unimportant, others are represented as more important. This sheds light on intended other parts of the text and will possibly lead to extend the narrative to include external episodes as the following section discusses.

5.3.1 Intertextuality in Thematic Coverage

Since this study traces back narratives to see how metanarratives are constructed, the questions relating to an examination of contexts and intertextuality are necessary. This is because issues including guided political import of narratives and situating texts in different media narratives are seen from meaning-making process as illustrated earlier. Metanarratives have considerable impact on meanings and, by extension, the contexts circulating it and elaborated within. This chapter, so far, showed how participants classification and identification to one another highlight the narrativity features of particularity and relationality. It also addressed how the events were presented and from whose perspective, as well as how the participants were given voice. It then linked this to the correlated temporality, causal emplotment, frames in narratives, as well as narrative assessments and their role in re-contextualisation. These links would not have been established and maintained if it was not for the thematic nature of the coverage of both

RT and AJE. The thematic coverage follows considerations of intertextuality where the meanings are not created in isolation and need to be considered as such.

Intertextuality, as Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.276) explain, is “the way discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier as well as those which are produced synchronically or subsequently”. Since they are connected, their meanings are influenced by each other including translations and the act of translating. Therefore, Fairclough and Wodak's perspective corresponds with the explanation of the thematic coverage where the subsequent media messages are linked together and addressed accordingly. To establish the link between the texts, questions of how participants were classified and how were they identified in relation to one another are essential. From translation perspective, narratives, as Baker (2006, p.3) explains,

are dynamic entities; they change in subtle or radical ways as people experience and become exposed to new stories on a daily basis. This assumption has a number of consequences. First, narrative theory recognizes that people's behaviour is ultimately guided by the stories they come to believe about the events in which they are embedded, rather than by their gender, race, colour of skin, or any other attribute. Second, because narratives are dynamic, they cannot be streamlined into a set of stable stories that people simply choose from. Narrative theory recognizes that at any moment in time we can be located within a variety of divergent, criss-crossing, often vacillating narratives, thus acknowledging the complexity and fluidity of our positioning in relation to other participants in interaction. Third, because narratives are continually open to change with our exposure to new experience and new stories, they have significant subversive or transformative potential.

Baker (2006) exemplifies this notion by saying that to undermine regimes such as Nazi Germany, a narrative is constructed to challenge the stories that they had used to sustain them which included re-narrating or translating the same meanings but in different contexts to impact their meanings. Similar attempts are noted in AJE's coverage. Since narratives dynamics can change depending on what was invoked, selective appropriation and other narrativity feature can (re)direct this change. Baker (2009, p.11) also added: “the issue of representation is closely linked to the environment of reception”. In his investigation of the cultural aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict media coverage, Wolfsfeld (1997, p.54) argues that “the media serves as *public interpreters* of events and as *symbolic arenas* for ideological struggle between antagonists” (emphasis in original). From a

dialogism perspective, Barkho (2010, p.122) states that one of its important aspects is “how a new text accommodates an older one that, in news, is discursively represented in the reporting of the speech through quoting, scare quoting, and paraphrasing”.

The assumption Baker offers has a consequence to be considered. Messages re-contextualise the events to make sense of them because they were linked to discourses that differ in the TL from their utterance in the SL. From TS narrative theory perspective, this is elaborated in the feature of relationality, where it is impossible to make sense of isolated events (Baker, 2006, p.61). This follows that the interpretation and meanings are derived from the context, which, in turn, encompasses other texts, hence the question of intertextuality. Since isolated events need to be linked together in order to be interpreted, then a question arises in relation to how they were represented in terms of the order of appearance. The feature of temporality offers the assumptions that when possible, the elements of a narrative appear in an intended sequence. Part of the meaning is then derived from this sequence, and the rest is derived from contextualising it using all the texts that identify the participants, the relation between them, classification of the events taking place, speculations and interpretations (Hansen et al. 2010, p.155; Baker, 2006, p.51).

Therefore, the focus in analysing the following translations draws on Schäffner's (2013) approach. The question asked is how does narrating a story from particular perspective participate in constructing a narrative. This is because based on the discussions above, both the speaker and the events are contextualised differently in RT and AJE's representations which leads to impact the meanings derived. From sociocultural approach perspective in TS, Wolf (2002, p.33) adds:

A sociological approach to the study of translation therefore would follow the insight that translation is a socially-regulated activity and consequently analyse the social agents responsible for the creation of translation. The analysis of the social implications of translation helps us to identify the translator as constructing and constructed subject in society, and to view translation as a social practice.

Her remarks can relate to the current investigation in the sense that the meanings are not contained only in the produced translations as their interpretation is associated with the contexts elaborated during, before or after producing translations.

5.3.2 January 28th 2011 – Mubarak's Speech

The excerpt chosen to be translated says:

The incident that took place today and [over] the past few days have left the majority of Egyptian people fearing for Egypt and its future, causer of further mayhem, chaos, and destruction. I, shouldering my first responsibility to maintain the homeland security and the citizens' safety, cannot tolerate, cannot allow this fear to grip our people and therefore I would not allow this to haunt our future and fate. I have requested the government to step down today, and I will designate a new government as of tomorrow.¹⁸⁰

Based on the discussion above, one possible difference in the interpretations based on the narratives of AJE and RT's is the following:

AJE: This is an attempt to justify the police brutality against the peaceful protesters.

RT: The violence committed by the violent anti-government protesters and looters was met with police interfering to "maintain the homeland security and the citizens' safety".

Observing the broadcasts covering the translations show that RT and AJE used forms of additions in the form of commentary and interpretations. Together, these decisions correlate with all features of narrativity, given that the previous stories had associated or dissociated particular discourses with participants. Fairclough (2003, p.53) argues:

When the voice of another is incorporated into a text, there are always choices about how to frame it, how to contextualize it, in terms of other parts of the text – about relations between report and authorial account. For example, the report that the Libyans 'said they wanted more time to sort out the details of the handover' is framed with 'faced by the threat of more sanctions', and one might see this framing as conducive to a rather negative interpretation of what the Libyan officials are reported to have said as, for instance, 'stalling' – indeed the correspondent does later hypothesize about 'a delaying tactic'.

Same efforts can be undertaken in translations.

A similar observation was made in the broadcasts covering Mubarak's speech. As he promised in his speech, Mubarak appointed a vice-president for the first time in Egypt as a response to the protesters' demands. RT reported this as "Mubarak to appoint new

¹⁸⁰ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

government amid deadly protests against his rule”¹⁸¹. However, AJE reported that “Mubarak appointed his chief of intelligence in a bid to save his own presidency” and “Mubarak may have chosen him to retain international support because Suleiman¹⁸² earned the respect of US and Israel through his elegance in the Arab-Israeli conflict”¹⁸³. RT saw this as a compromise made by the government, but the opposition was unwilling to offer something of the sort. AJE on the other hand saw this as “Mubarak sounds absolutely out of touch with his people” and correspondents later concluded “Mubarak has earned the hatred and disregard of the Egyptian people”¹⁸⁴. Based on this, AJE concluded that “appointing a vice-president is seen too little too late”¹⁸⁵. The manner in which RT translated this speech and the stories that had preceded its airing suggests that the meaning Mubarak had intended was not impacted significantly. Based on the manner the speech was represented and reframed and how the previous stories had portrayed the uprising, AJE’s messages impacted the interpretation of the translation in comparison to what was independently intended by Mubarak’s speech when taken in isolation.

5.3.3 February 1st 2011 – Mubarak’s Speech

AJE’s coverage of the 10-minute speech (1013 words, full translated text is available in appendix B) focused almost solely on the issue that Mubarak intended to finish the remainder of his term in office. Mubarak said he would continue the remainder of his term to ensure the peaceful transfer of power rather than risking a power vacuum and would not seek re-election. RT captioned this as “Mubarak pledges September step-down, but protesters demand immediate exit”¹⁸⁶. On the other hand, AJE reported this as “defiant Mubarak vows to finish term”¹⁸⁷. As a comment on the translated speech, AJE said: “Mubarak seemed largely unfazed by the protests during his recorded address”. AJE also added that Mubarak said “the young people have the right to peaceful demonstrations. But his tone quickly turned accusatory, saying the protestors had been taken advantage of by people trying to undermine the government”. AJE concluded that “it is clear that President Mubarak is in denial over his legacy” and if he “did not heed the call to leave power at once, he would be not only a lame-duck president but a dead

¹⁸¹ RT 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5164>.

¹⁸² The newly appointed Vice-President at the time.

¹⁸³ AJE 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5167>.

¹⁸⁴ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

¹⁸⁵ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

¹⁸⁶ RT 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5260>.

¹⁸⁷ AJE 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5270>.

man walking”¹⁸⁸. Basing this speculation on the fact that “he is, unfortunately, going to extend the agony here for another six-seven months. He continues to polarise the country. He continues to get people even more angry and could resort to violence”¹⁸⁹. AJE concluded, “indeed, none of the protestors interviewed by Al Jazeera earlier today said they would accept Mubarak finishing his term in office”¹⁹⁰. Similar to Fairclough’s Libya example of a delaying tactic mentioned earlier, this aspect was framed mostly in two ways: a “waiting game” and “pressure from the US administration, which urged him not to seek re-election”¹⁹¹. AJE viewed this as an attempt to “outlast the crowds amassed at Tahrir Square”¹⁹². It is unlikely that an interpretation that says this ‘waiting game’ would be enacted independently, for the speech sought allay concerns that ensure his departure would not cause power vacuum. This interpretation is derived from earlier stories that presented Mubarak. The assigned frame space, from which Mubarak as participant re-narrates events, does not allow him to warn of impending rise of terrorism. This is because he was represented as a dictator, who had imprisoned political activists, unjustifiably banned opposition parties, rigged elections, did not allow people to peacefully protest, and would not easily relinquish power.

On the other hand, a narrative that aims to maintain the status quo and empowers the government needs to derive meanings from contexts of political nature. RT focused on the issues of possible “destabilisation”, “Mubarak is the only thing holding Egypt in its place”, and the fears of “Islamic takeover of Egypt”¹⁹³. RT based these speculations on reports suggesting “people are looting museums” and “Israel is nervous” because they “prefer the status quo to any other changes”¹⁹⁴. This is in line with observations noted above of RT’s attempt to frame the uprising in a larger political narrative while destabilisation is also a frame standing by itself. This supports the statement made by Mubarak that he needed to finish his term to ensure free elections, instead of causing a power vacuum which could be fertile ground for terrorism and extremism, or, in RT’s words, an “Islamic takeover of Egypt”. This is because, unlike AJE, RT took the view that the Muslim Brotherhood has extreme ideas and since it is the largest opposition party, a power vacuum would be of their interests. RT in this example is also attempting to extend the political meaning to include neighbouring countries by highlighting the effect

¹⁸⁸ AJE 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5270>.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ RT 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5260>.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

this uprising in general and Mubarak's immediate departure might bring. On the other hand, AJE stressed on the following day of delivering the speech that "police forces are supervising looting museums" and "the security forces are terrorising the people"¹⁹⁵. In doing this, AJE draws attention to the humanitarian frames. It highlighted different interpretation that may challenge the meaning Mubarak intended to create; ensuring stability is only possible after the elections upon the end of his term.

The manner of covering the speeches seems to have been motivated by the patterns emerging in the distinct narratives before delivering them. The narrative assessments from material coherence perspective provide theoretical explanation to the manner of how the speeches hearers were positioned. In this sense, the speeches are seen from different participants perspectives, whereas the speeches are to somewhat degree treated as the other subsequent media messages appearing as the events are unfolding. Therefore, to maintain material coherence, RT sought to further support Mubarak as a reliable source by providing examples of what he had addressed in his speech and give prominence to the context from which he narrated the events. On the other hand, AJE reframed the speeches in a manner that would not contradict the narrative they intended to construct, e.g. Mubarak is in denial over his legacy and playing a 'waiting game' by trying to outlast the protesters amassed in Tahrir Square.

The focus of RT's broadcast on the day following the first speech on January 29th 2011, entitled "Mob Rule", was the "violent" actions of protesters towards the police and that the "police stations have been raided"¹⁹⁶. From CDA perspective, the use of passivised verbs are often used to allow the agent to be omitted and maintain the emphasis on the object (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.136). AJE, which previously stressed the protesters as peaceful, needed to respond to maintain the material and characterological coherence of the narrative. AJE responded on the following day, saying: "people attacked the police because police are protecting the corrupt regime not the people"¹⁹⁷. AJE also played footage showing IDs of "thugs" belonging to the security forces who were captured by protesters¹⁹⁸. Messages represent the government as complicit in the looting; therefore, the protesters' perspective is promoted, and their narrative evolves. In this instance, this effort came in the form of engaging the counter arguments presented by both Mubarak and RT. AJE responded to the second speech where Mubarak stated the protests are being

¹⁹⁵ AJE 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5167>.

¹⁹⁶ RT 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5164>.

¹⁹⁷ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

infiltrated. AJE broadcasted “violence is caused by saboteurs and thugs infiltrating the demonstrations”¹⁹⁹; however, the “looters are members of the central security, interior ministry and police”²⁰⁰. This added effect and meanings was not intended by Mubarak.

From framing narratives in translations perspective, Baker (2006, p.105) remarks that “translators and interpreters can and do resort to various strategies to strengthen or undermine particular aspects of the narratives they mediate, explicitly or implicitly”. These, in turn, are usually linked to drawing attention to aspects that could provoke (re)interpretations based on the aspects that have been emphasised because the existing narrative uses arguments based on values and beliefs, i.e. the possibility of the rise of extremism. This is one of the reasons why narratives tend to be resilient when faced by efforts intended to unsettle them. This leads to the reframing of a specific aspect to be viewed in light of other aspects of reality, because values and beliefs embedded in a narrative cannot be directly contested. For example, Mubarak talks about possible destabilisation if he leaves office before finishing his term, which would lead to extremism. AJE interpreted that as his being in denial over his legacy, following that with reports saying the police are supervising looting museums, where the meaning derived is destabilisation is happening because of him and his rule. Since the strategies observed in the reports linked to the produced translations seemed to focus on re-contextualisation of certain aspects to be reframed, the channels actions signal whether they empathise the speaker's perspective. For example, these measures included labelling participants and actions. Some of these actions can also be approached in light of additions and omissions.

5.3.4 Additions and Omissions

The importance of the act of selectivity of what to be translated and aired streams from the impact such decisions have on the meanings produced through invoking aspects that can reinterpret events or restricting the frames respectively. From the perspective of translation and ideology, Maitland (2017, p.133) argues:

Whether we conceive of appropriation as possessive or transformational, this is not the final stage in translation's hermeneutic journey. Once ‘meaning’ no longer coincides with what the author intended, no privileged authority exists beyond the world of the text to mediate diverging interpretations.

