

A Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Qaddafi in Media: Evidence from Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej Newspapers

Ahmad S Haider¹

Abstract

This study combines two methodological strands, namely, Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to identify the discursive practices relating to the construction of the former Libyan president, *Qaddafi*, before, during, and after the 2011 Libyan civil war. This is based on a new 19-million word corpus of two newspapers published in Arabic, namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* (a pan-Arab newspaper located in London, and mainly published in Saudi Arabia), and *Al-Khaleej* (a newspaper located and mainly published in the UAE) from 2009 to 2013. The analysis shows that *Qaddafi* was represented positively in the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010). During the Libyan uprisings (2011), the newspapers represented him negatively highlighting his violence against his own people. In the post-uprisings era (2012/2013), the newspapers tended also to describe him negatively by referring to the terrorist activities he was involved in, and criticizing his policies and behaviours during his 42 years in power. These results are connected to the political and social contexts of the particular investigated period. This study concludes that there is a wide range of discursive construction for *Qaddafi* based on the agenda of the investigated newspapers and the countries where they are based.

Keywords: Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, newspapers, The Arab spring, 2011 Libyan Civil war, Qaddafi.

1. Introduction

The protests in the Arab World are considered to be among the most important events that the world has seen in the last two decades (Cavatorta, 2012; Murphy, 2012). The Arab people took action after decades of submission and disappointment, and rejected the oppressions of their rulers and governments (Ebienfa & Inokoba, 2012). The terms 'Arab revolutions', 'Arab Spring', 'Arab winter', 'Arab awakening' and 'Arab Uprisings' refer to related events that are defined as the massive protest movements in 2011 in some Arab countries, mainly, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria (Esomba, 2012).

The media is one of the most powerful tools which are used by the elites and authorities in order to control the masses, and influence their attitudes (Van Dijk, 1996). Mass media, especially newspapers and television, are among the most popular and important sources for people to get their news. Therefore, during the 2011 protests, most Arab audiences, regardless of their educational and social status, were motivated to read newspapers and watch TV channels, especially the ones dedicated to news such as Aljazeera (Campbell & Hawk, 2012). In addition, as noted by Khouri (2011), most Arab audiences read international newspapers at the time of crises over and above their national media channels and local newspapers.

¹ Department of Linguistics, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand.
E-mail: ah_haider86@yahoo.com

This is because most of their national media channels generally lack credibility in reporting local as well as international news mainly because they have long loyalty to the existing regimes (Rugh, 2007), and are supervised, censored, operated, and owned, in most cases, by the governments or those who have loyalties to them (Khouri, 2011).

This paper focuses on the longest-ruling leader in the Arab world, Muammar al-Qaddafi, also known as Colonel Qaddafi, the Brotherly Leader, and Guide of the Revolution of Libya. Qaddafi ruled Libya for 42 years after founding a revolutionary cell within the military in 1969 that took the power from King Idris in a bloodless coup, dissolving the monarchy and announcing the Republic (Pargeter, 2012). Qaddafi's hostility to the U.S. and some Western countries, in addition to his stance regarding different international issues, led the United Nations to impose economic sanctions on Libya (Lopez & Myers, 1997). The current study aims to examine the representation of the Libyan regime of Qaddafi in two Arabic newspapers; namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* (pan-Arab) and *Al-Khaleej* (UAE) from 2009 to 2013. Libya was selected as a focus of this research although the Arab Spring has affected several Arab countries as the five categories show (table 1).

Table 1: Categorizing the Arab countries based on the severity of the protests

Category	Country
The fall of the ruling regime	Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen
Civil War	Syria (on-going), and Libya
Major protests	Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria, and Oman
Minor protests	Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon
No Protests	Qatar and United Arab Emirates

The first two categories have been widely and thoroughly covered by different media outlets when compared to the other categories. The ruling regimes of the countries mentioned in the first category were swept away by popular revolts, while the countries in the second category witnessed civil wars. Events in Syria are still on-going, which renders studying the period following the revolution difficult. Libya occurs in both the first and second categories. Libya is different because of its leader Muammar Al-Qaddafi who was unlikely to step down in response to the popular pressure. His reported use of mercenaries to thrust war against his own civilians has been viewed as a brutal act of a dictator (Fahim & El Sheikh, 2013). Libya is considered as a special case because of Qaddafi's forty-two years of dictatorship, during which he committed mass atrocities, destroyed the institutions of civil society, and demolished and cancelled political life at all levels (Oakes, 2011).

Libya is different because it is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, with 44.3 billion barrels of proven oil reserves in 2010 according to BP Statistical Review of World Energy (British Petroleum Company, 2010). Libya has a small population, but they did not get much benefit of the oil due to Qaddafi's patronage to many events, not for the sake of helping others, but to promote himself and keep his popularity as the king of Africa (Chorin, 2012). Qaddafi's family accumulated wealth, while the ordinary Libyan people complained about the unequal distribution of oil revenues (Hunston, 2002). Libya is different because of its poor internal situation which is not commensurate with the size of the wealth of a country that is endowed with the continent's largest reserves of oil. Libya and Qaddafi are indeterminate objects and anomalous in both Arab and global ideologies. In addition, when comparing Libya with the other mainly affected Arab Spring countries, I found that the duration of the Libyan uprisings was not too short as in the Tunisian and Egyptian cases (less than one month), and not too long like the civil war in Syria (2011-ongoing), and this enables me to track the news coverage, examine the created discourses over the whole period of the uprisings, and then compare them with the ones created two years before and two years after.

2. Theoretical framework: Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has grown rapidly over the last decade of the 20th century as a continuation of critical linguistics that appeared in the 1970s (Barletta Manjarrés, 2007). Therefore, it is a relatively new area developed in language study in which discourse is treated as "a form of social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). CDA investigates the relationship between language, power, and society, and pays much attention to the crucial role that context plays in discourse (Wodak, 2001).

CDA has been a target for criticism and the focus of a heated debate. The objectivity of the analysts is in question, being ideologically biased and analyzing the texts based on their political and ideological stance. Widdowson (1995, 1996, 1998) questions the notion of representativeness saying that CDA depends on fragments rather than full texts, and 'cherry-pick' examples that suit its analysts' assumptions. In this study, CDA is viewed as a way of examining the relationship between the language of the two newspapers, the governments of the countries where they are located and mainly published, and the Libyan regime of Qaddafi. It is a way to reveal how Qaddafi is represented in a time span of 5 years, why he was represented in that way, and whether the newspapers were biased in their representation or not. CDA in this study is a way not only to describe what the newspapers said, but it also explain how the discourses they employ work based on the power relations in the societies of where they operate.

Hunston (2002) defined 'corpus' based on both its form and its purpose as "a collection of naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recordings, which have been collected for linguistic study" (p. 2). Corpus linguistics is "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 1). This method has become popular since the advent of personal computers in the 1990s. Corpus linguistics has largely been accepted as an important way of analysing language in different fields such as lexicography (Hanks, 2012), syntax (Roland, Dick, & Elman, 2007), cognitive linguistics (Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2007), and applied linguistics (Hunston, 2002).

Over the last 20 years or so there has been an explosion of work which has combined aspects of these two approaches. However, it is rare to find studies that have applied the combination on Arabic texts (see Haider, 2016). Therefore, this study contributes to the corpus-assisted discourse studies on Arabic texts. McEnery and Wilson (2001) argue that combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches offers two main advantages; namely it makes the qualitative analysis more precise, and the quantitative results more reliable and generalizable. The combination between CDA and CL has been described as a 'natural match' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995), and a 'useful methodological synergy' (Baker et al., 2008) to show that the combined effect of the interaction between the two is greater than the sum of their individual effect. Partington (2003) draws three conclusions for carrying out (C)DA with the aid of corpus linguistic tools based on three levels. At the simplest level, corpus techniques contribute to finding some examples of a phenomenon that has already been noted. At the other level, it uncovers some patterns that were unthought-of previously. In between these two levels, it can support, falsify or revise researchers' intuition by showing why and how much of their suspicions were grounded.

