



**Arab American University-Jenin**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**The Role of Visual Media in Triggering Political  
Conflict The Role of Al-Jazeera in the Revolution  
of Tunisia as a Case Study from the Perspective of  
Tunisian Media Professionals**

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**This Thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
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**Conflict Resolution and Development**

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I

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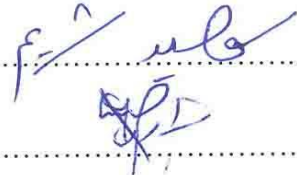
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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work which has been done after registration for the degree of Conflict resolution and development at Arab American University, and has not been previously included in a thesis or dissertation submitted to this or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications. Furthermore, I took reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and, to the best of my knowledge, does not breach copyright law, and has not been taken from other sources except where such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text.

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**Rana Khalil**

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## **DEDICATION**

All the praise to Almighty Allah, who has given me the blessing, the strength, the chance and endurance to complete my master degree.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents, who have been my source of inspiration and gave me the strength when we thought of giving up, who continually provide me with their moral, spiritual, emotional, and financial support. And my father, who always believed in man-made, not stone and money.

I would also like to dedicate my thesis to my brothers, sister and fiancé, who encouraged me and facilitated my academic career, all my friends, colleagues, and all the Palestinians and Tunisians, especially journalists.

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I would also like to thank the experts who were involved in the interviews for this master thesis: The director of Al-Jazeera in Tunisia, Lotfi Hajji, director of the Institute of Information in Tunisia, Hamida Bour, professor of information and editor of more than one newspaper, Mr. Moez Zyoud, professor of sociology, Dr. Fouad Ghorbali, President of the Tunisian Journalists Association, Naji Bghouri.. Without their passionate participation and input, the validation survey could not have been successfully conducted.

I would also like to acknowledge Mr. Mahmoud Bamia, who assisted me in arranging the interviews in Tunisia and was a permanent companion on this trip, would also like to thank His Excellency the Tunisian Ambassador to Palestine Habib Ben Farah for the facilities to reach our second country Tunisia.

## Abstract

This study, entitled "The role of visual media in triggering political conflict", aims to study the role of media in triggering political conflict, in which the problem revolves around the question to what extent Al-Jazeera's media discourse affected the Tunisian public opinion triggering and enforcing popular protests in Tunisia, during the so-called Jasmine Revolution against President Zine El Abidine's regime in 2011?

To access the results, the researcher used the following research tools, Methodology of analyzing media content based on the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin, In addition to the descriptive analytical methodology based on interviews conducted by the researcher with Tunisian media and academics.

This research includes an introduction and two chapters, the researcher addressed the events of the Arab Spring and its relationship to the science of conflict and the role of the media in the introduction. In the first chapter, the researcher dealt with previous theories and studies on conflict and the media. And the second chapter( field work and content analysis) the researcher divided this chapter into two parts, the first one is about interviews with elite Tunisian media professionals to present their viewpoint of Al Jazeera's professionalism about the transfer of the event and its impact on the street during the revolution through coding. On chapter two the researcher discussed the general results of the analytical study of the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin in Al-Jazeera during the Tunisia revolution. In details, Al-Jazeera adopted this for the quality of the news confiscation of the channel in terms of Balance, diversity, and neutrality by presenting different points of view, the direction of news coverage towards the ruling political system, and where the guests who hosted belong to and the time allocated to them.

The researcher concluded a number of results:

- Al-Jazeera did not meet the necessary media standards and did not perform its functions as a media institution in the conflict phase, through several examples:
  - Al-Jazeera's bias towards the opposition and giving the floor to them, which undermined the rule of media balance that achieves impartiality and objectivity.
  - Al-Jazeera did not expos to official figures and decision-makers towards the crisis and ways to deal with it to contain its effects, and it focused on a particular conflict party.

-The presence of Al-Jazeera guests that refuses to contact them because of the disagreement with their views with the directions of the channel for example, the institution of democratic women, which is a well-known institution in Tunisia.

-Its bias towards the Islamic trend by giving Annahda guests more duration.

- The study found the impact of psychological, political, and international factors on the existence of conflict:

-Psychological factors were a great motivation for the revolution to the hope of the people to escape from the harsh and unsatisfactory conditions, such as high prices, unemployment, poverty, the high proportion of young people in Tunisia. Educated young and graduated people from universities were without work, they have the values of the middle classes and want to integrate into the consumer market, in addition, To marginalize the interior and focus on the development on the coastal areas of the Republic.

-Political factors: the policy of gagging and oppression followed by the former regime, there was no outlet for the expression of opinion and suppression of political freedoms.

-International factors: There were environmental changes and external interventions such as support for the demonstrators and show that Tunisians have the right to have freedom. In addition to the news of Wiki leaks published about Zine El Abidine before the revolution.

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# **General Introduction**

**Abstract:**

The Arab region has lived long decades of internal stability linked mainly to one-way autocratic rule. Whether hereditary or partisan, and this was mainly related to the inability of the opposition or the rival rhetoric of the Authority to reach significantly towards the public.

The world witnessed the media openness in the late twentieth century and the beginning of the current century resulted in the emergence of social networking that narrowed world's boundaries. The emergence of satellite media channels reaching different communities, constituting a major challenge to these authoritarian regimes since it was easy to spread information and reach the largest segment of the masses. Moreover, making the media an important tool that has non-simple roles in influencing the state of stability and the possibility of promoting contradictions within the community, which helps to create a situation of conflict.

Hence, there are tools that affect in escalating conflicts are mainly easily used by different parties of the conflict. That through the use of all available media and that indicates to the essentially shed light on media and their directed speech to understand its role in escalating the conflict and orient it.

## **Introduction:**

The new Middle East or the so-called Arab Spring revolutions are only an application of one of the concepts of conflict. In the field of conflict studies and peace, we can call the immediate Arab conflict, the concept of civil war, which means: "An attempt to change government policies, leaders, rulers or organizations through violence or under the threat of violence."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we can call some of them the little armed conflict that the conflicting parties resorted to the use of armed force such as the January revolution in Egypt.

In general, the concept of conflict is a process of interaction between two or more parties to control or direct the results of the interaction process to achieve the interests, or the desired objectives of the parties in the conflict or at least reduce the amount of damage and losses caused by the interaction between the conflicting parties<sup>2</sup>. Thus, this process of interaction with the Arab experience and media played an important role in this process, whether by increasing interaction or vice versa.

Publication is the essence role of the media. In other words, the main goal of any media method is to influence the audience and as a result form the public opinion of the targeted audience that would serve the engagement process of the conflict studies. Therefore, this would need a continuous analysis of the media speech that targets an audience that lives in a chaotic or conflicting condition.

Accordingly, the researcher took Al-Jazeera in Tunisia as a model, as it claims that it presents the opposing opinions as a slogan which is based in Doha, Qatar. It is one of the most watched news channels in the Arab world during the Tunisian protests against the Ben Ali regime. It was also considered as one of the most influential and credible channels in the

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<sup>1</sup> Wallensteen, P., & Moller, F. (2003). Conflict prevention: methodology for knowing the unknown. pp 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> For more details on the concept of armed conflict, see the UBSALA Conflict Data Base: The Department of Conflict Research and Peace, located at <http://pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/>, Annual Reports of "Database or Basala of Conflict Data".

street.<sup>3</sup>. Al Jazeera has been followed in the events of the Tunisian revolution since its inception in 2011. It has devoted live broadcasts and episodes in its most watched programs about the revolution.

### **Problem statement:**

There are many factors that promoted the fueling or suppressing conflicts, and media plays an important role in all of conflict stages. Media started playing a key role in most of the world's conflicts through the openness of media space and the expansion of information flow from different sources. Its role transcends transferring events to influence it and sometimes fabricate the events and the formation of competing narratives that reflect the perceptions of the conflicting parties and serve their strategy and interests.

That the problem of this study which revolves around the question to what extent Al-Jazeera's media discourse affected the Tunisian public opinion triggering and enforcing popular protests in Tunisia, during the so-called Jasmine Revolution against President Zine El Abidine's regime in 2011.

### **Sub-Questions:**

- a. What is the reality and the nature of the visual media in the Arab case "Al-Jazeera case study"?
- b. What are the backgrounds, nature and dimensions of the so-called Arab spring revolutions in the studies of conflict and peace through analysis of the Tunisian model?
- c. What tools, media and technology did Al-Jazeera use to influence its followers and its role the role that played in the political conflict in the Tunisian case?

### **Research Objectives:**

This study aimed at

- ❖ Identifying the reality and nature of the visual media in the Arab case, in particular Al-Jazeera, in terms of establishment, agenda, programs and guidance.

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<sup>3</sup> س. ا. (2008). آراء اساتذة العلوم السياسية والإعلام بشأن مدى مهنية الجزيرة (Master's thesis), مركز الجزيرة للدراسات). مركز الجزيرة للدراسات.

- ❖ Studying the background, nature and dimensions of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions by analyzing the model of the Tunisian revolution.
- ❖ Analyzing the role of Al-Jazeera in the political conflict in the Tunisian case.

### **The importance and justification of the study:**

- a. Arab revolution and its direct impact on all aspects of Arab and Palestinian life.
- b. The seriousness of the role of visual media in political, cultural and social life.
- c. Professional importance related to the nature of the work and interest of the researcher in the field of media.
- d. The lack of studies that dealt with objective analysis in triggering (or influencing) Arab conflicts through visual media.

### **Methodology:**

The most appropriate methodology for the nature of the study is the content analysis of Al-Jazeera publishing and productions. Hence, the researcher will adopt this approach to analyze the comprehensive media content of Al-Jazeera channel during the Tunisian revolution. In addition to that, there will be a descriptive analytical approach based on conducted interviews by the researcher with active Tunisian journalists asking questions that would meet the study objectives.

### **Study tests based on the two methodologies:**

#### **- Analysis Methodology:**

Study community representative in all media related to the Arab revolutions, especially the Tunisian revolution.



Sample study of selected material from Al-Jazeera Media content (news bulletins, interviews, programs, analyzes, tape messages, video clips), Al-Jazeera Net content.

- Interviews tool:

Choosing a selection of Tunisian media and activists.

### **Proposed study chapters:**

-Introduction

- Introductory chapter about the visual media and political revolutions.

- Chapter One: Theoretical framework

Reviewing historical theories and references on conflict studies and the role of media in influencing the public.

- Chapter two: Applied

a. Reading the interviews to be held with a number of Tunisian media and politicians.

b. Analyzing the media discourse content of Al-jazeera.

- Conclusion.

### **Conclusions**

# **Chapter one**

## **Theoretical framework**

## 1.1 Introduction

The researcher relies on the hypothesis of relative deprivation and basic needs of theories that help explain the conflict through a set of psychological motivations to explain the behavior of the conflict, interpret the phenomenon of conflict by the psychological factors of decision-makers in conflict parties. In addition, the Marxist theory helps explain the orientation of the conflict by clarifying the exploitation of the less powerful "less resource" by, the more powerful. This theory helps know the existence of dissatisfaction in humans, especially satisfaction about the material resources or power and income of people and their surroundings, which help the researcher clearly to explain the causes of the revolution on the one hand and to fuel the feeling of dissatisfaction on the other. Through agenda-setting theory, which contributes to distinguishing what the media message, seeks to highlight specific topics and frame analysis theory that explains how to frame a subject in some way and it suggests to the public how to deal with the subject.

## 1.2 First topic: conflict concept

### 1.2.1 Definition of conflict

There are many definitions of this term due to its complexity and evolution over time. The definitions of conflict are:

- Raymond Aron's definition "Conflict is the result of a dispute between two people, two groups or two political units to control the same goal or to pursue different goals." <sup>4</sup>
- Deniss sandol " Conflict is a dynamic phenomenon, a situation in which at least two parties and their representatives try to achieve non-agreed goals within the framework of their

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<sup>4</sup> الجاسور، ناظم عبد الواحد (2004) موسوعة علم السياسة- دار مجدلاوي- الطبعة الأولى- الأردن-ص278.

concepts and beliefs by weakening (directly or indirectly) the other's abilities to achieve its objectives."<sup>5</sup>

- Niklas Swanstorm connected conflicts with conflicts of interest, deviation, and bifurcation of goal. It is also related to the disappointment and frustration of a party to the conflict. The conflict is not linked to military circles, but mainly to behavioral and behavioral dimensions. It also includes economic trends, human security, environmental, and historical backgrounds.<sup>6</sup>

Lewis Coser defined conflict as a "Compete for values, strength, and resources; the goal between competitors are Neutralizing, liquidating, or damaging antagonists. Conflict is an expression of a mismatch of interests, values, and beliefs that take on new forms caused by the process of change in the face of inherited pressures."<sup>7</sup>

Johan Galtung stated that conflict is a clear opportunity for human development, where conflict uses new ways that are imaginative and creative to transform the conflict without violence. In addition, winning is not the goal but creativity.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.2.2 Types of conflict

It is clear from previous definitions that conflict is diverse and has many reasons vary depending on the circumstances and place and existing conditions, which is reflected on the nature and quality of this conflict and the extent of fueled and the speed of its extension and the nature of interaction with it.

<sup>5</sup> غريفيش، مارتن و اوكلهان، تيري (2007) المفاهيم الأساسية في العلاقات الدولية- مركز الخليج للأبحاث- الطبعة الأولى- الإمارات العربية المتحدة- ص425.

<sup>6</sup> Niklas swanstrom, Mikeal weissmenn conflict, conflict prevention, Sweden: Central Asian Caucasian institutes, 2005, p07

<sup>7</sup> فرانكل جوزيف (1987) العلاقات الدولية- دار التهامه- الطبعة الأولى- المملكة العربية السعودية- 1987

<sup>8</sup> Galtung, J. (2004). Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work. Pluto Press, London. P 2

Al-Ali <sup>9</sup> divides conflicts into several sections:

- **Political conflicts:**

It is conflicts that erupt between the different political parties. Sometimes between two or more parties within a single state, such as conflicts that occur in all countries that believe in the existence of parties in their country, and may expand to be between two or more states on trade or border issues, and maybe resolved by the usual peaceful means or expand into violent conflicts and fighting.

- **Ethnic conflicts:**

Conflicts that arise because of belonging to different races, and the vision of each nationality that it has a right to exist and live better, and has rights and privileges without other nationalities such as ethnic conflicts between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, and between the Kurds and Turks in Turkey.