¹⁹⁹ AJE 01/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5235>.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

The decision to omit an incident and/or to add another in the form of media memory, speculation, interpretation, and prediction can be addressed in various ways. They can come in the form of maintaining characterological or material coherence, shifting the frame, (re)identifying a participant, promoting a narrative, and engaging a counter-argument. Such efforts can be materialised by adding forms of media memory, voicing experts, and providing background information about specific aspect to highlight areas that had escaped hearers. This chapter has previously noted that such an effort allowed AJE to present ElBaradei as a Nobel Peace Prize winner to cast him as a leading opposition voice. Alternatively, channels might choose to omit other messages that impact the material coherence of narratives or characterological coherence that damages the credibility of the voices the narrative relies on in (re)narrating the events. Additions and omissions are therefore correlated with the features of selective appropriation, normativeness, and narrative accrual, the frames in narratives, and narrative assessments.

Both additions and omissions can alter meaning considerably by changing the narrative dynamics and relations between participants, as well as what portrayed worthy of concern. For example, while additions can reframe and re-contextualise messages by offering ways to reinterpret texts, omissions can restrict the meanings to the intended frames that best serve the desired narrative, in which case it aids in maintaining existing narratives and preserving the intended effect of the translations. In their investigation of the news agencies' translations of the Arab Spring events, Tawfiq and Abdul Ghani (2015, p.2291) argue that "theoretically, deletion, addition, substitution and reorganisation of the TT during editing should be the duty of the translator while, in reality, such editing is done by journalists". Similarly, this chapter approaches the translations as episodes in the constructed narratives. It takes into account the features of narrativity in relation to omitting events and/or adding external episodes.

As observed in the translations produced, additions and omissions can come in different forms. This includes emphasising a particular narrative on the expense of another that is omitted. One crucial aspect, as mentioned earlier, is labelling. Baker (2006, p.122) defines labelling in the context of narratives as "any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative". Therefore, if labelling is used, then it entails the addition of classification of participants and at the same time omitting, replacing or reinforcing the original label the speakers were intending. Labelling can change the frames from for example social to political as it confines participants to intended groups. However, it is

possible the speaker might not use specific labels explicitly, but the effect the intended meaning was derived from implied labels which could be noted from the overall narrative. This is important because the coverages used different labels. Adding labels is not necessarily an effort to reframe or emphasise as it could be an effort to clarify the intended meaning, in which case it restricts the possible multiple interpretations to an intended meaning. The use of labels is important for who would participants identify with and to render an event or action identifiable. In this regard, Baker (Ibid.) argues that “any type of label used for pointing to or identifying a key element or participant in a narrative, then, provides an interpretive frame that guides and constrains our response to the narrative in question”. They could be utilised to counter the previously discussed efforts to provoke reinterpretations and revaluations to be reverted back to those independently intended by the speaker.

On February 7th, AJE reported the death of Ahmed Mahmod, a reporter who, according to AJE, was shot and killed while filming the police beating demonstrators in Tahrir Square, showing footage of him being “carried and given martyrs’ funeral”²⁰¹. In the context of CDA, Hansen and Machin (2018, p.127) argue that naming participants “individualise them and therefore allow us to associate with them as real people”. This episode, however, is not mentioned in RT’s coverage. This is somewhat similar to the example of Ma’loul village in the previous chapter. Baker (2006, p.112) states that certain types of framing involve “selecting a particular text and embedding it in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative it depicts and encourages us to establish links between it and current narratives that touch our lives”. Though one way to look at these temporal and spatial frames is extending narratives to include repositioning participants, they can also be seen as attempts to question the arguments different participants are presenting to possibly come to conclusions that reject them, as the next section discusses.

5.4 Discrediting Opposing Voices

For narratives to be maintained in thematic coverage, channels needed to discredit certain voices. This could result in repositioning the participants because discrediting some voices entails dissociation with the discourses they emphasised. For a channel’s narrative, this is important for mainly three reasons; maintain characterological coherence, narrative continual involvement, and contexts and frames in narratives.

²⁰¹ AJE 07/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5399>.

Narrative need reliable sources who focus on the frames it highlights. Some of these voices might be subject to attempts of discrediting by other influential voices, institutions, channels or the unfolding events. In addition, some voices are impacted when situated in another context or in the contexts of the TL. Therefore, observations of simultaneous discrediting certain voices and restoring credibility for others were made. These three reasons, in turn, overlap with others in the process of promoting a narrative. This is because considerations of NFO, causal emplotment, fidelity assessment, and normativeness needs to be taken into account to ensure a comprehensive examination of this attempt taken by both channels. A narrative need to be promoted before it becomes a metanarrative, otherwise it will not be able to widen the scope of associated discourses and audiences. This is perhaps why both RT and AJE opted to engage counter-arguments and attempted to discredit them, as the existence of opposing voices stands in the way of the evolution of disciplinary narratives.

Table 7: AJE and RT Attempts to Undermine Participants (Egypt)

(N=237)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (p-value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Government	79	61.71	17	15.60	96	40.51	30.91 ($p < 0.001$)
Opposition	22	17.19	36	33.03	58	24.47	6.04 (0.01)
Government and opposition	4	3.13	11	10.09	15	6.33	4.51 (0.03)
US	6	4.69	20	18.35	26	10.97	10.01 (0.001)
US and opposition	7	5.47	17	15.60	24	10.13	5.96 (0.01)
Undermining the uprising	10	7.81	8	7.34	18	7.59	0.017 (0.89)
Total	128	100.0	109	100.0	237	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 57.461; df = 5; \chi^2/df = 11.49; \text{Cramer's } V = 0.49$$

Much of AJE's efforts to undermine participants were invested in attempting to discredit the government with (61.71%) of its stories negatively presenting the Egyptian government. Most notable of these were messages saying the government is not allowing people to protest peacefully, unjustified police brutality, the government is infiltrating the protests, it is out of touch with the people, and the police are supervising looting museums. Such messages are significant because they address issues Mubarak mentioned

in his speech regarding his belief of citizens being allowed to peacefully protest. RT on the other hand focused on undermining the US and the opposition with 18.35% and 33.03% respective coverage. Messages undermining the US usually came in the form of backing some participants while RT voiced Russia in this regard saying Egyptians should solve this issue on their own without foreign intervention. These included reports aired by RT that the opposition leaders are coached by US intelligence agencies. Therefore, political meanings of foreign intervention in Egypt's sovereignty emerged. RT undermined the opposition by labelling as them violent and unreasonable, while airing messages saying they are responsible for looting police stations, museums and freeing terrorists. This effort reduces the legitimacy of the uprising and further supports the messages in Mubarak's speech. This also included attempts to undermine participants who are classified under the opposition, such as ElBaradei and the Muslim Brotherhood which backed him, as a group banned for its extreme views.

In response to both RT and the Egyptian government's claims of the protesters being motivated by political agendas, AJE reported "their demands remain the same. Whether [the protesters] are secular, liberals, religious or conservatives, no political or ideological speeches by protesters so far"²⁰². Describing a participant using the term 'violent' might implicitly mean the other participants are not violent. However, in covering the Egyptian uprising, the observed representation seemed to revolve around whether the actions or responses of other participants were justified. This follows that violence on the part of the security forces was not only justified but also needed to maintain law and order. AJE created noun constructions in its response to the government statement of people are allowed to peacefully protest by reporting "people defy government ban on public gatherings" and though they were protesting peacefully, "the response was anything but peaceful, and the result was coloured with pain"²⁰³. AJE then concluded that "Egypt is not letting its people to peacefully protest"²⁰⁴. AJE also added "five people killed in Cairo, 11 killed in Suez and 170 wounded"²⁰⁵. These reports sought to undermine Mubarak because giving the right to protest to the people who are "holding peaceful and celebratory demonstrations"²⁰⁶ would not result in such casualties. RT's report on the following day was titled "Mob Rule", in which they stressed that "dozens have been

²⁰² AJE 05/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5352>.

²⁰³ AJE 26/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5078>.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

²⁰⁶ AJE 01/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5235>.

killed in the violent anti-government protest” and “police stations have been raided”²⁰⁷. RT then later added that “Hezbollah, Hamas, and Muslim Brotherhood members jail break and went to Lebanon”. RT raises the question of who helped them, indicating, “could be anyone from the thousands protesting in the streets”²⁰⁸.

In the context of economics, Mubarak stressed in his speech that reforms require stability. This is a narrative that is utilising a value; protesters would not want to destabilise the country or collapse its economy. Therefore, contesting this narrative build on “specific possibilities previously unsuspected by audiences” (Fisher, 1992, p.33; cited in Baker, 2006, p.162) without having to engage the value that supports the existing narrative. A narrative guided by different pattern therefore needs to find a way to reinterpret this aspect of reality without contesting the values themselves, as they are themselves will be needed to maintain its meanings. AJE responded to this argument saying an “estimated one million tourists fled the country. The economy might be suffering, but Mubarak’s wealth is not. Some say it is up to 70 billion dollars. Eight million worth house in London for Mubarak’s son and substantial properties in Manhattan, London, and Beverly Hills, just a hint of the enormous wealth they accumulated during 30 years in power”²⁰⁹. AJE acknowledged that the demonstrations are impacting the economy, but the “Egyptians are combating a regime that have wiped their wealth for the past 30 years” and therefore “few more days are not going to make a difference”. With these arguments, AJE concluded it is “a small sacrifice for the greater good”²¹⁰.

On the other hand, RT showed effort to simultaneously reinforce its interpretation and degrade that of the opposition. It stressed that tourism is the backbone of the Egyptian economy, the tourists are rushing to airports and “the protests are costing the country 310 million dollars per day”²¹¹. Therefore, while both channels shed light on the negative aspect, the difference is in AJE’s assertion that the positives outweigh the negatives, a view not shared by RT. The blame is placed on the protesters in RT’s representation, while in AJE’s representation, the government had embezzled the Egyptian wealth and are only prolonging the agony; therefore, the sooner the government steps down, the better.

²⁰⁷ RT 29/01/ 2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5164>.

²⁰⁸ RT 07/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5396>.

²⁰⁹ AJE 06/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5371>.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ RT 06/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5368>.

RT also responded to AJE's arguments on Mubarak's wealth, saying: "the blame of Mubarak's enormous wealth and abuse of power is shifted to Western companies accused of funding him for decades"²¹². In his discussion of "compelling arguments"²¹³ in media, McCombs (2014, p.51) argues that "some attributes are more equal than other attributes. Some are more likely than others to be noticed and remembered". McCombs defines compelling arguments in this context as the transference of salience of specific issues between media and the public, which in turn facilitate delivering the intended meaning (Ibid.). The media's decision to include this remark and others of similar meanings are discussed in the next section in light of extending narratives to include episodes of external narratives. Overall, AJE's efforts seem to reframe the uprising to the humanitarian frame, shifting the public attention away from considerations of the economic situation. RT, on the other hand, intended to highlight the economic and political situation with the view that stability is difficult to achieve without a stable economy, an argument that was outlined by Mubarak in his speech. These measures illustrate how both channels attempted to discredit the opposing voices that contradict the narratives they sought to construct, impacting the translations in the process.

5.5 Episodes of External Narratives: Media Communication and Persuasion

In addition to attempting to discredit opposing voices, channels need to communicate their messages in different contexts to associate with wider scope of discourses and promote the disciplinary narratives to metanarratives. Therefore, messages need to communicate the text in different narratives, elaborated in the process of reframing and re-contextualising. This is because added texts can come from different contexts, such as retelling past metanarratives in the form of media memory. Consideration of this needs to pay attention to the sequencing of the related stories and where they are situated, as the manner of their appearance and the meanings derived from them hold close ties. The table below summarises the identified ways in which the channels attempted to communicate texts through raising NFO by raising the level of relevance.

Table 8: Episodes of Media Persuasion and Communication (Egypt)

(N=46)	AJE		RT		Total		Chi-square/ (p-value)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	

²¹² RT 09/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5450>.

²¹³ Compelling arguments as defined here are those that are more noticeable and memorable, sharing the function of normativeness, for being memorable is also being worthy of retelling.

Self-referential	10	35.71	3	16.67	13	28.26	1.40 (0.24)
Media memory	6	21.43	8	44.44	14	30.43	1.91 (0.17)
Media rhetoric	12	42.86	7	38.89	19	41.30	0.04 (0.83)
Total	28	100.0	18	100.0	46	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 3.36; df = 2; \chi^2/df = 1.68; \text{Cramer's } V = 0.270$$

Some of the reports classified in the previous tables included episodes that differed from the rest requiring different considerations. The sampling process observed 28 for AJE and 18 for RT. These reports included asking questions such as imagining oneself in the circumstances and contexts of the affected people being reported on, which were classified under self-referential. Since the level of uncertainty was high during the uprising regarding questions of whether the uprising would be good for Egypt or what are the possible outcomes, channels opted to retell past metanarratives of uprisings that had recently ended to interpret the current events. This included the coloured revolutions that are classified under media memory. Media rhetoric included interviewing protesters to show them as the average identifiable everyday people or showing children leading chanting to further promote the protesters' perspective.

Baker (2006, p.21) explains that “the retelling of past narratives is also a means of control. It socializes individuals into an established social and political order and encourages them to interpret present events in terms of sanctioned narratives of the past”. Therefore, the selectivity of past events to be brought back to light at specific times affects the narrative and the produced translations. Baker's view corresponds with earlier notion put forward by Nisbett and Rose (1980 cited in Shrum 2002, p.73) where they refer to such actions as ‘vividness’ arguing “vividness relates to the extent to which something is emotionally interesting, concrete and imagery provoking, and proximate in sensory, temporal, or spatial way”²¹⁴. On their effect, McCombs (2014, p.134) argues that narratives of the mass media and their “commemoration of selected past events, hold even greater sway over the public agenda”. Retelling past narratives help the narrative

²¹⁴ Like the concept of compelling arguments, the function of vividness as defined here shares similarities with the concept of normativeness, where the latter talks about how stories can be portrayed as worthy of retelling. Therefore, to maintain consistency, this research opts to use the word ‘normativeness’ as it is one of eight features of narrativity addressed throughout this thesis.

under construction to pass opinions and evaluations by drawing on meanings of history repeats itself.

For example, in his speech, Mubarak stressed on the impact of the protests on “Egypt and its future” because they would result in “further mayhem, chaos, and destruction”²¹⁵. RT’s coverage for the same day of Mubarak’s speech contained an addition in the form of media memory that favours the status quo. RT broadcasted “the protests in North Africa bear striking parallels with the coloured revolutions”²¹⁶. This can be seen as framing of rather negative speculation on the effect of this uprising, particularly when the report hypothesises the outcomes. The report suggests since there are similarities such as the raised fists symbol and the leaders being coached by US intelligence agencies, Egypt uprising results will be similar to that of “Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004) and Kyrgyzstan (2005)” where RT is expecting the country will be “pushed into abyss, increasing poverty and corruption, dividing Egypt on ideological issues, and EU suffering from waves of immigrants”²¹⁷. Approaching this subject from another perspective may suggest that RT’s decision to draw on these events appears to be motivated by an attempt to re-contextualise the events in the TL for audiences from the EU. This results in extending the narrative to include episodes of external narratives. Welch and Schuster (2005, p.164) refer to such action as “moral panic”, providing an example of “growing number of asylum seekers were met with hostility in the UK, producing such newspaper headlines as: ‘Warning over new influx of gypsies’ (Daily Mail, October 10, 1997)”.

