



A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of Jordan's 2011 protest movement in Jordanian newspapers

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ABSTRACT

This study adopts a corpus-assisted discourse analysis approach to examine how Jordan's 2011 Hirak protest movement is represented in Jordanian newspaper opinion articles. It is based on a two-million-word corpus of two Jordanian mainstream newspapers, *Al-Rai* and *Addustour*, from 2011 to 2012. The corpus is examined using WordSmith Tools WS7, where frequency, cluster, and concordance analyses were conducted. The main findings revealed five main categories that were recurrent in the investigated corpus. These include the characteristics of the Jordanian Spring, the main features of the Jordanian Hirak, the major causes of the Hirak, Jordanian authorities' reactions to the Hirak, and Jordanians' attitudes towards the Hirak. The study concluded that the Jordanian Hirak protest movement is described positively in Jordanian mainstream newspapers. The Jordanian Hirak was described as popular and peaceful. In addition, the Jordanian Spring is depicted as green and distinguished, implying that the Jordanian Spring was prosperous and peaceful. The study recommends that future studies be conducted on the representation of Jordanian Hirak in Arab and international media outlets.

Keywords: Arab Spring, newspapers, Jordan, protests, corpus-assisted discourse studies

INTRODUCTION

The Arab Spring refers to the series of anti-governmental uprisings and protests that swept across the Arab world in the early 2010s (Abdel Salam, 2015). It was sparked off when a Tunisian street vendor died after setting himself on fire in protest at injustice. His death set off a rebellion in Tunisia, leading to the toppling of Ben Ali's regime in January 2011. One after another, the regimes in Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, were toppled. On the other hand, the Syrian demonstrations, which were peaceful at first, were converted into a civil war and activated terrorist movements. Demonstrations and protests took place in several Arab countries like Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Sudan with varying degrees of strength and intensity. The Arab Spring was triggered by several critical factors, such as political mismanagement, dictatorship, the increased cost of living and education, corruption, unemployment, poverty, nepotism, inflation, and economic deterioration (Abdel Salam, 2015). Inspired by the Arab Spring that swept the Arab countries in 2011-2012, new forms of activism emerged in Jordan, including protest groups led by the youth and known as the Hirak. Jordan has witnessed several civil actions, including demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, and boycotts.

Language plays a central role in any society since several actions are influenced and triggered by language (Bayram, 2010). Language plays a more influential role during conflicts and wars since each party represents itself positively and the others negatively. Likewise, language is considered a crucial tool during massive

protests since it influences the protesters and their actions (Filali-Ansary, 2012). During the Arab uprisings, language played a critical role in shaping the ideologies of most Arab people.

Media is one of the most prominent tools that authorities use to control the masses and affect their attitudes. The language of media plays a significant role in producing, maintaining, and changing power relations in societies (van Dijk, 1995). Mass media, including television and newspapers, are considered the primary source of information for people. However, mass media provides people with factual information about public affairs and directs the public's attention to specific issues through the heavy emphasis placed on them. News media, in particular, plays a significant role in establishing a nation's agenda and drawing the public attention to specific crucial public issues. More importantly, news media shapes people's understanding and perspective on these issues (McCombs, 2002). Governments fully recognize the crucial role of media in shaping people's attitudes. Thus, Governments control media outlets and use them to set their agendas (Ghadbian, 2012). Autonomy in journalism implies that the media outlet is not controlled by any political, social, or economic institutions (Örnebring, 2013). However, the autonomy of media outlets differs from one country to another according to the politics of the country itself (Haider, 2019).

In the context of the Arab Spring, the uprisings in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen have received considerable attention from international media outlets, and many Arab countries were under intense press coverage (Eskjær, 2012). However, there was little Jordanian media coverage of the HIRAK movement swamped in Amman during 2011/2012 (Abdel-Hadi, 2016). The present study combines critical discourse analysis (CDA) with corpus linguistics (CL) to examine how the Jordanian HIRAK protest movement is represented in two Jordanian daily mainstream newspapers, namely *Al-Rai* and *Addustour*, in the period from 2011-2012. This study contributes to uncovering discourses about the Jordanian HIRAK protest movement during the Arab Spring in the media. Therefore, the current study is meant to fill a gap in the literature.

JORDAN'S 2011 HIRAK PROTEST MOVEMENT

Inspired by the Arab Spring that swept the Arab countries in 2011-2012, new forms of activism emerged in Jordan, including protest groups led by the youth and known as the Jordanian Popular Movement, or the Jordanian Youth Movement, but usually referred to as simply the HIRAK. Jordan has witnessed several civil actions, including demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, and boycotts (Amis, 2016). However, the rise of the HIRAK phenomenon is the most prominent feature of the Jordanian Arab Spring experience (Ryan, 2018).

Unlike other Arab countries, the Jordanian Spring was limited in scope since Jordanians did not ask for changing the Jordanian monarchy but called for genuine reform. In 2011, Jordan witnessed demonstrations that were not violent since the beginning of the Jordanian Spring (Barari & Satkowski, 2012). On January 14, 2011, protesters condemning poverty, unemployment, and corruption took to the streets in major Jordanian cities. Protesters asked for the resignation of Prime Minister Samir Al-Rifai. Parties like the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, the Baathists, and leftist parties participated in the protests asking for political and economic reform. On February 1, 2011, King Abdullah II of Jordan dismissed the government of Samir Al-Rifai and appointed Marouf Al-Bakhit, who was in charge of forming a national dialogue to achieve the desired reform (Yesilyurt, 2014).