Both approaches have strengths and weaknesses. CL is a quantitative approach that is being used or applied to process large collections of texts which are characterised to be representative. This approach helps in having a relatively greater distance between the researcher and the data. CL also adopts some statistical tools to give generalizable descriptions of the investigated data that is, in most cases, decontextualized, and maybe put the findings at risk. Conversely, CDA is a qualitative research approach that depends on making a close reading for some fragments, which are related to the topic under investigation, and this might help the researchers achieve deep analysis and thick explanation. In using CDA, data are analysed within the social and political contexts. This means that using these two extremes in one study may make the findings of the study broader and robust.

In this study, I will mainly use the corpus technique of collocation. Collocation as a term was coined by Firth (1957) who states that "you shall know the word by the company it keeps!" (p. 179). A statistical definition of collocation has been used by Stubbs (2001, p. 29) who states that "my definition is [...] a statistical one: "collocation" is frequent co-occurrence". In corpus linguistics, collocation provides researchers with some details about the ties or relationship between words. Software can calculate collocations by observing how many times the word **x** occurs near the word **y**. The most common statistical tests to calculate collocation are Dice Coefficient, MI, Z-score, T-score, and log-likelihood. Log-likelihood and MI3 favour high frequency grammatical words; MI gives high scores to low frequency words; and t-score favours high frequency words (Baker, 2014). In this study, dice coefficient will be used as it favours medium frequency collocates which tend to be lexical words.

It is the role of researchers to specify the collocation span, i.e. the number of words on the left and the right of x , putting into account that different spans may lead to different types of relationships. In this study, collocation span is set as ± 5 words (five words on either side of the node word).

Collocation can also be used in discourse studies to uncover some ideologies by revealing some information about the subtle meanings and connotations that the words may have. Collocation is useful for CDA because it provides researchers not only with the semantic definition of the word, but also with other implicit aspects of the same word within a particular discourse (Forest, 2007). The relation between collocation and discourse mainly depends on the context in which the two words occur, who the receivers and producers of the text are, and how the audience process the phrase. When two words or phrases keep appearing next to each other in most contexts, it would be difficult for the text receivers to exclude any of them, and once one of these words is mentioned, they will directly think of its collocates (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). This process may affect how issues are viewed and understood. For example, in the case of media, if particular words/phrases were used next to each other over a period of time, and people receive them repeatedly over the same period of time, the two words after a while turn out to have a strong relation they did not have before.

3. Research Method and design

3.1. Corpus building & data source

In the Arab world, most newspapers support the policies of the government and those in power, and are prohibited from publishing criticism to the state's regime and army (Amin, 2002). Journalists are subject of political pressures that might include arrests, detention, and exile. Skovgaard-Petersen (2006) states that the establishment of three main London-based pan-Arab newspapers, namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* (1978), *Al-Hayat* (1986), and *al-Quds al-Arabi* (1989) contributed to the development of the Arab press. This study investigates *Asharq Al-Awsat* (الشرق الأوسط) as it has a higher circulation than the other two newspapers. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is often regarded as a leading international Arab daily newspaper that has both paper and electronic versions. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is seen as a voice for politics and perspectives of Saudi Arabia (Boyd, 2001). Alterman (1998) points out that about two thirds of the newspaper's readers are Saudi. However, Alterman argues that the newspaper "is not merely a mouthpiece for the Saudi regime... Its pages host a relatively wide variety of views, and it is followed as one of the best indicators of developments in the Saudi kingdom" (p. 9). According to the Global Investment House's report on Saudi Research & Marketing Group (2009), *Asharq Al-Awsat* had a circulation of 235,000 copies per day.

The second newspaper used in this study is *Al-Khaleej* (الخليج) which is published in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The UAE was selected to check how some events related to the period of the Arab uprisings are represented in a country that has not witnessed any protests. Ulrichsen (2012) notes the crucial role that some small states like Qatar and the United Arab Emirates played in the wake of the Arab Spring, where these two countries have become increasingly visible global actors in the regional and international affairs. *Al-Khaleej* is a daily newspaper, published by Dar Al-Khaleej since 1970, and is considered to be the first daily newspaper published in the UAE (Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013). Based on the newspaper's website, *Al-Khaleej* aims to emphasize the idea of unity in the Arab Gulf region that combines national belongings and Arabic roots. *Al-Khaleej* is one of the most popular newspapers in the UAE, and has a circulation of around 114,800 copies per day according to the Press Preference website.

The corpus of this study is built from scratch. Using a news database is the most common way of retrieving news data in corpus linguistic (critical) discourse analysis studies. I checked whether the investigated Arabic newspapers are available in different news databases such as Factiva, LexisNexis and Syndi Gate, and found that the earliest covered issues of these two newspapers were not before May 2011, and this means a 2.5 year gap in the investigated time span. Therefore, the articles were directly retrieved from the newspapers' websites. The websites of *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* have a feature that is not available in many other Arabic newspapers. They have a free archive that allows users to look for the articles that contain particular word/s or phrase/s in a particular time period. They also allow using some relation terms such as *AND*, *OR*, and *NOT*.

To identify relevant articles, query terms related to Libya between 2009 and 2013 were used, such as the name of the country (ليبيا *Libya*), the main character in focus (القذافي *Qaddafi*), and some Libyan cities (بنغازي *Benghazi*, طرابلس *Tripoli*, and سرت *Sirt*). In order to investigate how discourses around *Qaddafi* have changed from before and after the outbreak of the 2011 uprisings in the two investigated newspapers, the collected articles were divided into three periods, namely: before, during, and after the uprisings. Period 1 (before the uprisings) spans from January 2009 to December 2010. Period 2 (during the uprisings and the immediate aftermath of the event) is from January 2011 to December 2011. Period 3 (after the uprisings) covers events from January 2012 to December 2013. Looking for the query terms in the newspapers' websites resulted in 23285 articles with a total count of 19324789 as table 2 shows:

Table 2: The size of the investigated corpus

Asharq Al-Awsat				
Period	Year	Number of Articles	Word count	Total of periods
Before	2009	815	491211	1035058
	2010	874	543847	
During	2011	4957	3251198	3251198
After	2012	2322	1631762	2791117
	2013	1609	1159355	
Total	5 years	10577	7,077,373	7,077,373
Al-Khaleej				
Before	2009	1625	798964	1730931
	2010	1930	931967	
During	2011	4843	5263018	5263018
After	2012	2478	3075157	5253467
	2013	1832	2178310	
Total	5 years	12708	12,247,416	12,247,416
Overall Total	5 years	23285	19,324,789	19,324,789

3.2. How the corpus of this study is analysed

In this study, I mainly use Wordsmith 6.0 (WS6) (Scott, 2012). In section 4, the three time periods are analysed in turn namely the pre-uprisings (2009-2010), during the uprisings (2011), and post-uprisings (2012-2013). For each time period, a similar approach is followed. First is a dispersion analysis to examine whether *Qaddafi* is presented similarly and equally in the two investigated newspapers. This is a way of performing an early check of the likely validity of the corpora. Second, collocation analysis for *Qaddafi* to explore how he is diachronically represented in the corpus, and to check whether the Arab uprisings represented a turning point in the newspapers' stance towards the regime of *Qaddafi* or not.