The previous sections show how constructing the overall narratives by both RT and AJE can be summarised with their focus on three interlinked central questions. Is the uprising justified? How were demands expressed and did either participant commit violence? Will the uprising bring positive effects to Egypt and the region? RT and AJE focus on whether the uprisings are justified came in the form of highlighting their demands and whether they are reasonable. The question of violence is shown through the focus on the humanitarian aspect. The focus on the outcomes came mostly in the form of media memory and importing political and economic narratives. However, the decisions of additions or omissions can also be discussed in light of media rhetoric, as the following section focuses on.

²¹⁵ AJE 28/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5146>.

²¹⁶ RT 28/01/ 2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5144>.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

5.6 Language of Emotion: Self-Reference and Media Rhetoric

One could argue that emotionally provocative footage is added to promote the narrative through giving voice to victims and emphasising humanitarian frames. However, considering the discussions above, this chapter agrees with Joffe (2008, p.85) in that an attempt motivates the use of such visuals to identify or relate the audience to the unfolding events. It raises the level of NFO by reframing the events in a way that creates the meaning of high relevance to the unfolding event, such as global economy, terrorism or the influx of refugees. One of the methods deployed was visual aids. Visuals have “a strong capacity to represent risks which are remote from everyday experience, as being subjectively relevant” (Boholm, 1998, p.127, cited in Joffe, 2008, p.85). This raises NFO level and widens the narrative. Widening the narratives’ association with discourses allows importing episodes of external narratives.

Though news networks claim to be objective and that they report stories representing the reality to the best of their reporting, achieving objectivity can be challenging because of factors such as editing guidelines, social, political, and religious orientations of the correspondents and journalists (Alozie, 2007). In addition, “ethical coverage has to be woven into media management frameworks because it is hard for journalists to act according to their own consciences if editors and owners do not share the same ethical codes” (Sakr, 2016, p.48). This is more critical while examining episodes of self-referential narratives which elaborate two distinct narratives. From this perspective, Baker (2006, p.22) argues that “every time a version of the narrative is retold or translated into another language, it is injected with elements from other, broader narratives circulating within the new setting or from the personal narratives of the retellers”. This, in turn, is viewed from the perspective of mediating realities. Since they are not only injected with foreign elements from the target culture but also during translating it, an active agent had participated in the process of transferring the event.

In his investigation of the September 11th attacks, Schudson (2002) argues that the question is not whether media conjures the world, but rather constructing impressions by selective highlighting and framing. Research before 9/11 noted that televised news tended to marginalise social, historical, and economic contexts (Ansolabehere et al. 1993; Paletz et al. 1982). According to Johnson-Cartee (2005), the general trend before the attack was episodic rather than thematic coverage. Though this chapter presents different findings, it is important to note the mentioned publications are addressing the coverage of terrorist attacks and it is expected from the texts to dissociate with discourses from which the

terrorists base their narratives including by emphasising 'us versus them' from which the protagonist-antagonist themes emerged. However, in the coverage of an uprising, channels might side with either participant, opposition or the government. They can associate their narrative of the uprising with either participant perspective. This could include reports such as "a six-year-old girl leading the chants on the shoulders of her father"²¹⁸.

For translation, these observations signal widening the scope of associated discourses and results in audience-making; however, a metanarrative in one environment might be ontological, public, or disciplinary in others. This could be brought about by rejecting some of its aspects or voices in the TT socio-cultural system. This highlights the significance and role of re-contextualisation in translation particularly for importing external narratives. These external episodes, in turn, are constituted of parts of both ontological and public narratives reinforcing each other to become normalised (Baker, 2006, p.29-30). This chapter therefore is concerned with the manner in which past metanarratives were retold, as it is indicative of which discourses it associates with and the interlinked contexts elaborated within. Since it is a narrative about conflict, at least two narratives are circulating ontological and public narratives levels, at which point the role of reframing and retelling past narratives delivers currency to one of them. Unlike the unfolding events, the channels are relatively freer in choosing which metanarrative is retold and when to maximise its potential effect in meaning-making, reframing, and re-contextualisation. The significance of this effort is shown when an event is interpreted and translated in accordance with more extensive configuration of events or as Baker (2014, p.168) terms "relationality". For this to be established, stories of thematic nature are essential.

Overall, as Baker (2006, p.132) argues, "in translation and interpreting, participants can be repositioned in relation to each other and to the reader or hearer through the linguistic management of time, space, deixis, dialect, register, use of epithets, and various means of self-and other identification". For example, RT's representation positions participants within the discourses and frames the government highlights because the protesters are presented as violent, thieving, freed extremists, engaged in looting museums and police stations. Baker (2006, p.135) noted that "much repositioning in translation, and almost all repositioning in interpreting, is realised within the text or utterance". This study found

²¹⁸ AJE 30/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5187>.

most of the repositioning, at least with regards to the Egyptian and Syrian uprisings speeches, occurred before and after the speeches were delivered.

5.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter showed how AJE and RT's created meanings through re-contextualising and establishing links to discourses to import narratives. Both associated or dissociated discourses could lend meaning to the emerging reinterpretations either by expanding or limiting them. This led to impact participants' classifications and identification in relation to one another and the events. Combined, the observed efforts resulted in altering the narratives' dynamics by repositioning participants in relation to narrative's centrality. However, efforts were taken by AJE to ensure that their contestation of existing narratives dynamics would not challenge values and beliefs embedded in the metanarratives. They are important because audiences bring to the interpretation their own background and preconceived understandings (Fairclough, 2001, p.118). This was mainly done by offering possible reinterpretations, which is possible because "any narrative, from the story of the invasion of Iraq to the story of human evolution, circulates in many different versions" (Baker, 2006, p.20). This allowed narratives to create meanings through shedding light on interpretations of social reality that past narratives had ignored (Ibid., p.162). This allowed AJE to contest the government's narrative which was supported by the values of maintaining economic stability and not allowing the emergence of terrorism or conflict on ideological basis that could divide Egypt. To do so, it reconfigured the narrative dynamics by creating meanings of Mubarak is embezzling their wealth, abusing power and rigging elections, and reports of Muslims and Christian leaders marching side-by-side.

Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Summary

In comparison with translation of literary, religious, legal, educational or cultural texts, translating and mediating narratives of conflicts face barriers stemming from the uncertainty of the pattern which the unfolding events can follow due to the shifts of frames and their patterns in mediation. While translation usually deals with texts of general themes, such as literary texts that might include references of religious nature or educational with cultural references, narratives in news translation of conflicts associate with relatively broader sets of discourses that lend them meanings. This prompted departing from the binarisms, discussed in the following sections, that dominated TS such as literal-semantic, foreignisation-domestication, and formal-dynamic equivalence to translation as re-narration. This resembles the possibilities offered by framing in media and communication studies in comparison to the dichotomies of positive-negative and accurate-inaccurate that are usually important for agenda-setting studies for example (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.106). In the coverages at hand, the themes included legal, religious, social, scientific, economic, political and historical, where the themes themselves were redefined in terms of each other which indicate possibilities to be accounted for in narratives rather than streamlining them into binarisms. Combined with the areas identified in the second chapter, where further research is needed on context and context-bound meanings in TS for news translation and narrative dimension of the multilingual meaning-making and mediation, the study explored how narratives dynamics are reconfigured through re-contextualisation, how participants were repositioned, and how the competition impacts the translations and narratives.

To address these questions, the study used the translation and representation of Egypt and Syria's uprisings and responded to related sub-questions on how narratives guided by different patterns, viewpoints, revaluations and reinterpretations in news translation are constructed from the perspectives of narrative account of TS. Because narratives from TS perspective construct reality rather than representing it (Baker, 2013, p.24). It presented important insights to be accounted for during the act of translation and adopted in future research on translation and cultural representation in media coverage. The Arab Spring narratives encompassed many varying opinions concerning its context-bound and universal dynamics, shown in the relatively prolonged conflict. For directly involved participants, the narrative is a conflict that was disturbing their lives and they were at the

centre of the narrative they constructed for themselves; while for media, narratives were (re)shaped differently due to prioritising different aspects of reality.

Inspired by the role of contextual-bound and contextualisation meanings in maintaining a narrative or unsettling it, the research sought to move beyond sentence-for-sentence and sense-for-sense translations discussed in the second chapter to consider context-for-context translation as mediation and re-narration. It therefore borrowed assumptions and methods offered by framing and CDA and its notion of re-contextualisation to be adapted in narrative account of TS. Though quantitative approach might hint to abundance of terms, it marginalises the subjective interpretation and the narrative dimension of meaning because narratives are not chronologies (Baker, 2006). This allows for alternative explanations of how translations can be impacted through narrativity which contributes to practice and research in the field of TS.

Baker (2014, p.159) asserts:

Translators and interpreters do not mediate cultural encounters that exist outside the act of translation but rather participate in configuring these encounters: they are embedded in the narratives that circulate in the context in which they produce a translation and simultaneously contribute to the elaboration, mutation, transformation and dissemination of these narratives through their translation choices.

Since translations play crucial role in circulating discourses along with associated interpretations and evaluations, they can also challenge existing interpretations in the TL through invoking association or dissociation with discourses from the SL with TL discourses. The imported discourses and their definitions that come to be integrated into the TL's socio-cultural systems may reinterpret of some of their aspects, reinforcement or contravention. This correlates with framing in the sense of offering alternative interpretations and revaluations because as Fairclough (2016, p.87) argues discourses are not discrete and overlap with each other.

6.2 Study's Theoretical Perspectives and Research Design

The study adopted narrative account of TS and borrowed tenets from CDA and framing to investigate networked narratives and trace their construction to consider the role of translations in reshaping and transforming media events and disseminating narratives in the TL(s). The approach to media events is concerned with mediation and meaning-

making that followed breaking down existing social frames of sensemaking due to their interruptive quality (Morgner, 2018). Translating narratives of conflicts allow opportunity to investigate the role of context-bound meanings in TS in associating or dissociating with discourses that widen, reshape, or restrict narratives. This comes in form of translations' role in importing external narratives or recalling past metanarratives and mediating them to the contexts of the TL. This is possible because uprisings and similar disruptive events' narratives are elaborated within highly interpretive dimension streaming from interpretative and orientational frames (Gillan, 2008, p.250). Therefore, translation's roles in disseminating narratives in the TL and reshaping the derived meanings resituate and re-contextualise events in the TL socio-cultural system where they absorb meanings and establish links to other discourses.

Language, from CDA perspective and narrative account in TS, is a form of social practice rather than a system of linguistic material (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Weedon, 1987; Coffin, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001). This is for "language is not an abstract system, but is always socially and historically located in discourses" (Weedon, 1987, p.41). Re-contextualisation situates events in different discourses and establishes links to discourses that can lend meanings to the translated texts, impacting the intended effect in the process. Resituating events in different discourses or re-narrating them from sanctioned narratives results in different subjective and contextual meanings emerging from networked narratives themed by different plots and patterns that give prominence to different aspects of reality. Their translations will depend on the influence of the highlighted aspects on narrative construction process. This highlights the role of context in TS as further elaborated in the study findings in the following sections. Recent studies and scholars of TS noted a lack of research on JTR for the subjects of news translation, translation as mediation and re-narration, and the intralingual dimension of global media events (Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010; Bassnett, 2014; Valdeón, 2015).

Drawing on Palmer (2009, p.186), Valdeón (2015, p.634) argues that though there is an established body of research on news language, they ignore the role of translation in its production or as he puts it "if Translation Studies is a young discipline, news translation research is in its infancy". On their relevance, Van Doorslaer (2010b, p.181; cited in Valdeón, 2015, p.635) notes "translation forms an integral part of journalistic work: a complex, integrated combination of information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualizing and editing". The lack of JTR is attributed to the scarcity of research on context in TS (Melby and Foster, 2010). This study therefore followed a

process-oriented approach rather than product-oriented due to its focus on context-bound meanings, translation as re-narration, and translation as intercultural mediation. The difference, as Holland (2013, pp.335-336; cited in Valdeón, 2015, p.646) summarises, is that the product-oriented approach is “focusing on translations themselves (i.e. examining translations as texts, and analysing their relationships to original texts in source language)” whereas the process-oriented approach is “concerned with questions of how translations are produced, by whom and in what contexts”.

Another motivation for the proposed theoretical framework is to consider other possibilities than the formal-dynamic equivalence, TL-oriented and SL-oriented translations, and foreignisation and domestication which had dominated TS and resulted in the preoccupation in both practice and research with binarisms that in reality do not reflect the complexity of human behaviour (Baker, 2010; Tymoczko, 2006; Myskja, 2013). This somewhat resembles notions put forward in media reporting and communication research on similar dichotomies usually important in agenda-setting studies to incorporating more complex concepts including framing (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.106). Baker sees such

dichotomy as too simple to describe the reality of what happens in translations. It is problematic as a description of the overall character of a translated text, since it forces one, as she sees it, to classify a rich variety of possible translator attitudes to the text as a whole as either domestication or foreignisation (Myskja, 2013, p.11).

This is because the concern of generalisations such as that of Venuti’s domestication and foreignisation disguise the fact that texts can contain elements of both (Ibid.). This aggravate the fallacies in previous research because it limits understanding of texts to the dominant discourse in the TL. This research observed a text can associate or dissociate with multiple discourses through re-contextualisation and re-narration that can lend meaning and impact messages particularly in translating narratives of conflict.

The study’s set out to achieve three major objectives: to investigate translation as re-narration to explore the processual meaning-making, intertextuality in translation, narrative construction and utilisation, and their role in disseminating narratives in the TL; to explore context-for-context translation and its application in JTR to offer other possibilities rather than focusing the discussed binarisms; and to investigate translation as intercultural mediation as realised through translation’s role in importing narratives and establishing links to discourses in the TL socio-cultural system that can lend them

meanings. In pursuit of these objectives, the study adopted narrative account of translation and conflict and borrowed tenets offered by CDA and framing particularly re-contextualising events and giving prominence to “few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, 2007, p.164).

In doing so, the study was divided into two levels of consideration; lexical and sentence level and narrativity beyond lexis level. On lexis and sentence level, it drew on Hansen and Machin’s (2018) categories to consider issues related to labelling, overlexicalisation, classification of social actors, representation of social actions, and others. The narrative level drew mainly on Baker (2006; 2010; 2014), Somers (1994; 1997), and Somers and Gibson’s (1994) takes on narratives as well as Baker (2006) and Entman’s notions on framing (1993; 2007). Adopting the narrative account of TS alongside Fairclough’s (2001; 2003; 2013; 2016) approach to CDA and framing offered several advantages; it provided insights into specificities of narratives construction, contestation, and dissemination in the TL; taken in isolation, they provide comparatively little explanation to transforming and reshaping meanings across linguistic and cultural boundaries during translation; and enabled exploring different possibilities to previous dichotomies in order to consider translation as re-narration and enrich the understanding of context in TS which is key in JTR.