The rise of these protests did not pose any threat to the Jordanian monarchy. Security officials were able to undermine mass protests in Amman, the capital of Jordan, through several laws and bureaucratic restrictions (Wiktorowicz, 2000). Nevertheless, the King of Jordan and his government responded to these demonstrations and vowed to achieve reform. Thus, in March 2011, the King formed National Dialogue Committee, which was responsible for drafting an electoral law and law for political parties. In addition, King Abdullah II established a royal committee to revise the constitution and propose the necessary amendments to enact political reform. Jordanians welcomed the recommendations of the two committees and considered them a crucial step to adopting reform (Barari & Satkowski, 2012).

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This section is two-fold. The first part reviews the theoretical background relevant to corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis. The second part discusses some empirical studies related to the topic under study.

Theoretical Framework: Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA views “language as discourse and as social practice” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21). Besides, CDA explores the relationship between language, power, and society. In particular, it focuses on the role of context in discourse. Thus, CDA analysts examine text qualitatively, considering the political, social, cultural, and historical contexts (Wodak, 2001). In the present study, CDA is employed to examine the language of Jordan’s two mainstream newspapers and the reactions of the Jordanian government towards the Hirak. It is a way to show how the Jordanian Hirak protest movement has been represented in Jordanian newspapers for over two years and why they are represented in a particular way, considering the contextual backgrounds to interpret and discuss the findings.

CL is “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 1). CL is an empirical method of linguistic analysis that makes use of corpora as the primary data. CL techniques include frequency, clusters, collocations, concordance, and keyword. In this study, three CL techniques are used. A frequency analysis generates a list of all words in the corpus along with their frequencies. A cluster analysis creates multiword units for a particular word. A concordance or key word in context (KWIC) analysis investigates words in context. According to McEnery and Wilson (2001), KWIC mainly investigates a target word by displaying the surrounding words.

The combination between CDA and CL is considered a valuable methodological synergy (Baker et al., 2008). Combining CDA’s qualitative and CL’s quantitative approaches has two main advantages. First, it makes the qualitative analysis more accurate and precise. Secondly, it makes the quantitative analysis more reliable (McEnery & Wilson, 2001).

Empirical Studies

Several studies investigated the representation of the Arab Spring uprisings across the Middle East and North Africa in. For example, Yehia (2011) investigated the coverage of the Egyptian revolution of 2011 on Aljazeera and CNN news releases. Aljazeera was more concerned with representing the protesters and their legitimate demands, whereas CNN was more concerned with reporting about the region’s stability. In addition, Aljazeera showed more optimism about the revolution, which is considered a new beginning for Egypt. In contrast, the CNN coverage gave more focus to the governments of Egypt and the USA. Similarly, Fornaciari (2012) explored how Al Jazeera English (AJE) and the BBC represented the Egyptian revolution in 2011. Both outlets focused on the frame of attribution of responsibility and conflict. However, the BBC emphasized the issue of winners and losers, whereas AJE focused more on having different groups that criticize one another. The study concluded that AJE and the BBC viewed slightly different versions of the same reality.

Al Nahed (2015) explored AJE and the BBC coverage of the uprising in Libya in 2011 and the ensuing NATO intervention in the country. The coverage in both outlets supported the opposition’s and the intervention’s aims. The study concluded that the two media outlets covered the events in a way that is aligned with the policies and agendas of the countries where they are headquartered and mainly broadcast. Likewise, Afzal and Harun (2015) adopted van Dijk’s (2015) model of the ideological square to examine the discourse of the uprising in Libya and Syria in the Arab News of Saudi Arabia and the News International of Pakistan. The study revealed that the authorities in both newspapers were depicted as an obstacle in the face of people asking for changes. The Arab News of Saudi Arabia portrayed the uprising authorities in more depth and severity than the News International of Pakistan. However, both newspapers supported the changes brought by the people through positive self-representation and criticized the authorities and their resistance to people’s demands through negative other-representation.

Haider (2016b) used a corpus of 27 million words and combined CDA and CL to investigate how the Libyan uprisings and civil war is represented in four newspapers; two published in Arabic, namely, *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, and other two in English, namely *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* from 2009 to 2013. The analysis revealed that the 2011 Arab uprisings showed a difference in how the former Libyan president, Qaddafi, is depicted. For instance, before the uprising, the Libyan president was represented positively as a president who contributed to solving some problems in several Arab and African countries. During the uprising, the Libyan president was negatively represented by the four newspapers focusing on his cruelty,

corruption, violence, and use of excessive power against his people in 2011. In the post-uprisings era (2012/2013), the newspapers continued describing Qaddafi negatively in spite of his death. This study also employed van Dijk's (1995) ideological square in which the Libyan president was considered a part of the 'in-group' as an Arab leader who defended the rights of Arabism. In contrast, after the 2011 uprisings, Qaddafi was portrayed as a part of the 'other-group' since he was using violence against his people.

Kessar et al. (2021) followed a CDA approach to investigate how the Algerian protest movement was represented in France 24 and Al-Jazeera. The findings showed that both media outlets represented the Algerian protesters as "the in-group" and the regime's officials as "the out-group." Al-Jazeera focused more on the peacefulness of the Algerian movement, whereas France 24 focused more on the presence of the police. Al-Jazeera was more objective in its representation of the Algerian protest movement. In contrast, France 25 tended to use manipulation and exaggeration in its reporting, especially in representing the reaction of the police towards the protest movement. Gharayagh-Zandi (2022) examined the news coverage of the BBC and Russia's Sputnik of Iran's role in the Syrian conflict. The researcher conducted a CDA and found that the media outlets in question worked in line with the foreign policy preferences of the country instead of attempting to resolve the Syrian crisis or relieve the people suffering in Syria.