4. Data Analysis

4.1. Period 1 (2009-2010)

To see whether the incidents of *Qaddafi* were distributed equally across the whole period in the two investigated newspapers, I created dispersion plots which show where the search term (*Qaddafi* in this case) occurs in the investigated corpus. Graph 1, which is created based on the normalized frequency of *Qaddafi* per million words, shows a constant use to *Qaddafi* in period 1 in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*.

Investigating the context to interpret the different sub-peaks in graph 1, I found that there was a dramatic increase in the use of *Qaddafi* in March 2009 as an Arab League summit was held in Qatar. In August 2009, Megrahi, the only person convicted in the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, was freed. In September 2009, *Qaddafi* delivered a historic 100 minute speech at the UN general assembly. In March 2010, the 22nd Arab League Summit was held in Sirte, Libya. Different events happened in July 2010, such as the BP's confirmation that it is about to begin drilling off the Libyan coast.

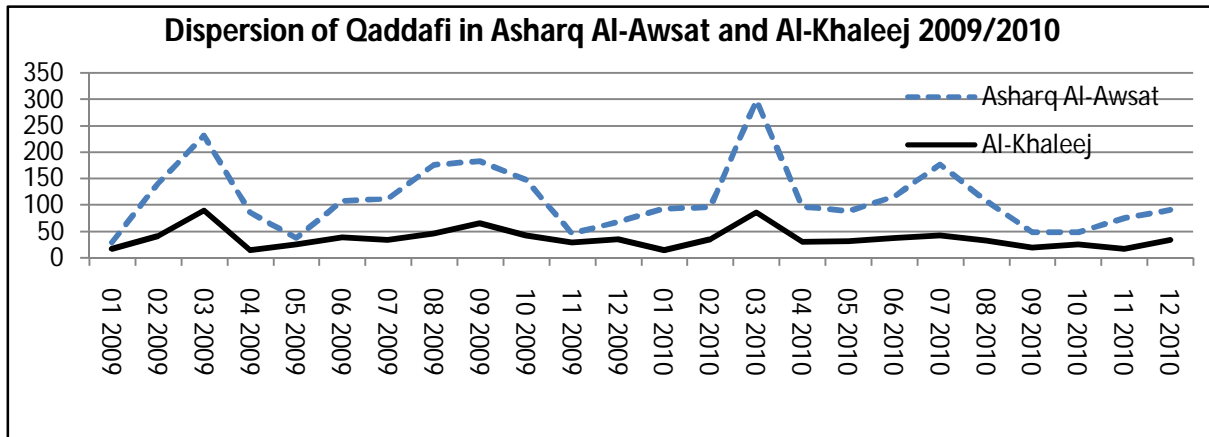


Figure 1: Dispersion of *القذافي Qaddafi* in the two newspapers in 2009/2010

To uncover the differences and similarities between how the newspapers under investigation referred to *Qaddafi*, I carried out a collocation analysis, and examined the statistically strongest 30 collocates with *Qaddafi* as table 3 shows.

Table 3: The collocates of *القذافي Qaddafi* in period 1 (2009/2010)

Period 1 (2009/2010)	
Newspaper	Collocates
Asharq Al-Awsat	ليبيا، الليبي، اللببية، الأوسط، الزعيم، للزعيم، والزعيم، نجل، النجل، العقيد، للعقيد، معمر، مؤسسة، سيف، الإسلام، للتنمية، أول، دعا، توقيف، تصريحات، المهندس، طرابلس، ورئيس، القائد، الأفريقي، الرئيس، والرئيس ودعا، أكد، الاتحاد، سويسرا Libya, Libyan (definite, adjective, masculine, feminine), Al-Awsat, (and/for) the leader, (the) son of, (for) the Colonel, Muammar, foundation, Saif, Islam, development, first, (and he) called, arrest, remarks, engineer, Tripoli, and president, leader, African, (and) the president of, confirmed, the Union, Switzerland
Al-Khaleej	العقيد، نجل، قائد، القائد، معمر، سيف، الزعيم، الإسلام، يدعو، دعا، الثورة، للزعيم، والزعيم، مؤسسة، استقبال، الليبي، اللببية، التقى، رسالة، هنيئيل، دعوة، سويسرا، جنيف، أول، الإفريقية، الاسلام، الرئيس، الخيرية، الفاتح، كلمة Colonel, son of, (the) leader of, Muammar, Saif, leader, Islam, calls, called, revolution, (for/and) the leader, foundation, received, Libyan, met, message, Libyan (definite, adjective, masculine, feminine), Hannibal, call, Switzerland, Geneva, first, African, Islam, the president, charitable, conqueror, speech

In the two newspapers, *Qaddafi* was constructed in the majority of cases positively or neutrally. For example, the adjective *الليبي Libyan* (masculine, definite) was used to describe *Qaddafi* as the *Libyan* leader, colonel, and president. The collocate *رسمية official* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* was mainly used to show *Qaddafi's official* visits to other countries, and some leaders' *official* meetings with *Qaddafi* in Libya.

Similarly, the verbs *يقابل meets* and *قابل met* in *Al-Khaleej* were mainly used with *Qaddafi's* different visits to some African countries, especially the areas of conflicts, and his meetings with different Western officials such as the former British and Italian PMs. The collocate *الجمعيات associations* was used in the two newspapers to refer to *Qaddafi's* International Institution for Charity *Association* and Development that was praised for criticizing the human rights' situation in Libya, and helping in the release of political prisoners. *Qaddafi's* son, *سيف الاسلام Saif Islam*, was represented positively in both newspapers showing that he represents the good and bright side of the *Qaddafi's* regime. He was reported saying that inheritance in Libya is out of the question, and that his father's Green Book is not sacred. *Saif Islam* is said to be one of the most influential figures in the Libyan politics due to his attempts to solve different international issues over Libya.

The words *هنيبعل Hannibal*, *سويسرا Switzerland* and *جنيف Geneva* were salient collocates with *Qaddafi* in this period because one of his sons called *Hannibal* and his wife were arrested, and accused of beating two servants at a Geneva hotel. To see how the dispute between Libya and Switzerland was covered, I examined these collocates, and found that some voices in *Asharq Al-Awsat* described *Hannibal's* arrest as a "scandal", and highlighted that *Hannibal's* wife was pregnant. *Asharq Al-Awsat* also reported *Hannibal* offending *Switzerland* saying that it "dances like slaughtered cock", and "makes appeals" to its neighbours to stand by its side but its efforts went in vain. Similarly, in *Al-Khaleej*, *Switzerland* was portrayed as the weak party in that formula as it strived to find a solution to the crisis with Tripoli. The Swiss president congratulated *Qaddafi* on his "frank and clear" speech in the United Nations General Assembly although many saw it in a completely different way. *Al-Khaleej* also quoted some foreign newspapers which had the headline "Switzerland kneels in front of *Qaddafi*" as Geneva made different requests to reconcile with Libya and was ready to pay compensations for the son of *Qaddafi*.

Some of the collocates in *Al-Khaleej's* and *Asharq Al-Awsat's* lists are related to the titles of *Qaddafi* as he used to refer to himself as the *king* of kings of Africa, the *dean* of the Arab *rulers*, and the *imam* of the Muslims. He portrayed himself as a paternal figure that looks after Libya's six million inhabitants. Regarding *Qaddafi's* severe reaction on the arrest of his son in Switzerland, one of his titles was used in an ironic way by an analyst, in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, who said that the Swiss security's treatment with *Hannibal* did not take into account the status of his father who held the title of "King of Kings of Africa". Investigating whether the two Arabic newspapers mentioned that *Qaddafi* came to power through a military coup or not, I found that this happened in very few cases and mostly by reporting other people.

4.2. Period 2 (2011)

Graph 2 which is created based on the normalized frequency of *Qaddafi* per million words, shows that the two newspapers have to a great extent similar coverage of the events related to *Qaddafi* in period 2.