The study’s approach provides explanations to issues concerned with how frames overlap and where do they end and others begin (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.107). To address this area, research on framing drew on relating language to efforts “to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, cited in Scheufele, 1999, p.107). Translations offer further possibilities through exploring its role in importing narratives and discourses in forms of external narratives and recalled past metanarratives as well as reshaping and transforming meanings across languages and cultures. Along with the discourses they are elaborated within, the imported translations associate with discourses circulating the TL’s contexts and lend them meanings resulting in reframing and re-contextualising the events. These relate to the narrativity features of causal emplotment, normativeness, particularity, and genericness. Considerations offered by framing allowed exploring the observed diversity of discourses circulating the narratives of conflicts as well as “selecting and highlighting some facets or events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (Entman, 2004, p.5).

From this sense, framing allows revealing the connections between the use of language and the ideologies enacted in texts that contribute to the reproduction of meanings whereas translations import discourses and associate certain external events from the SL with particular discourses in the TL to give them prominence and re-contextualise them. The fourth and fifth chapters observed meaning-making processes stimulated by giving prominence to social, political, and economic aspects that fell under humanitarian and political frames. Narrative account of TS explained how meaning evolved from ontological narratives to metanarratives going through public and disciplinary narratives through association or dissociation with external or imported narratives. Overall, these observations support the notion of context-for-context translation for disciplinary narratives in the SL might be degraded to public narratives in the TL through issues including re-contextualisation and the interlinked process of establishing links to certain discourses. On the other hand, narrative account of translations as re-narration proposes giving prominence to aspects previously underrepresented to reinterpret values and beliefs to which the resiliency of narratives is usually attributed or to re-contextualise the text in the TL (Baker, 2006).

6.3 Study's Findings: Theoretical and Methodological Debates in TS

TS has ignored for far too long the possible application in media studies (Bassnett, 2014, p.134). Their relevance is highlighted by their joint interest in reframing and re-contextualising due to their centrality in meaning-making. The importance of TS in media studies is considerable due to “the demand for international news and the existence of large international news agencies and media companies” (Ibid.). Following the cultural turn in TS, approaches moved from word-for-word to text as a unit for sense-for-sense translations, but did not move beyond (Munday, 2012, p.192). This could be attributed to that TS did not have a definition to context for sense-for-sense translation which may resulted in inhibiting TS to looking into interlinked important fields (Melby and Foster, 2010). The method proposes context-for-context from narrative account in translation in order to overcome the one-sided use of textual analysis in looking at separated instances and single pictures not in relation to other pictures i.e. the questions of intertextuality and context in meaning-making.

This needed first to deepen the understanding of context in TS narratives and therefore borrowed tenets from framing and CDA where the term re-contextualisation emerged. It therefore departed from semantics and semiotics and binarisms in TS concerned with

formal and dynamic equivalence, source-oriented and target-oriented translation, and foreignisation and domestication. This research, similar to Durant (2010, p.80), opted to go beyond the questions of linguistics or equivalence. As he (Ibid.) puts it:

If a more productive approach to debating meanings in contested situations is to be found than is possible in this tradition, it will be necessary to move beyond ideas of meaning associated with semantics. This is not because semantics has failed but because the field of semantics has different, more specialised aims.

It agrees with “the category of ‘text’ can be regarded as the product of a process of abstraction from concrete realities, which are complex processes in which semiotic elements and non-semiotic elements are combined and interconnected” (Fairclough, 2007, p.13).

The study set out to address the lack of research on context and context-bound meaning in TS and the multilingual dimension of global news coverage. It therefore raised questions on the impact of repositioning participants and events in different contexts during the act of translation and reconfiguring narratives’ dynamics. The research therefore paid attention to context-for-context translation whereas translation is viewed from intercultural mediation and re-narration perspectives. This needed to account for intertextuality and context because they are connected with reordering stories. Such efforts are seen from narrative theory perspective as being temporally and spatially framed to which Baker (2014, p.167) argues:

We rarely recount events in the order in which they took place [...] because narratives are not chronologies, and the way in which time, sequence and spatial setting are used to construct a narrative is meaningful in its own right.

In doing so, narratives promote establishing links between the events given prominence and dissociate with underrepresented events. An influential example from RT’s coverage is the recalling of US led military interventions narratives in Vietnam, Iraq, Bosnia, and Libya. From RT’s perspective, they led to destabilisation and further conflicts.

TS and JTR would benefit from further research on the impact of intertextuality on translations because one of the main curiosities the study found is that the abstract meanings made dynamic are utilised in reshaping and transforming the narratives and are crucial for constructing, contesting, or maintaining narratives in the TL. Through translation, they are reordered and disseminated in the socio-cultural system of the TL

highlighting the role of translation in enculturation and acculturation (Pym, 2012, p.97). Since they play a role in enculturation and acculturation, the produced translations interact with existing ontological narratives which highlights the role of intertextuality. However, since discourses overlap, some aspects utilise particular interpretations existing in the TL during the mediation process. It is possible that drawing on existing narratives in the TL might contest the ontological narratives and thus being rejected or degraded which calls for context-for-context translation.

This follows that negating the aspects of reality circulating within ontological narratives level impact the communication process and the interlinked translations. Approaching translation as intercultural mediation and communication enriches the understanding of the Arab World and Arab Spring. Such approaches can aid revisiting the translations of Beirut39 project organised by Hay Festival (Büchler and Guthrie, 2011, p.27). Beirut39 project brought together “39 of the most interesting writers of the Arab heritage under 39 years of age in an anthology” (Ibid, p.41). Although they speak the same language, the writers communicate different interpretations and prioritise different aspects of reality elaborated explicitly or implicitly for being from 18 different countries. Therefore, situating them in the same ‘Arab’ narrative negates the individuality of the texts for they are translated as one coherent narrative. Similarly, the Arab World includes many nations, cultures and languages, but establishing links and connections across its borders and events grouped diverse Arab Springs into *the* Arab Spring. This is of importance to TS for the notions of preserving intended effect and transferring meanings.

The study showed how narratives that had utilised values and beliefs can be contested through surfacing inconsistencies or establishing links to other discourses that can lend them meanings. The lend meanings either reinforce or break down established interpretations to simulate the process of seeking alternatives. This was established by re-situating events in different contexts rather than contesting the values and beliefs. The contexts differed from Egypt to Syria. The difference was traced back to ontological narratives while its impact reached disciplinary and metanarratives which highlights intertextuality. This is for translation’s role in importing narratives invoked frames guided by different definitions and patterns that resulted in revaluating reality. The engaged values included legitimising an uprising against democratically elected president through creating views that Mubarak had rigged the elections, abused power, and unjustifiably banned the Muslim Brotherhood, which took prior steps of contesting the narratives of banning them. In doing so, the constructing of the networked narrative

avoided contesting the value of democracy and risking confronting dominant metanarratives through unsettling the narratives' dynamics. To do so, AJE shifted the emphasis from individuals to the masses, who are encouraged to reinterpret the aspects constituting the narrative through themes of suffering and loss, in which case the humanitarian frame was emphasised. In their attempt to preserve the established narratives dynamics, RT needed to retain the emphasis on the individuals who narrate the event in their capacity as officials, in which case the political frame is given prominence. Therefore, TS need to account for narratives' construction, particularly metanarratives, that serve as the underlying theme.

The narrative account of TS revealed differences between RT and AJE for they relied on different underlying metanarratives. In both Syria and Egypt, AJE's focus on humanitarian frames was significantly more prevalent than RT's. AJE used humanitarian frame in its focus on "images of the victims of the conflict, notably the suffering and damage caused by war" (Jasperson and El-Kikhia, p.116). A correlation was observed between the focus on the humanitarian and political frames and challenging narratives dynamics and preserving them respectively. Framing events in the political contexts situates events within the discourses that politicians such as Mubarak and Al Mualem are centralising in relation to the dominant metanarrative. On the other hand, re-contextualising events in the humanitarian frames provokes reinterpretations guided by highlighting different aspects of reality and resituates victims at the centre of the unfolding events. Situating the victims at the centre of the narrative replaces the officials which impacts their representation, translations of their speeches, and more importantly the narrative dynamics. CDA reached similar conclusions with regards to classification of social actors, and representation of social actions, and others. AJE used more emotionally provocative terms in humanising protesters and describing their actions such as a father "moans his two daughters", "coloured with pain", "the babies who are dying or dead", and "many men, women and children indiscriminately killed". RT emphasised that the continuity of uprisings means influx of refugees to the EU, impacting the already challenged global economy, and raising oil prices to devastating levels.

In contrast with earlier research that suggest AJE takes an anti-American and anti-West tone (Lynch, 2006; Miles, 2005; Seib, 2011) and that it challenges Western and American dominance (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p.54), AJE supported the American and Western narrative and was critical of Russia, China, and Syria's unlike RT. This came mainly in the form of recalling past metanarratives that impacted the representation of key figures

of the voiced countries such as RT's message of "the moral and political hypocrisy of Washington"²¹⁹. Therefore, the method accounted for how participants (characters in narratives) are (re)positioned in relation to each other, other participants and events which reconfigured narratives' dynamics. Repositioning participants impacts the messages that contains their speeches or mentions them "in the sense that media messages [...] refer to other media messages" (Thompson, 1995, p.110). Therefore, this observation is in line with the view that ontological narratives are not isolated from the bigger narratives in which they are situated (Baker, 2006, p.29). The 'collective narratives'²²⁰, according to Baker (Ibid.), "shape and constrain our personal stories, determining both their meanings and their possible outcomes". For example, in his translated speech, delivered on February 1st 2011, Mubarak announced that he would not seek re-election upon finishing his term in six months but he would not resign to ensure peaceful transfer of power rather than risking power vacuum which is a fertile ground on which terrorism thrives. AJE reported this as "defiant Mubarak vows to finish term"²²¹ while RT reported: "Mubarak pledges September step-down, but protesters demand immediate exit"²²².

Translating media event and transferring it to a different culture needs to account for situating ontological narratives among a different set of narratives. This highlights the role of CDA and its notion of re-contextualisation. This study observed an impact on meanings that streams from the selectivity of contexts in which events are (re)positioned. This is important for TS because translation plays a role in enculturation and acculturation that is needed to welcome foreign aspects and domesticate them (Pym, 2012, p.97). For a text to be communicated, not only linguistic knowledge needs to be shared, but also socio-cultural (Ibid., p.122). However, to do so, one needs to (re)narrate the events from a relatively familiar perspective, otherwise they might be rejected and, by extension, degrades the narrative, damages the credibility of who narrates it, or both. This motivated both RT and AJE to rely on a variety of past global metanarratives, recalled in a form of media memory to contextualise the translations. These contexts, in turn, allowed associating events with certain discourses and the passage of evaluations which impacted the intended effect of the translations and the overall interlinked narratives. They included stories of US led military interventions such as Vietnam, Bosnia, and Iraq for RT, and Saddam Hussein and Kurds for AJE. Such actions are needed in meaning-making because

²¹⁹ RT 29-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35700>.

²²⁰ They are sometimes referred to as 'cultural macronarratives' (Hinchman and Hinchman, 1997, p.121; cited in Baker, 2006, p.29)

²²¹ AJE 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5270>.

²²² RT 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5260>.

shared narratives “require the polyvocality of numerous personal stories to gain currency and acceptance” (Baker, 2006, p.30), currency that narratives require to be maintained and ultimately become metanarratives.

What this means for academics and professionals is that much of the interaction to be accounted for stems from the impact of media messages on other media messages because the ‘polyvocality of numerous personal stories’ entail establishing associations between their discourses. The research found that this interaction either leads to reconfiguring relations and identifies participants in relation to each other and the events or empowers and maintains the existing relations which correlate with translation’s role in importing and exporting narratives. This highlights the relation between CDA, TS, and media communication, as investigation of meaning-making needed to focus on the offered evaluations, speculations, and predictions and how were they contextualised (Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010, p.4). Much of these encompassed importing narratives through translations, as sometimes predictions needed to draw on past (meta)narratives to restrict the meanings of an uprising to resemble that of past events. This included the coloured revolutions: Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004) and Kyrgyzstan (2005), featured in RT’s coverage and portrayed as the antecedents of the Egyptian uprising. In doing so, they impacted the classification of social actors and the representation of social actions leading to supporting speeches delivered by officials following their translation.

6.4 Study Findings Implication and Application: Practice

Since the ontological narratives, as the study found, that translations transfer are embedded in socio-cultural system of both the TL and SL, contesting an established narrative is more difficult than sustaining it. This is since the former needs to undergo more steps and reconfigures the existing narrative’s dynamics then maintain the newly constructed narrative while the latter needs only to maintain its dynamics. In addition, Baker (2007, p.167) argues that narratives tend to be resilient when faced by efforts to unsettle them. Since they are ‘resilient’, it follows that maintaining them is relatively less challenging. This could be due to several reasons, one of them being the possibility that the original narrative drew on values and beliefs. For this, narrative theory offers a ‘rhetorical possibility’ which is “a model of storytelling that involves ‘direct[ing] attention to specific possibilities previously unsuspected by audiences’ (1992: 33)” (Kirkwood 1992; cited in Baker, 2006, p.162). Thus, this follows the questions of re-contextualisation and reframing.

Rhetorical possibility draws on both content and context in the sense of what is being communicated and how it is communicated or contextualised. In both Syria and Egypt's uprisings, RT argued in favour of preserving the status quo. For them, it was a question of reinforcing the six-decade old existing participant classification and maintaining their relationships, which, due to the censorship and monopoly retained by the government (Sabry, 2005, p.42), one narrative was dominating the context. However, AJE's efforts provided more interesting observations on both uprisings; it needed to reconfigure the dynamics of the existing narratives, damage the credibility of its main characters, and restore the credibility for the previous antagonist before attempting to construct its narrative on the reinterpreted values embedded in them. This included challenging the six-decade old narrative of the Muslim Brotherhood as a banned organisation owing to its extreme views, to be replaced by "the Brotherhood, as a Muslim movement, seeks to establish democracy, justice and freedom in Egypt"²²³. It follows that reframing and re-contextualising are relatively more apparent during contesting the narrative dynamics construction, as they need to draw on aspects of reality that previously been underrepresented to reinterpret the values and beliefs utilised in the existing narratives.

To do so, translators needed discredit the participants who banned this organisation in order to impact the context from which the original content emerged to allow creating meanings of the ban being unjustified. Two of the interlinked techniques to do so the study found are importing narratives and rhetoric possibility. Both interlinked techniques contribute to re-contextualising meanings either by redefining the present in terms of past events or establishing connections to discourses that can open possibilities to reinterpret events. These techniques have consequences to be considered in relation to audience-making for importing narratives or discourses or establishing links to other discourses results in widening the scope of audiences who come to view the events as subjectively involved. For Morgner (2016, p.70), the value-laden nature of "historical contrasts serves to install this relevance at different levels of society, creating meaning that positions events at a global level". Such frameworks have the possibility to lend meaning to the current events whereas messages are redefined by other messages (Ibid.). The lent meanings could reframe the event by offering different definitions or evaluations.