As is evident, several studies have examined the representation of the Arab Spring uprisings in media, such as the Libyan uprising, the Syrian Civil War, the Algerian Hirak, and the Egyptian Revolution. However, to the best of the researchers' knowledge, no study has investigated the representation of the Jordanian Hirak protest movement during the Arab Spring in the media. Therefore, the current study is meant to fill a gap in the literature. It comprehensively examines the Jordanian Hirak protest movement in two Jordanian newspapers' opinion articles during the Arab Spring.

METHODOLOGY

In this section, we describe the methods and sample of the study and the data collection procedure.

Investigated Newspapers

This study used a two-million-word corpus of newspaper opinion articles published by *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers from 2011 to 2012. *Al-Rai (The Opinion)*, which was founded in 1971, is considered the most popular daily publication for both male and female readers in the Kingdom. *Al-Rai* consists of eight main sections, namely Maħallijjät (local news), Arabs and the world news, sports, economy, literature and arts, the community, young people and universities, and appendices. *Al-Rai* newspaper is printed on paper and has an online edition published on the Internet. It also has an online archive of past issues. On the other hand, *Addustour*, a Jordanian daily mainstream newspaper, was founded in 1967. It is considered the next most popular publication for male readers after the *Al-Rai* newspaper in Jordan. The newspaper contains seven main sections, namely domestic news, international news, economy, sport news, miscellaneous news related to health and living styles, culture, and Al-Shabab (meaning "the young"). *Addustour*, primarily a paper-based newspaper, published an online version and created an online archive of its past issues. The two newspapers are published in Arabic, the official language for most countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

Data Compilation and Corpus Size

This study used an approximately two-million-word corpus of newspaper opinion articles published by *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers from 2011 to 2012. The corpus of this study was compiled from scratch by using the online archive of both newspapers to extract the opinion articles from the "today's writers" section in *Al-Rai* and the "issues and opinions" section in *Addustour*. The query terms which are used to compile the corpus are the followings:

الربيع الأردني OR
 الحراك OR حراك
 الاحتجاجات OR الاحتجاج OR احتجاجات OR احتجاج
 المظاهرات OR مظاهرات
 الاعتصامات OR الاعتصام OR اعتصامات OR اعتصام

Table 1. The corpus size, including the number of articles and words in the two newspapers

Newspaper	Number of articles	Number of tokens
<i>Al-Rai</i>	2,190	1,005,283
<i>Addustour</i>	1,670	757,961
Total	3,860	1,763,244

Translated, as follows:

The Jordanian Spring

Hirak (definite, indefinite)

Protest/s (singular, plural, definite, indefinite)

Demonstration/s (singular, plural, definite, indefinite)

Sit/s-in (singular, plural, definite, indefinite)

Table 1 indicates the corpus size, including the number of articles and words in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers.

Table 1 shows the search resulted in 2,190 newspaper opinion articles in *Al-Rai* newspaper with 1,005,283 words and 1,670 articles in *Addustour* newspaper with 757,961 words. The total number of retrieved articles is 3,860 articles and 1,763,244 words. The extracted articles were collected in text files and arranged based on their titles and dates of publication.

Analytical Software

The corpus was processed using WordSmith Tools WS7 (Scott, 2016), a paid software package developed by Mike Scott. The concordance tool in WordSmith 7 (WS7) was used to investigate how the Jordanian HIRAK protest movement is represented in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers. WordSmith is used in this study to generate frequency and cluster lists and extract all examples that contain the investigated terms in context (concordance).

Research Procedures

The research procedures are carried out, as follows. First of all, research questions are developed. Then a corpus that answers the research questions is built using the online archives of *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers, from which 3860 articles are retrieved. Second, a frequency list for the corpus of the articles in the two newspapers is generated using WS7. A frequency list presents all words in the corpus with their frequencies. Third, the most frequent thirty lexical words in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers are examined to identify the foci and group them into thematic categories. Fourth, concordance and cluster analyses are carried out for some words in the thematic groups. This will enable the researchers to investigate the words in context. Finally, the findings are linked with the results of some other research studies, and some concepts of CDA are generally used to explain the results.

It is worth mentioning that the analysis is carried out in Arabic. After that, the researcher translated the concordance lines and frequency lists into English and then sent them to two certified translators. Finally, the researcher made the necessary amendments based on the translators' remarks and comments.

The current study attempts to answer to the following two research questions:

1. What are the most frequently discussed topics in the context of the Jordanian 2011 HIRAK in the opinion articles published in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers?
2. How is the Jordanian HIRAK represented in two Jordanian daily mainstream newspapers, *Al-Rai* and *Addustour*, from 2011-2012?

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

To identify the most prevalent themes in the newspaper opinion articles, the researcher used the word list tool in WS7 and generated a list for the most frequent thirty content words in the corpus. It is worth mentioning that the researcher used a stop list to exclude the function words. **Table 2** shows the 30 most frequent words in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers.

Table 2. The most frequent thirty words in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers

No.	Word	Translation	Frequency	No.	Word	Translation	Frequency
1	السياسية	Political	7,854	16	الأردن	Jordan	2,321
2	الحكومة	Government	7,823	17	الاقتصادية	Economic	1,760
3	الإصلاح	Reform	5,176	18	المجتمع	Society	1,552
4	قانون	Law	4,317	19	الشعب	The nation	1,513
5	الدولة	The state	4,153	20	الحوار	Dialogue	1,306
6	الأردني	Jordanian	4,106	21	البلد	The country	1,300
7	الملك	The King	3,925	22	الحراك	Hirak	1,111
8	الوطني	National	3,808	23	الدستور	The constitution	1,090
9	الناس	The people	3,655	24	البرلمان	The parliament	1,047
10	الانتخابات	Elections	3,592	25	الوزراء	The ministers	1,037
11	الوطن	The homeland	3,346	26	الثقة	Trust	945
12	الفساد	Corruption	3,228	27	الديموقراطية	Democracy	910
13	المجلس	The council	3,083	28	السلطة	Authority	829
14	المواطن	The citizen	2,815	29	الملكية	Monarchy	809
15	النواب	The representatives	2,771	30	الشباب	The Youth	748