- **Intellectual conflicts:**

Conflicts that break out between the followers of different ideas and trends, where all of them see eligibility and the health of the ideas they carry, and want to apply it in the social settings in which they live. They strongly reject the existence of other ideas, such as conflicts in Western countries and America between secularists and Islamists, or between nationalists and Islamists in Arab countries.

- **Economic conflicts:**

Conflicts that arise between two national or international parties because of the economic factor, commercial, financial, or economic wealth, which means that geography may be the cause of economic conflicts over border resources.

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العلي، زياد علي (2017) المرتكزات النظرية في السياسة الدولية. القاهرة: دار الفجر للنشر والتوزيع 9

- **Religious Conflict:**

The conflicts that occur between followers of different religions, whether the Monotheistic religions (Islam, Christianity, and Jewish) or non-monotheistic religions (Hindu...etc). As an example on such conflicts is what happens between followers of Islam and Christianity that would cause political divisions such as in Lebanon. As well as in the case of religious conflicts, like in Indonesia between Muslims and Christians. Moreover, Conflicts that occur between followers of one faith but different sects, such as the clash between Catholics and Protestants in Christianity, Sunnis and Shiites in Islam, or between followers of the same faith and sect, such as between moderates and extremists in Sunni sect.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2.3 Conflict theories

The phenomenon of conflict is a changing and dynamic phenomenon that is directly related to human life and its complexity. Therefore, there are different and multiple theories, which explain conflict phenomenon. Hence, these theories were divided into three axes; each axis contains a set of theories, namely:

- **Psychological theories**

In the interpretation of conflicts, which is a set of methods, presented by a group of specialized scientists, including theories of relative deprivation, theories of basic needs<sup>11</sup> and psychological theories. These theories explain the conflict through a set of motivations and psychological factors. That explains conflict behavior and phenomenon of conflict through a set of motives and psychological elements of the leader or decision-makers of conflict parties. Such as desire for domination, control, status, hatred, aggressive conflicts, revenge,

<sup>10</sup> غريفيش، مارتن و اوكلهان، تيري (2007) المفاهيم الأساسية في العلاقات الدولية- مركز الخليج للأبحاث- الطبعة الأولى- الإمارات العربية المتحدة- ص 425.

<sup>11</sup> This theory is one of the most interesting and controversial in the interpretation of conflicts. This theory considers that the lack of basic human needs causes the causes of disputes, Whether physical, social, psychological, or mental requirements (i.e., physical and moral essentials), The authors of this theory point out that failure to provide or satisfy humanitarian needs generates violence or conflict as a means of providing. The most important theorists of this theory: John Burton

frustration and disappointment, impressions and mental images, psychological emotions and other psychological factors and motivations, Such as desire for domination, control, and status, or hatred, aggressive conflicts, revenge, frustration and disappointment, impressions and mental images, psychological emotions and other psychological factors and motivations.<sup>12</sup> These theories took an important place in the interpretation of behavior related to the conflict.<sup>13</sup>

● **Theories of social conflict (social relations and Marxism):**

The theory of community relations summarizes the causes of conflict are divided and polarized in the sense of hostility between the sects, parties, diverse groups, both internally and between states.<sup>14</sup> Marxist theory is a social theory that says that individuals and groups (social classes) within a society have different amounts of tangible and intangible resources (rich versus poor) and the more powerful groups are using their influence to exploit the less powerful. This exploitation occurs in two ways; the first is through the brute force that is usually used by the police, the army, and the economy. The second, through various institutions of society, such as the legal and political system as tools of the hegemony of the ruling class and it works to promote its interests. Marx believes that human society has evolved over five major eras - primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism then socialism and class struggle has been the main driver of evolution through generations. The theory also explains that society is created from social conflict between different groups.<sup>15</sup> Social conflict theorists argue that money is the mechanism that creates social chaos. There are other theories about deviation functional theory, control theory, and pressure theory.

<sup>12</sup> Quincy, Wright. (1952). The Nature of Conflict. University of Utah : Chicago Press. PP. 193 – 209.

<sup>13</sup> اسماعيل صبري. (1991) العلاقات السياسية الدولية: دراسة في الأصول والنظريات. القاهرة: المكتبة الأكاديمية بالقاهرة

<sup>14</sup> Burton, John & Duckes, Frank (eds): conflict: readings in management and resolution op.cit.pp 145-155

<sup>15</sup> Marx, Karl. (1971). Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Tr. S. W. Ryazanskaya, edited by M. Dobb. London: Lawrence & Whishart.

They also refer to different types of positive social interaction that may occur within social relationships.

According to Karl Marx, there are two main social groups in all class societies, ruling class and controlled class. The ruling class derives its power from its ownership and control over the productive forces (controlled class). The ruling class exploits and oppresses the controlled class, and as a result, there is a significant conflict of interest between the two classes.<sup>16</sup>

The theory of social conflict is one of the important theories that shows a state of dissatisfaction in humans, especially regarding the satisfaction about material resources or authority, the income and the social environment within the theory of conflict which includes many groups, whether they are small or large.<sup>17</sup>

#### ● **Cultural theories (social identity)**

It is one of the theories of social psychology or communities, which tries to explain the behavior of the individuals as members of a particular group. The most important of these theories is the theory of social identity<sup>18</sup> that belongs to Henri Tajfel and John Turner who try to explain an individual's behavior based on a different and similar set of elements such as status, loyalty, vision of self, legitimacy and the possibility of transfer to another group. These theories try to study social identity by identifying the way in which an individual interprets his existence within a particular group in which he determines "we" and "them". When analyzing conflict and thinking about the causes of conflict, there are reasons of the nature of the relationship between social identity and political behavior of human groups,

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<sup>16</sup> Previous source

<sup>17</sup> المنعم، ميرفت. (2008). مفهوم نظرية الصراع الاجتماعي وتأثيرها على المجتمع. موقع المرسل: 599609/https://www.almrsl.com/post

<sup>18</sup> Tajfel. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. P 7-24.



that define conflict and competitive behavior or even collaborative in the nature of the interactive relationship between the "we" and "them."<sup>19</sup>.

#### **1.2.4 Causes and factors of the emergence of conflict**

The types of conflict indicated that each type of conflict has its own circumstances and terms of reference. This means that type must be linked to a reason that push it, determine its form, content, and gives the intellectual reference to conflict parties on which the conflict is fueling on its base.

The Poor use of resources and environmental degradation, particularly disagreements over water resources, can be a cause of conflict, as happened in Darfur, also globalization that connects actions all over the world play a role in fueling the conflict. In addition, it deepens the gap between developed and developing countries, and between classes within the state, itself. Disparities in wealth lead to resentment and are factors that can lead to wars. As well, inequality and justice among members of the same society, in addition to the absence of the rule of law and the authority of the state is one of the causes of conflict.

One of the main causes of conflicts is the divergence of interests and policies, with the development of international relations, it was necessary to resolve these disputes in a peaceful manner in order for international relations to proceed in a normal way and to avoid what would prejudice international peace and security.

Armed conflicts include political and army actors of different composition and objectives; you may find support from some local citizens sympathetic to one of the conflict parties. Those citizens who see these individuals who resist the state as heroes should be respected and supported. That is why conflicts effects on social, economic and political life of the state and the future and well-being of nations.

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<sup>19</sup> 143 الخزندار، سامي إدارة الصراعات وفض المنازعات 2014، ص

### 1.2.5 Al khazndar<sup>20</sup> mentioned other factors of conflict:

- **Moral ideal factors:**

These factors indicate that individuals and peoples are moving towards conflict and wars because of their enthusiasm for ideals expressed through religion, nationalism, nationalism, and the human civilization circle to protect them, or to spread them through the use of coercion, against opponents.

- **Psychological factors:**

It is the movement of individuals, peoples towards violence, and wars because they hope to escape from harsh, unsatisfactory, unlikely or dangerous conditions and other forms of rejection of suffering.

- **Political factors:**

In certain situations, for many leaders or peoples, violence or war is a necessary or appropriate tool for implementing a foreign policy, to create, to preserve, to increase the influence of the government, party or class within the state, or to maintain a state's increased authority, compared to other countries.

- **Legal factors:**

Moving toward violence or war sometimes because of circumstances, or developments that are believed to violate the rules of international law and the rights of others, and therefore resort to force or war may be the appropriate remedy, by legal or judicial legitimacy.

## 1.3 The second topic: the media and its monitoring

Media definitions are numerous, but they all fall into its general definition and are a means of transmitting information. Palestinian journalists Nayef Al-Hashlamoun and Khaled Al-Amayreh defined it as a process that involves the dissemination of different information in

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<sup>20</sup> الخزندار، سامي (2015) إدارة الصراعات وفض المنازعات. الدوحة، مركز الجزيرة للدراسات: الدار العربية للعلوم ناشرون.

order to deliver it to the public regardless of whether it is a reader, a listener or a viewer. "Ottogerot" the German media specialist defined it as an objectively written expression to express the public, its mentality, emotion, tendencies and different attitudes. Also, Dr. Mahmoud Safar said that it is an accurate and honest publication of facts and information<sup>21</sup>.

The media in general is a way of communication that aims to publish information. In addition, it is the fourth authority to influence the public minds. In democratic countries, the media's job is to inform the public about what is going on around them to form a set of public opinions, in addition to censorship of the public performance, with its multiple tools whether written through newspapers and magazines, broadcast media through the radio, visible through television or new media (social media).

The function of the media is not limited to political influence, it has a major influence on the economy, and for example, the percentage of sales of a particular product can increase through advertising, and may affect a particular brand. It has, of course, social influences, by using multiple tools to influence people; it can spread a certain culture or help people to adopt new ideas.

Also, what is worth mentioning is the characteristics of the media, which are multiple, the most important ones are objective, transparency, clarity, mastery and accuracy, so a good media is an unbiased media that conveys the truth as it is objectively and real.

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<sup>21</sup> الإعلام مفهوم. الوهادين, دانة. "مفهوم الإعلام." موضوع <sup>21</sup>. Accessed May 18, 2019. <https://mawdoo3.com/مفهوم-الإعلام>.

### 1.3.1 Theories of media:

#### 1 – Frame analysis theory:

- ❖ The theory of media frame analysis is a theory that examines the circumstances of the impact of the message. This theory is based on the fact that the events and contents of the media have no meaning in themselves' unless placed in an arrangement, context and media frameworks , and these frameworks organize words , texts, meanings, the use of prevailing experiences and social values.
- ❖ Framing the media message provides the ability to measure the content of the message and its role is explained by influencing opinions and trends. I.e. when a particular incident occurs, the event may not have a significance on people, but the media describe it in the context of media in terms of language, formulation and focus on a particular element until it becomes important in the social context. For example, revolutions in the Arab Spring in particular the Egyptian revolution, where Al-Jazeera appointed a 24-hour live broadcast on the Muslim Brotherhood demonstrations.<sup>22</sup>
- ❖ The theory of news frame is one of the theories that allow the researcher to measure the non-explicit content of news coverage of the issues raised during a certain period of time, and framing is what defines the events , determines the subject of the dispute, and the essence of the case.<sup>23</sup>

#### 2– Agenda setting theory:

This theory demonstrates the ability of the media to highlight certain topics at the expense of other topics that may be more important, it assumes that the more prominent the news - in

<sup>22</sup> M. "Frame Analysis Theory (نظرية التأطير الإعلامي)." Frame Analysis Theory (نظرية التأطير الإعلامي). January 01, 1970. Accessed May 18, 2019. <https://constantine3.blogspot.com/2014/01/frame-analysis-theory.html?fbclid=IwAR0ZuW3y-V4RgF1pJzrkHiKUw5Z1WSOp2GnW1D94Zofg7SUJPLosSo5plHc>.

<sup>23</sup> 2013 حراشة، صباح، تحليل خطاب الجزيرة نحو أحداث الربيع العربي " في سوريا: برنامج الاتجاه المعاكس نموذجاً،

terms of the number of repetitions and the size of the coverage - the more important the news to the public. »<sup>24</sup>

The origins of this theory belongs to Walter Lippmann: "The media is the link between the events in the world, and the images of these events in the minds of citizens" in his book *Public Opinion*-1922- in the chapter "The outside world and images in our minds"

This theory was developed when Max McCombs and Donald Shaw, in their Chapel Hill study of the 1968 US presidential election, demonstrated a strong correlation between what Chapel Hill's people thought and the most important electoral issues raised by local and national media<sup>25</sup>

In general, this theory distinguishes what the media seeks in highlighting certain topics, and pushing it to the top of the hierarchy of priorities that deserve the attention of the public.

### **1.3.2 Definition of the term media monitoring**

The term media monitoring does not mean the abstract registration of the media, in the true sense of media monitoring, it is intended to develop a plan, standards, and monitoring for a complete assessment process. we can find out what is good and what is bad, by setting standards, and by setting an accurate evaluation scale is to make judgments clearly. The choice of criteria based on objective dimensions is derived from the positions and assumptions unanimously.<sup>26</sup>

Here, the term objectivity emerges in media and knows its role and the extent of its usefulness, but it can be said that media depends on the subject and context in which it is used, and refers here to Griffen & Nordenstreng<sup>27</sup>, that the issue of media monitoring as a

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<sup>24</sup> Lyengar; kinder, 1987, p.16

<sup>25</sup> McCombs; Shaw, 1972, pp. 176-187

<sup>26</sup> Lynch, J & Galtung, J .(2017). *Reporting Conflict*. Queensland: Queensland University Press, pp.148-153

<sup>27</sup> Griffen, K & Nordenstreng, K (1999) *International Media Monitoring*. Hampton: Gresskill.

research methodology for media critique cannot follow the term objectivity. The point is to delve deeper into criticism through the value of the dimensions that illustrate media control.

Cees states that the real task of media monitoring is evaluation, and this requires teaching respect for human rights.<sup>28</sup>

It is defined by (Alert, 2019) that media monitoring is the process of reading, viewing, listening to media content based on a continuous basis and to save and to analyze the data containing words and key topics.<sup>29</sup>

### **1.3.3 Standards used in media**

- Lynch & Galtung (2017) notes that there are a number of criteria that should be met in the media:<sup>30</sup>
  - Accuracy: The information in the report must be accurate and detailed enough for stakeholders to assess the performance of the reporting organization.
  - Balance: The information presented in the report should reflect the positive and negative aspects of the performance of the reporting organization to enable a reasonable and reasonable assessment of overall performance.
  - Clarity: The reporting media should provide information in an understandable and accessible way to stakeholders using the information.
  - Comparability: The reporting media should identify, collect and present information consistently. The information presented in the report should be presented in such a way as to enable stakeholders to analyze changes in the performance of the organization over time, which can support the analysis compared to other organizations.