Contesting existing narratives sometimes require drawing on "past narratives to highlight salient features of the current situation as elaborated in their narrative of the

²²³ AJE 29/01/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5167>.

here and now” (Baker, 2006, p.20). However, since recalled past narratives can contest current narratives, others can be used to empower the existing narrative. Also, the study found that the same past narrative, when represented, re-narrated or re-contextualised in a different culture, can be used by translators to either empower or contest the same narrative. This is possible because nature, for example, “means different things, at different times to different people” (Hansen, 2010, p.135). Since interpretative frames circulates in different versions and its aspects mean different things in different settings, the same narrative can be either used to reinforce or to empower the same definitions when translated, re-contextualised or reframed. One of the ways in which rhetorical possibility can be “put into effect involves calling our interlocutors’ attention to their own behaviour, or explicitly drawing their attention to aspects of a narrative that might have otherwise escaped them” (Baker, 2006, p.162). This reinforces the role of translation in intercultural mediation that followed the cultural turn in TS where meanings, being context-bound, absorb and/or reject aspects of reality when they are re-contextualised (Wallaert, 2001, p.172).

Several rhetoric possibilities were observed in the examined coverages and this study links them to framing. For example, Egypt and its economic stability could be considered a value, in which case the proposed reinterpretation needs to contest how the government narrates the events without degrading this aspect. Translations can accomplish this by associating with imported discourses that can reinterpret this value. The introduced aspects could come in forms of content that establishes links to underrepresented discourses and gives prominence to certain aspects of reality (framing), re-contextualisation (CDA), importing external narratives or recalling past metanarratives (translation as re-narration). Therefore, RT imported the narratives of the coloured revolutions. In its effort to maintain the narrative’s construction dynamics, RT based much of its projected meanings on that stability is vital for social and economic reforms. This was elaborated in the view that Egypt’s tourism industry, its economy’s backbone, is suffering from the impact of the uprising. The meaning derived is that the uprising would not have positive outcome for Egypt and uncertain future with possible dangerous outcomes for it and neighbouring countries in case of causing instability.

AJE on the other hand, attempted to highlight that Mubarak’s rule had wiped away the Egyptians’ wealth and for him to remain in power would not allow for economic reforms, as he had already been president for 29 years without reforms being implemented. AJE acknowledged that the uprisings impact the economy, but it is, in its view, a small

sacrifice for greater good which could be seen as a rhetorical possibility without challenging the value of their country's economic stability. Morgner (2016, p.67) describes such frameworks as contingent future realities, whereas the emphasis is given to questions of what events could bring or whether it should have or not happened. Such emphasis facilitated passing reinterpretations. Or, as Morgner (Ibid.) summarises: the "notion of contingency effectively mandated a re-evaluation of all previous communication, as established frames of interpretation imploded in the face of..." the currently poor economic and humanitarian situation on which AJE bases its reinterpretation.

AJE had also attempted to ensure that Mubarak's resignation would not create a power vacuum that is a fertile ground for the rise of extremism and terrorism on a religious or ideological background resembling that of Iraq, Yemen or Libya, which this research considers to be a second prominent value. AJE frequently stressed that Muslim and Christian leaders marched side-by-side and that they identified themselves as Egyptians rather than Muslims or Christians, and that "their demands remain the same. Whether [the protesters] are secular, liberals, religious or conservatives, no political or ideological speeches by protesters so far"²²⁴. In doing so, AJE addresses the three arguments that Mubarak had put forward in his speech without challenging the values embedded in them: the uprising is unjustified, economic reforms are only possible with stability, and an uprising will cause the rise of extremism. Attempting to address these arguments is not the final aim for AJE but means to show that the government brutality and unwillingness to allow people to protest peacefully is unjustified. AJE messages are, at least compared to RT's, create meanings of that Mubarak is exaggerating which reevaluates reality.

Based on this, practice and analysis in TS "have to come to consider translation on the broader plain of culture, ideology and politics. Translation is not just a way of cultural survival, but one by which one culture absorbs, rejects or adapts aspects of another" (Wallaert, 2001, p.172). The manner in which the aspects are absorbed, rejected or adapted depend on how the events were reframed. Thus, they can be seen as efforts to reposition the hearers and/or consequences of repositioning them. This is important for translators in their effort to maintain the intended effect of translations when the uttered or written text is contextualised. Robinson (2011, p.161) summarises the notion of "guided choice" as:

²²⁴ AJE 02/02/2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5270>.

As a fundamentally ideological impulse it is complexly [sic] involved in choice, both swaying individual choice and in some sense “choosable” by the individual, though the decision to choose a given interpretant seems itself to be swayed habitually by or through the interpretant; but its sway may also operate under the radar of consciousness, so that the “choice” of interpretant may be made by the translator or target reader more or less unconsciously. This would tend to make it an interpretive construct that is also speculative, in the sense that the “chooser” him/herself may dispute it – as of course may other commentators.

Hypothetically, the existence of alternative interpretations, that is often resulted by importing definitions, diverts the attention through offering a ‘choice’, albeit a ‘guided choice’, in interpreting what reality is, at least in comparison to when one interpretation is dominating the content and restricting the context. Being contradictory, the interpretations/viewpoints will be in competition which invokes surfacing defects or inconsistencies in each other leading to meaning-making in form of associated discourses introduced by voicing experts in the disciplinary narratives. This undermines the logic of the main voices or offers alternatives to interpreting the values resulting in reframing them. This could lead to drawing the attention to aspects that had previously been ignored, highlighting the role of translation as mediation in the process. These aspects or inconsistencies included the link between the uprising and oil prices or global economy. If there was only one narrative that dominated the coverages, such aspects would not normally surface as they would have gone under selective appropriation feature or refuted. This research, therefore, has sought to focus on how media narratives impact each other. The conflict can be represented as serving the interests of ‘terrorists’ or participants whose actions will impact world’s economy or intends to cause instability. Louw (2001, p.5) stresses the role played by the power relations in the struggle over meaning-making, where “to overlook power is to miss a crucial dimension within the meaning-making process”. This is because the consumed meanings “are contextually-bound, rooted in a unique set of circumstances and relationships” (Louw, 2001, p.3).

For translators and interpreters, these observations indicate that, in order to maintain or unsettle a given narrative, they need to consider the notion of double contextualisation of the SL and ST, and TL and TT settings. To clarify, narrative theory describes the changeability of narratives when transferred from SL to TL, as some aspects of reality contained in it will be rejected, some will be adapted, and the rest will be reinterpreted or replaced, as well as being injected by new aspects of reality from the host context (Baker,

2006, p.22). The way they are adapted, rejected or reinterpreted depends to a large extent on who is re-narrating it in the host context in which they are situated and from whose perspective they are re-narrated, which elaborate a complex process investigated in the previous chapters. However, the events were mediated first to the SL with already existing conflicting accounts circulating within their contexts which highlight the multilingual dimension of translated coverage. The SL had previously adapted, rejected or reinterpreted some aspects of reality prior to being transferred to the TL, which had, in turn, reopened the texts for new sets of possible reinterpretations. This is because they could also be the source of the imported narratives and associated discourses.

In addition, when translated and situated in a new context, some narratives might not retain their original level or meaning; a metanarrative in one context might be disciplinary or public in another. This could be due to political, historical, social, religious or other attributes of the culture hosting the new context, or possibly due to a different time when past narratives are retold. In his investigation of the Fukushima catastrophe, Morgner (2016, p.67) observed a difference between “Germany, which has a strong tradition of green thinking” and Japan. The discussions in the Germany had focused on the “role of nuclear energy in society”, “in contrast, discussion in Japan focused on the ideology of technological control” (Ibid.). In this example, transferring the context in translation between German and Japanese could result in rejecting some of the narrative aspects. This is not limited to events, it could also be applied to the interlinked main voices in both forms as representatives of narratives or individuals for ‘one man’s hero is another man’s villain’. Rejecting some of its aspects or main voices ultimately degrades narratives because “the reliability of any narrative depends very largely on the credibility of its main characters as well as the characters narrating it” (Baker, 2010, p.29).

Based on this, the transferred narrative might be subject to more criticism that could result in surfacing some of its defects, in which case it could be seen as public narrative rather than disciplinary or metanarrative. Alternatively, if situated in a context where it could establish links to discourses in the TL and/or re-narrated or supported by a ‘trustworthy’ character from the host culture, it could absorb some aspects from the host context and evolve from public to disciplinary narrative or maintain its original level. The imported definitions then can reevaluate or reframe the events. Thus, for translators to maintain the intended effect and preserve the intended meaning, they sometimes need to re-contextualise the events based on their knowledge of the TT socio-cultural system and support them with characters from the host culture, such as how this study observed from

the way in which John Kerry was given voice and shifting frames to humanitarian in others. A text situated in economic context in the SL might need to be associated with discourses from a political context in the TL to preserve the meaning and, by extension, the narrative that it operates under. This widens the scope of narrative theory for considerations of double contextualisation and asserts its role in intercultural mediation in both source and target languages an area that is worthy of further exploration. It could offer explanations for the sub-conflicts within the same narrative and the issue of preserving the speakers' intended effect in the act of translating their speeches.

6.5 Study Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The contrasts discussed in the previous sections call for future research that explores their influence in relating the audiences to protesters as persons and to their interpretations or definitions. This is important for narratives because the credibility of the main voices facilitates promoting their perspective along with the aspects of reality that they give prominence. However, the narrative account of TS as adopted in this study relates more to revealing efforts to unsettle the dynamics of narratives rather than sustaining them which requires to draw on audience perception. The credibility of participants as perceived by the hearer is important because for Durant (2010, p.64), “distinguishing different sorts of question that arise about meaning can help to clarify what sort of evidence and argument are appropriate in any given instance”. The questions that hearers raise further help revealing the associated or dissociated discourses and frames. This calls for research that draws on audience analysis, interpretation, and perception because they could aid preserving the effect in translations, a key issue in TS.

Their perceptions are also impacted by factors including the social class and other associated issues. Baker (2006, p.3) explains that “narratives are dynamic entities; they change in subtle or radical ways as people experience and become exposed to new stories on a daily basis.” One of the means through which they are ‘exposed’ to new stories is through translation, including news translation. However, their changeability and the differences in how they change follows that there are factors guiding the manner in which they are altered. Therefore, future research could address the question of whether the audiences had interpreted texts differently based on issues that include their social class or age. It is possible that social classes and the interlinked education will interfere, at least to some extent, with how audiences interpret the ‘new stories’. This includes the values utilised in them, as they might subscribe to different aspects of reality and classify them

differently on the scale of what is more important which, in turn, identifies them with participants whose identity they will come to feel is more or less identifiable. This could aid exploring steps taken to utilise existing orientations to group participants and identify the hearer with the perspective of an intended participant.

This will be possible to conduct after the conflict is resolved, as it will be necessary to interview first respondents in Syria. As shown from analysing the coverages, at least some media outlets tend to emphasise existing differences rather than similarities, in which case they threaten the status quo. To do so, they need to contest the narratives that had sustained it, a procedure influenced by many factors. In some cases, a set of pre-existing set of public narratives were captured by media outlets in their portrayal of the unfolding events. The existence of the conflict is indicative of the existence of conflicting sets of narratives circulating at least on public and ontological levels that were empowered as the opposition was gaining momentum. The coverages of the conflicts provide fertile ground for such narratives to evolve to disciplinary and metanarratives. This is due to the features of narrativity, assessments, and frames discussed, which are mostly realised through efforts that include voicing disputing participants, recalling past metanarratives, reframing, and re-contextualising. However, these observations have three consequences that research on audience analysis can investigate.

First, since narratives evolve, they might not evolve at the same pace for everyone which will create further subdivisions and conflicting views. Second, metanarratives include a set of disciplinary narratives. A metanarrative that says the Syrian government is oppressing its people may include disciplinary narratives of economic, socio-cultural, humanitarian, and political nature. Government oppression might be framed in terms of segregation, taxation, rights, or political freedom. It is possible that participants will not share same views on all disciplinary narratives that experts had highlighted though they may agree on the metanarrative that says the government is oppressing the people. The role of social classes is essential for these differences, as different classes may relate to different aspects of the conflict and may influence the manner in which they identify with a participant. Each aspect may have a separate main participant focusing on it. Third, though participants may share same views on all disciplinary narratives, there is a possibility that they had interpreted them differently. To address this area, questioners and interviews asking participants to identify their social class need to be cross-referenced with the aspects under the disciplinary narratives in terms of significance. This would provide valuable information for the issues of preserving the effect is translations

and the targeted audience for TS. Accordingly, research in sociology can build on the findings of this thesis which, in turn, will be useful for both fields and is possible to be then used for research on media and communication and TS by.

There are three limitations concerning the methods scope of this research. First, one of the most important factors influencing ontological and public narratives are derived from religious beliefs and associated values and discourses although they are not necessarily invoked in narratives of conflicts. Since intertextuality is interpretative (Fairclough, 1992, p.82), the study's method needs to be allied with *Usul al-Fiqh*²²⁵ (Jurisprudence and its Foundations) and *Tafsir*²²⁶ to ensure understanding texts if it was to explore sectarian inclination in translations for example. In order to explore the religious constituents of narratives dynamics and deconstructing them, narratives and communication theories could benefit from *Fiqh* and *Tafsir* to explore utilising Sunni-Shia division particularly within Wahhabism²²⁷ and Twelvers Jafari²²⁸ schools. Research on the sectarian inclined translation of religious texts will significantly contribute to the body of research on TS.

Second, this research method investigated networked narratives construction based on following different patterns of sensemaking. The steps taken differed between AJE and RT primarily for patterns that contest or preserve points sustaining the status quo. However, it could show results concerning re-contextualisation and targeted audience when networked narratives of two channels from different backgrounds follow the same pattern were compared. A more specialised research on re-contextualisation however would marginalise the features of relationality and normativeness but would further explore the features of particularity and genericness. Choices could include CNN and SKY news channels in their Arabic and English incarnations, as well as Al Jazeera. Although all three might say the uprising is justified, their targeted audiences and TL differ. Third, the study explored narratives elaboration and dissemination through language use; however, narratives and frames can also be re-contextualised through

²²⁵ "The body of principles and investigative methodologies through which practical legal rules and developed from the foundational sources" (Oxford Islamic Studies Online). Available at: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2444>.

²²⁶ Quranic exegesis: "Elucidation, explanation, interpretation, and commentary carried out in order to understand the *Quran* and its commandments" (Oxford Islamic Studies Online, emphasis in original). Available at: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2298>.

²²⁷ "Eighteenth-century reformist/revivalist movement for sociomoral reconstruction of society" (Oxford Islamic Studies Online). Available at: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2467>.