Table 3. Thematic categories of the 30 most frequent words in the corpus

Thematic category	Words
Jordanian Spring characteristics	الشعب The nation, البلد the country, الأردني/Jordanian, الأردن/Jordan, الناس the people
Hirak characteristics	الحراك Hirak, الدولة the state, الوطني national, المجتمع society, المواطن the citizen, الشباب the youth
Hirak's causes	الفساد corruption, الإصلاح reform, السياسية political, الاقتصادية economic, النواب the representatives, المجلس the council, الوزراء the ministers, الحكومة government, الانتخابات elections, البرلمان the parliament, الديمقراطية democracy
Jordanian authorities' reaction to Hirak	الدستور constitution, السلطة authority, القانون law, الملك the King, الملكية monarchy
Jordanians' attitudes towards Hirak	الثقة trust, الوطن the homeland, الحوار dialogue

Frequency analysis for the most frequent terms in the corpus enables researchers to identify the different news foci of the Jordanian protest movement "Hirak" and reveal the discourses about its representation in Jordanian Mainstream newspapers. Investigating the 30 most frequent words in *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* newspapers revealed five main thematic categories as **Table 3**.

Table 3 shows that the most discussed themes in the two investigated newspapers are: Jordanian Spring characteristics, Hirak characteristics, Hirak's causes, Jordanian authorities' reaction to Hirak, and Jordanians' attitudes towards the Hirak. These categories are discussed in detail in the next subsections.

Jordanian Spring Characteristics

The main features of the Jordanian Spring are stated in concordance 1 in **Figure 1**. The Jordanian Spring is described positively since it will bring better and more promising days for Jordanians at all levels as it relaunches the economic and political reform process (text 1) and advances democracy in Jordan (text 2). The Jordanian Spring blossomed as it took place in a democratic atmosphere (texts 3 & 4). The world considers the Jordanian Spring as distinguished and different from other protest movements in other Arab counties, which witnessed civil wars and violent and bloody conflicts (texts 5 & 6). Accordingly, the Jordanian Spring is green, implying that the Jordanian Spring is peaceful (text 6). In particular, the Jordanian Spring is characterized as civilized and peaceful, during which Jordanians call for economic, political, and social reform (texts 7 & 8).

It is worth noting that several studies have investigated the representation of the Arab Spring in various media outlets. For instance, Torlakova (2014) found that Al-Jazeera.net positively represented all the changes associated with the Arab uprisings since they would lead to justice, freedom, and democracy in the Middle East. Likewise, the Washington Post depicted the Arab Spring positively by portraying the Arab uprisings as a journey toward a better life (Fallah & Moini, 2016). Furthermore, Afzal and Harun (2015) argued that the Arab Spring in the editorials of the News International (Pakistan) and Arab News (Saudi Arabia) is represented positively as it brings change (Afzal & Harun, 2015). Besides, the Arab Spring is represented in "Keyhan" (in Persian) newspaper as a religious conflict and explosion, and this has reflected the Iranian newspaper's ideological stance (Fallah & Moini, 2016).

Concordance	
1 A	سيواصل في مجتمعنا الحراك السلمي الحضاري، سواء على صعيد الشارع والمسيرات السلمية فيه، أو على صعيد النخب السياسية
1 E	Peaceful civilized movement will continue in our society, whether at the level of the street and peaceful marches in it, or at the level of the political elites
2 A	نقول إن الحراك الإصلاحي، الذي تشهده البلاد، يتطلب من الجميع المشاركة
2 E	We say that the reform movement, which the country is witnessing, requires everyone to participate
3 A	إن الحراك الشعبي الذي تشهده اليوم، والذي يتسم بالتوازن والاعتدال والانسجام.
3 E	The popular movement that we are witnessing today, which is characterized by balance, moderation and harmony
4 A	إن الحراك الشبابي السلمي ومنذ كان يحظى باحترام وحماية ومحافظة عليه من قبل الأجهزة الأمنية
4 E	The peaceful youth-led movement and since it was respected, protected and preserved by the security services
5 A	يحتفل الأردنيون بالعيد الخامس والستين للاستقلال في خضم حراك وطني شامل يهدف الى مواصلة مسيرة التقدم
5 E	Jordanians celebrate the 65th Independence Day in the midst of a comprehensive national movement aimed at continuing the march of progress
6 A	منذ تزايد الحراك السياسي المطالب بالإصلاح
6 E	Since the increase in the political movement demanding reform
7 A	الحراك الأردني التقى عزز الثوابت وساهم في تعديل الدستور وجعل مصلحة الوطن هي العليا.
7 E	The pure Jordanian movement 'Hirak' strengthened the constants and contributed to amending the constitution and making the national interest supreme
8 A	المليك الشاب أعطى رهن الحراك السياسي الأردني ليد فرسان التغيير.
8 E	The young King gave the bridle of the Jordanian political protest movement to the hand of the knights of change

Figure 1. Concordance 1: The main characteristics of the Jordanian Spring (Source: Authors)

Table 4. A cluster analysis for the Arabic word حراك Hirak (Movement)

n	Cluster	Translation	Frequency
1	الحراك الشعبي	Popular movement	339
2	الحراك السياسي	Political movement	80
3	حراك الشارع	Street movement	38
4	الحراك الاجتماعي	Social movement	28
6	الحراك الشبابي	Youth movement	25
12	الحراك الإصلاحي	Reformatory movement	24
7	شباب الحراك	Movement's youth	19
9	قوى الحراك	Forces of movement	19
13	الحراك الأردني	Jordan's movement	19
15	الحراك في الشارع	Movement in the street	17
14	الحراك السلمي	Peaceful movement	14

Hirak Characteristics

In order to find out how the Hirak is described, the researchers carried out cluster analysis for the Arabic word *حراك* with a cluster size of two-four and minimum frequency of 10, as Table 4 shows.