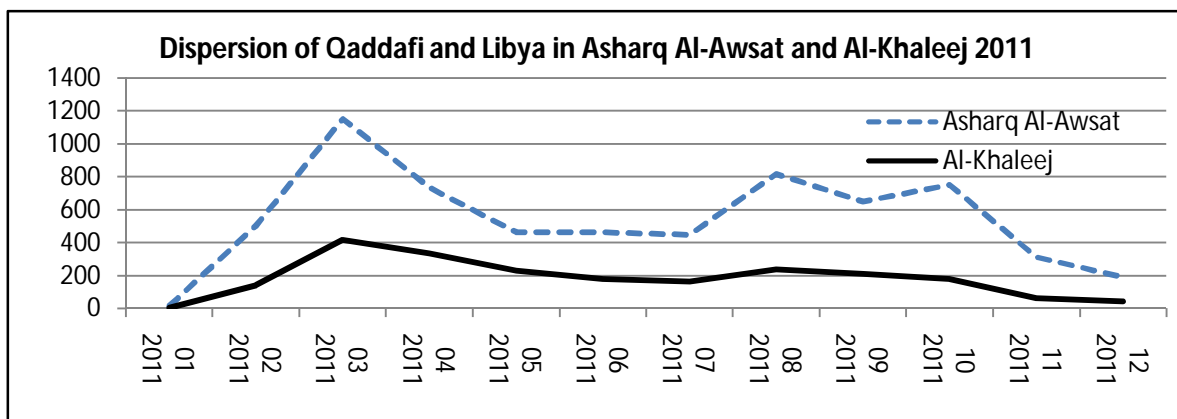


Figure 2: Dispersion of *القذافي Qaddafi* in the two newspapers in 2011

February 2011 represents the outbreak of the demonstrations in the Libyan city of Benghazi which were later spread to other cities. In March, the UN Security Council authorized a no-fly zone over Libya, and the rebels asked the international community to provide them with some arms. In August 2011, the rebels controlled *Qaddafi's* fortress compound in Tripoli, and some of the *Qaddafi's* family members fled to Algeria. In September 2011, the NTC was recognized by the African Union and other 60 countries. In October 2011, *Qaddafi* was captured and killed, and the NTC announced its intention to hold elections in 8 months or so. In November 2011, *Qaddafi's* son Saif al-Islam was captured.

To uncover the differences and similarities between how the newspapers under investigation referred to *Qaddafi*, I carried out a collocation analysis, and examined the statistically strongest 30 collocates with *Qaddafi* as table 4 shows.

Table 4: The collocates of *القذافي Qaddafi* in period 2 (2011)

Period 2 (2011)	
Newspaper	Collocates
Asharq Al-Awsat	<p>اللبيبي، النجل، نجل، يحكم، حسني، للعقيد، بالعقيد، لنظام، الانتفاضة، تصريحات، لبيبية، الزعيم، بالزعيم، شخص، الأمنية، حكم، الشعبية، أعلن، مبارك، ثورة، حكومة، سيف، العسكري، العسكرية، علي، العرب، جنوب، الإسلام، لمعمر، مؤيدي، أنصاره</p> <p>Libyan, (the) son of, ruled, Hosni, for the Colonel, regime, uprising (intifada), remarks, Libyan, (for) the leader, person, security, rule, popular, announced, Mubarak, revolution, government, Saif, military (adjective, masculine, feminine), Ali, Arab, south, Islam, for Muammar, supporters, his supporters</p>
Al-Khaleej	<p>للعقيد، الزعيم، لجوء، المقربين، بنظام، لنظام، نظامه، أنصار، عائلة، إسقاط، نجل، إنهاء، عهد، جرائم، مسألة، الجنائية، كتاب، حكم، أبناء، أعلن، المحكمة، فترة، يعد، قتل، السيطرة، أسلحة، الثورة، سقوط، حكومة، وأضافت</p> <p>for the Colonel, the Leader, asylum, close, for the regime, his regime, supporters, family, toppling, son, ending, era, crimes, issue, criminal, brigades, rule, sons, announced, court, period, prepares/promises, killing, the control, arms, the revolution, fall, government, added</p>

Unlike period 1, in *Al-Khaleej*, the regimes in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia were negatively represented in this period, and frequently called *Mubarak's*, *Qaddafi's*, and *Ben Ali's* regimes, and this suggests that these countries were centralized around one person. *Al-Khaleej* also tended to put the presidents of the Arab Spring countries in one category and describe them in 'negative' ways. It is highlighted how *Qaddafi* intentionally faced the first peaceful popular movement in Benghazi with a severe violence because he saw any movement outside the context of his regime as a personal challenge for him, and a threat for his status and authority.

Qaddafi is described as one of the "worst dictators" the world has known throughout history where the entire country and people are represented in his person. The Libyan people are said to suffer under his dictatorship the worst forms of oppression, violence, and alienation due to the regime's denial of human rights in their simplest sense. Examining the collocate *عهد era*, I found that *Al-Khaleej* focused on comparing *Qaddafi's era* with the post-*Qaddafi era* referring to *Qaddafi's* relations with other countries and the atrocities his regime committed throughout 42 years. *Qaddafi's era* is said to be full of corruption especially in oil trade. Similarly, the word *حكم rule* as a collocate of *Qaddafi* also had, to a great extent, negative representation. For example, the *rule* of *Qaddafi* is said to be dictatorial (lines 7 and 12), corrupt (lines 1, and 11), brutal (lines 2, 4, 5, and 6), criminal (line 3), oppressive (lines 9 and 10), and tyrannical (line 8) (concordance 1).

1	هناك الكثير من الفساد تحت حكم القذافي There was a lot of corruption under the rule of Qaddafi
2	مدينتهم عانت بشدة تحت حكم القذافي Their city suffered severely under the rule of Qaddafi
3	الجرائم التي ارتكبت في ظل حكم العقيد معمر القذافي Crimes committed under the rule of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi .
4	ماضٍ أليم في ظل حكم القذافي A painful past under the rule of Qaddafi
5	إرث القمع وسوء المعاملة من حكم العقيد القذافي The legacy of repression and abuse of the rule of Colonel Qaddafi
6	فالمعاملة الوحشية التي يمارسها حكم معمر القذافي Rough brutality practiced by the rule of Muammar Qaddafi
7	هناك سياسة ممنهجة لاعتقال أي شخص يشتبه أنه يعارض حكم العقيد القذافي There is a systematic policy to detain anyone suspected to opposed the rule of Colonel Qaddafi
8	مستقبل ليبيا غامضاً كما كان الماضي في ظل حكم العقيد معمر القذافي طيلة 42 عاماً Libya's future is still uncertain as it was in the past under the rule of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi for 42 years.
9	الانتفاضة التي أظهرت إبداعاً ليبيا فطرياً كان مكبوتاً في ظل حكم القذافي The uprising that showed an innate Libyan creativity that was subdued under the rule of Qaddafi .
10	لمراقبة ومناصرة حقوق الإنسان ونشر هذه الثقافة بين أبناء الشعب بعد أن غابت عنه طيلة حقبة حكم معمر القذافي To monitor and follow up human rights and spreading this culture among the people after it was absent during the era of the rule of Muammar Qaddafi
11	أغلب البنية التحتية في وضع مترد سواء المدارس أو المستشفيات أو الطرق أو الموانئ وغيرها من المنشآت في ظل حكم القذافي Most of the infrastructure was in a shambles under the rule of Qaddafi . This includes schools, hospitals, roads, ports and other facilities
12	حتى المدارس الابتدائية التي أنشئت في ظل حكم القذافي تشبه السجون Even primary schools, established under the rule of Qaddafi's , were like prisons

Concordance 1: ظل تحت حكم القذافي (Under) Qaddafi's rule in Asharq Al-Awast

I also examined the collocate *المدنيين* *civilians in Al-Khaleej*, and found that the concordance lines can be divided into two main groups. These include: the international coalition' efforts to protect the Libyan people and prevent *Qaddafi's* forces from targeting unarmed *civilians* in various Libyan cities (lines 3, 4, and 5), and second (more frequent), *Qaddafi's* insistence on targeting *civilians* (lines 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11). *Qaddafi's* forces are reported to deliberately target *civilians*, hide in populated places, and use *civilians* as human shields. *Qaddafi's* forces' attacks on *civilians* were described as brutal due to their use to tanks and heavy weapons (concordance 2).