²²⁸ "Human reason is capable of inferring categorical judgments drawn from both pure and practical reason. Whatever is judged necessary by reason is also judged necessary by revelation" (Oxford Islamic Studies Online). Available at: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1153>. "Jafari school of jurisprudence has been afforded the status of 'fifth school' along with four Sunni schools by Azhar University in Cairo".

pictures. Visuals can have significant impact on meaning and “a strong capacity to represent risks which are remote from everyday experience, as being subjectively relevant” (Boholm, 1998, p.127; cited in Joffe, 2008, p.85). Representing external events as being ‘subjectively relevant’ corresponds with importing and exporting narratives, which in turn is linked to constructing metanarratives.

6.6 Study Findings Implication and Application: Future Research

Since, as Baker (2006) argues, any narrative circulates in many different versions caused mainly by re-contextualisation and association or dissociation with other discourses, translating them further highlights this issue through importing discourses from the SL and/or exporting them to the TL. Translation’s role in both importing and exporting discourses have consequences to be considered for framing analysis related to invoking redefinitions and moral or causal evaluations due to the resulted associations or dissociations with discourses. Translations are guided by how they are interpreted, re-contextualised, and captured in the mediation process. However, when they are transformed and reshaped in the new context, they establish links with different discourses that lend them meanings. This reopens texts to different set of possible reinterpretations and revaluations guided by the socio-cultural system of the TL that rejects or adapts some of its assumptions or injects it with new aspects. This take on narratives from TS correlates with reframing in the sense of offering some explanation to the process of shifting underlying themes that events are interpreted within.

Based on this, the presented framework offers an alternative approach for investigating coverages and translations of conflicts or media events of thematic nature where disagreements in televised news occur and translate into the emergence of reinterpretations. It is not of direct relevance to media events of natural disasters, sports events, or scientific discoveries, but rather to the representation of their possible implications on society, economic and political aspects, or government’s response. It can also relate to utilising scientific discoveries in contesting or reinforcing values or beliefs circulating within public narratives. However, it is more relevant when adopted on repositioning participants and events in relation to translated coverages and speeches during events circulating socio-political conflicts. Future research can build on these observations to address issues in framing analysis related to the difficulty of determining where do frames end and others begin (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.107). This relates to how events are reframed and translations role in importing narratives and discourses from

the TL and associating them with discourses in the SL as well as injecting the SL with definitions, values, or beliefs that can reframe the events and impact meanings.

The importance of context and its implications for JTR is highlighted by the fact that imported and exported narratives that reframed the events need to be translated prior to re-contextualising them. Narrative account and CDA revealed contrasts between RT and AJE that indicated a tendency to reframe the unfolding events by establishing links with discourses from past metanarratives which translations can import as external narratives. The existing content therefore was injected with imported definitions in the sense that messages impacted other messages and ultimately aided in re-contextualising the events. It came in forms of discussing the events in terms of their regional and global implications, reinterpreted in light of past events, and highlighting that terrorist groups would benefit from military intervention such as “radical groups will take advantage of any western intervention” and “bombing Syria would boost anti-West extremists”²²⁹. This raised questions on intertextuality and its role in giving prominence to certain aspects and underrepresenting others. The possibility of boosting anti-West extremists, “EU suffering from waves of immigrants”²³⁰, and the possible associated public fear, was one of the important pillars on which RT’s narrative stands. They are comparable to earlier observations made on what is customarily termed politics of fear, where there are efforts to bring the victims closer to the audiences with thematic episodes that might be considered familiar to many audiences (Altheide, 2006, pp.116-117). RT however insisted on classifying the opposition as “terrorists” and “Al-Qaeda affiliated” while AJE humanised the opposition and the victims using words such as “father”, “mother” “children”, and “grandmother” which associate with different discourses.

The competition of narratives from TS perspective in the process of meaning-making have consequences to be considered for CDA. Discourses relate to grouping participants through constructing themes of ‘us versus them’, protagonist-antagonist, and the perception of otherness where the manner of classifying participants echoes promoting their perspectives. This is of relevance to CDA studies because discourses “are semiotic ways of constructing aspects of the world (physical, social, mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors” (Fairclough, 2016, p.87) and they are not discrete and overlap due to “the way discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier as well as those

²²⁹ RT 30-08-2013, <http://videosever.bl.uk/record/35747>.

²³⁰ RT 28/01/ 2011, <http://videosever.bl.uk/5144>.

which are produced synchronically or subsequently” Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.276). Translations provide a source for the production of discourses and as well as connection through importing and exporting narratives.

CDA aided this study through considerations that included the use of passivised verbs where some participants “are only shown as active agents where they do something bad. Where they are associated with anything positive they are represented in a passive role where things are done for or against them” (Hansen and Machin, 2018, p.135). It also included utilising references of religious nature and national identity to classify participants. This could apply to future research adopting agenda-setting that “attempt to establish whether public attitudes or opinions are swayed one way of the other” (Ibid., p.106). It sometimes came in the form of contextualising the events within the speakers’ own socio-political history, as was the case in ElBaradei’s representation that allows supporting the aspects he usually focuses on. This is not limited to utilising religious or social references, it could use other attributes that through reframing might be linked to national identity, social class, or others that influence how people define themselves and others. For Balirano (2007, p.487), “linguistic and cultural development of ethnic stereotypes tend to affect the interpretation of discourse based on a subjective and discriminatory understanding of cultural and social situations”.

These contrasts are important for further two research areas in JTR and TS in general: MiT and cultural identity. First, MiTs from narrativity perspective are connected to a notion put forward by Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013, p.94) regarding how one of the important aspects of MiTs to be considered lies in their contribution in reframing the messages in the translated text, or, as they put it:

A metaphor can be thought of not as an isolated figurative expression in a text, but as a ‘mapping’ from one domain of experience to another – a kind of mental connection made between two unrelated concepts or areas of experience that allows one to think and talk about one of these concepts or areas in terms usually reserved for the other and that potentially sanctions an open-ended number of individual ‘metaphorical expressions’ relating to that particular area.

Therefore, MiTs can relate to how a particular story absorbs meanings from earlier stories resulting in establishing connections and ultimately reframing the event.

Second, in the context of interpretive conflict in TS and the question of meaning, Venuti (2005, p.200) investigated, the link between translation on one hand and national and

cultural identities on the other in times of conflict in China, Catalonia, the Soviet Union, and others and concluded that,

these cases show that it would be reductive to attempt any ethical or political evaluation of translation nationalism without considering the historical moments in which they emerged. Translation can be motivated by an essentialism that conceals the constitutive difference of the cultural identity it is deployed to from.

This is in line with the study's findings in relation to meaning-making from processual perspective. This is because their sphere of influence included restricting the interpretations to earlier episodes and reinforcing 'us versus them' themes where it redirected the stories and meaning-making process to whose identity is identifiable. Portrayal of a participant positively could result in allowing metanarratives to be recalled and reinterpret the events. The observed role of recalling past metanarratives in influencing the processual meaning-making and disseminating narratives in the contexts of the TL call for further research on the link between translations and cultural identity.

The research findings with regards to the role of translations in the competition of narratives and how narratives are challenged or maintained can also contribute to research on media sustainability. According to Sakr (2016, p.49) "the sustainability of any news media project depends on the loyalty of its audience". The study findings in relation to promoting narratives, narrative assessments of fidelity and coherence as well as contesting narratives dynamics and altering them can be of relevance to 'sustainability' as approached by Sakr for she had suggested departing from "narrow quantitative sense" to explore the qualitative dimension (2016, p.47). This is because the 'loyalty of its audience' can be maintained through the narrativity features and assessments that had accounted for maintaining or contesting values when they are re-contextualised. Sakr (Ibid., p.46) asserts "culture is as fundamental to sustainability as are the environmental, economic, and social dimensions with which it has long been associated". One way to approach this is from the view that NFO corresponds with sustainability. It can be better understood when TS consider the impact on meaning constituted through importing narratives from the TL, transfer it to the SL where it is reshaped and transformed and then mediated to the TL. TS narrative account considers this as an effort of rhetoric possibility that is aimed to subjectively involve the audience and to avoid contesting their values or beliefs. NFO can be raised through narrativity, including the political import of narratives which widens the scope of the narrative or offers alternative interpretations to the values utilised in the narrative that is being contested.

Appendix A Texas A&M Media Monitoring System (MMS)



Media Monitoring System (MMS) Student User Agreement

I, _____, with the Net ID _____@yourschool.edu, promise that I will use Texas A&M University's Media Monitoring System (<http://bms-is.tamu.edu> and <http://bms-wis.tamu.edu>) in good faith and only in benevolent ways for research and instructional purposes. I understand that the MMS is a shared application for research and development. Information stored in the system should in no way be considered permanent. If clips or searches are accidentally deleted due to unforeseen reasons (such as a system failure), administrators will attempt to recover the material but may not be able to do so. To avoid loss of clips, I may export the clip and store it to an external system. I understand that the MMS can only be accessed through Microsoft Internet Explorer.

The MMS consists of the Broadcast Monitoring System (BMS) and the Web Monitoring System (WMS). This agreement covers access and usage of both systems. The MMS does not transmit passwords using secure protocols. Thus, the **MMS PASSWORDS SHOULD NOT BE SHARED** with any other account or application including Facebook.

Occasionally, the Department of Defense (DoD) expresses interest in students' use of the Media Monitoring Systems and subsequent research outcomes. If this occurs, the MMS Team will request research materials from the student.

Email Address

Telephone

Applicant Signature

Date

Requested Access Period to the MMS*:

Circle all that apply:

| 2015 Semester(s) of Use: | Spring | Summer | Fall

Course No/Section/Title/Instructor

**All MMS user agreements and access ends on the last day of the semester(s) designated above.*

Appendix A Texas A&M Media Monitoring System (MMS)

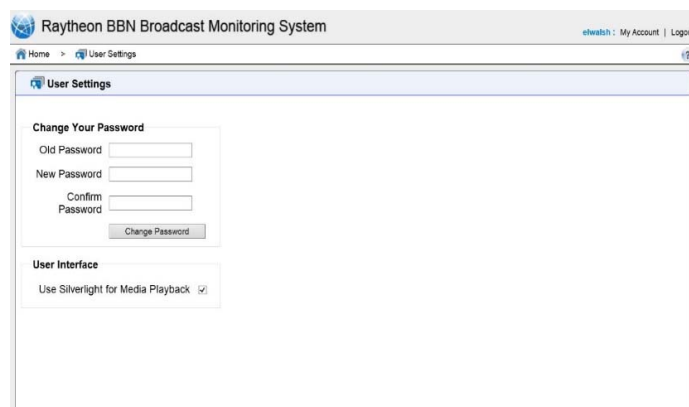
Howdy!

A user-access account has been set up for the Media Monitoring System (MMS) which is comprised of the Broadcast Monitoring System (BMS) and the Web Monitoring System (WMS). The BMS features three (3) languages (Arabic, Chinese and Russian) across two news outlets per language while the WMS2 features 70+ pre-configured websites in Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Urdu, Farsi, and Hindi.

The login information provides access to both systems. This means that the User ID and password are the same for the BMS login and the WMS2 login at <http://mms.tamu.edu>.

Note: The login information is case-sensitive.

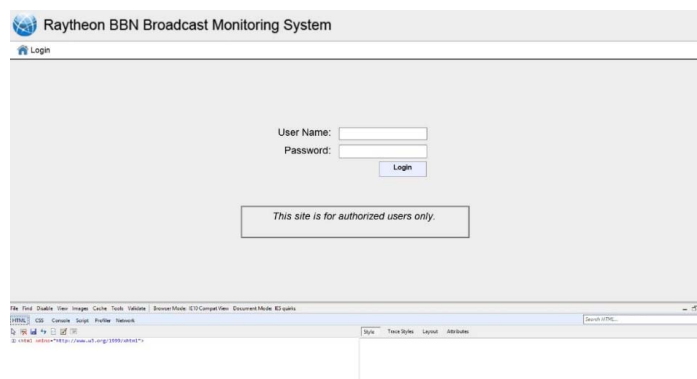
Microsoft requires use of Silverlight. To activate Silverlight in the BMS, simply login then click on “my account” in the upper right-hand corner. The screen will allow the user to change the password and to “check” the box under the User Interface. Now the playback feature for the broadcasts are possible.



The screenshot shows the 'User Settings' page of the Raytheon BBN Broadcast Monitoring System. The page has a header with the system name and a user menu (eWatch: My Account | Logout). Below the header is a navigation bar with 'Home' and 'User Settings'. The main content area is titled 'User Settings' and contains two sections. The first section, 'Change Your Password', has three input fields for 'Old Password', 'New Password', and 'Confirm Password', followed by a 'Change Password' button. The second section, 'User Interface', has a checkbox labeled 'Use Silverlight for Media Playback' which is checked.

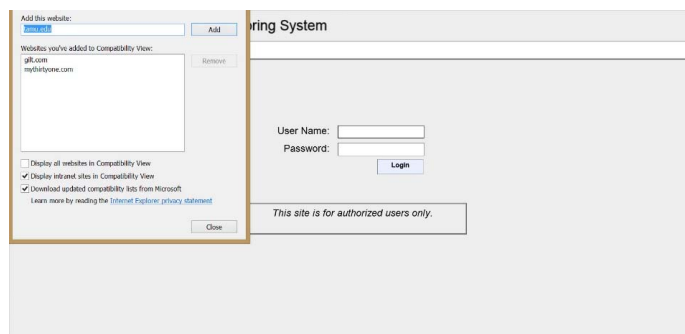
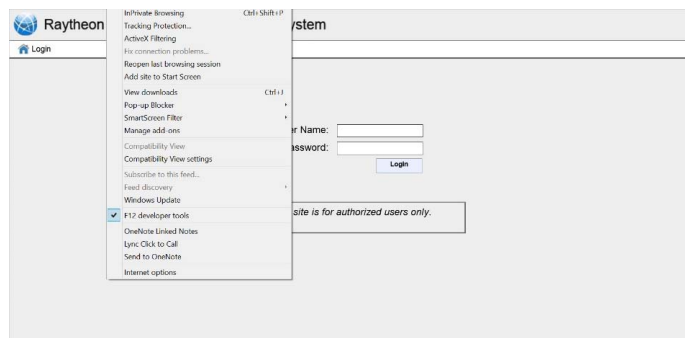
To login to the BMS, the Internet Explorer requires “compatibility mode.” However, the WMS does not require “compatibility mode.”

There are a couple of ways to enable this: #1 depress the F12 (or function 12) key and select the browser mode (or in other words, Internet Explorer Compat View) or #2 under the "tools" tab, select "F12 developer tools" or "compatibility view settings." When prompted, enter "tamu.edu." Currently, the BMS/WMS are not MAC compatible.