The main features of the Jordanian Hirak protest movement were discussed thoroughly in the data. The Jordanian Hirak is described as peaceful, nonviolent, and civilized since protesters did not use power or violence in their demonstrations. Besides, the Jordanian Hirak is depicted as 'Al-Hirak Al-islāḥī' (reformatory Hirak), a Hirak for carrying out reform, and thus all Jordanians are involved in it. By carrying out cluster analysis, it has been found that Al-Hirak Al-islāḥī is mentioned 15 times in the whole corpus. The Jordanian Hirak is also known as Al-Hirak Al-Sha'bi (the Jordanian popular movement) characterized by balance, moderation, and harmony. The Popular Movement (Al-Hirak Al-Sha'bi) is mentioned 274 times in the corpus. Further, the Jordanian Hirak is portrayed as 'Al-Hirak Al-Silmi' (the peaceful Hirak), which is mentioned 261 times in the corpus. The high frequency of the following label, i.e., the peaceful Hirak 'Al-Hirak Al-Silmi', implies that the Jordanian mainstream newspapers attempt to put more emphasis on the peacefulness of Hirak to assure Jordanians. In the same vein, the youth led the Jordanian Hirak nonviolently. Accordingly, the Jordanian Hirak is described as 'Al-Hirak al-Silmi Al-Shababi,' (the youth peaceful movement), which is respected and protected by the Jordanian security forces. 'Al-Hirak Al-Shababi' is repeated 23 times in the whole corpus.

In addition, the Jordanian HIRAK is called '*Al-Hirak Al-Watani*,' (*the national movement*) to continue the Jordanian march of progress. There are 37 instances of '*Al-Hirak Al-Watani*'. Besides, the Jordanian HIRAK is called '*Al-Hirak Al-Siyasi*,' (*the political HIRAK*) since it aims to achieve political reform. This cluster is mentioned 60 times in the corpus. The Jordanian HIRAK is also described metaphorically as being *naqij* (*pure*). This implies that the Jordanian HIRAK is peaceful and nonviolent and aims at achieving legitimate goals such as implementing reform and fighting corruption. In particular, King Abdullah II of Jordan is the first to patronize protesters, especially young protesters, by letting the protest movement under their leadership.

The Jordanian HIRAK protest movement is described positively in the Jordanian mainstream newspapers since the Jordanian HIRAK was peaceful and not bloody. In addition, it was asking for achieving economic and political reform and fighting corruption. It was not calling for toppling the monarchy as what happened in the neighboring Arab countries. This agrees with Barari and Satkowski (2012, p. 49), who maintained that "protests in Jordan were organized and planned by political forces in a way that contrasts greatly from the seemingly spontaneous protests that emerged in other Arab cities."

On the other hand, the protest movements that occurred in other Arab countries during the Arab Spring were represented differently by different media outlets. For example, Aljazeera, which adopted the protesters' point of view, described the Egyptian protests positively by focusing on the peacefulness of the Egyptian protests. Besides, Al-Jazeera stressed that the protestors expressed their free opinions after years of suppressions and oppressions under the rule of Mubarak. On the other hand, Al-Ahram, which adopted the government's point of view, represented the Egyptian protests as chaos, violence, destruction, looting, robbery, and conspiracy (Alhumaidi, 2013). Similarly, Yehia (2011) found that Aljazeera depicted the Egyptian revolution from the protesters' point of view. Accordingly, Aljazeera legitimized the revolution in Egypt by describing the revolution in peaceful terms and stressing the Egyptians' need for a better future. In contrast, CNN described the Egyptian revolution from the United States government officials' point of view. Therefore, CNN emphasized the chaos that occurred on the streets of Cairo since it worried the United States government officials and the allied governments.

On the other hand, several media outlets supported the protest movements in the Arab world by adopting the protesters' point of view and describing their protest movements positively. For instance, the Arab News of Saudi Arabia and the News International of Pakistan newspapers supported the uprisings in Libya and Syria by adopting the positive self-representation of the uprisings. On the other hand, they criticized the authorities in both countries for the negative-other representation (Afzal & Harun, 2015). Likewise, Al Jazeera and the BBC supported the Libyan uprising and opposition (Al Nahed, 2015).

HIRAK's Causes

The main causes of the Jordanian HIRAK protest movement are stated in concordance 2 in **Figure 2**. Jordan is a resource-poor country that survives mostly on foreign aid. The protesters took to the street because of the bad economic conditions in the country and the growing rates of poverty and unemployment (text 1). The unemployment rate in Jordan in 2011 was 12.9, which rose to 19.25% in 2021. Furthermore, according to Abudalbouh (2020), the levels of unemployment in Jordan are increasing to between 25-30% of the population. Presently, 30% of youth are jobless, 60% of the population, while 15-30% of the population lives in poverty.

Besides, Jordanians protested because of the rising living costs, high taxes, high prices, and rising fuel costs (texts 2 & 3). Thus, Jordanians voiced their desire for change and asked to fight corruption, nepotism, and favoritism, among the main reasons that led to the demonstrations (text 4). Furthermore, these difficult economic circumstances were associated with privatizing critical public assets and institutions (text 5). This agrees with Sunik (2013), who claimed that the demonstrations in Jordan showed that the economic reforms were more essential than political reform. In addition, corruption has become a common complaint among Jordanians (text 6). This is in line with Browne (2013), who stated that endemic corruption had been a motivating factor for the Jordanian protest movement.