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<sup>28</sup> Hamelink, C. (1999). Media Monitoring and Individual Duties Under the International Law. Hampton: Gresskill. 74 – 263.

<sup>29</sup> Alert, Cyper. (2019). Media Monitoring the complete guide. Accessed on 1st April, 2019. Retrieved fom: [http://www.cyberalert.com/downloads/media\\_monitoring\\_whitepaper.pdf](http://www.cyberalert.com/downloads/media_monitoring_whitepaper.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Lynch, J & Galtung, J .(2017). Reporting Conflict. Queensland: Queensland University Press,pp50-63.

- **Reliability:** The reporting organization should collect, record, compile, analyze and report on information and procedures used in the preparation of the report in a manner that makes it subject to examination, and determine the quality and relative importance of the information.
- **Timeliness:** The reporting institution must prepare the report on a regular schedule so that information is available to stakeholders in a timely manner so that they can make informed decisions.

### **1.3.4 Media tasks in different stages of the crisis:**

In the presence of crises, conflicts or armed conflicts, there is a major role for the media, whether fueling or mitigating this crisis. The mission of the media varies according to the situation and stage of the conflict. Mustafa (2018)<sup>31</sup> points out that there are a set of tasks that the media should follow at different stages and the media coverage varies according to the stages of the crisis, where the media functions and roles vary according to these stages as follows:

- **The stage of information publishing:** the stage that starts with the onset of the crisis; where the media plays a vital role in defining the crisis and providing the public with information and data about it to keep up with the desire of the masses to know more and clarify the situation about the crisis and its dimensions.
- **The stage of interpretation of information:** The media at this stage is to analyze the elements of the crisis, and research the roots and causes and compare them with similar crises. Moreover, here the media gives way to everything that helps to clarify the facts, whether explanatory material, or analysis and opinions of experts and analysts according

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مصطفى، هويدا (2018) دور الإعلام قبل وأثناء وبعد الأزمات والصراعات المسلحة. مجلة الإعلام العربي والمجتمع. تم الدخول بتاريخ 31 أبريل، 2019. الموقع <https://www.arabmediasociety.com>

to the nature and scope of the crisis. The media also shows the decision makers opinions towards the crisis and ways to deal with it to contain its effects.

- The preventive phase: The post-crisis phase, where the role of the media does not depend solely on the interpretation of the crisis and dealing with its elements and developments, but the role of the media goes beyond this dimension to provide advice to the public on ways to prevent and how to deal with similar crises.

These tasks and roles played by the media during the different phases of the crisis require commitment to some regulations that increase the effectiveness of the media message in crises.

Shinar<sup>32</sup> (2008:20) states that there are several points that must be taken when dealing with different media reports and mention them briefly as follows:

- Explore context backgrounds for news when a conflict is formed and present the causes and options for each aspect of the conflict and follow realistic terms and transparency with the public.
- Raise the voice and view of the conflicting forces in a balanced and equal manner.
- Disclose the suffering of each of the conflicting parties and not focus on one of the parties.
- Present creative ideas and solutions to the conflict and stand by the peacemakers.
- Use successful stories of peace in past times.

#### **1.4 The role of the media in triggering the political conflict:**

The main task of the media is to publish information, and to convey the image for the citizen of what going on including events, policies, developments, etc. One of the responsibilities of the media is to convey events objectively and impartially, but impartiality is not absolute

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<sup>32</sup> Shinar, D. ( 2008). Why not More Peace Journalism? The coverage of 2006 Lebanon war in Canadian and Israeli media? Peace and Policy, 13, PP 17- 30



because of differing points of view. Thus, bias in the transfer of information is possible. In addition, every media institution has editorial policy is committed to and the overall editorial policy of each media institution is influenced by the financier, because each institution needs material resources to be able to carry out its work. Hence, the problem lies in the media, which is the framing and prioritization according to the editorial policy.

When there is conflict in any form, the media can either fuel it or pass it peacefully, depending on how much media focus on the conflict itself. When using the theory of framing and agenda setting in the media institution according to its editorial policy, will not only transfer the information to the citizen, but also highlight it and the frequency of dissemination of information to focus on the target audience. As in the Arab revolutions, we see the models of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya in the transmission of events in Yemen as an example. Al-Arabiya, which is funded by Saudi Arabia, covers events in line with Saudi policy and vision, while Al-Jazeera covers events fairly neutral, taking into account Qatari policy as being in charge of the channel. Thus, each channel highlights the event from the angle that fits its editorial policy.

### **1.5 The third topic: a closer look at Al Jazeera**

Al Jazeera is a television news channel affiliated with Al Jazeera Media Network based in Doha, Qatar. Initially, Al Jazeera Media started as a satellite channel for Arab news and current affairs and since then with the same name "Al Jazeera," the channel has expanded to become an international media network with a number of outlets, including the Internet and television channels specialized in multiple languages in several regions of the world.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The guardian (2017) Al-Jazeera – how Arabic news channel became a key player in global media. Accessed on 15th April. Retrieved from: <http://web.archive.org/web/20170717164808/https://www.theguardian.com/media/2011/sep/20/al-jazeera-arabic-channel-key-player>

Al-Jazeera's ambition was to broadcast dissenting opinions, and this sparked controversy in the Arab Gulf states and many Arab countries. The station gained global attention in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks, when it was the only channel covering the war in Afghanistan live from its office there, it broadcasted a video of Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders, and the channel has also gained the attention of Arab people for their outstanding coverage of Arab revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen.

Al-Jazeera competes with major international channels in both Arabic and English, including CNN and Fox News. In June 2012 Al Jazeera's BN Sports channel opened in France and headed by Nasser Al Khulaifi., specializing in sports programs. It includes ten channels and within three months became the most popular sports channel in France.

The original Al-Jazeera channel began in 1996 with a \$ 150 million grant from the Emir of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. The channel began broadcasting on November 1, 1996. Al-Jazeera's creation coincided almost with the closure of the Arabic section of the BBC television (set up jointly with Saudi Arabia) in April 1994, two years after its creation due to censorship demanded by Saudi Arabia. Many of the workers at the British channel joined Al-Jazeera. The channel is now part of Al-Jazeera's network.

Al-Jazeera was launched in the early years without ads and then began broadcasting. Al Jazeera aimed to achieve self-sufficiency by 2001 through advertising but failed due to the reluctance of Saudi advertisers to contract with it. The prince agreed to continue providing support annually (\$ 30 million in 2004, according to Arnaud de Borschgrave). Other major sources of revenue in addition to advertising, cable subscription fees, broadcast deals with other companies, and selling the footage. In 2000, advertising accounted for 40% of the channel's revenue.

## Logo

Al-Jazeera logo is an ornate representation of the name of the network written in Arabic script (Diwani). The channel's founder, the former Emir of Qatar Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, has chosen the winning design Hamdi al-Sharif in a competition for designing al Jazeera logo.<sup>34</sup>

## 1.6 Expansion beyond the Middle East

In 2004, Al Jazeera contracted the first English-language journalists, including Afshin Ratanchi, from the BBC's Today program (which was at the heart of events in the UK when Tony Blair's decision came to support the US invasion of Iraq). In March 2003, it began publishing a Web site in English.

On July 4, 2005, Al Jazeera officially announced plans to launch an English-language satellite channel called Al Jazeera International<sup>35</sup>. The new channel began at 12:00 GMT on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2006 under the name of Al Jazeera English and its broadcasting centers in Doha (next to the original Al Jazeera headquarters). Its broadcasting center London, Kuala Lumpur and Washington DC, The news channel broadcasts 24 hours, 7 days a week, with 12 hours of broadcasting from Doha, and four hours in London, Kuala Lumpur and Washington DC. The broadcast is offered through a US non-profit network that also broadcasts Russian-language programs free to American viewers.

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<sup>34</sup> Flight Boredom, (2008). Arabic in Graphic Design: Al Jazeera's Cartouche. Accessed on 15th April. Retrieved from: <http://www.flightboredom.net/2008/02/arabic-in-graphic-design-al-jazeeras.html>.

<sup>35</sup> CNN (2005) **Al-Jazeera turns its signal West: English-language broadcasts part of network's global expansion**. Accessed on 14<sup>th</sup> April. Retrieved from: <http://web.archive.org/web/20050710010536/http://www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/07/04/aljazeera.spread.ap/index.html>

With the growth of universality and the influence of Al Jazeera, some scholars, including Adel Iskandar, described the station as a shift to the definition of "alternative media."<sup>36</sup>

As of 2007, Al Jazeera started competing with the BBC in terms of worldwide viewers, estimated at 40 to 50 million viewers, and Al Jazeera English is estimated to reach around 100 million households.<sup>37</sup>

## 1.7 Al Jazeera Media Network channels

### 1.7.1 Al Jazeera Documentary Channel

A cultural documentary channel, the first of its kind in the world in Arabic, was created and launched on January 1, 2007. Its website was launched two years later on January 1, 2009. Many documentary topics are broadcasted in a variety of ways. Al Jazeera has one of the largest visual documentary libraries in the world. It has more than 4,000 employees from around the world representing 70 different nationalities and has more than 70 offices around the world.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.7.2 Al Jazeera English

Is the first English-language news channel broadcasting from the Arab world to all over the world, Broadcasting around the clock, it has won several international awards thanks to a journalistic investigation, which aired at 12:00 GMT on November 15, 2006, It is planned to reach more than 80 million homes around the world via satellites and cable stations. The channel has also reached IPTV subscribers and an asymmetric digital subscriber line over the Internet and is watched by about one billion people worldwide. The channel has already

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<sup>36</sup> واي باك ماشين. (2016) هل الجزيرة البديلة؟ تعميم alterity الخطاب واستيعاب المعارضة نسخة محفوظة 12 أبريل 2016 على موقع واي باك مشين. تم الاستعادة من:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20160412140459/http://www.tbsjournal.com/Iskandar.html>

<sup>37</sup> Al Jazeera (2016). **Al Jazera TV Viewers and Demography**. Accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> April. Retrieved from: <http://web.archive.org/web/20160316005927/http://www.allied-media.com/aljazeera/JAZdemog.html>

<sup>38</sup> قطر، الدوحة، شبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية ( 2019 ) قناة الجزيرة الوثائقية

won several awards, including five medals at the New York International Television and Film Festival known as RTS<sup>39</sup>

### **1.7.3 Aljazeera live**

An Arabic-language channel that broadcasts live events around the clock and launched on April 14, 2005. It aims to communicate with its followers through various social media sites (WhatsApp, Twitter, and Facebook).<sup>40</sup>

### **1.7.4 Aljazeera Balkan**

Launched on 11 November 2011, it is planned to reach about 35 million homes in the Balkans through free satellite and cable services. When it was launched, the channel relied on four studios in the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, the Serbian capital of Belgrade, the Macedonian capital of Skopje, and the Croatian capital of Zagreb<sup>41</sup>

### **1.7.5 Al Jazeera Turkish**

Al Jazeera Turkish Turkish-language news channel based in Istanbul and is a branch of the network of Al-Jazeera channels, an electronic platform that corresponds to the aspirations of the Turkish-speaking masses, and then launched its website in January 2014.<sup>42</sup>

### **1.7.6 Al - Jazeera America**

It is one of the channels of Al-Jazeera network, which was launched on August 20, 2013, and based in New York, and had offices in 12 cities in the United States, a media service that was available to about 60 million American homes; it won several awards thanks to press inquiries. Al Jazeera America stopped broadcasting in April 2016. Al Jazeera Media Network, based in Doha, announced the expansion of its digital services by strengthening its

<sup>39</sup> قطر، الدوحة. شبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية (2016). الجزيرة أمريكا "تحتجب بعد ثلاث سنوات من البث".

<sup>40</sup> AL Jazeera Media Network. (2014). Changes for Al Jazeera Mubasher channels. Qatar. Al Dawha

<sup>41</sup> قطر، الدوحة. قناة الجزيرة بلقان (2018). شبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية.

<sup>42</sup> تركيا، إسطنبول. شبكة الجزيرة نت (2014) الجزيرة ترك تطلق موقعها الإلكتروني.

presence in the United States and launching new digital platforms to cope with the rapidly evolving interest of news followers via digital media and smart phones and tablets.<sup>43</sup>

### **1.7.7 Al - Jazeera Children**

A media institution aimed at Arab children and families all over the world, it seeks to provide pioneering programs of high quality and is keen to develop the talents of children and strengthen their perceptions and instill the values of creativity in them. To this end, it offers various initiatives in the form of information, cultural and educational projects, consisting of TV. It is a media entertainment platform for Arab children aged 7 to 12 and their families. This media organization also includes Baraem, the first open-air Arabic channel for preschool children. The channel includes Coral Siwar, a choir set up by Al Jazeera Children's Channel, which aims to support talented Arab children by including them and training them on professional singing. The Foundation also hosts the site (Taalam.TV), the first educational video website on demand in the Arab world, and is a precedent in the use of multimedia technology to serve knowledge; More than 700,000 schools from more than 30 countries worldwide have registered to use the site.<sup>44</sup>

### **1.7.8 Al - Jazeera Net site**

A diverse news site in Arabic and English, established in 2001 in the Qatari capital, Doha. Al Jazeera provides a news service that includes news, exclusive coverage, live interactions and live broadcasts of Al Jazeera, drawing on the experience gained in the field of electronic media. One of the services offered by the site is the encyclopedia of Al Jazeera, which is known as personalities, countries, cities, regions, movements, parties, concepts and terms prevailing in the world of news. The site has won several awards, including the first prize in the category of use of global technology from the Arab Academy for Internet Awards in 2011, and the Sheikh Salem Al-Ali Informatics Award in Kuwait in December 2014 for

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<sup>43</sup> أمريكا، نيويورك. شبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية (2018) الجزيرة أميركا.

<sup>44</sup> قطر، الدوحة. شبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية (2018) الجزيرة للأطفال.

being ranked first among Arab news sites and fourth among the best five selected websites. The site was also awarded the Pan Arab Web Awards in 2013 after leading the category of news websites in the Arab region and surpassing more than 700 websites. In June 2010, the site was awarded the best website in the Arab region and was announced in the Omani capital Muscat. In 2009, it was awarded the best strategic news website in a major ceremony organized by the Arab Academy for Internet Awards in the UAE.<sup>45</sup>

### **1.7.9 Al - Jazeera Center for Studies**

It is a research center affiliated to Al Jazeera Media Network based in Doha, Qatar and was established in 2006. It is an independent research institution concerned with deepening the foundations of scientific research and spreading knowledge through the media and communication technology, contributing to the advancement of knowledge, enriching the cultural and media landscape and enriching strategic thinking in the Arab world. In 2014, it was ranked the sixth-best research center in the Middle East by (the Think Tank Index).