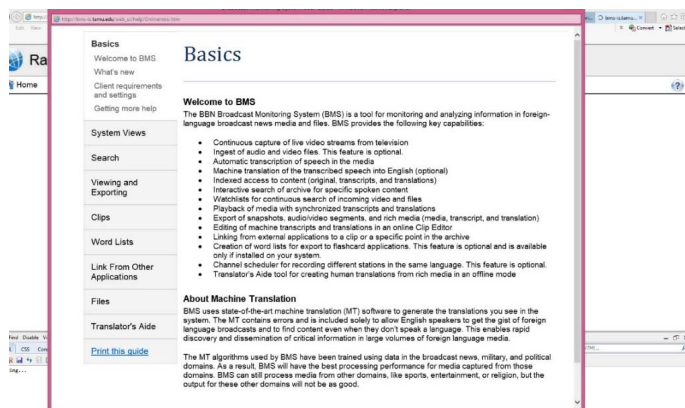


The screenshot shows the 'Login' page of the Raytheon BBN Broadcast Monitoring System. The page has a header with the system name and a 'Login' button. Below the header is a large gray area with a 'User Name:' label and an input field, a 'Password:' label and an input field, and a 'Login' button. Below these fields is a message box that says 'This site is for authorized users only.' The browser window shows the URL 'http://mms.tamu.edu' and the page title 'Raytheon BBN Broadcast Monitoring System'.

Appendix A Texas A&M Media Monitoring System (MMS)

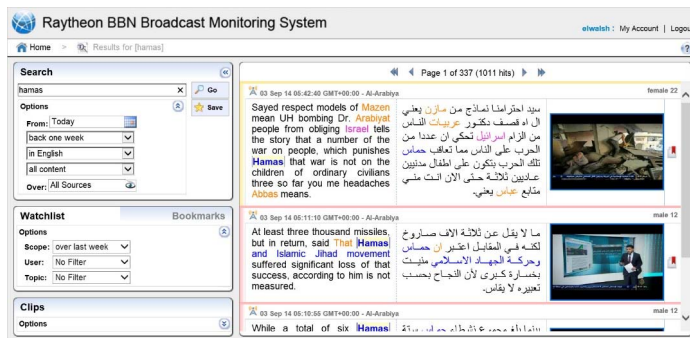


In the BMS and WMS there are help box icons that look like “?” with easy to understand, detailed instructions on how to navigate the BMS and WMS. The BMS is straight-forward and quite intuitive since most of us have experience with sites like YouTube and other audio-visual media. Read the “?” box thoroughly for use with the BMS.



The BMS is similar to other databases such as Jstor and Lexis Nexus. Searches allow for keywords, timeframe and language specificity--if needed. In the example below, there are 337 pages or 1011 hits in one week for "hamas."

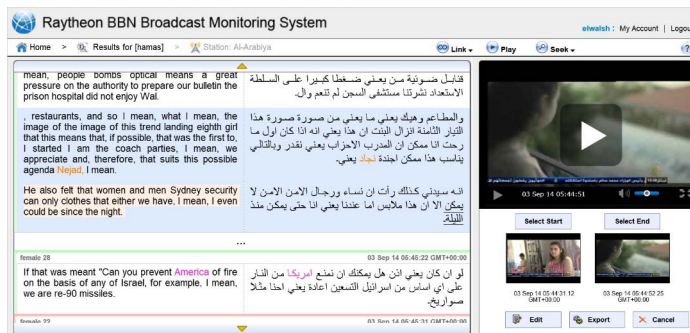
Appendix A Texas A&M Media Monitoring System (MMS)



BMS audio/visual result: the Arabic audio transcribed into its native script translated into English. Here, the cursor is synchronized to the media stream.



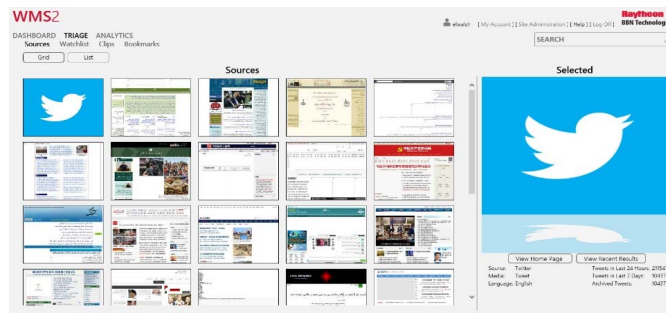
The BMS allows for "clipping" of the live stream (with start and end) that also saves the transcription and English translation for later playback.



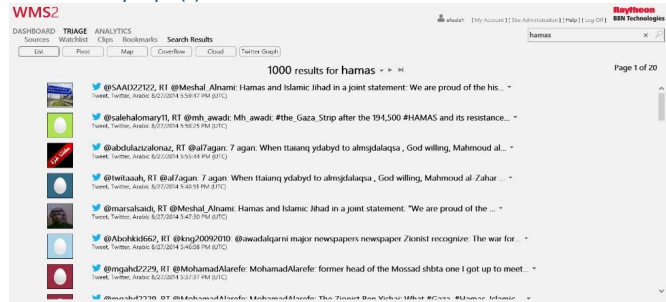
In saving the clips and text, users can share this content with others outside of the MMS and insert it into lessons and lectures. The WMS2 should be approached this way:

1. Under the "Triage" tab, search the topic/key words of interest including timeframe and language.
2. The system will list the articles from the 70+ websites mentioning that topic within the timeframe designated; select the article of interest.

Appendix A Texas A&M Media Monitoring System (MMS)



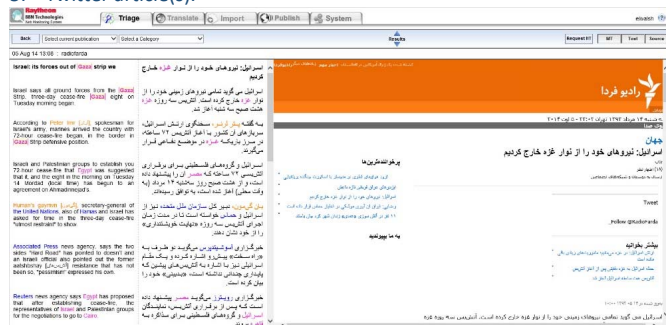
3. Search by topic(s).



4. Twitter content.

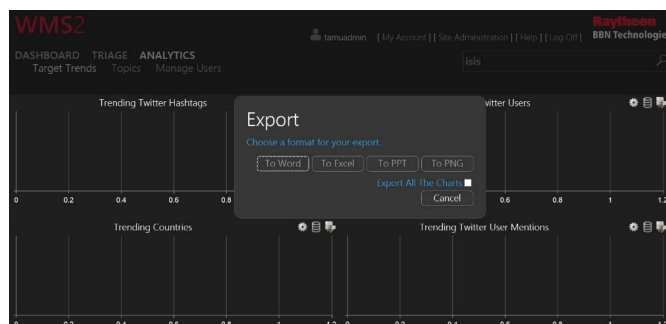


5. Twitter article(s).



Appendix A Texas A&M Media Monitoring System (MMS)

6. Manage clips, bookmarks and topics.
7. Analytics allow for analysis, comparisons, and visual graphics of the data.
8. Export data to external storage and share.



Appendix B British Library Sounds and Moving Images Archive

AJE Coverage of Egypt's Uprising, January 25th-February 11th 2011.

Date	Time of Broadcast/ Duration	Host
25/01/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5056
26/01/2011	23:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5078
27/01/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5205
28/01/2011	23:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5146
29/01/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5167
30/01/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5187
31/01/2011	23:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5209
01/02/2011	13:00/179 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5235
02/02/2011	17:00/58 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5270
03/02/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5292
04/02/2011	13:00/179 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5321
05/02/2011	15:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5352
06/02/2011	18:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5371
07/02/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5399
08/02/2011	21:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5431
09/02/2011	23:00/57 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5452
10/02/2011	13:00/179 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5477
11/02/2011	13:00/179 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5549

Time Displayed is GMT.

RT Coverage of Egypt's Uprising, January 28th-February 11th 2011.

Date	Time of Broadcast/ Duration	Host
28/01/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5144
29/01/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5164
30/01/2011	11:00/56 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5184
31/01/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5207
01/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5232
02/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5260
03/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5290
04/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5336
05/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5349
06/02/2011	11:00/56 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5368
07/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5396
08/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5429
09/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5450
10/02/2011	13:00/34 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5475
11/02/2011	15:00/30 mins	http://videosever.bl.uk/5546

Time Displayed is GMT.

AJE Coverage of Syria's Uprising, August 21st-September 9th 2013.

Date	Time of Broadcast/ Duration	Host
21/08/2013	20:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35431
22/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35444
23/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35489
23/08/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35501
23/08/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35509
24/08/2013	12:00/ 1 hour	http://videosever.bl.uk/35593
24/08/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35523
25/08/2013	19:00/ 2 hours 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35542
26/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35554
27/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35621
27/08/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35642
28/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35668
28/08/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35679
28/08/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35689
29/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35701
29/08/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35721
30/08/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35748
30/08/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35775
31/08/2013	12:00/ 1 hour	http://videosever.bl.uk/35828
01/09/2013	19:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35845
02/09/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35858
02/09/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35883
03/09/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35908
03/09/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35930
04/09/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35955
04/09/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35977
05/09/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35996
05/09/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36019
06/09/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36035
06/09/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36072
07/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/36171
07/09/2013	16:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36085
08/09/2013	19:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36186
09/09/2013	11:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36122
09/09/2013	20:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36144

Time Displayed is GMT.

RT Coverage of Syria's Uprising, August 21st-September 10th 2013.

Date	Time of Broadcast/Duration	Host
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21/8/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35409
22/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35443
23/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35488
23/08/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35495
24/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35515
24/08/2013	13:00/ 90 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35519
25/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35531
25/08/2013	2:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35535
26/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35552
26/08/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35558
27/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35620
27/08/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35626
28/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35667
28/08/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35673
29/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35700
29/08/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35706
30/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35747
30/08/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35759
31/08/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35781
01/09/2013	14:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35800
02/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35857
02/09/2013	13:00/ 2 hours 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35866
03/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35907
03/09/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35913
04/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35954
04/09/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/35960
05/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/35995
06/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/36034
06/09/2013	13:00/ 3 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36056
07/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/36078
07/09/2013	13:00/ 2 hours 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/36082
08/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/36094
08/09/2013	14:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36098
09/09/2013	12:00/ 30 minutes	http://videosever.bl.uk/36121
10/09/2013	2:00/ 2 hours	http://videosever.bl.uk/36209

Time Displayed is GMT.

Mubarak February 1st, 2011 Speech: Translation produced by AJE

"I talk to you during critical times that are testing Egypt and its people which could sweep them into the unknown.

"The country is passing through difficult times and tough experiences which began with noble youths and citizens who practise their rights to peaceful demonstrations and protests, expressing their concerns and aspirations but they were quickly exploited by those who sought to spread chaos and violence, confrontation and to violate the constitutional legitimacy and to attack it.

"Those protests were transformed from a noble and civilised phenomenon of practising freedom of expression to unfortunate clashes, mobilised and controlled by political forces that wanted to escalate and worsen the situation.

"They targeted the nation's security and stability through acts of provocation theft and looting and setting fires and blocking roads and attacking vital installations and public and private properties and storming some diplomatic missions.

"We are living together painful days and the most painful thing is the fear that affected the huge majority of Egyptians and caused concern and anxiety over what tomorrow could bring them and their families and the future of their country.

"The events of the last few days require us all as a people and as a leadership to choose between chaos and stability and to set in front of us new circumstances and a new Egyptian reality which our people and armed forces must work with wisely and in the interest of Egypt and its citizens.

"Dear brothers and citizens, I took the initiative of forming a new government with new priorities and duties that respond to the demand of our youth and their mission.

"I entrusted the vice-president with the task of holding dialogue with all the political forces and factions about all the issues that have been raised concerning political and democratic reform and the constitutional and legislative amendments required to realise these legitimate demands and to restore law and order.

"But there are some political forces who have refused this call to dialogue, sticking to their particular agendas without concern for the current delicate circumstances of Egypt and its people.

"In light of this refusal to the call for dialogue and this is a call which remains standing, I direct my speech today directly to the people, its Muslims and Christians, old and young, peasants and workers, and all Egyptian men and women in the countryside and city over the whole country.

"I have never, ever been seeking power and the people know the difficult circumstances that I shouldered my responsibility and what I offered this country in war and peace, just as I am a man from the armed forces and it is not in my nature to betray the trust or give up my responsibilities and duties.

"My primary responsibility now is security and independence of the nation to ensure a peaceful transfer of power in circumstances that protect Egypt and the Egyptians and allow handing over responsibility to whoever the people choose in the coming presidential election.

"I say in all honesty and regardless of the current situation that I did not intend to nominate myself for a new presidential term. I have spent enough years of my life in the service of Egypt and its people.

"I am now absolutely determined to finish my work for the nation in a way that ensures handing over its safe-keeping and banner ... preserving its legitimacy and respecting the constitution.

"I will work in the remaining months of my term to take the steps to ensure a peaceful transfer of power.

"According to my constitutional powers, I call on parliament in both its houses to discuss amending Article 76 and 77 of the constitution concerning the conditions on running for presidency of the republic and it sets specific a period for the presidential term.

"In order for the current parliament in both houses to be able to discuss these constitutional amendments and the legislative amendments linked to it for laws that

complement the constitution and to ensure the participation of all the political forces in these discussions, I demand parliament to adhere to the word of the judiciary and its verdicts concerning the latest cases which have been legally challenged.

"I will entrust the new government to perform in ways that will achieve the legitimate rights of the people and that its performance should express the people and their aspirations of political, social and economic reform and to allow job opportunities and combating poverty, realising social justice.

"In this context, I charge the police apparatus to carry out its duty in serving the people, protecting the citizens with integrity and honour with complete respect for their rights, freedom and dignity.

"I also demand the judicial and supervisory authorities to take immediately the necessary measures to continue pursuing outlaws and to investigate those who caused the security disarray and those who undertook acts of theft, looting and setting fires and terrorising citizens.

"This is my pledge to the people during the last remaining months of my current term.

"I ask God to help me to honour this pledge to complete my vocation to Egypt and its people in what satisfies God, the nation and its people.

"Dear citizens, Egypt will emerge from these current circumstances stronger, more confident and unified and stable. And our people will emerge with more awareness of how to achieve reconciliation and be more determined not to undermine its future and destiny.

"Hosni Mubarak who speaks to you today is proud of the long years he spent in the service of Egypt and its people. This dear nation is my country, it is the country of all Egyptians, here I have lived and fought for its sake and I defended its land, its sovereignty and interests and on this land I will die and history will judge me and others for our merits and faults.

"The nation remains. Visitors come and go but ancient Egypt will remain eternal, its banner and safekeeping will pass from one generation to the next. It is up to us to ensure this in pride and dignity."