The corpus included some examples that show that the Jordanian HIRAK asked for achieving economic reform to provide the best livelihood for Jordanians. This requires fighting corruption, nepotism, and favoritism, implementing the rule of law, and combating poverty and unemployment (**Table 5**).

Concordance	
1 A	تحت وقع الضغوط المعيشية وسوء الأحوال الاقتصادية المتمثلة بتنامي نسبة الفقر والبطالة، ومن فوقها غلاء الأسعار
1 E	Under the impact of the living pressures and the bad economic conditions represented by the growing rate of poverty and unemployment, and above which the high prices
2 A	بالخوف من الغد نتيجة ارتفاع الضرائب وارتفاع الأسعار
2 E	Fear of tomorrow as a result of high taxes and high prices
3 A	وان رفع اسعار المحروقات الاخير غير منصف وضغطا مئيشيا في زاوية ضيقة
3 E	And that the recent fuel price hike is unfair and put us in a tight corner
4 A	إن الجميع متفق على ضرورة محاربة الفساد والواسطة والمحسوبية، وأهمية تطبيق سيادة القانون
4 E	Everyone agrees on the need to fight corruption, favoritism and nepotism, and the importance of implementing the rule of law
5 A	يسأل المواطنون عن وعد سابق للحكومات بمراجعة مسألة خصخصة بعض الوزارات والمؤسسات العامة
5 E	Citizens ask about a previous promise by governments to review the issue of the privatization of some ministries and public institutions.
6 A	ان الفساد باتت الشكوى منه عامة وادرك ان من واجب السلطة الرسمية ان تجتث هذا الداء من جذوره
6 E	Corruption has become a common complaint, and I realize that it is the duty of the official authority to eradicate this disease from its roots

Figure 2. Concordance 2: The causes of the protest movement “the Hirak” (Source: Authors)

Table 5. Clusters that discuss the Hirak causes

n	Cluster	Translation	Frequency
1	مكافحة الفساد	Anti-corruption	795
12	محاربة الفساد	Fighting corruption	441
2	الفقر والبطالة	Poverty and unemployment	128
3	البطالة والفقر	Unemployment and poverty	41
4	الواسطة والمحسوبية	Favoritism and nepotism	18

The Arab uprisings have had much in common in terms of their motivations. In particular, poverty, unemployment, social inequalities, corruption, bad economic conditions, and the yearning for dignity and freedom contributed significantly to the widespread unrest across the region (Ozekin & Akkas, 2014). As a case in point, unemployment is among the economic causes that led to the Arab uprising in various Arab countries. For instance, one out of four young Egyptians and Tunisians was unemployed on the eve of the Arab Spring (Mushtaq & Afzal, 2017).

On the other hand, the corpus showed that the main aspects of the political reform that Jordanians asked for are indicated in. Jordanian protesters called for political reform and a democratic transformation. The protesters asked for the formation of a genuinely parliamentary political system. The corpus revealed that protesters also asked for a more democratic election law that does not include a single non-transferable vote system. In addition, they asked for more freedom of expression, a more independent judiciary, and more constitutional amendments.

Protests in different Arab countries during the Arab Spring were connected with the demands for political freedom, social justice, and human dignity. The political reform that the protesters in Arab countries called for included the organization of free and fair elections, the respect of political liberties, and the elimination of corruption and cronyism. The issue of corruption as one of the leading causes of the Jordanian Hirak is also presented in concordance 3 in Figure 3.

Corruption is rampant (text 1); thus, Jordanians called for combating corruption and corrupt people. Text 2 reveals that corrupt public officials should hold accountable since they are responsible for the inflation of the public debt and the obstruction of development investments. Corrupt people were metaphorically described as hyenas (text 3). This animal has a negative connotation in Arabic since it is described as smelly, hideous, and feeding on decomposing corpses. Accordingly, conceptualizing corrupt people as hyenas implies that corrupt people who tend to adopt utterly immoral and illegal practices are greedy and never stop preying on the country's money, resources, and assets.

Concordance	
1 A	الفساد لا يزال مُستشريًا
1 E	Corruption is still rampant
2 A	ان اصوات محاربة الفساد تَعْلُو يوماً بعد يوم
2 E	The voices of fighting corruption are getting louder day by day
3 A	تتعلق بقدرة الحكومة على محاسبة الفاسدين الذين اسهموا في تضخم الدين العام وزيادة العجز وتحطيل الاستثمارات التنموية
3 E	It is related to the government's ability to hold the corrupt people accountable who contributed to the inflation of the public debt, the increase in the deficit and the obstruction of development investments
4 A	يطاردون ويلاحقون ضباغ الفساد
4 E	They are chasing the hyenas of corruption
5 A	التعب أصبح يعتبر «الفساد» عدوه الأول
5 E	The people have come to regard "corruption" as their first enemy...

Figure 3. Concordance 3: Concordance analysis for the word "corruption" (Source: Authors)

Similarly, politicians were depicted by the Jordanian columnist Ahmad Hasan Al-Zu'bi in his articles published on the following website Sawalief.com as aggressive animals, while citizens were represented as passive animals. Furthermore, the metaphors used to conceptualize corrupt people and politicians were as follows: corrupters/politicians are parasites, corrupters/politicians are predators, while the metaphors employed to depict citizens were as follows: citizens are passive victims/prey. The researchers concluded that animal metaphors were used for "attacking the corrupters and delegitimizing the politicians' role" (Albtoush & Sahuri, 2017, p. 117)

Text 4 includes the metaphor of war employed to depict corruption as an enemy which Jordan should fight. Therefore, the government decided to wage war on corruption. Conceptualizing corruption as an enemy indicates that Jordan is fully aware of the enormous danger of corruption to individuals and the country. Also, Jordan has a strong political will to defeat and eliminate corruption by taking all possible actions to win.