1	بدء العمليات العسكرية ضد نظام القذافي لمنع قواته من استهداف المدنيين العزل في مختلف المدن الليبية The start of the military operations against the Gaddafi regime to prevent his forces from targeting unarmed civilians in various Libyan cities.
2	توجيه ضربات ناجحة تستهدف كتائب القذافي التي نهجم المدنيين في مختلف المناطق الليبية Successfully targeting Gaddafi battalions that attack civilians in various areas of Libya
3	الولايات المتحدة مصممة على حماية المدنيين الليبيين The United States is determined to protect Libyan civilians .
4	الناتو ملتزم مواصلة الضغط العسكري على القذافي من أجل حماية المدنيين «NATO» is committed to continue the military pressure on Gaddafi to protect civilians
5	والاستعانة بحلف شمال الأطلسي (الناتو) لمنع قوات القذافي من قتل المدنيين وتدمير البنية التحتية لمعظم المدن الليبية getting the help of NATO to prevent Gaddafi's forces of killing civilians and destroying the infrastructure of most Libyan cities
6	وجهد حلف شمال الأطلسي لمنع قوات القذافي من مهاجمة المدنيين the efforts of NATO to prevent Gaddafi's forces from attacking civilians
7	إن كتائب القذافي تستخدم المدنيين كدروع بشرية The Gaddafi brigades use civilians as human shields
8	أن كتائب القذافي تقتل المدنيين Gaddafi Brigades kill «civilians»
9	ذبح المدنيين، إن القذافي يقوم بجرائم حرب «Slaughter of civilians», Gaddafi is committing war crimes
10	قوات القذافي من قصف المدنيين وقتلهم ربما بالرصاص Gaddafi forces shell civilians and kill them by firing squad.
11	إذا استمر القذافي في معاقبة المدنيين وذبحهم If Gaddafi continued to punish and slaughter the civilians

Concordance 2: The plural noun *المدنيين* *civilians* as a collocate of Qaddafi in Al-Khaleej

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I examined how the adjective الليبي *Libyan* (masculine, definite) was used, and found it frequent in different clusters such as the *Libyan* الاعلام "media", الجيش "army", الوزير "minister", الشعب "people", الاتحاد "unions", المسؤول "official", and النظام "regime". However, what drew my attention is describing *Qaddafi* as the *Libyan* الطاغية/الديكتاتور "dictator/tyrant" in this period (2011) after the state of full alliance in period 1 (lines 1 and 2 in concordance 3).

1	إن الديكتاتور الليبي معمر القذافي يمتلك احتياطات ذهب بالمليارات، وإنه من الممكن أن يسعى لاستخدام هذه المليارات لإشاعة الفوضى
	The Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi has billions of gold reserves, and it is possible to use these billions to create chaos
2	ربما يكون الطاغية الليبي معمر القذافي في أي مكان. ربما يكون في موريتانيا، حيث نشرت أخبار عن امتلاكه استثمارات ضخمة فيها، أو في جنوب أفريقيا
	The Libyan tyrant Muammar Gaddafi might be anywhere. Perhaps in Mauritania, where he has a huge investment, or in South Africa

Concordance 3: Describing *Qaddafi* as الطاغية/الديكتاتور tyrant/dictator in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

The verbs حكم يحكم *rule(d)* were used in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to show how *Qaddafi* ruled Libya since 1969 with an "iron fist". It is pointed out in the newspaper that *Qaddafi* ruled Libya depending on the political and tribal differences in order to tighten his grip on the country without political pluralism and partisan. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the former Egyptian president, *Mubarak*, and *Qaddafi* had negative discourse prosodies being described as طواغيت "tyrants". The Arab countries of Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya are said to be عزب "manors" for *Ben Ali*, *Mubarak*, *Saleh*, and *Qaddafi*. The use of this metaphor is explained by stating that the concept of a "state" simply indicates the rule of law and the existence of legislation that controls people's lives; however, in manors, everything goes according to the desires of the owners. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I made a pattern analysis for the singular noun ونظامه translated as *and his regime* as shown in table 5. The analysis showed that *Qaddafi's* regime along with his اعوانه "aids", عائلته "family", رجاله "men", and ابناءه "sons" are described to be الفاسد "corrupt", الكاذب "lying", الديكتاتوري "dictatorial", القمعي "repressive", and غير الشرعي "illegitimate". The other mentioned words, included in table 5, such as الاستبداد "tyranny", البطش "oppression", خطر "risk", عنف "violence", تهديدات "threats", and طغيان "despotism" also have negative connotations.

Table 5: Patterns analysis for *Qaddafi's* collocates ونظامه and his regime in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Patterns analysis for <i>Qaddafi's</i> collocates ونظامه and his regime in <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>						
L2	L1 Trans.	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R2 Trans.
الشرعية	and his gang	وأزلامه	ونظامه and his regime	القذافي	العقيد	Colonel
المرتزقة	dying	يحتضر		وأعوانه	الاستبداد	tyranny
L 2 Trans.	and his men	ورجاله		وعائلته	بطش	oppression
legitimacy	lying	الكاذب		وأبنائه	رحيل	departure
mercenaries	dictatorial	الديكتاتوري		وأسرته	سقوط	fall
	repressive	القمعي		R1. Tran.	تشدد	extremism
	corrupt	الفاسد		Qaddafi	دمرها	destroyed
	lost	فقد		and his aides	التخلص	getting rid of
				and his family	خطر	risk
				and his sons	عنف	violence
				and his family	لتهديدات	threats
					قطعى	despotism

The plural noun *انصاره* *his supporters* was used with *Qaddafi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to highlight the criminal mentality of *Qaddafi supporters* on the one hand and his psychological disturbances during the uprisings on the other hand. The plural noun *مرتزقة* *mercenary* was also salient with *Qaddafi* to describe how he hired some people to suppress the Libyan “peaceful” uprisings, and practise violence against them (concordance 4).

1	«مرتزقة القذافي» حولوا الحياة إلى «حجيم» «Qaddafi Mercenaries » turned life to «hell»
2	الثوار يواجهون الموت لأجل الحرية، أما مرتزقة القذافي فيواجهون الموت لأجل المال The rebels has faced death for freedom, while Qaddafi's mercenaries face death for money
3	الزعيم الليبي معمر القذافي يستعين بـ«مرتزقة وبلطجية» لقمع شعبه Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi uses «mercenaries and thugs» to suppress his people
4	إن مرتزقة من أفريقيا قتلوا العشرات بناء على أوامر الزعيم الليبي Mercenaries from Africa killed dozens on the Libyan leader's orders.
5	وحشية ودموية قوات القذافي من مرتزقة أو منتفعين the Brutal and bloody nature of Gaddafi forces, mercenaries or beneficiaries
6	وتفشى حالات القمع التي يمارسها مرتزقة القذافي rampant cases of repression practiced by Gaddafi mercenaries
7	مرتزقة القذافي في سرت، يقومون بتغطية وجوه الأهالي ووضعهم في مقدمة قواتهم Gaddafi Mercenaries in Sirte, has covered the faces of the people and put them at the forefront of their troops
8	آلة القتل الجمعية من قبل مرتزقة القذافي Repressive killing machine by Gaddafi mercenaries

Concordance 4: The plural noun *مرتزقة* *mercenaries* as a collocate of *Qaddafi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

4.3. Period 3 (2012/2013)

Although *Qaddafi* was killed in 2011, his name is still frequent in this period to refer to his family members, forces, loyalists, era's symbols and elements and their future in the new Libyan State, and different stations in his life. Graph 3, which is created based on the normalized frequency of *Qaddafi* per million words, shows that the gap is clear in the coverage of the two investigated newspapers. This shows that the interests of the newspapers after the fall of *Qaddafi* changed dramatically based on their overall agenda.