AJE (February 2nd, 2011) Full Text of Mubarak's Speech: Egyptian President offers concessions and defiance in the face of continued protests demanding he leave office.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/20112221313603381.html>

B5B.MA User List Item View Sort Find Data Help

Videos Edits Documents View as Grid Sort by Title 374 230 41 440 287

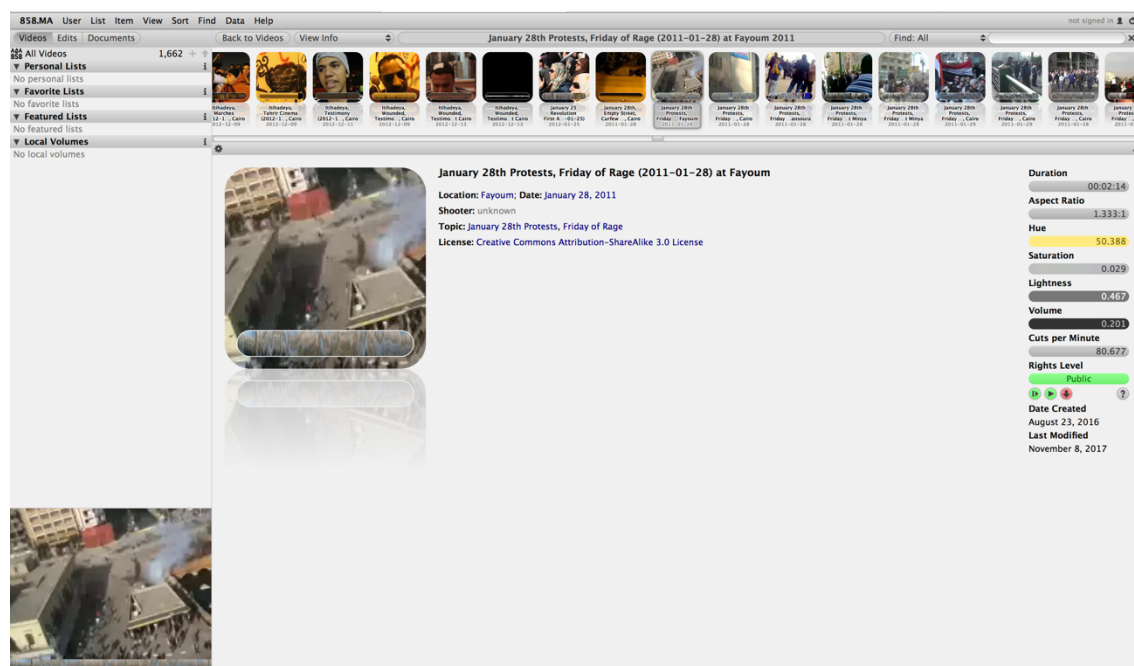
All Videos	Topic	Places	Month	Date	Keywords
Personal Lists	18 Days	Tahrir, Cairo	2011-01	2018-03-06	sky
No personal lists	Tahrir Protests	Downtown, Cairo	2011-02	2017	helicopter
Favorite Lists	Protest	Cairo	2011-11	2014-06-21	blur
No favorite lists	Friday of Rage	Mohammed Mahmoud, Cairo	2012-11	2014-06-14	camera
Featured Lists	March	Qasr al-Eini Street, Cairo	2011-12	2014-03-12	tear gas
No featured lists	Cabinet Clashes	Maspero, Cairo	2012-02	2014-01-05	chants
Local Videos	Mohammed Mahmoud	Ithadeya, Cairo	2012-12	2013-12-19	riot police
No local videos	Port Said Massacre	Mansoura	2012-01	2013-12-16	abstraction
	Testimonies	Zekheim Morgue, Cairo	2011-03	2013-12-14	screens
	clashes	Abasseya, Cairo	2011-07	2013-12-11	Army, Vehicle

The grid displays 20 video thumbnails arranged in two rows of ten. Each thumbnail includes a title and date below it:

- Row 1:**
 - Ithadeya, 2012 Constitution (2012-12-04) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-04
 - Ithadeya, 2012 Violence (2012-12-04) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-04
 - Ithadeya, Anti-Protest Law (2012-06-21) at Helipolis, Cairo 2012-06-21
 - Ithadeya, Army Officer (2012-12-06) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-06
 - Ithadeya, Chanting (2012-12-06) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-06
 - Ithadeya, Clashes (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Interview, Mohamed Mostafa, Live Amman Wounded, 2012 Constitutio @ at Cairo 2012-12-10
 - Ithadeya, Interview, Mohamed Mostafa, Live Amman Wounded, 2012 Constitutio @ at Cairo 2012-12-10
- Row 2:**
 - Ithadeya, Clashes (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes, Army (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes, Field Hospitals (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes, Field Hospitals (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes, Muslim Brotherhood (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes, Muslim Brotherhood (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Clashes, Muslim Brotherhood (2012-12-05) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-05
 - Ithadeya, Tahrir Cinema (2012-12-09) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-09
 - Ithadeya, Testimony (2012-12-11) at Ithadeya, Cairo 2012-12-11



Appendix C 858 – An Archive of Resistance



Appendix D Coding Guide

Key words (similar words/phrases)

1. Tables of Discrediting opposing voices: Labelling participants and their actions

Undermining	Favourable	Neutral
Terrorist (Terror, terrorism, terrorists, terrorising, militant, Al-Qaeda affiliated, Al-Nusra, anti-West extremists, radicals, takfiri, Jihadist), Alleged (unverified, claims, accusation) Illogical (naïve, unfounded)	Citizens (civilians, people, Egyptians, Syrians, man, woman, child, girl, father, mother, grandmother, grandfather, youth, martyrs, by passer)	Opposition (Muslim Brotherhood, SNC, ElBaradei)
Rebel (Rebellion, outlaws)	Activist	Protester (demonstrator)
Anarchy (chaos, mayhem, destruction, explosion, extremism, corruption), resentment (outrage, rage, hate, anger), frustration (no hope, boredom) Poverty (unemployment, prices, taxes) Political freedom (rights), lying (false, fabricating, exaggerating, biased, one-sided), scepticism (uncertainty, cautious), defiant leader (defiance, waiting game, outlast, dictator, rigging elections)	Breaking the barrier of fear, their right to peacefully protest, legitimate	Unrest, Demonstration, protest
Violently (violence, barbarism, crackdown) thugs (looters, prisoners, infiltrators)	Peacefully (non-violent)	Participating (gathering, amassing)
Anti-government	Pro-Democracy	Demonstration
Hypocrisy (double standards, lying, fabricating, false, conspiracy, one-sided) high-jacking UN, bleak records of US intervention, humanitarian catastrophe, war crime, crime against humanity, provocation, international condemnation	Humanitarian intervention , limited intervention, international community demands	Conflict (political dispute, event, issue)

2. Tables of genres

Political/economic	Humanitarian	Military/Terrorism	Opposition	Government
Intervention in sovereignty , political manipulation, staged provocation, propaganda, regime change, coalition	Civilians Babies/Women/Children/Elderly, children, child labour, trafficking, psychological,	Air-strikes (Bombardment, shelling, bombing, warfare, clashes, fired, mortar, engaged) army (Syria's military, soldiers, Syrian Forces, arsenal), civil war (sectarian conflict, ideological, uncertain future, power vacuum, breeding ground of terrorism)	Chants , slogans, graffiti	Statements, speeches
UNSC, UN, G20, diplomatic, negotiations, international community, UN mandate, international law, UN endorsement, veto, diplomatic efforts, international pressure (sanctions)	Children access to schools, water and food, slaughtering Syrian people,	Al-Qaeda, terrorists, extremists, anti-west extremists, militants, Al-Qaeda linked militants, Islamists,	Demands, requests	Law and order, democracy, rule of law
World economy (global financial damage, global reserves, global economy, oil prices, investors,	Refugees, refugee camps, civilian massacre, populace, Minorities (Christian, Yazidi, Kurd)	Deploying chemical weapons (weaponised chemical agents, chemical substance, Sarin gas, gas agents, toxic	Speeches	

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markets, gold prices)		weapons, intoxication, neurotoxic, VX, contamination, high-level chemistry)		
	Victims (victims' relatives, patients, mother, father, home) suffering (wounds, trauma, survivor, suicide, depression, alcoholism, anxiety, panic, hurt, stress, trust issues, mental)	Fighters, coalition, NATO, intervention, regime,	Muslim Brotherhood, SNC, ElBaradei	

3. News Source

Government	Al Mualem	Al Zoubi	Damascus (Syrian Capital, Regime, Assad, Syrian president)	Mubarak (Egypt, Cairo, Nabil Fahmy)			
Correspondents/ social media	Journalists	Commentator	YouTube, Facebook, Twitter				
Experts	Hamish Bretton Gordon	Brian Becker	Richard Weitz	Michael Binyon	Dina Esfandiary	Firas Abi Ali	Nickolas van Dam
	Christopher Stokes, Doctors without Borders DwB	Richard Murphy	Michael Maloof	Jeffrey White	James Bays	Danny Yatom	Human Right Watch, Syria Observatory for Human Rights Watch

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Opposition	George Sabra	Daoud Khairallah	Ahmed Al Jabra	ElBaradei	Muslim Brotherhood		
Civilians	Survivors	Activists	Locals	Witnesses	Ayssar Midani	Medic al charities	Ammar Waqqaf
UN	UN investigators	Carla Del Ponte	Ban Ki-Moon				
government and civilians	Syrians/Egyptians						
Opposition and civilians	Syrians/Egyptians						
Russia and Allies	Russia (Russian Foreign Ministry, Russians, Moscow, Lavrov, President Putin)	Hezbollah	Iran (Supreme leader of Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei, Tehran)	China			
US and Allies	U.S. (John Kerry, Obama, the Pentagon, Americans, America, Washington, White House, Senior official, congress, CIA, intelligence agencies)	UK (William Hague, Foreign Ministry, David Cameron, Nigel Farage, UKIP, Britain, Parliament, Conservatives, Labour Party, MPs, Prime minister,	France (French Foreign Minister, French President)	Turkey, Austria, Germany, Israel, Spain, NATO Secretary General, EU	Sweden (Foreign Minister)	Saudi Arabia (Saudi Al Faisal)	Arab League

4. Persuasion and Self-referential

Self-Referential	Media Memory	Media Rhetoric
First person (You, we, us, your), ‘us versus them’, protagonist-antagonist	Saddam Hussein and Kurds	Religious Minorities , pilgrims, solidarity (shoulder by shoulder, side by side, marching together)
Suffering (Anxiety, depression, stress)	Coloured Revolutions (Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan)	Civilians (Elderly, women and children, babies, 10-year old, children leading chanting)
The world (international community, worldwide, humanity, human)	US led military interventions (Bosnia, Serbs and Kosovo Albanians, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya)	Refugees (displaced, fear, homes, funerals)
Family (Father, mother, grandmother, daughter, cousin, children)	Vietnam, WWII	Rights (freedoms, freedom of expression, assembly and association) dictatorship (police brutality, arrests, crackdown, curfew, rigging elections, water cannons, teargas) poverty (corruption, unemployment)

News Channels

1. AJE
2. RT

Narrativity and Context

1. Past/recalled (meta) narrative TL and SL.
2. Internal (ontological and public) narrative SL.
3. External (public) narrative TL.
4. Imported (disciplinary narrative) TL and SL.

Conflict’s Influence on (Prominence)

1. Citizens/civilians (Humanitarian)
2. Global economy (Political)
3. Humans (Humanitarian)
4. Minorities (Humanitarian)
5. Oil prices (Political)
6. Anarchy/instability (Political)

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7. Unemployment (Humanitarian)
8. Human rights/poverty (Humanitarian)
9. Rise of terrorism (Political)
10. Women/children/elderly (Humanitarian)
11. World (Political)

Participants that populate narrative and re-narrate story (Characters in narrative)

1. Al Mualem
2. Al Zoubi
3. Al-Jabra
4. Citizens/civilians
5. Egypt
6. ElBaradei
7. George Sabra
8. Mubarak
9. Muslim Brotherhood
10. Protestors
11. SNC
12. Syria
13. UN

Actors or victims

1. Activists
2. Al-Qaeda affiliated opposition
3. Citizens/people
4. Protestors
5. Rebels
6. Terrorists

Sources

1. Officials: Government, Mubarak, and Al Mualem and Al Zoubi.
2. Opposition: Muslim Brotherhood, ElBaradei, SNC, and George Sabra and Al-Jabra.
3. Experts: scientists, analysts, experts, diplomats, doctors (including institutions and organisations such as Doctors without Borders and research centres).

4. Civilians: activists, locals, eyewitnesses, and citizens.
5. Broadcasters: journalists, correspondents, other channels and news agencies: Al Arabia News Network, ITV news, Syrian State Television.
6. Social media feeds: Facebook and Twitter.
7. Victims and their family members.
8. The international community, UN, and UNSC.
9. Regional and global countries: Russia, China, Iran, United States, NATO, Turkey, France, UK, Arab League, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Sweden, Germany, Spain, and Austria.

Experts/scientists/analysts²³¹ as introduced by RT and AJE:

Ammar Waqqaf: Syrian Political Activist.

Ayssar Midani: Syrian Political Activist.

Brian Becker: Director, Answer Coalition.

Christopher Stokes: The Director General of Doctors without Borders, DwB.

Danny Yatom: Former Head of Mossad.

Daoud Khairallah: Professor of International Law, Georgetown University.

Dina Esfandiary: Specialist in Chemical Weapons, Researcher Associate IISS, Middle East Security Expert.

Firas Abi Ali: Global and Middle East issues expert, political commentator.

Hamish Bretton Gordon: Heads the Chemical Weapons Consultancy Bio.

James Bays: Diplomatic Editor.

Jeffrey White: Defence Fellow, The Washington Institute.

Michael Binyon: Foreign Affairs Specialist.

Michael Maloof: Former Pentagon Official, former security policy analyst in the office of U.S. Secretary of Defence.

Nicholas van Dam: Former Dutch Ambassador to Iraq and Egypt, author on the Middle East.

²³¹ Former officials are listed under experts while the officials in office at the time of the broadcasts are listed under their countries voices.

Appendix D Coding Guide

Richard Murphy: Former U.S. Ambassador to Syria and KSA.

Richard Weitz: Centre for Political-Military Analysis.

Guidelines:

Sources:

1. (Government): policymakers and politicians holding positions within the ruling party, officers, ministers, official spokesperson, etc.
2. (Opposition): opposing political parties, protestors, and activists from the same country.
3. (Experts): an individual or institution speaking in the capacity of their profession (analysts, scientists, former diplomats, etc.)
4. (External): officials from regional and global countries.

Capacity:

In what capacity did the participants (characters in narrative) re-narrate the event. It relates to the labels and representation.

Functionalist Approach of TS:

With regards to the communicative aspect of reproduced texts in relation to narrativity and context, did the sources

1. Import narratives (self-referential),
2. Recall (meta)narratives (memory), or
3. Use rhetorical possibility (rhetoric).

With regards to reframing conflict in translation, translations role in importing, exporting, and recalling narratives associated or dissociated with which narrative humanitarian or political frames. It relates to drawing on images of victims or instability and military strikes relation to the rise of extremism.

In additions to labels and other lexical and lexicogrammatical concerns, the method relies on features of narrativity with regards to responsibility such as the bombardment was a reaction to protesters' actions or the protesters' action was a response to the bombardment. Respectively, translations import or export political and humanitarian narratives and associate with the TL discourses accordingly.

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