### **1.7.10 Al - Jazeera Training and Development Center**

A training and media development center for institutions and individuals with professional programs, providing advisory services according to the latest scientific and technical standards, it covers all areas of audiovisual, print, and electronic media. Launched on February 24, 2004, in the Qatari capital, Doha, it has established strong strategic partnerships with media and academic institutions in the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Morocco from different media schools.<sup>46</sup>

### **1.7.11 Al - Jazeera Center for Public Liberties and Human Rights**

It is a branch of the Al-Jazeera network launched on November 1, 2008, with the aim of promoting a culture of human rights and public freedoms in the Arab countries, in particular,

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<sup>45</sup> "Our Story Is Telling." Al Jazeera Media Network. Accessed april 14, 2019.  
<https://network.aljazeera.net/about-us/timeline>.

<sup>46</sup> قطر، الدوحة. معهد الجزيرة للإعلام ( 2004 ) التدريب الإعلامي لتطوير المهارات ورفع القدرات

headed by journalist Sami Al-Hajj, based in Doha, Qatar. The Center aims to promote respect for human rights and public freedoms in the world in general, and the Arab region in particular, contributing to raising the awareness of society in the field of human rights and training and capacity-building of network journalists in the field of human rights and international humanitarian law. In addition to defending Al - Jazeera journalists and solidarity with victims of press freedom violations worldwide spreading a culture of human rights among the network's audience, in December 2015, the Center for Public Freedoms and Human Rights also launched a website, a human rights media platform specializing in human rights.<sup>47</sup>

#### **1.7.12 Al - Jazeera Sports**

Is a channel created by Al Jazeera on August 5, 2003 trial broadcasts started on August 30, 2003, of the same month and year, with only Spanish league matches played on Saturday and Sunday. Saturday, November 1, 2003, was the start date of the official broadcast and then switched to a set of channels on August 27, 2005. As part of the expansion of the Al Jazeera network, on January 1, 2014, it changed its name to BN Sport and now has a set of 17 encrypted channels currently under BN Media Network.<sup>48</sup>

#### **1.7.13 Al - Jazeera blogs**

Al - Jazeera blogs were launched on August 8, 2016, as blogging spread among Arab youth. It aims to open new spaces for the interactions of young people, and believing in the changes taking place in the environment of information and communication where the public becomes an original maker of opinion. The site started with 100 blogs that were published successively as the number of followers of Al-Jazeera blogs on Facebook

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<sup>47</sup> قطر، الدوحة. قناة الجزيرة (2008) مركز الجزيرة للحريات العامة وحقوق الإنسان.

<sup>48</sup> The guardian (2017) **Al-Jazeera – how Arabic news channel became a key player in global media**. Accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> April. Retrieved from: <http://web.archive.org/web/20170717164808/https://www.theguardian.com/media/2011/sep/20/al-jazeera-arabic-channel-key-player>



increased before the site started to reach 40 thousand followers. Blogging varies from essay blogs to 250-character short posts to video blogging up to 60 seconds.<sup>49</sup>

## 1.8 The fourth topic Tunisia revolution

The revolution in one sense is the overthrow of a socio-economic, political system, and its replacement by a completely different regime by a very popular movement, or by armed violence.<sup>50</sup>

The revolution might be against a foreign occupier such as revolutions in Algeria, and Vietnam. Alternatively, it may be within the borders of a single country, directed against a class, or a governing authority attached to the majority of citizens, so people radically overthrow that ruling class and replaces it with an alternative system of direction, ideology and economic, social and political structure.

By the end of 2010, the Arab region witnessed the beginning of some revolutions, uprisings, and social movements that ranged from peaceful to violent, both by those who did it and those who advocated it on the one hand, by official reactions represented in existing political systems, on the other hand.

Despite the many calls for change and reform in most Arab countries, there are cases of revolutions and protests of Arab regimes, which can describe as latent which systems that in their structural factors endure the reasons and requirements for change.

However, the mechanisms and manifestations of this change are still inherent, unclear, and unspecified. The irrational philosophy ruled the Arab revolutions and popular movements at this stage, where the unforeseen regimes fell, as was the case in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya.

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<sup>49</sup> "الثقافة" AJA Log. Accessed April 16, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/cultureandart>.

<sup>50</sup> al- asady, tamara, and mohammed shabbout. Storm of Change: Arab Spring and the Political Transitions in the Arab Region. berlin: Democratic Arab center, 2018.

This requires identifying the structural factors that govern the process of political change in the Arab region, the models presented for this change, the types of official internal and external responses, and possible scenarios for the future of Arab political systems, and the implications of this regional and international.<sup>51</sup>

## 1.9 Arab revolutions – reasons and determinants

As a continuation of the events that began the Tunisian revolution, the Arab world entered a new political era, marked by the return of popular will, centuries after being kidnapped by the ruling classes, and replaced by alternative legitimacy. Many of which are based on historical legitimacy, military power, tribal and sectarian tendencies.

The Arab Spring began from the Arab Maghreb to the Arab East, in interaction and harmony that was rooted far into the depths of Arab history and draws its strength from the unity of language, religion and community history. These revolutions find their logic and interpretation in the unity of the Arab peoples, a cultural, religious, and linguistic unit.<sup>52</sup>

Within these considerations, Abdel Shafi<sup>53</sup> states that the Arab revolutions characterized by several characteristics formed from the environment that set off in its framework, and what this environment contains determinants, causes, and motives which effects on the characteristics and traits of these revolutions were left, including:

- **Similarities in Change Factors:** It brought together countries that had an active revolutionary tide, the motivations for the revolutionary explosion, such as political corruption, tyranny, and total domination of the country.

Over time, the government has transformed into a family that runs the country, holding on to the economy, reaping billions of dollars in direct participation in all reconstruction

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<sup>51</sup> عبد الشافي، حيدر (2015) واقع ومستقبل الثورات العربية: الأسباب والدوافع. مجلة البيان، العدد الثاني.

<sup>52</sup> حنفي، حسن (2011) الوحدة الثورية، جريدة الزمان الدولية، لندن عدد (3848) 2011/03/17

<sup>53</sup> Previous resource n51.

projects, arms deals, trade, import and export in all fields, and similarities in the transfer and succession of power. As well as similarity in the policy of dependency of the United States of America without objections.

- **The Arab people broke the barrier of fear:** is the major strategic change. People were ruled by fear, by the security services, and by poverty, and when they managed to break this barrier, this fear shifted to the authority.
- **The forces that decided to take to the streets** and challenge the authorities and their security apparatus were not the traditional historical parties, or the Nasserist or nationalist movements, or even the Islamic movements. If these forces joined the demonstrations heartily alongside the demonstrators and contributed to the success of the revolution, they were not the establishment of the revolution and had no role in the leadership and guidance at the beginning.
- **That the youth who initiated the protest which turned into a revolution.**

The youth are educated and cultured generation, proficient in more than one language, knows the communication with the world, the generation of modernity and technology. They Succeeded in using electronic communication technology, transferring Western and international experiences and experiences in demonstrating and protesting, without expecting at first.<sup>54</sup>

- **Similarities in Challenges**

Revolutions are a tool of change in society; it is a surprise event, even if it has harbingers and witnesses before the revolutionary explosion. It is a mass, even if its leaders are a group of political or ideological activists. It calls for radical change, and even if it starts as a demanding movement, it quickly turns to the movement of mass change.

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<sup>54</sup> عتريسي، طلال ( 2011 ) الثورات التي قد تغير وجه المنطقة، مجلة شؤون عربية، عدد 145، ابريل 2011م

However, some revolutions face failures or counter-revolutions, any revolutions will not achieve their goals in the near term, even though it is in the community movement, In the long run, the change will occur The Arab revolutions are similar in their agreement to the challenges they face, including:

- Challenging Political Doctrine: Many revolutions are absent from the integrated ideological dimension, and common political and intellectual doctrine which wrap around various factions and currents.
- Challenging the future strategic dimension: revolution as a mass movement calling for comprehensive change, located in a vanity predicament, especially if it faced weak systems, and those systems collapse quickly, then the revolutionary movement considers that changing society is a simple matter.
- This is where the challenge of the future outlook of society evolves culturally changing society is not an easy matter. This future strategic dimension takes a long time to develop the mental and behavioral structure of society.
- Leadership challenge: These revolutions share the absence of a leader, mentor, or inspiration, and conflict can continue until there is a leader or mentor.<sup>55</sup>

### **1.10 The emergence of the vital role of media;**

In all its forms and means. In enlightening and educating people, and in crowding and mobilizing. The new and traditional media played a role in these revolutions; its influence was obvious in mobilizing the energy of the revolution and consolidating its gains so that it succeeded without violence and division in society. It also plays a role in transferring revolutions, from one State to another, and from one region to another.

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<sup>55</sup> جلال، محمد نعمان (2011) الثورات في الشرق الأوسط بين الرؤية والاستراتيجية والمراقبة الفكرية (نظرة مقارنة) 2011/03/19.

- **The weakness of the political structure in the Arab countries**, its focuses on the person of the leader or the president, and the lack of development of political construction into an institutional structure, through which he can provide ideas, advice, and visions to the political establishment.

Therefore, the government is weakened if the president is weak, as well as unable to face international pressure, effectively. Hence, its decisions are individual, and centered on the top of the political hierarchy.

- **Highlighted the importance of the need to reform**, and keep pace with political, social and economic developments, and the importance of sustainable development in the Arab countries, which focuses on human development, especially in the educational aspect, and the development of individual and community sources of income.<sup>56</sup>
- **The revolutions highlighted the importance of societal public opinion** and the need for effective civil society institutions. That help makes the right opinion and the right decision,
- Through these institutions, governments can engage in dialogue with all and reform its institutions, based on public opinion.

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<sup>56</sup> كريم، برهان إبراهيم (2011) الربيع العربي. موقع ثوابت عربية، الأربعاء 10/08/2011

### **1.11 Previous studies:**

#### **1. The study of Harrahcha, Sabah (2013) entitled: "Analysis of Al Jazeera Channels Discourse on "Arab Spring "in Syria: The "opposite direction" As a Model.**

The aim of this study was to conduct a rhetorical analysis of the Al-Jazeera media discourse (the opposite direction model), towards the Syrian crisis in light of what was known as (the events of the Arab Spring). The study used the methodology of discourse analysis in general and analysis of the text in particular. The study asked a central question: Does Al-Jazeera's speech constitutes a real revolution in the Arab media? So that the question was open to a number of Explanatory questions, the most important of which: What political frameworks framed by the program of the opposite direction in Syria? Are these frameworks indicative of a desire to influence the attitudes of the audience towards the political developments in Syria?

The researcher concluded that Al-Jazeera reflected the policy of Qatar. This policy is in harmony under the United States of America and that criticized the program of the opposite direction that it does not offer two opposite directions, but one direction is contrary to the position of the Arab nations, but intersects with the official position of Qatar.

#### **2. Al-Kassabeh Study, Adel (2015) "The Jordanian Journalists' Assessment of Al-Jazeera Satellite Channel Coverage of the Events in Egypt 2011-2014".**

The aim of this study was to identify the Jordanian journalists' assessment of Al-Jazeera's coverage of the events of Egypt 2011-2014. The study used the descriptive method in the field survey method using the questionnaire tool applied to the research community. The research community consisted of employees of media organizations in Amman, through a sample of (415 respondents). The results showed that coverage of Al-Jazeera satellite channel was biased to the revolution and revolutionaries, and contributed to the success of the revolution by employing them.

**3. Al-Khazendar, Sami (2008) entitled "The views of political science professors and the media on the extent of Al-Jazeera's professionalism".**

The aim of this study was to know the views and assessment of university professors on the professionalism of Al-Jazeera and the extent to which the elite of Arab universities were interested in watching it. The study used the descriptive method of systematic stratification method using the questionnaire tool. The study community consisted of university professors in political sciences and media. The total number of the study society reached 1251 university professors from 19 Arab countries. The results showed that Al-Jazeera ranked first among news channels in terms of viewing rate by 77.2%. As for the professional indicators, 37.3% of the sample saw the presence of entities that negatively affect the professional management, and 40.6% felt that this intervention does not exist and if it exists, it is a positive intervention.

**4. Bougfajouf, Zahra (2015), entitled "Media Treatment of the Issues of the Arab Political Movement in the Satellite News Channels: Al-Jazeera and France 24 Models".**

This study aimed to compare the coverage of Al-Jazeera and France 24 to the issues of political mobility in the Arab world in terms of form and content. The study community will be one of the main publications of Al-Jazeera and France 24, specifically the harvest of the day at Al-Jazeera and the sixth edition of Algeria on France 24 channel, and then a comparison between the coverage of the two channels in the period of direct transmission.

The researcher used the descriptive survey method and the method of content analysis. The results showed that there is a different coverage of the two channels. Where the coverage of Al-Jazeera was biased to the will of the people against the ruling regimes, and focused on events that correspond to the foreign policy of the State of Qatar and ignore other events. France 24 channel was against the regime of Bashar al-Assad in line with France's

rejectionist position and demands for his departure. The channel also took care of the security and political situation in Tunisia and Libya as directed primarily to the Arab Maghreb audience.

**5. Khazandar, Sami study (2011) entitled: Early warning system and conflict prevention development, concepts and indicators.**

This study presents a vision on the nature of concepts and implications of early warning, and its relation to preventative prevention of conflicts, with the identification of indicators used. The process of early warning, analysis of information, and the preparation of appropriate strategic options in the light of the results of data analysis, focusing on the risk of restoring stability between countries or within the state, and a threat to security and peace.

The researcher concluded that the system of early warning of difficult conflicts is difficult and complex in essence and is linked to social relations and relations at all levels of political, social, economic, military, cultural and others.

**6. Rinnawi, Khalil study (2012) cyber uprising: AL-Jazeera TV channel and the Egypt Uprising**

This study tends to the job of Bedouin transnational media in the Egyptian uprising. The primary contention was that the development of the Middle Easterner satellite media in the district, for example, Al-Jazeera Television station and the Web, has significantly affected the political and socio-social change in various Middle Easterner nations. It analyzes how the Bedouin media announced the fall of Hosni Mubarak's system in Egypt mid-2011. The study focused on how the dish Middle Easterner satellite news station Al-Jazeera took care of the report from account and visual points of view. We will contend that Al-Jazeera, among others, has assumed a critical job during the time spent change, both during the uprising itself and past it.