Jordanian Authorities' Reaction to Hirak

The reaction of the *Jordanian security forces* to the Hirak protest movement was discussed thoroughly in the opinion articles. The Jordanian security forces used soft power with protesters whose demands were described as legitimate. The security and the gendarmerie personnel dealt with protesters in a wise, kind, and civilized way. At the same time, Jordanians consider the security and the gendarmerie personnel as their family, and thus all Jordanians stand side by side with all security forces. In contrast, most of the demonstrations in other Arab during the Arab Spring were met with violence from the government, which formed militias and counter-demonstrators (Abdel Salam, 2015). For instance, in the Egyptian revolution in 2011, the police used shields, batons, and metal pipes against protesters and arrested many of them. A violent conflict occurred in Egypt between people and security forces. In 18-day revolution, approximately 6,467 demonstrators were wounded, and 846 Egyptians were killed (Puspitasari, 2017).

The responses of *King Abdullah II* of Jordan to the Jordanian Hirak protest movement were densely covered. The King of Jordan supports the Jordanian Hirak and wants to advance the country's reform process; thus, he sets the roadmap for his government to implement reform and combat corruption. The King of Jordan viewed the Jordanian Spring as an opportunity to relaunch and accelerate the reform process. King Abdullah II sacked a succession of short-lived cabinets and directed the newly formed governments to respond to people's demands. The newspapers reported that the King was making remarkable progress toward genuine reform. King Abdullah II is extremely serious about implementing significant reform in Jordan. The King also assured the importance of fighting corruption, nepotism, and favoritism. In addition, the King of Jordan is keen on achieving political reform and asks all political forces and elites to participate in Jordanian political life. Besides, the King emphasizes the importance of carrying out elections and amending one-third of the constitution. The corpus also showed that the King of Jordan was called the leader of the reform revolution. According to Helfont and Helfont (2012, p. 95), "the Jordanian monarchy might be the only force in the region working toward reform and stability."

Concordance	
1 A	فقد لاحظ المواطن استجابة الحكومة الفورية والفاعلة للتوجيهات الملكية السامية بتخفيض الاسعار واثار الاوضاع الاقتصادية الصعبة على المواطنين وتوفير العيش الكريم لهم
1 E	The citizen noticed the government's immediate and effective response to the royal directives to reduce prices and the effects of the difficult economic conditions on citizens and to provide them with a decent living.
2 A	اصرار الحكومة على اتخاذ مكافحة الفساد نهجا لم تتوان عن اتباعه، والدعم الكبير لكل أجهزة الدولة لمكافحة للفساد
2 E	The government's insistence on taking the fight against corruption as an approach it did not hesitate to follow, and the great support for all state agencies to combat corruption
3 A	وكتشف عن نية الحكومة في فتح حوار حول الاصلاح السياسي وتقديم مشاريع قوانين جديدة لتطوير الحياة السياسية في البلاد تسمح بدعم الاحزاب السياسية
3 E	He revealed the government's intention to open a dialogue on political reform and to present new bills to develop political life in the country that would allow support for political parties
4 A	وإعلان الحكومة حزمة من الاجراءات والقرارات التي تستهدف بمجملها احداث تحسن ملحوظ في مستوى معيشة المواطن ومواجهة تداعيات الارتفاع الحاد في اسعار النفط عالمياً
4 E	The government announced a package of measures and decisions aimed at bringing about a noticeable improvement in the citizen's standard of living and facing the repercussions of the sharp rise in global oil prices.

Figure 4. Concordance 4: The Government's response to the protest movement "the Hirak" (Source: Authors)

On the contrary, during the Libyan uprising, the Libyan president was negatively portrayed by the English and Arabic newspapers, which shed light on his cruelty, violence, and use of excessive power against his people in 2011 (Haider, 2016a; Haider & Hussein, 2020). The Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi refused to step down in response to the popular pressure of his people. His continuous use of mercenaries to wage war against his civilians has been considered a terrorist act of a dictator (Fahim & El Sheikh, 2013).

The *government's responses* to the Jordanian Hirak protest movement are highlighted in concordance 4 in **Figure 4**.

First, the Jordanian government has responded to the royal directives to reduce prices and improve people's standard of living (text 1). Second, the government is serious about combating corruption and supporting all Jordanian organizations and institutions that aim at curbing corruption in the country (text 2). Third, the government is also keen on achieving political reform by developing the country's political life and supporting all political parties (text 3). Finally, the government was also serious about achieving genuine economic reform by taking economic measures and decisions that improve citizens' standard of living (text 4).

Jordanians' Attitudes Towards the Hirak

The Jordanians' attitudes towards the Hirak are revealed in concordance 5 in **Figure 5**.

Jordanians are keen on Jordan's survival, stability, and security. All Jordanians support their Hashemite leadership, which insists on making Jordan a real model in its security, democracy, and peaceful Hirak movement (texts 1 & 2). This agrees with Yeşilyurt (2014), who maintained that most Jordanians have become more appreciative of the security and stability of Jordan, especially after what happened in some other Arab countries, mainly Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. The Jordanian opposition did not ask for revolution or monarchy change but demanded reforms. Text 3 stated that the Arab Spring has proven that the popularity of King Abdullah II is one of the basics of stability in Jordan and one of its main pillars. Text 4 posited that Jordanian people unite behind the King in the face of corruption since Jordanians want and trust their King, and they fully support him (text 5). All Jordanians also agree on achieving reform and having the Hashemite leadership (text 6) in which All Jordanians are gathered and united with their King as one family (text7).