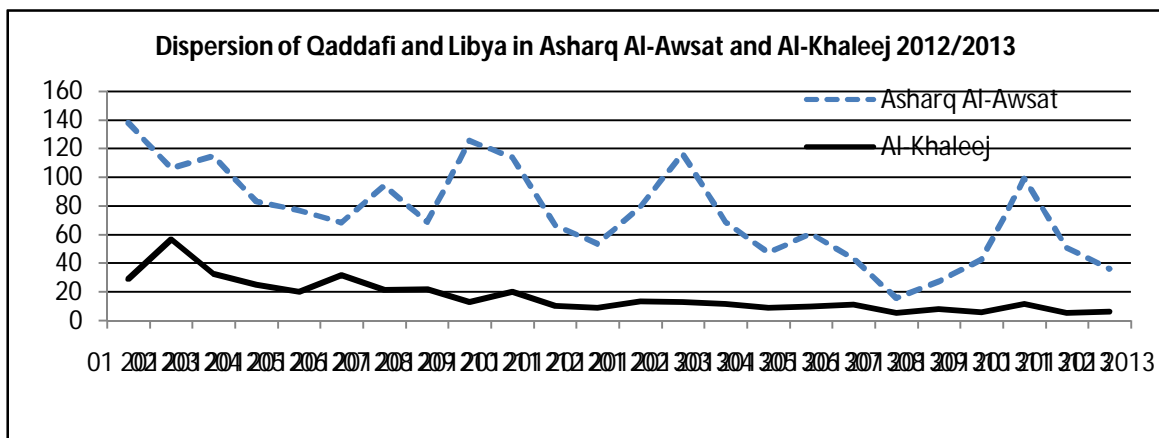


Figure 3: Dispersion of *القذافي* *Qaddafi* in the two newspapers in 2012/2013

To uncover the differences and similarities between how the newspapers under investigation referred to *Qaddafi*, I carried out a collocation analysis, and examined the statistically strongest 30 collocates with *Qaddafi*.

Table 6: The collocates of Qaddafi in period 3 (2012/2013)

Period 3 (2012/2013)	
Newspaper	Collocates
Asharq Al-Awsat	نجل، بنظام، لنظام، إسقاط، الإطاحة، عهد، أكتوبر، ومقتله، سقوط، الراحل، السنوسي، حكم، سيف، الزعيم، كتائب، العقيد، للعقيد، تشرين، شباط، البلاد، معمر، الإسلام، الشعبية، صهر، الانتفاضة، 2011، أطاحت، فبراير، محاكمة، شهر، حسين son, (in, for) regime, toppling, to overthrow, era, October, and his death, fall, late, Sanusi, rule, Saif, leader, brigades, (for) the Colonel, October, February, the country, Muammar, Islam, popular, brother in law, uprising (intifada), 2011, ousted, February, trial, Month, Hussain
Al-Khaleej	الزعيم، الراحل، العقيد، سقوط، معمر، عهد، سيف، إطاحة، نظام، بنظام، لنظام، حكم، الإسلام، أطاحت، نجل، معمر، محاكمة، 2011، الثورة، انتهاء، الحرب، السنوسي، السلطات، القضاء، الإطاحة، كتائب، فبراير، الزنتان، جرائم، الثوار leader, late, Colonel, fall, Muammar, era, Saif, overthrowing, (in, for, X) regime, rule, Islam, ousted, son, Muammar, trial, 2011, revolution, ending, war, Sanusi, the authorities, eliminating, the toppling of, brigades, February, Zintan, crimes, rebels

In this period, the focus of the two newspapers was on Qaddafi's regime, rule, era, family, sons, supporters, aides, and army. That was mainly because he was killed at the end of the previous period, and so some comparisons between the situation in Libya during and after Qaddafi's era were held. Qaddafi was described in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as the late Libyan "leader" الزعيم and "colonel" العقيد (almost 98% of the cases), the late Libyan "president" الرئيس (3 times), and the late Libyan "dictator" الديكتاتور (3 times). The most salient verbs collocates with Qaddafi in *Asharq Al-Awsat* are related to the toppling of his regime; for example the newspaper highlighted that the brigades of the rebels that already succeeded in overthrowing Qaddafi are seeking to overthrow his supporters. The singular noun عهد era was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to refer to the crimes committed at the era of Qaddafi who humiliated his people for four decades (line 2), "destroyed" the country (line 1), and "divided" it into tribes. Some ethnic groups suffered from marginalization in the era of the "late dictator" الديكتاتور الراحل, and were deprived from exercising their most basic rights. The military institutions turned in the era of Qaddafi from a central ministry to a group of brigades headed by his relatives and supporters (concordance 5).

1	ليبيا في عهد القذافي لم تكن دولة بها فساد، بل كانت دولة فاسدة، وهذا خلق مناخا وثقافة تستبيح المال العام وتنتهك حرمة Libya in Qaddafi's era was not a state that has corruption, but a corrupt state. This thing created a climate and culture that squanders the public money and violates its inviolability
2	بعد 42 عاما من الذل والاستبداد في عهد القذافي After 42 years of humiliation and tyranny in the era of Qaddafi.

Concordance 5: عهد Era as a collocate of Qaddafi in Asharq Al-Awsat

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, سيف الاسلام Saif al-Islam was described as the son of the "Green Colonel" العقيد الاخضر who was enjoying a strong influence at the time of his father. To criticize the branch of the Brotherhood in Libya, it is mentioned that many of the group's leaders worked with the Qaddafi regime, and some of them participated in the promotion of Saif al-Islam's succession. I also examined how السنوسي al-Senussi, Qaddafi's former intelligence chief and brother-in-law, was referred to in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and found that he is described as Qaddafi's strong man who played a key role in the violent military response to the uprisings in 2011 being the right arm of the former Qaddafi regime. He was also described as a "butcher" جزار and "thug" سفاح because of his severity in the prosecution of the opponents of Qaddafi's rule. As in period 2, Qaddafi, Mubarak (the former Egyptian president), and Saleh (the former Yemeni president) were represented negatively in this period. During their eras, it is argued that security is defined as the security of power and authority rather than of people. They are said to have the will to move on the bodies of the victims and the people whom they swore to protect in order to save their positions. The collocate الليبيين Libyans was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to highlight the cruelty of the Qaddafi regime with the Libyans who suffered from repression, deprivation and loss of freedom at Qaddafi's era.

The plural noun أيام *days* was used to refer to the years of 'oppression' during the *days* of the rule of the late Colonel. After the end of the revolution, it is mentioned that the main problems were not created due to the collapse of the regime, but were inherited from Qaddafi's *days*.