## **7. Owais, Rasha study (2011) Arab Media during the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia: time for change**

In this study, the researcher proceeded from the following basic idea that change and purification were important words that were always heard by all those who followed the events of the revolution in Tunisia and Egypt when we deal with Egyptian and Tunisian journalists who considered that revolution was not over and confirm it has just begun.

The study stated that the Egyptian and Tunisian peoples were eager to overcome their fear of state security. On the other hand, Egyptian and Tunisian journalists were also waiting for the right moment in their professional history to be free from restrictions.

It was time to free the media from past regimes' links, demonstrations and protests by the Tunisian media have succeeded in changing key terms on national television and news magazine organizations, while in the Egyptian demonstrations they call for elections to a new body for their dormant institutions, there was an essential moment in the professional history of the media.

The researcher also reminded, removing media links with the previous system would filter and change the media. That mentioned in an interview with the media Wael Abu Saud, who worked for Akhbar al-Youm, where during the demonstrations that broke out against the Egyptian leadership in Tahrir Square in Cairo and who called for the removal of news editors appointed by the official system.

## **8. Vladimir Bratic study (2006). Media effects during violent conflict: evaluating media contributions to peace building.**

This study aimed to identify the impact of the media during the violent conflict, where he assessed media and its ability to influence the process of peace building. Where the researcher pointed out, there was a relationship between the media and its impact on human behavior according to Albert Pandora theory.

The influence of the media on the formation of attitudes, beliefs, and opinions were more evident than on behavior. Which determines that was the type of use of media in terms of environment and timing. Also, most importantly is the presence of several factors which have little role in dealing with media. One example was the media, which is a single component that seeks to develop the political process comprehensively.

Thus, it seems wrong to claim that the media contribute individually to the peace process because the media is essential, but not sufficient as a component of the peace building process, and can take the role of relief in solving communication problems, but not the role of change for deep-rooted crises and conflicts.

The role of the media, as Lip Man mentioned in 1920, is not a substitution for another institution. It is an institution of society, and for that, media is a product, it needed the help from other institutions in society to participate in peace building then media effect on development peace building.

The study found that the impact of the media in any social process goes in two directions. The first direction, by supporting workforce in society through required direction for this change, which means that all social institutions were involved in this work, or that media highlight imbalance in society by monitoring the performance of the state and opposition forces working in other direction. In the second direction, the media produce a positive impact on social learning.

The study found that the theory of social learning proves that people acquire behavior by observation and then that observation is stored and then used as evidence of their future behavior, where the media helps to convey messages capable of recalling their mental concepts.

**9. Benjamin Shultz study (2014). The influence of the CNN effect and the Al Jazeera effect on American foreign policy.**

This study aimed to identify the impact of the CNN and Al-Jazeera channels on American foreign policy, where the study touched upon comparing the American media with the foreign media (Al Jazeera) and their impact on the foreign policy of the United States. On the other side, the study touched on the current capacity of the global media and its impact on decision-makers in the United States of America and specifically on the White House.

The study also pointed out that Al-Jazeera has a two-sided effect: positive and negative. On the positive side, the results indicated that Al-Jazeera aims to spread democracy culture among the peoples, as well as stand by people during coups and civil wars by raising their voices to be heard by all. The downside is that Al-Jazeera offers more than one of the different manifestations that inflame people and cause internal conflicts so that people recruited against each other.

The results of the study indicate that Al-Jazeera broadcast newsletters in English, which was the same in Arabic, and this occurs a conflict between Western and Arab thinking because both parties think differently.

**10. Christopher Wilson. (2012). Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations from Tahrir Square.**

The present study aimed to identify the role of social media in its role in participating in the political protests in Tahrir Square in the Arab Republic of Egypt, based on a sample of a group of protesters in Tahrir Square.

The results of the survey indicated that the media have a significant role in the government's inability to control citizens. In addition to limiting their inability to decide on the participants in the protests in Tahrir Square. Protesters have acquired the skill of dealing with others through social media such as Facebook and communication via telephone and

dialogue face to face, control for other factors, social media was used to increase the difference in the number of protesters on the first day, and the results showed that half of those interviewed appeared in Facebook demonstrations.

The results showed that the protesters interviewed were of both sexes (males and females), showed that they were of good scientific status and that males were older than females in Tahrir Square. The results also indicated that females were more engaged with Facebook than males, who were found to have less access to the internet.

The results also showed that interviewed used Facebook while protesting to communicate more with each other than using Twitter. the results also showed that 48% of the protesters communicate with each other face to face, while 48.2% communicated with each other by sharing videos and photos, while a small group used the application of Twitter or email to communicate with others.

After looking at the results of the research, the researcher concluded that social media had a high impact on the protesters in Tahrir Square in the Arab Republic of Egypt.

#### **11. Zayani, M. book (2005) Aljazeera phenomenon: critical perspective on new Arab media.**

This study aimed at measuring the impact of the network on ordinary Arab viewers, clarifying the impact of Al-Jazeera on the public and even the foreign policies of Western governments, and providing rare insights on Al-Jazeera's policy, agenda and programs, its coverage of regional crises and its treatment of the West.

One of the most important findings of this study was that it revealed the role played by the network in formulating ideas and rebuilding Arab identities at a crucial juncture in the history and politics of the Middle East.

## **12. Fandy, M study (2007) (UN) civil war of words: media & politics in the Arab world**

The main idea of this study was that even if the Arab media is not owned by governments, most major media outlets were under the control of authoritarian governments and used them to push their political ideas directly. Fande gave a critical analysis of the role played by the media, especially the Arab television networks.

The researcher concluded that the media coverage of each channel favors a clear bias towards the party that supports it, and that the Arab media serves the interests of those who sponsor it materially. Thus, the reality of the Arab media did not change much from the 1960s and 1950s.

### **1.12 Limitations on the use of previous studies:**

The previous studies were important in the preparation of the research proposal. The interest was in avoiding correspondence with the main themes of the previous studies, as well as the debate on the importance of Al-Jazeera channel. In addition to its role in influencing both the public and the policies, and the difference of viewpoints was observed, which would positively reflect on the objective of this study to know the role of media in fueling conflicts.

### **1.13 Differences between the current study and previous studies:**

What distinguishes this study - from the point of view of the researcher - the lack of studies that dealt with the objective analysis in fueling Arab conflicts through the visual media, where most of the previous studies were with or against Al-Jazeera's policy. In addition, the researcher relied on the methodology of interviews with Tunisian journalists. No previous study has been adopted, based on the two methodologies in the same context.

Access to previous studies was necessary for all preparation stages of this study until the last stages. The benefit was to avoid conformity with the central axes of previous studies, as well as to see the focus of researchers in their research of Al-Jazeera from its role and media coverage method of revolutions. In addition to information transfer and extent of impact through its media discourse and the extent of its objectivity in the transmission of news and the impact on the citizen's dissatisfaction.

In general, evaluating media and its contribution to peace building or vice versa. It noted different views on the role of the media in general and Al-Jazeera in particular in media coverage and media discourse to viewers and the extent of influence in the direction of the revolution (conflict), which will reflect positively on the objective of this study to know the role of media in fueling conflicts.

#### **1.14 What distinguishes this study from previous studies: -**

What distinguishes this study, in general, is the lack of studies dealing with objective analysis in fueling Arab conflicts through visual media, where most of the previous studies with or against the policy of Al Jazeera. In particular, this study was characterized first by the subject, where the difference between this study and previous studies in the case study "Tunisia". Except one study did not specialize in the Tunisian revolution, but combined with the Egyptian revolution, and that most of the studies directed towards the Egyptian case, and in other cases directed towards revolutions in the Arab world as a whole. One of the studies was directed towards the influence of Al-Jazeera on the foreign policies of western governments. Some studies differed by not to specialize in Al Jazeera, but also touched on France 24 or the Arab media in general. In contrast, the study resembled most of the previous studies in the case study (Al Jazeera), the role of the media in participating in

political protests, and the evaluation of the media and its contribution to peace building, and the professionalism of Al Jazeera, and the impact of Al Jazeera on viewers.

On the other hand, methodology, the study differed from previous studies in terms of methodology where this study characterized by the methodological clarity used. Five of the previous studies were not apparent to the reader. Moreover, the use of media discourse analysis and interview methodologies in one study. In previous studies used either interviews or analysis of media discourse and three other studies used the descriptive method.

Because the methodology was different, there was a difference in the study community. Whereas this study adopted a study community represented in the media content of Al-Jazeera in the period from December 2010 to December 2012. Another community represented by Tunisian political activists and journalists, it's worth mentioning that no previous study dealt with two study communities, four studies used media content as a sample, and four other studies used a study community composed of human elements, whether journalists, political activists or professor of political science and media. Also, four other studies did not explain the study population.

# **Chapter Two**

## **Field Work & Content Analysis**



## **2.1 Interviews:**

In this chapter, the researcher will begin to analyze the interviews she had with elite Tunisian media professionals to present their viewpoint of Al Jazeera's professionalism about the transfer of the event and its impact on the street during the revolution.

Where the questions addressed to the respondents varied about the impact of Al-Jazeera at different times on the Tunisian street, where coverage of Al-Jazeera before and during the revolution differs from post-revolution. Before the revolution, Al-Jazeera was the outlet for expressing the opinion of the street and presenting opposition opinions towards the existing regime. Its influence was that it offered a different discourse that satisfied the Tunisian street's desire for a high freedoms ceiling. It constituted an important source of news, a platform and a media space in which all Tunisians participate.

However, after the fall of the regime, the channel's influence decreased and the viewership dropped to only 9% because there was an alternative for the Tunisian citizen to express his opinion. The most important outcomes of the revolution were the freedom of speech and media has become more free. On the one hand, AL Jazeera got exposed to the Tunisian people with a bias orientation of its media towards a certain opposition party than the other, where Al-Jazeera has become indirectly the speaker for political Islam.

To analyze interviews, the researcher underwent the following stages:

- 1- Descriptive coding.
- 2- Converting notations into topics.
- 3- Review the notations.
- 4-Presentation and discussion of the results.

**Table 2.1**

The interview	Questions / Answers	Notations	Themes
Lutfi Hajji	<p>Q1: What are the real causes of the jasmine revolution in Tunisia in 2011?</p> <p><i>"A dictatorship coupled with corruption, 23 years of individual rule black period of oppression and gagging and confiscation of freedom of opinion and expression and violations of freedom of expression. The corruption of Ben Ali brothers in law after the authoritarianism that became for the wife of the president and her family and the vast wealth that accumulated in a short time. Sporadic movements, continuous statements, and reactions of human rights organizations, especially NGOs and the reaction of the European Parliament of strikes and protests. The revolution is the result of accumulations of Tunisians' patience with dictatorship and corruption."</i></p>	<p>Dictatorship.-</p> <p>-Confiscation of freedoms.</p> <p>-Sporadic moves.</p> <p>-international organizations.</p> <p>-strikes.</p> <p>-corruption.</p>	<p>-Psychological factors.</p> <p>-Political factors.</p> <p>- confrontation stage of conflict.</p> <p>-Social conflict</p>
Lutfi Hajji	<p>Q2: To what extent is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse spread among the Tunisian public, and what are the most important tools of that speech?</p> <p><i>Its effect is divided into two phases:</i></p> <p><i>Before the revolution.</i></p> <p><i>Al-Jazeera as a channel was the only forum and outlet for Tunisians and the Arabs because it raised the ceiling of freedoms and seemed like a solo event</i></p>	<p>-Breather.</p> <p>-Television Information.</p> <p>-Freedoms ceiling.</p> <p>-Express an opinion.</p> <p>-Human rights figures.</p> <p>Politicians.-</p> <p>-Trade unionists.</p> <p>-Prevent from work.</p> <p>-most watched.</p>	<p>-Media standards.</p> <p>-Media Inflation.</p> <p>-Media framing.</p> <p>-Agenda-setting</p> <p>-The impact of the media on politics.</p>

	<p><i>in the entire Arab world in television media. Because television media is an official media par excellence and under the grip of dictatorial regimes. During the revolution, Al-Jazeera was the most-watched in all of Tunisia, and there were human rights, political and trade union figures racing to appear on Al-Jazeera to express their opinions to express even by telephone because we banned from work.</i></p> <p><i>-After the revolution.</i></p> <p><i>The change towards</i></p> <p><i>Al Jazeera appeared in the tenth month after the revolution for two reasons: There are so many local TVs that have licensed, and there is a high freedom ceiling like Al Jazeera which devotes more media and detailed space to Tunisia than Al Jazeera being international, There was a significant leap on social media, and young people moved away from other media. Al Jazeera realized this late and created a Facebook page just three years ago.</i></p> <p><i>Al Jazeera Speech Tools:-</i></p> <p><i>Filmed videos by the people, the Tunisians who were ready to talk in addition to my news writing. The coverage was continuing escalated by the events escalating; sometimes, we devoted hours to talk as the demonstrations accelerated and spread in all the states we became more focused.</i></p>	<p>-Smuggling photos.</p> <p>-The tenth month after the revolution.</p> <p>-Media space.</p> <p>-Local channel.</p> <p>-International channel.</p> <p>-Social Media.</p> <p>Licenses.</p>	
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Lutfi Hajji	<p><i>Q3 How can you measure the impact of Al Jazeera's media discourse among Tunisian audiences?</i></p> <p><i>Two or three years after the revolution, the competent authorities shall be responsible for measuring the percentage of viewership of Tunisian television channels and also Al Jazeera, the analogy I know in not scientific way was the extent to which human rights activists deliberate on what Al Jazeera has covered. Even a non-Tunisian event and Al Jazeera interacted with it, Al Jazeera now has a kind of property in the countries where the revolutions occurred, and the ceiling of freedom has raised in these countries. Al Jazeera has regular presence, but its format is high in particular events in the Arab world.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-after the Revolution.</li> <li>- Event trading.</li> <li>- Al Jazeera presence.</li> <li>- High format.</li> <li>- Normal attendance.</li> <li>- Major events.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Objectivity in the media.</li> <li>- Clarity.</li> </ul>
Lutfi Hajji	<p><i>Q 4 How did the media discourse of Al Jazeera network affects the attitudes of the masses and forces towards the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>In the first period, it influenced a lot through dialogues with dissidents and human rights activists in exile such as Moncef Marzouki before he became president.</i></p> <p><i>Now the impact was less because the Tunisians deeply divided between the revolution and those under the influence of the deep state.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Dialogues.</li> <li>- Opponents.</li> <li>- Moncef Marzouki.</li> <li>- The beginning of the revolution.</li> <li>- With the revolution.</li> <li>- Against the Revolution.</li> <li>-Significant impact.</li> <li>- the effect decreased.</li> <li>- Deep state.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media framing.</li> <li>- Agenda-setting.</li> </ul>