Concordance	
1 A	وجميع أبناء الشعب الاردني الواعي الحريص على بقاء هذا الوطن والانتقال حول القيادة الهاشمية التي تريد ان يكون الاردن القوية والنموذج والمثال في امنه وديمقراطيته وحراكه السلمي
1 E	And all the conscious Jordanian people who are keen on the survival of this country and rally around the Hashemite leadership that wants Jordan to be the role model, model and example in its security, democracy and peaceful movement
2 A	التفاف الشعب الأردني حول راية الوطن، بكل عشائره، وقبائله، وأطيافه السياسية، والقوى الوطنية
2 E	The Jordanian people rally around the flag of the homeland, with all its clans, tribes, political spectrum, and national forces
3 A	فلقد أثبت الربيع العربي أن شعبية الملك عبدالله الثاني هي من أساسيات الاستقرار في الأردن وإحدى ركائزه الأساسي
3 E	The Arab Spring has proven that the popularity of King Abdullah II is one of the basics of stability in Jordan and one of its main pillars.
4 A	الشعب الأردني يتوحد وراء الملك في مواجهة الفساد
4 E	The Jordanian people unite behind the king in the face of corruption
5 A	الشعب الذي يثق بملكه ويرتاح أن يتولى هذا الملك زمام الأمور كلها كي يطمئن
5 E	The people who trust their king and are comfortable with this king taking over all matters in order to be reassured
6 A	الشعب الأردني متفق على الإصلاح كما هو متفق على القيادة الهاشمية
6 E	The Jordanian people are in agreement on reform as they are agreed on the Hashemite leadership
7 A	إن تلاحم الشعب الأردني حول قيادته يدل على قوة وحدتنا الوطنية وأن جميع من على أرض المملكة هم أسرة واحدة
7 E	The cohesion of the Jordanian people around their leadership indicates the strength of our national unity and that all those on the land of the Kingdom are one family.

Figure 5. Concordance 5: The Jordanians' attitudes towards the Hirak (Source: Authors)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present study examined the Jordanian Hirak protest movement's representation in two mainstream newspapers, *Al-Rai* and *Addustour*, in the context of the Arab Spring (2011-2012). The analysis yielded five main categories that were recurrent in the two Jordanian newspapers, namely, the dominant characteristics of the Jordanian Spring in general, the key features of the Jordanian Hirak protest movement in particular, the leading causes of the Hirak, the Jordanian authorities' reactions to the Hirak, the Jordanians' attitudes towards the Hirak. The Jordanian Spring is portrayed as green and distinguished from other Arab Uprisings implying that the Jordanian Spring was prosperous and peaceful.

The Jordanian Hirak protest movement was described positively in both newspapers as being pure, peaceful, and civilized. People asked for economic and political reform, not toppling the monarchy, as in some neighboring Arab counties. This goes in line with Ryan (2018, p. 4), who stated that "the Jordanian version looked markedly different from that of its more volatile neighbors since it involved mostly peaceful struggles between regime and opposition via protest, demonstrations, and sometimes even elections." The Jordanian Hirak protest movement was also depicted as the political Hirak, the youth-led Hirak, the reform Hirak, the national Hirak, and the popular Hirak. The most frequently used attributes to portray the Jordanian Hirak are 'Shaibi,' popular, and 'al-Silmi' peaceful. These positive descriptions show that the Hirak protest movement was peaceful since violence was not used against most anti-government protests.

Based on the analysis above, it is revealed that Jordanians took to the street in major Jordanian cities criticizing poverty, unemployment, and corruption. This goes in line with Abudalbouh (2020), who stated that the miserable economic conditions, the increase in the price of fuel, and corruption are the main reasons that urged people to protest. This is also consistent with Harris (2015), who argued that Jordan's struggling economy and cuts to subsidies which are considered the main instigator of the Jordanian unrest during the Arab Spring.

Both newspapers shed light on the issue of corruption and the necessity of fighting corruption and corrupt people to carry out genuine reform. The Phenomenon of corruption has become an alarming sociopolitical issue in Jordan since 2010. According to Albtoush and Sahuri (2017), corruption has become a central issue addressed by various Jordanian mass media and a popular topic discussed daily. Its negative impact has led to many strikes and demonstrations across Jordan.

However, Jordanians were keen on the stability and security of their country in order not to repeat the experience of some Arab countries which witnessed civil wars and bloody conflicts during the Arab Spring. This is also in agreement with Atwan (2019), who posited that “protesters show concern for maintaining security and stability over carrying out completely radical and drastic reform to avoid any consequences of the first wave of the Arab Spring which end with civil wars in some Arab countries.”

King Abdullah II is presented in Jordanian newspapers as the patron of reform. This goes in line with El-Sharif (2015), who stated that King Abdullah II keeps highlighting the necessity of positive changes, and constantly uses the word “reform” in his speeches and interviews. This is also in agreement with Al Sharif (2013), who argued that the King of Jordan is considered a reformer. The Jordanian newspaper highlighted that the Jordanian government has responded to the royal directives to achieve political reform. In addition, the government also prepared a new election law and political parties law which encourages forming larger and stronger parties.

In the same way, the Jordanian government has also responded to the royal directives to carry out economic reform. According to Melik (2011), Jordan has announced an economic package to aid the country's poor. Accordingly, the government cut prices for essential consumer items. It also set up development projects in underprivileged areas.

As this study looked at the representation of the Jordanian Hirak protest movement in Arabic newspaper opinion articles, it is recommended for future research to examine the representation of the Jordanian Hirak protest movement in English newspaper opinion articles published in the *Jordan Times*, i.e., a Jordanian daily mainstream newspaper published in English. Such a study enables us to compare and contrast the representation of the Jordanian Hirak protest movement in Jordanian newspaper opinion articles published in Arabic and English.

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