Al-Khaleej highlighted the Libyans' demands of purging and cleansing the post-Qaddafi government from his era's officials, in addition to trying them if they were involved in war crimes. The word نظام *regime* was used in *Al-Khaleej* to discuss the main consequence of the Arab uprisings represented by the collapse of the long-standing *regimes* in different Arab countries. The newspaper also discussed the fate of the رموز "symbols", اركان "pillars", عناصر "element" and انصار "supporters" of the former *regimes*, and their role in the post-uprisings era. Examining the verb اطاح *topple* in *Al-Khaleej*, I found that Libya is said to be cautiously optimistic after the *toppling* of the Qaddafi's regime that ruled the country for more than forty years. The situation in Libya in the post Qaddafi's era is said to be "miserable" where assassinations, bombings, smuggling of weapons and export of terrorism mean that the war that *toppled* Qaddafi's regime created chaos rather than democracy and freedom.

In *Al-Khaleej*, the singular noun عهد *era* was used to refer to the violations of human rights, torture, kidnappings, and absence of democracy and free election in the *era* of Qaddafi. In the *era* of Qaddafi, many oil deals were made in a secret way, and from under the table. Libya's foreign policy and relations with the world were done according to subjective measures related to Qaddafi and his volatile mood and eccentric personality. In the *era* of Qaddafi, the regime was careful not to form a regular army or security forces in the known concept as there was fear of the army or the police to turn against it. Therefore, the repercussions of the *era* of Qaddafi broke out a package of problems and challenges in the post-revolution *era* as the following example in concordance 6 shows.

إذا استمرت أجواء انعدام الأمن ستجد البلاد نفسها في عزلة مجدداً كما كانت في عهد الغدافي عندما اعتبرت دولة مارقة
If the situation of insecurity continues in the country, Libya will find itself in isolation again as it was in the era of Qaddafi where it was considered as a **rogue state**.

Concordance 6: عهد *Era* as a collocate of *Qaddafi* in *Al-Khaleej*

The trial of سيف الاسلام *Saif Islam*, how he was arrested, and where he should be tried were frequently referred to in this period in *Al-Khaleej*. سيف الاسلام *Saif Islam* is said to be the most important current Libyan figure as he has secrets about the long era of his father's rule. Examining how السنوسي *al-Senussi*, Qaddafi's former intelligence chief and brother-in-law, was represented in *Al-Khaleej*, I found that he was described as the treasurer of Qaddafi's precious secrets, and his black box. سيف الاسلام *Saif al-Islam* and السنوسي *al-Senussi* were mentioned frequently together because they were caught and accused of genocide, incitement to rape, giving orders to fire on unarmed demonstrators, bringing mercenaries to Libya, and forming armed militias to kill innocent people. Examining how *Al-Khaleej* referred to the plural noun الليبيين *Libyans*, I found that the regime was accused of wasting billions of the *Libyans'* money and transferring them to the accounts of Qaddafi, his sons and cousins. Qaddafi's regime is also said to work against the interests of the *Libyans*. The collocate قوات *forces* was used to highlight the different atrocities that the Qaddafi troops did in Libya. These *forces* were accused of committing serious violations, and imposing a siege on some Libyan cities in an attempt to suppress the revolution of the Libyans.

5. Discussion

In this study, I used the corpus linguistic techniques of collocation and concordance to examine the representation of *Qaddafi* in two Arabic newspapers from 2009 to 2013. In order to explain and interpret the analysis above about the construction of *Qaddafi*, it should be interrogated from different historical, political, and social contexts. Investigating the context is very important in CDA; for example Wodak (2001) argues that researchers should take into account the social, political, and historical contexts most relevant to the texts' production and comprehension.

Similarly, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that discourse cannot be understood without considering the context, and that the text cannot be completely understood without considering its use in a particular situation and relations with other discourses. Therefore, in order to see why the investigated newspapers constructed Qaddafi this way, I investigated the relationship between Libya and the countries where the newspapers are mainly published.

In the pre-uprisings period, the analysis showed that the two newspapers represented *Qaddafi* neutrally and positively frequently covering his visits and activities, and focusing on his contribution to solving out some problems in the Arab world and Africa. This shows that Qaddafi had, to a great extent, normal and sometimes strong relations with some Arabic and non-Arabic countries as reflected in the newspapers' coverage of his different activities. Since his rise to power in 1969, Qaddafi was armed with a vision of anti-imperialism and Arab unity, and worked to purge the country of corruption and the symbols and supporters of Western colonialism, and as a result of this, many of the oil companies were nationalized, the British, Americans, and Italians were thrown out, and Arabic was restored as the country's official language (Black, 2003). Qaddafi's character appears to be controversial and irrational for many; however for some others, he is "praised as a virulent anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist, while others condemn him as a plotter and an adventurer whose zealous pursuit of Arab, African, and Islamic unity has only resulted in destabilization" (Black, 2003, p. 247).

Qaddafi was known for defending the rights of Arabs in different occasions; for example in 1987, he said that the Arab countries must have the atom bomb to be able to defend themselves and liberate Palestine (Simons, 1993). Accordingly, by repeating such ideas that support pan-Arabism, Qaddafi might have got some popularity among the Arab audience that sometimes regarded him as a staunch proponent of their vital issues. This could explain why the two newspapers represent him positively. However, one might argue that Qaddafi was accused of intimidation, torture, and murder at local level by the organizations of human rights. This is true, but since none of the investigated newspapers is Libyan, they tended in their coverage to put more focus on Qaddafi's participations in different Arab national and international activities where he promotes his pan-Arab ideas rather than covering news about the internal situation in Libya. In addition to the political aspects that strongly influence news production in the Arab world, the internal situation in Libya might not be as newsworthy as the country's involvement in the pan-Arab arena.

The collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* in period 2 (2011), which represents the year when most of the uprisings began, showed how the newspapers moved from describing *Qaddafi* neutrally and positively in period 1 (2009/2010) to severe negativity in this period. They highlighted his use of excessive power against his own people during the 2011 Libyan civil war, and criticized his policies and behaviours during his 42 years in power. The two newspapers moved from positivity to indirect and sometimes direct negativity although *Al-Khaleej* appeared to be more conservative in showing the negativity of *Qaddafi* than *Asharq Al-Awsat* which was more open and described *Qaddafi* for several times as the Libyan *الديكتاتور* "dictator" and *الطاغية* "tyrant". This shows that the two newspapers' representations of the regimes of some countries involved in the Arab uprisings have changed based on different factors that perhaps include the policies and agendas of the newspapers and the countries where they are located and mainly published, and the outcomes of the Arab Spring that led to the toppling of four of the long standing regimes.

In this period, more stories about *Qaddafi* and *Libya* were covered in the two newspapers. Baum and Groeling (2010) Highlight that media organizations tend to report more events involving conflicts or bad news. They also favor unusual, large-scale developments that represent a change from the status quo, and so to show the illegitimacy of the status quo, civilian victimization was observed in the two newspapers densely covering the stories that followed the Qaddafi government's atrocities more than anti-civilian violence caused by rebels and NATO. The shift in the representation of *Qaddafi* was clear in the two newspapers where Qaddafi turned out from being 'good' contributing to solving different conflicts in the Arab world and Africa to an 'evil' that had committed different atrocities and caused different troubles in several areas around the world. After the outbreak of the Libyan uprisings, the two newspapers apparently took the side of people building a sense of solidarity with the Libyan citizens in their way towards democracy. That was in harmony with the Arab League request to the UN Security Council to impose a no-fly zone in Libya which paved the way to the military campaign to protect the Libyan civilians at later stages. This request was perhaps a result of Qaddafi's unambiguous brutality and his belligerence towards his Arab neighbours (Ramoin et al., 2012).