Lutfi Hajji	<p><i>Q 5 Are there changes in the structure of the speech and tools of Al Jazeera after the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>There is no change in the sense of changing the discourse, but there is interaction with events after the revolution, the attitudes have changed and divided. I do not see it as a change in the mechanisms and the way Al Jazeera works. However, political events are pushing to focus on issues and give them a priority, but the issues that Al Jazeera has focused on since its inception to this day are still focused on them. It is required to keep abreast of the event and to reflect the political transformations.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Change the speech.</li> <li>- Interact with the event.</li> <li>- Change attitudes.</li> <li>- Political events.</li> <li>- Focus on issues.</li> <li>- Priority.</li> <li>- Political transformations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The impact of the media on politics.</li> </ul>
Hamida El Bour	<p><i>Q 6 How do you assess the level of awareness of the elites and the masses of the impact of the media discourse of Al Jazeera network among them?</i></p> <p><i>There were two levels, the level of assessment of the media discourse also; there was their assessment of Al Jazeera. Let's start with the second because it leads us to the first Al-Jazeera's assessment differed among Tunisians no longer the same, where now there are those who see Al Jazeera as the accursed devil and thematic people who praise Al Jazeera's professionalism. Why did Al Jazeera triumph in the siege of Qatar? Because it does not lie and does not fabricate the news, because Al Jazeera administration always</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Evaluation of media discourse.</li> <li>- Al Jazeera is a Demon.</li> <li>- Al Jazeera Professionalism.</li> <li>- Professional standards.</li> <li>- Qatar.</li> <li>- Al Jazeera Administration.</li> <li>- Editorial line.</li> <li>- Siege States.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Professional standards.</li> </ul>

	<i>makes sure of all the published news as for the agendas of each media organization and its editorial line the media differs in credibility. Al Jazeera is free to focus more on Countries of siege, etc. Al Jazeera adheres to professional standards and has the right to focus on issues it considers a priority, such as Gaza and Khashoggi.</i>		
Hamida Al Bour	<p><i>Q1: What were the real causes of the jasmine revolution in Tunisia in 2011?</i></p> <p><i>The deteriorating social conditions and the presence of fertile ground for the protests. In 2008, there was a mine basin protest, and this was an indication of the extent of people's protest. In 2008-2009, people started fidgeting what the people started expressing in different ways, in which it probably meant some precaution so as not to be a criticism of the ruling authority in the street and communities, but people became talking.</i></p> <p><i>The economic conditions, the places where the revolution broke out, the mining basin, and after Sidi Bouzid, these places are the least fortunate in development, and the unemployment of those with higher degrees. In addition, we found that in these quarters there were people who had awareness and well-known but could not access to work, and these quarters do not have technological</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Poor social conditions.</li> <li>- The mining basin.</li> <li>- Protests.</li> <li>- Criticism of the ruling authority.</li> <li>- Southern regions.</li> <li>- Development.</li> <li>- Unemployment.</li> <li>- Internet.</li> <li>- Trading in secret.</li> <li>- The vulnerable group.</li> <li>- Marginalization.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Psychological factors.</li> <li>- Political factors.</li> <li>-confrontation stage of conflict.</li> </ul>

	<p><i>development to talk on the Internet etc. Now there were some means, such as digital media, which people accessed through the internet and some blogs speak critically.</i></p>		
Hamida El Bour	<p><i>Q2: To what extent is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse spread among the Tunisian public and what were the most important tools of that speech?</i></p> <p><i>When we talked about Al Jazeera effect, there are two stages:</i></p> <p><i>1-During and before the revolution.</i></p> <p><i>2-After the revolution.</i></p> <p><i>At that time, there was no freedom of expression. Al-Jazeera was an outlet for Tunisians, and it gained popularity after the Gulf War, which offered a different discourse than what we saw in other channels. It hosted Tunisian political actors who had a critical discourse and deprived of appearing in the official media. The revolution most important gain was freedom of expression, and there has become sufficiency in media. Al-Jazeera's viewership has dropped, as critical discourse has become present in Tunisian channels.</i></p>	<p>- During and before the revolution.</p> <p>-after the Revolution.</p> <p>-Gulf War.</p> <p>- A different speech.</p> <p>- Other channels.</p> <p>- Critical speech.</p> <p>- Official Media.</p> <p>-freedom of expression.</p> <p>- Free media.</p> <p>-View percentage.</p>	<p>- Media framing.</p> <p>-Agenda-setting.</p> <p>- Media standards.</p> <p>- Confrontation stage of conflict.</p> <p>- crisis phase of conflict.</p> <p>- Political factors.</p>

Hamida El Bour	<p><i>Q3: What tools did Al Jazeera use in its discourse?</i></p> <p><i>Massive means, it has an extensive reporter network, and the quality of speech people listen to is a speech that did not exist in the Tunisian media. Its speech highlights reality, it was circulating the images among the Tunisian public, while local media did not.</i></p>	<p>Network Reporters.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Qualitative speech.</li> <li>- Speech highlights reality.</li> <li>- Pictures circulating among the public.</li> <li>- Local information.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media standards</li> <li>- Media framing.</li> <li>- The impact of the media on the political.</li> </ul>
Hamida El Bour	<p><i>Q4 Does Al Jazeera's speech affects the attitudes of the masses and forces towards the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>I do not believe in technological inevitability. Also, the media leads revolutions, there is social ground. Any media that expresses the anger reaps has a high percentage of views as France 24. The media is a vector, and adapts from a certain angle from a specific editorial line, but after the revolution, Al Jazeera was no longer on the list of the most influential media because the media became more liberal. It is classified as unidirectional with Islamist currents and has given a particular space to a particular type of political opponents, so its role diminished, According to reports in 2011/2012 during the election period it has a small role and gave it to the sympathizers of Ennahda more than others. Al Jazeera role is shrinking due to the existence of freedom of expression. In addition to its events disaster</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Technological determinism.</li> <li>- Social floor.</li> <li>- Media.</li> <li>- High viewership.</li> <li>- France 24.</li> <li>- Revolutions.</li> <li>- Vector.</li> <li>- Editorial line.</li> <li>Islamic Streams.</li> <li>The Renaissance Party.</li> <li>- Elections 2011.</li> <li>-freedom of expression.</li> <li>- Social networking pages.</li> <li>- Freedom space.</li> <li>- Its role diminished.</li> <li>- Protests.</li> <li>- Low viewership.</li> <li>-Tunisian General Labor Union.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- crisis phase of conflict.</li> <li>- Political factors.</li> <li>- The impact of the media on politics.</li> <li>- Media standards.</li> <li>- Media framing.</li> <li>- Agenda-setting.</li> </ul>



	<p><i>coverage. It was clear from the style, and people were aware of this, and some expelled journalists, and the impact of Al Jazeera as a framework to highlight the revolutionary voice that existed, which means among other means because in that period social networking pages are having an impact because the data were all available on Facebook. It is not Al Jazeera that invited people to go to the street there were even incubators such as the Tunisian General Labor Union, Republican trade unions, the media, of course, stands out and sheds light on the movement according to a specific agenda and the agenda is clear. If the influence of Al Jazeera were the motivator, Al Jazeera's post-revolutionary viewing levels would not have fallen in the first place.</i></p>		
Hamida El Bour	<p><i>Q 5 Are there changes in the structure of the speech and tools of Al Jazeera after the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>Frankly, I did not notice, but I noticed that the views rates decreased, even the politician who likes to talk, he goes to local channels.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Local channels.</li> <li>- View rates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media monitoring.</li> <li>- Media standards.</li> </ul>
Hamida El Bour	<p><i>Q 6 How do you assess the level of awareness of the elites and the masses of the impact of the media discourse of Al Jazeera network among them?</i></p> <p><i>The media does not fuel or end a revelation. The outbreak of the Tunisian revolution did not come from Al Jazeera but the situation exploded</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The outbreak of the revolution.</li> <li>- Al Jazeera.</li> <li>- Burning poses.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Psychological factors.</li> </ul>

	<i>after Crisis conditions.</i>		
Naji Bghouri	<p><i>Q1 What were the real reasons for the Tunisian revolution?</i></p> <p><i>Many accumulations: the failure of developmental models back then, political failure, and a state of tyranny created a state of opposition, the revolution was a cumulative act of almost dozens of years and a work that was visible, and civil society organizations were leading a real movement for change. This emerged in 2005 when the Ben Ali regime organized the World Summit on the Information Society Civil society embarrassed the regime with reports showing the absence of freedom of expression and political freedom in 2008 the mining basin events, but this movement usually suppressed quickly. There were many organizations that the Ben Ali regime tried to silence, there was real opposition, and it was clear that this political model was moving towards the blockage of prospects. The state of closure has peaked. Whether the freedoms in the media, control the media, or whether it is at the level of political freedoms.</i></p> <p><i>On a social level, there were real failures. Social problems began to appear, with high prices, declining employment opportunities, etc.</i></p> <p><i>Before the revolution, there were media resistance attempts against the</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social congestion.</li> <li>- Failure of the development model.</li> <li>- Political failure.</li> <li>- Tyranny.</li> <li>- Opposition.</li> <li>- Civil society organizations.</li> <li>- World Summit on the Information Society.</li> <li>- Ben Ali regime.</li> <li>- Lack of freedom of expression.</li> <li>- Lack of political freedom.</li> <li>- The mining basin.</li> <li>- Suppression.</li> <li>- Opposition.</li> <li>- Closing case.</li> <li>- social problems.</li> <li>- High prices.</li> <li>- Unemployment.</li> <li>- Media resistance.</li> <li>- Social Media.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Psychological factors.</li> <li>- Political factors.</li> <li>- confrontation stage of conflict.</li> <li>- Moral ideal factors.</li> </ul>

	<p>regime. The banned radio stations broadcasted illegally, and the internet phenomenon started spreading and then satellite TV, Because of the lack of confidence in the media, the sources of information came to social networking sites and accessed through a proxy because the Authority was closing all the outlets for social networking.</p>		
<p>Naji Bghouri</p>	<p><i>Q2: To what extent is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse spread among the Tunisian public?</i></p> <p><i>The impact divided into two levels: pre-revolution and post-revolution.</i></p> <p><i>Before, the most influential media platforms in the Tunisian political arena and the media arena it was a critical source of news and was a platform and media space for all Tunisians who were not allowed to participate. It was clear that Al Jazeera at the time was against the existing regime and those who were opposed to the existing regime, whether civil organizations or political parties found in Al Jazeera a real opportunity, and was giving information not given by the official and national media.</i></p> <p><i>After that, it changed its line from opening a platform and a media space for the Tunisian opposition and the spectrum of Tunisian civil society and against the Tunisian regime and a platform for all Tunisians without</i></p>	<p>-Before the revolution</p> <p>-after the Revolution.</p> <p>- News source.</p> <p>- All Tunisians.</p> <p>- Line against the system.</p> <p>- Civil organizations.</p> <p>-political parties.</p> <p>- Official Media.</p> <p>- Media space.</p> <p>- Serving Political Islam.</p> <p>-Muslim Brotherhood.</p> <p>- Political Islam Project.</p> <p>-boycott Al Jazeera</p>	<p>- crisis phase of conflict.</p> <p>-confrontation stage of conflict.</p> <p>- Pre-conflict.</p> <p>- Media standards</p> <p>- Media framing.</p> <p>-Agenda-setting.</p>

	<i>exception to a transparent platform. This was to serve political the Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia and the project of political Islam in Tunisia, so many organizations and parties boycotted Al Jazeera.</i>		
Naji Bghouri	<i>Q3 What tools did Al Jazeera use? Al-Jazeera did not refuse during the revolution to pass any media content coming from certain sources such as the Journalists' Syndicate. For example, no matter how technically bad, it did not reject the data provided on Tunisia in addition to the allocation of the Maghreb harvest to Tunisia and Tunisian opponents find it a real outlet for them more than other channels. It is probably the most channel that has provided space for them.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media content.</li> <li>- Alhasad AlMaghrebi.</li> <li>- Opponents.</li> <li>- give space.</li> </ul>	-Media standards.
Naji Bghouri	<i>Q 4 How can you measure the impact of the discourse among the Tunisian public? Many Tunisians were circulating the news of Al Jazeera as an indisputable issue and as an irrefutable fact.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Al Jazeera News.</li> <li>-Reality.</li> </ul>	-Media standards.
Naji Bghouri	<i>Q 5 Does the speech of Al Jazeera has impact on the attitudes of the masses and forces towards the revolution? It helped and gave Tunisians a chance to talk and perhaps close some views to political parties, especially the pre-revolutionary period, which tried to create an alliance between the different political spectrums. It exalted some of the parties that were</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Political parties.</li> <li>- Alliance of political spectrums.</li> <li>-Before the revolution.</li> <li>-after the Revolution.</li> <li>- Election period.</li> <li>- Islamic parties.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Media standards.</li> <li>- Media framing.</li> <li>-agenda-setting.</li> <li>- crisis phase of conflict.</li> </ul>

	<i>not so powerful, but this was immediately after the revolution in the election period, it tried to create the perception that the Islamic parties are the most experienced in the leadership of Tunisia and the most influential.</i>		
Naji Bghouri	<p><i>Q 6 Are there changes in the structure of the speech and tools of Al Jazeera after the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>Discourse changed after the revolution in order to serve political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood. Therefore, the discourse of Al-Jazeera no longer finds resonance and high degree of influence. This seemed very evident in the period of the departure sit-in, where Al Jazeera covered unbalanced not only the size of the coverage, but was looking for the negative aspects of the sit-in. On the other hand, it was inflated by the sit-in withstand and was in the service of a specific party, both through hosting interviews and a lot of evidence and indicators that confirm that Al-Jazeera is supporting the Muslim Brotherhood.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Serving Political Islam.</li> <li>- The speech of Al Jazeera.</li> <li>-departure sit-in .</li> <li>- Event inflation.</li> <li>- Support for the Muslim Brotherhood.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Media standards.</li> <li>- Media framing.</li> <li>-Agenda-setting.</li> </ul>
Naji Bghouri	<p><i>Q 7 How do you assess the level of awareness of the elites regarding the impact of the speech among them?</i></p> <p><i>Tunisian awareness is very high about Al-Jazeera discourse, so Tunisians punished Al Jazeera, with the decline in the views. Which means that Tunisians boycotted Al Jazeera because it had unprofessional, biased</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- High awareness.</li> <li>- boycotting Al Jazeera.</li> <li>- Decreased viewership.</li> <li>- Biased content.</li> <li>- Non-professional content.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Media monitoring.</li> <li>-Media standards.</li> </ul>

	<i>content that was unfair and unbalanced.</i>		
Moez Zyoud	<p><i>Q1 What were the real reasons for the Tunisian revolution?</i></p> <p><i>It was not a cultural revolution, but a socio-economic revolution, considering that there was a marginalization of development in the internal areas of Tunisia. In addition, throughout the history of Tunisia after the country's independence in 1956, all investments were focused on the coastline means on the coasts of Capital to the cities of the coast, from which Habib BouRguiba descended, high unemployment, marginalization. In addition to a total restriction in the field of public freedoms and individual freedoms. There was no free press, no freedom of association (i.e., the formation of non-governmental organizations, etc.) There were not even economic freedom because of Ben Ali's brothers in law domination of these fields and the unfairly winning deals, and high corruption. In addition, Ben Ali ruled the people with absolute power, It was the presence of some NGOs that tried to expand the margins of freedom they also had barriers.</i></p> <p><i>During that time, Facebook was developed highly because it was the only open site in the social media for the public. That means, for example, YouTube was off to Tunisians.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic considerations.</li> <li>- Social considerations.</li> <li>- Popular revival.</li> <li>- Marginalization of development.</li> <li>- Coastal areas.</li> <li>- Internal actors.</li> <li>- High unemployment.</li> <li>- Marginalization.</li> <li>- The restriction of public and individual freedoms.</li> <li>- Freedom to organize.</li> <li>- Economic freedom.</li> <li>- High corruption.</li> <li>- Facebook.</li> <li>- Videos.</li> <li>- The mining basin.</li> <li>- Bouazizi.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Psychological factors.</li> <li>- Political factors.</li> <li>- confrontation stage of conflict.</li> <li>- The impact of the media on politics.</li> </ul>

	<p><i>As well as Daily motion Twitter, when the revolution occurred videos circulated through Facebook, unlike to the period of the events of the mining basin, which was large tortured demonstrators, arrested and beaten, and the army intervened, but social media was not widespread at that period. When Bouazizi sparked in Sidi Bouzid, things got out of hand and thanks to this simple technology - mobile phones-Which covered the clashes between security men and demonstrators every night. In addition, the protests spread from one area to another until it expanded and reached the big cities.</i></p>		
<p>Moez Zyoud</p>	<p><i>Q2To what extent is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse spread among the Tunisian public and what are the most important tools of that speech?</i></p> <p><i>Before the revolution, Tunisians were listening to Al Jazeera because of the lack of freedom, a severe media decline despite the presence of independent journalists, the censorship of the local media was severe, so Tunisians went to channels that broadcast their news and give the voice to the oppositions. Almost the opposition involved were some Islamists. Al-Jazeera was not the only forum, but it was the most potent platform considering Al-Jazeera's ability and daring to attract the</i></p>	<p>-Before the revolution.</p> <p>- Media decline.</p> <p>- Lack of freedom.</p> <p>- Local media.</p> <p>- Opposition.</p> <p>-Islamists.</p> <p>- The most influential pulpit.</p> <p>- Audacity in polarization.</p> <p>- Bold themes.</p> <p>- Simple Videos.</p> <p>-Facebook.</p> <p>- Social conditions.</p> <p>- Economic conditions.</p> <p>-freedom of expression.</p>	<p>- Media framing.</p> <p>- confrontation stage of conflict.</p> <p>-Media standards.</p> <p>- Media framing.</p> <p>-Agenda-setting.</p>

	<p><i>Tunisian opposition. Moreover, it was putting up bold topics. Al Jazeera kept up with the revolution through simple videos circulated by young Tunisians on Facebook pages.</i></p> <p><i>It carried it boldly, while Tunisia's means were not publishing. It refrained from all matters of political power, namely Ben Ali and his family, but there was little margin of freedom to express socio-economic conditions. Unfortunately, it changed completely after the revolution Al Jazeera no longer exist, It was not until the second week of the revolutionary movement that Nessma channel held a dialogue that seemed to have taken a green light from the authorities.</i></p>	<p>-after the Revolution.</p> <p>- No longer exist.</p> <p>- The second week of mobility.</p> <p>- Nessma TV Channel.</p>	
Moez Zyoud	<p><i>Q3How can you measure the impact of the discourse among the Tunisian public?</i></p> <p><i>It was impressive because the videos and dialogues were transmitted to Tunisians not only through the air of Al Jazeera, but via Facebook. As Facebook the only outlet for Tunisian youth After the early days of demonstrations and video circulation was seen, so filming of events became a goal in itself which helped I do not say is the main reason, in the transition of events from one city to another until almost reached most cities in Tunisia. Al Jazeera did not directly announce the date of the demonstration but the professionalism</i></p>	<p>-Facebook.</p> <p>-Al Jazeera programs.</p> <p>- Events photography.</p> <p>- Transmission of events.</p> <p>- Al Jazeera proficiency.</p> <p>- Al Jazeera effect.</p> <p>- Al Jazeera Professionalism.</p>	<p>-Media standards.</p> <p>-Media monitoring.</p>



	<p><i>of Al Jazeera gave it other options such as the presentation of reportages composite from here. In addition, to indicate that events touched this city or that state etc. I mean they were keeping up with daily and maybe live events in different cities and regions.</i></p>		
Moez Zyoud	<p><i>Q 4 Does the speech of Al Jazeera has impact on the attitudes of the masses and forces towards the revolution? The Tunisian revolution did not have political, intellectual, or cultural leadership. The revolution started from the youth, and the political parties, even the opposition, did not have the slightest powers to move the masses in Tunisia. Those who say that Al Jazeera did not have a role to play are lying. They played an important role, but it is not as important as some are promoting, and this is normal that people are expressing themselves.</i></p>	<p>-Tunisian Revolution. - Opposition. -Youth. -political parties. -important role.</p>	<p>- The impact of the media on politics.</p>
Moez Zyoud	<p><i>Q 5 Are there changes in the structure of the speech and tools of Al Jazeera after the revolution? The impact of Al Jazeera's speech never lasted, as soon as the revolution took place, there was another face for Tunisia. Following Al-Jazeera TV after the revolution did not diminish but completely collapsed, after the revolution, there was political and media freedom, and there were dialogues in every Tunisian television channel in all platforms. Al-Jazeera</i></p>	<p>- The speech of Al Jazeera. - Watching Al Jazeera. - Collapse of viewership. - Media freedom. -the other opinion.</p>	<p>-Media monitoring. -Media standards.</p>

	<i>fell to less than 1%, and this is not a decline or deterioration, but a complete collapse in the viewing rates and this is normal that it was a space to listen to the other opinion, which has become routine in Tunisia.</i>		
Moez Zyoud	<p><i>Q 6 How do you assess the level of awareness of the elites of the impact of Al Jazeera's speech among them?</i></p> <p><i>The current problems in Tunisia were political and ideological polarization during the previous period (during the presidency of Marzouki and the Troika government led by Ennahdha.)</i></p> <p><i>Qatar has emerged and became a political factor in the country in the sense that there was abroad public opposed to Al Jazeera because they were against Qatar. There was an audience of Troika supporters of the Spanish Renaissance movement and supporters of Marzouki defending the policy of Qatar and Al-Jazeera. Qatar is seen as an intervention in Tunisian affairs by the anti-Islamic Renaissance movement, but of course, it is different for the Islamists. Al-Jazeera, of course, has tendencies with the Islamist movement Ennahda and even the head of Al-Jazeera's Tunis office is close to the Islamists.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Political polarization.</li> <li>- ideological polarization.</li> <li>- Troika Government.</li> <li>- Moncef Marzouki</li> <li>- Al Jazeera boycotting.</li> <li>- Qatar.</li> <li>- The Tunisian affair.</li> <li>Renaissance Movement.</li> <li>- Muslim Brotherhood.</li> <li>Islamists.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Professional standards.</li> <li>-Political factors.</li> </ul>
Fouad ghorbali	<p><i>Q 1 What are the real reasons for the jasmine revolution in Tunisia in 2011?</i></p> <p><i>Internal conditions: There was inequality, there are deprived of</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-injustice.</li> <li>- Development.</li> <li>- Growth.</li> <li>- Corruption.</li> <li>- Liberal.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Psychological factors.</li> <li>-Political factors.</li> <li>- International</li> </ul>

	<p><i>development because the development model has not changed, In the early 1980s, there was a structural adjustment in Tunisia that entered the market economy and the social state began to retreat from its role and subjected to liberal choices. In contrast, liberalization in Tunisia is a companion to corruption. That created a high growth rate but no development. In addition the regime was buying the middle classes through loans, and in the events of the mining basin, the growth model was incorrect and showed that Tunisia is the good pupil of the World Bank and was the first indicator of the crisis of the regime. Besides, there were elites protesting against the regime and demanding more reforms and openness, but the regime rejects this openness because the regime was ruling to close the public sphere. Also, the regime decorate it with figures and framing society through the mechanisms of the ruling party, and began to elite the middle class to fidget economically, where they want more integration into the society of consumption and economic crisis has become more serious.</i></p> <p><i>Then the reasons were related to individual freedoms, economic reasons, and unemployment.</i></p> <p><i>External data, there was a regional context and also regional variables, I</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Market economy.</li> <li>- Loans.</li> <li>- The mining basin.</li> <li>-The World Bank.</li> <li>- Against the regime.</li> <li>-Freedom.</li> <li>- Close the public domain.</li> <li>-Community framing.</li> <li>-Middle class.</li> <li>-Consumption.</li> <li>- Unemployment.</li> <li>- External data.</li> <li>- Regional variables.</li> <li>- International boot.</li> <li>- Wikileaks.</li> <li>-Ben Ali.</li> <li>-The American Administration.</li> <li>- Indirect conflict.</li> <li>-Conspiracy theory.</li> </ul>	<p>factors.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- confrontation stage of conflict.</li> <li>- Ideal ethical factors.</li> </ul>
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	<p><i>do not adopt conspiracy theory, but there were foreign interventions. As the Americans said that the Tunisians have the right to freedom, and do not forget that there was an international prelude to toppling the regime. In late 2007/2008, the news that the regime and the Tripoli family of WikiLeaks were deliberate meant the Americans had a psychological and strategic capability to bring about change in the region. Ben Ali was involved in some in direct conflict with the US administration. There were requests that the regime did not implement.</i></p>		
Fouad ghorbali	<p><i>Q2 To what extent is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse spread among the Tunisian public and what are the most important tools of that speech?</i></p> <p>Al-Jazeera is a channel that played a role in the Arab region before the revolutions, regardless of our ideological and political stance on Al-Jazeera, but it is a media phenomenon, embarrassed the Arab dictatorships, and globalization. Al-Jazeera created investment in the media and Qatar walked in this pre-revolutionary trend. It raised issues that they could not talk about and allowed Tunisian dissidents to express their opinion. This does not prevent it has given excess space to political Islam. On the one hand, it promoted against dictatorships, and on the other. It promoted Islamists as a</p>	<p>-Media phenomenon.</p> <p>- Dictatorship.</p> <p>- Created.</p> <p>-Qatar.</p> <p>-Watch.</p> <p>-Political Islam.</p> <p>- Agendas flags.</p> <p>- Dictatorship</p> <p>-Islamists.</p>	<p>- The impact of the media on politics.</p> <p>- Media framing.</p> <p>-Agenda-setting.</p> <p>- Psychological factors.</p> <p>-Media standards.</p> <p>- confrontation stage of conflict.</p> <p>- crisis phase of conflict.</p> <p>- Pre-conflict.</p> <p>Media Inflation.</p> <p>-Political factors.</p>

	political team.		
Fouad ghorbali	<p><i>Q3 How can you measure the impact of the discourse among the Tunisian public?</i></p> <p><i>During the period of the revolution, it played a sizeable tactical role, to the point that the regime closed its offices and severed relations with Qatar. Al Jazeera was very troublesome to the regime. Before the revolution, Al Jazeera was an excellent outlet for the Tunisian citizen regardless of its agenda; it had a high impact. When it was broadcasting a program of opinion and other opinion, people were whispering about it and played a decisive role by creating a space for expressing an opinion and breaking the kind of siege that exists.</i></p>	<p>- A tactical role.</p> <p>Breaking the relationship with Qatar.</p> <p>-the system.</p> <p>-Space for expression.</p> <p>- Siege.</p>	<p>- The impact of the media on politics.</p>
Fouad ghorbali	<p><i>Q 4 Does the speech of Al Jazeera has impact on the attitudes of the masses and forces towards the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>Before the revolution, it was influencing. After the revolution, no, the issue has changed completely. It played a role in media preparation and support to the Islamists. With Advance support, it smartly played this, played the role To pave the way for the rule of the Islamists.</i></p>	<p>-Before the revolution.</p> <p>-after the Revolution.</p> <p>- Media support for the rule of Islamists.</p> <p>Islamists rule.</p>	<p>- The impact of the media on politics.</p>
Fouad ghorbali	<p><i>Q 5 Are there changes in the structure of the speech and tools of Al Jazeera after the revolution?</i></p> <p><i>It did not change much. On the contrary, it has a clear Islamic political orientation. Al Jazeera was</i></p>	<p>Political Islam.</p> <p>Islamists.</p> <p>-Vocational.</p> <p>- Objective.</p> <p>- Biased.</p> <p>- Public space.</p>	<p>- Professional standards.</p> <p>- Media framing.</p> <p>-Agenda-setting.</p> <p>- Media monitoring.</p>

	<p><i>summoning the Islamists to speak, but the real voices of the country were not heard by it. It was not a 100% professional and objective channel and it was on the side of the Islamists. The role of Al-Jazeera declined after the revolution because the public space opened up and the local channels became taking a role and discussion at the local level, but Al Jazeera during the Troika period stood firmly with the Islamists especially as the battle intensified and became an ideological battle. Al Jazeera transmitted the protests of the Islamists directly in Bardo and not the protests of other opponents. The Troika period is the crucial determinant of understanding the position of Al Jazeera.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Troika period.</li> <li>Ideological battle.</li> <li>- Opponents.</li> <li>- Protests / sit-in / Bardo.</li> </ul>	
Fouad ghorbali	<p><i>Q 6 How do you assess the level of awareness of the elites of the impact of Al Jazeera speech among them?</i></p> <p><i>The elites are not homogeneous, diverse, their interests, and expectations are different. The Islamists have elites as well as leftists. The elites of political Islam have their readings and have a minimum of knowledge and thinking. They have degrees, political experiences. The Tunisian Islamic Movement has its audience.</i></p> <p><i>I was with Al Jazeera discretely, and there was criticism of Al Jazeera before the revolution. In the</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Criticism.</li> <li>-Before the revolution.</li> <li>-after the Revolution.</li> <li>-media.</li> <li>-Reality.</li> <li>- Give space.</li> <li>- Freedom of expression.</li> <li>-Al Jazeera.</li> <li>- Varied elites.</li> <li>-Political Islam.</li> <li>-Interests.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Professional standards.</li> <li>- Political factors.</li> </ul>

	<i>revolution spaces of thinking and taking distance was difficult, I was with Al Jazeera in giving space to people who could not speak and express their opinion. It is not true that, had it not been for Al-Jazeera, the revolution in Tunisia would have delayed. The relationship between media and reality is a dialectical one, not a one-way relationship.</i>		
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## 2.2 Results discussion:

After reviewing the encodings and topics of the interviews, the results of the interviews presented and discussed. The topics derived form the basis of presentation and discussion and based on the logical sequence of interview questions.