What drew my attention in the two newspapers' coverage of news of Qaddafi is that they did not only refer to his crimes in Libya and abroad at the time of the uprisings, but also his 'destructive' mentality throughout his rule from 1969 to 2011, and this suggests that the Arab Spring helped the Arab media get 'some' transparency. However, it also reflects the 'hypocrisy' and lack of credibility of the Arab media as they very rarely refer to the violence of the Arab leaders while in office, and it seems that the president should be overthrown first before such transparency happens. In this period, it appears that the newspapers portrayed Qaddafi as bad and evil and 'others' represented by the international coalition, and the Arab League as good. The other mainly involved actor in the civil war, represented by the rebels, had a mixture of neutral, positive, and, in few occasions, negative representation. Lindström and Zetterlund (2012, p. 13) argue that "the conflict in Libya was in many ways portrayed in media like a play where good fights evil". That might be because of the controversial character of Qaddafi and his involvement in different 'violent' acts around the world on the one hand, and to legitimize the different actions (to be) taken in Libya on the other hand.

In period 3 (2012/2013), there appears to be a review of the Qaddafi's era, i.e. a retrospect of the events of the past 42 years especially the atrocities committed by Qaddafi and his regime in these years. Given the newsworthiness preferences in the market-oriented media, less coverage of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* was observed in this period when compared to the previous one; perhaps because the death of Qaddafi symbolically ended the conflict and the country is supposed to be in its way to restore its stability. In addition, fighting turned out to be internal after the withdrawal of the international coalition and the end of its role there. Also, the events in Libya seem to have less news value when compared to the during uprisings period bearing in mind that the bigger the disaster the more likely it is to be reported.

In this period, the two newspapers highlighted the different stations in Qaddafi's life; his forces, loyalists, era's symbols, and elements. They referred to the crimes committed in his era, and accused him of destroying the country, and dividing it. Based on the corpus analysis, Qaddafi's residues, loyalists and family members were said to be the main causes of chaos and instability in the post-uprisings era. In common with period 2, Qaddafi was part of the out-group members in this period and so was represented negatively being described as a tyrant and dictator. The explanation in period 2 was to legitimize the intervention, and in this period perhaps to show that the intervention was the right decision to be taken in spite of the state of chaos that spread all over the country in the post-Qaddafi era as the situation might be worse if Qaddafi with such 'destructive' mentality stayed in power. In the same vein, when also referring to the Qaddafi's 'violent' acts during his 42 years in power, the newspapers justify the revenge, violence, and killing in the post-Qaddafi era as people have suffered under the Qaddafi regime; losing their family members, property, and freedom (Serwer, 2011), and so are seeking revenge using methods like those used against them.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have conducted a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to investigate how the regime of *Qaddafi* is constructed before, during, and after 2011, the year when most of the uprisings began and ended. This is based on a new 19-million word corpus of two newspapers published in Arabic, namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* from 2009 to 2013. In common with Haider (forthcoming Dec. 2017), this study attempted not to depend only on the quantitative corpus analysis, and so used some CDA approaches and notions to interpret and explain the findings. CDA investigates the relationship between language and power, and pays much attention to the crucial role that context plays in discourse (Wodak, 2001).

In this study, I investigated how language is used in newspapers, being mainly controlled by power elites (Van Dijk, 1996), to legitimize certain events related to the Arab Spring and delegitimize others. It is also cited in the literature (see Herman & Chomsky, 1988) that media reflect the values and points of view of political elites. During the periods of conflicts, most people are exposed to vast amount of information via different means especially media, and so might have a difficulty in judging the political effect of the information they receive bearing in mind that meanings are multidimensional and slippery rather than monolithic.

CDA has been of a great importance for this study because it contributes to understanding the different strategies that the two newspapers followed to deliver their messages based on the overall contexts of the 2011 Libyan civil war; neutrally and positively representing Qaddafi before it, and demonising him after its outbreak. This study also contributed to understanding the dialectical relation between language and society showing how language is influenced by society (how we talk to each other), and how society is partly shaped by language (how we behave to each other).

As recommended by different CDA approaches especially Wodak's DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), I made a contextual analysis to the Arab Spring and the Libyan civil war. Investigating the nature of relations between Libya and the two countries where the investigated newspapers are located and mainly published, namely Saudi Arabia and the UAE helped me to have a better understanding to the idea that communicative events are not ideologically neutral, but are full of ideologically motivated materials. Fairclough (1995) highlights the importance of the political and economic aspects for any piece of news that appears in the media including "the nature of the market which the mass media are operating within, and their relationship to the state, and so forth" (p. 36). Similarly, Fairclough (1995) points out that while analysing media texts, the politics of media should be taken into consideration where media ideologically serve those who are in power, and have the privilege to manipulate language and portray the situations in different ways in order to evoke people's emotions toward some critical, special and important events. Newspapers, being the investigated texts, proved to be useful resources in society since their emergence (Vasundara Priya & Ravi, 2016). They have powerful effects on the public, and this is why elite groups or institutions take them as a platform to win the hearts and minds of the people, and reshape their discourse and legitimize their actions.

The public agenda can be 'set' by media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Selecting a particular event to cover and report is not random, and the stories that appear in the newspaper pages go through a set of decisions before arriving there (Phillips, 2015). In the context of the Arab Spring, Eskjær (2012) argues that the era of the Arab uprisings has brought an unprecedented attention from the international media outlets to the Arab world. Also, the main Arab Spring countries were subject to intense press coverage (see Haider 2017, forthcoming Dec. 2017). There are different factors that influence the media's tendency to 'systematically' downplay or densely cover some events. These include newsworthiness, the policies of the country where the media organization operates (Haider, 2017), and news sources in relation to Western and non-Western countries. Regarding the political aspect, it is argued that the news agenda can be shaped by the state through direct ownership and media sources' control (Enikolopov, Petrova, & Zhuravskaya, 2010), or through regulating the activity of privately owned media by placing licensing requirements and imposing laws that limit the use of particular forms of expression (Whitten-Woodring & James, 2012). According to Bebawi (2015), in the Arab region, there are many challenges that journalism faces, and these include *access to information* where there is no clear policy regarding the freedom of information in the Arab world; *state control* where the media space is limited, and sometime newspapers are forced to be mouth pieces of the regime, and *social pressures* where newspapers might find themselves restrained not only by the state, but with the society that sometimes criticizes and accuses them of being foreign-funded to destroy the country.

Bebawi (2015) Points out that most of the media in the Arab world are state-monitored. To some extent, such media have functioned as a platform for the states which have full control over media taking it as a tool to influence and mobilise the Arab audience, propagate the government's achievements, and glorify the state's officials and elites. In the process, they take part in the process of news production providing guidance for the editors and ordering them "to ignore sensitive issues rather than to exploit certain themes for their propaganda value" (Rugh, 2004, p. 194). As a result, the Arab audience have doubted most news they hear, see, and read in their national media which very rarely investigate or criticize what the leaders of the countries do or say (Miles, 2006). However, it appears that the era of the Arab Spring opened the communicative space, and gave the opportunity for the Arab audience to be exposed to many perspectives on the reported matter. After the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, media played a critical role in promoting and publicizing the Tunisian protests that started late 2010, and so contributed in spreading protests from one country to another (Lynch, 2015).

Although it is not an easy matter to understand how people in a particular geographical region think, the Arab uprisings have indicated that the mass public, or 'Arab street', is not false and can affect any governmental policies and ruling regimes. Lynch (2013) highlights the vital role that media played in the 2011 uprisings in the Arab world, pointing out that the protests were driven by the different media outlets. In the same vein, it appears that the different types of media during the Arab uprisings brought "critical news and opinion to a broad public, gave voice to the voiceless, built ties between activists and ordinary citizens, and linked local protests into a powerful master narrative of regional uprising" (Lynch, 2015, p. 90).

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