### 2.2.1 First Question: what are the real causes of jasmine revolution in Tunisia 2011?

Issues that have emerged in topics of the first question are psychological and political factors and confrontation stage in the conflict in all interviewees answer. While two of the interviewees distinguished by adding issues of moral idealism for the first interviewee, the impact of the media on politics for the second, and one respondent in international factors.

Based on the researcher opinion, to understand the real causes of revolution, researcher should explained reasons or factors present that creates conflict, how economic and political choices shaped and the impact of the World Bank's liberal model.

Psychological factors were a great motivation in the revolution for the people's hope of escaping from cruel and unsatisfactory conditions. "The revolution was the result of many accumulations, the failure of development models at that time, a political failure, a state of tyranny that created an opposition situation,"<sup>57</sup> Naji Bghouri said. Since the receipt of Zine

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<sup>57</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

El Abidine, Tunisia's development model has not changed. Tunisia entered a market economy, and the social state began to decline and underwent liberal choices. Liberal stride was coupled with high corruption, creating a high growth rate without development. This corruption was aware of the Tunisian people because of Zain Al-Abidin wealth rising and his brother-in-law briefly. According to Dr. Fouad, "The growth in Tunisia has been quantitative walking for groups close to the regime while other groups deprived on real."<sup>58</sup>

According to Naji, "On the social level, there was a real failure, where social problems began to appear, such as high prices, declining employment opportunities, etc."<sup>59</sup> Social problems such as unemployment, high prices, and poverty usually accompanied by the corruption of the ruler or the government. Tunisia's revolution was "a revolution of socio-economic considerations,"<sup>60</sup> Said Moez Zyoud.

The unemployment in Tunisia is enormous. "The young people have an awareness and are well-known, they have higher degrees, but they couldn't get a job"<sup>61</sup>. 80 thousand graduates from Tunisian universities are without work and they have the values of the middle classes and want to integrate into the consumer market, such as the class close to the governor. On the other hand, inequality in development projects in the regions, where the southern regions did not have a share in development like other regions, says Moez Zyoud that "throughout the history of Tunisia after independence, all investments have been focused on the coasts from which Bourguiba descended, there was marginalization of development in the interior regions of Tunisia".

All interviewees agreed that marginalization of interior regions was one of the revolution reasons. This is why tensions have increased, and inland areas have felt the need to act on the ground and resorting to direct violence through demonstrations in the mining basin

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<sup>58</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019

<sup>59</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>60</sup> Zyoud, Moez. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>61</sup> El Bour, Hamida. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019.



events. "In 2008, it became a major uprising that began in January and ended in July, besieged, beaten and tortured demonstrators and even army intervened"<sup>62</sup>. Sociologist Fouad Ghorbali was of the opinion that "the events of mining basin showed the incorrect growth model, and Tunisia is the pupil of the World Bank, and the uprising of the mining basin was the first indicator of the beginning of the regime crisis. In fact there were many crises that showed the lie of growth." Director of the institute of media Hamida El-Bor supported him that the events of the mining basin indicated the extent of people's protest. Naji Bghouri said, the events were a movement for workers to demand better social status. In conflict science, there are situations where violence was a necessary tool to preserve and increase government influence. These factors intersect with political factors that explain conflict behavior.

Ben Ali, in his reign, followed the policy of muzzling and oppression. There was no breathing space to express opinions freely, and to suppress political freedoms and freedom of association. "Tunisia was living in total decline in public freedoms and individual freedoms, and there was no free press and no freedom of organization," said Moez Zyoud. "It was a black period of repression, gagging, confiscation of freedom of opinion and expression and violations of freedom of expression, all documented by international organizations," said Lotfi Hajji. In addition, Tunisia has a modernization experience, as the first President Habib Bourguiba came out Tunisians from the logic of the community to the logic of society as dr. Fouad mentioned. Bourguiba enacted laws changed the form of the group such as the prohibition of polygamy, creation of a personal status file and neutralization of the religious establishment to which the aristocracy of Tunisia belonged, This is through education in schools.

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<sup>62</sup> Previous source, moez zyoud.

Which created a kind of social solidarity and created social classes, including the middle class that formed elites who played a significant role in the revolution. Dr. Fouad said "it sees itself in a contradiction between a system in which they governed in a way that violates their freedoms"<sup>63</sup>

Dr. Ghorbali talked in his interview about the international factors "there are also external data, a regional context and regional variables as well. I do not adopt the conspiracy theory but there are external interventions, for example the Americans were willing to change in the region but were looking for a certain formula of the change. He also said that the Tunisians have the right to be free and there is an international will to destroy the system. He added that In late 2007/2008/2009, the news that came out of the regime and the Tripoli family from Wikileaks was deliberate, meaning that the Americans had a psychological and strategic ability to bring and create a change in the region. And Ben Ali got into a conflict with the US administration, sort of an indirect conflict, so there were requests have not been carried out by the regime."

That falls into conflict political factors: In addition to what we have previously talked about violence as a necessary tool in some instances to maintain or increase the influence of the government, it is also a necessary tool for the implementation of foreign policy. Dr. Ghourbali mentioned this because he is a sociologist who delves in-depth sociological details.

### **2.2.2 Second question: How widespread is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse among the Tunisian public and its tools?**

Issues that have emerged in topics of the second question are frame analysis, agenda-setting, confrontation, crisis, and post-conflict stages in all interviewees answers. While three

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<sup>63</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019

interviewees were distinguished by adding the influence of media on politics and political factors, and another by adding pre-conflict and media inflation.

The researcher divided all interviewees regarding the effect of al Jazeera into two phases:

- The phase of confrontation or escalation in which the dispute became more pronounced as tensions increased and resorted to some form of hostile behavior, demonstrations, riots and blocs; and
- The crisis phase in which was the height of the conflict.

All the interviewees have consensus about AL- Jazeera framing analysis practice in the sense of media influence on opinions and trends. The frame organizes the words, texts, and meanings and uses the experiences to focus on a particular element so that it became essential in the social frame, like the Bouazizi incident that Al Jazeera focused on and inflated the event with misinformation such as Bouazizi's real name and the reason behind the policewoman beating him. In addition, the right timing as a standard, the Bouazizi incident was not the first of its kind, but the ground was fertile for the conflict at that time.

The interviewees were unanimous in agenda-setting of Al-Jazeera, the more prominent the news - in terms of frequency and size of coverage - the more valuable the news is to the public, so Al -Jazeera was following up on the Tunisian situation and periodically "we send news on a daily basis and contact guests" Lotfi Hajji, director of Al -Jazeera in Tunisia.

The theory of frame analysis in the media allows the measurement of the non-explicit content of the issues raised during a specific period. The framework is what makes the event its meaning. In addition, the determined subject of the dispute and the essence of the issue in pre-revolution, which was the stage of confrontation and escalation. Al-Jazeera was always on the side of the people to reach freedom "Al-Jazeera did not refuse during the revolution to pass any media content coming from certain sources such as the Journalists' Syndicate, for example, no matter how technically bad. In addition, it did not reject the data

provided on Tunisia in addition to the allocation of the Maghreb harvest to Tunisia and Tunisian opponents find it a real outlet for them more than other channels. It is probably the most channel that has provided space for them. "<sup>64</sup>

Al-Jazeera raised bold themes with a high freedom ceiling that was missing for the Tunisian people under dictatorial rule. Al-Jazeera used standards of clarity, reliability, and accuracy to some extent by hosting "Tunisian political actors who have a critical discourse and banned from appearing on the media."<sup>65</sup> "It was clear that Al-Jazeera at that time against the existing regime and those who were opposed to the existing regime, whether civil organizations or political parties, found Al-Jazeera a real opportunity and Al Jazeera had a real presence in Tunisia."<sup>66</sup> Al Jazeera used simple videos taken by Tunisian and transmitted them which increased the reliability of the viewer," AL Jazeera director says: "During the revolution, Al-Jazeera was the most-watched in all of Tunisia, and there were human rights, political and trade union figures racing to appear on Al-Jazeera to express their opinions to express even by telephone because we banned from work".

The Agenda setting of Al- Jazeera, all the interviewees agreed that it was unbalanced on its coverage except Al-Jazeera director. It sheds light on specific issues at the expense of other topics that may be more important and giving priority to Islamic opponents. "Al-Jazeera is media agendas with distinction. On the one hand, it promoted against dictatorships, and on the other hand, it promoted the Islamists as a political team."<sup>67</sup>

In the post-conflict (post-revolution) period, Al-Jazeera has almost changed its editorial line from opening a platform and opening a media space for the Tunisian opposition. And Al-Jazeera encouraged the Tunisian civil society against the Tunisian regime and a platform for freedom of expression for all Tunisians without exception to a transparent platform to serve

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<sup>64</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>65</sup> El Bour, Hamida. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019.

<sup>66</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>67</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019

a particular party, which is to serve political Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia and the Political Islam Project in Tunisia " <sup>68</sup>

Three interviewees agreed that Al-Jazeera has become apparent in its agendas aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood and Ennahda. Channels should be balanced on covering events, which means the information provided in the report should reflect the positive and negative aspects of the performance of the reporting organization to enable a reasonable assessment of overall performance. Unlike the other channels, Al-Jazeera was clearly biased to a particular party. "There were two sit-ins in that period, AL Departure sit-in including several of civil society institutions that demanded departure of the Muslim Brotherhood and political Islam, the other sit-in, Return, which supported the Islamist and Annahda and demanded the government to don't resign. Al-Jazeera was unbalanced not only by the size of the coverage, but also was looking for the negative aspects of the sit-in in return". <sup>69</sup>

"Al -Jazeera tried to be fairly objective but used influences to guide public opinion in Tunisia for a particular destination, but at the same time, there is overgrown objectivity to justify other agendas." <sup>70</sup> Al -Jazeera used terms that provoked a wave of anger, when ISIS forces from Libya attacked Ben Guerdane, it called them militants, and they called the army, citizens, security services and the Tunisian National Guard also militants, This sparked outrage in social media and the Tunisian media.

On the other hand, Lotfi Hajj and Hamida Bour talked about the decline of Al Jazeera's view and its impact, and that the reason is the openness of the media in Tunisia in the post-conflict phase. Al Jazeera was the only forum that previously managed to show bold topics and hosted opponents. However, after the revolution, there was an inflated volume of media freedom for the local Tunisian channels, which had an unlimited freedom ceiling.

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<sup>68</sup> Previous source, Naji, bghouri

<sup>69</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>70</sup> Zyoud, Moez. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

"The change towards Al-Jazeera appeared in the tenth month after the revolution for two reasons, due to a large number of local TVs and there was a huge leap on Social Media, where a large percentage of young people do not watch TV."<sup>71</sup>"The most significant gains of the revolution were freedom of expression and freedom in the media. Al-Jazeera's viewership has fallen because critical speech is now on Tunisian channels."

### **2.2.3 Third question: What is the impact of Al-Jazeera's media discourse on the attitudes of the masses and forces towards the revolution?**

Issues that have emerged in topics of the third question are agenda-setting, frame analysis, and media impact on policy of three of the interviewees, media standards and the crisis phase of two.

In the opinion of the researcher, the media does not create the revolution, but can affect it. Tunisia has already experienced two crises of conflict. The first events of mining basin in 2008, which was more bloody and influential, but the protests and demonstrations did not extend to other cities as the 2010 revolution case. This is because the events of the mining basin in which the labor force did not unite with the middle class, but were workers to improve living conditions on the one hand, and these events did not fall under the influence of the media on the other hand.

In the Bouazizi incident, social media was widespread among Tunisians, so it was easy to spread videos among the people. "It was impressive because the videos and dialogues were transmitted to Tunisians not only through the air of Al Jazeera, but via Facebook as the only outlet for Tunisian Youth After the early days of demonstrations and video circulation was seen, so filming of events became a goal in itself "Moez Zyoud.

The magnitude of the impact that Al Jazeera has given is different. In the confrontation and crisis phase of the conflict due to the lack of media openness, Al-Jazeera and France 24 had

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<sup>71</sup> Lutfi Hajji. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 26, 2019

a very high view rate, especially Al-Jazeera for the kind of discourse that Al Jazeera used before the revolution; it was the outlet for freedom of expression and opinion. The Tunisians were trading its news as an irrefutable fact. "Al Jazeera had an important role but not a key role"<sup>72</sup> so It is not correct to say without Al-Jazeera, revolution would not have occurred or would have delayed because it is a media vehicle whose mission is to convey the event and was expressing the stage in its perspective from a certain angle, starting with its editorial policy.

Hamida pointed out, "The outbreak of the Tunisian revolution did not come from Al-Jazeera, but there were raging situations exploded. The influence of Al-Jazeera as a framework to highlight the revolutionary voice that existed. We cannot carry the media of the leadership of the revolution. Al-Jazeera has not had a direct impact on the revolution. There was a framework for expressing this revolutionary movement according to a certain clear agenda. Moreover, if it were the engine, it would not have decreased."

The media can influence the revolution, but there must be fertile ground. The media is to express an act. Without the act, there would be no expression of it. "It may have helped and gave Tunisians a chance to speak and perhaps close some views of political parties, especially the pre-revolutionary period, which tried to create an alliance between the different political spectrums, but it did not turn the parallel."<sup>73</sup>

However, when Al-Jazeera commitment to media standards such as currency, balance, reliability, objectivity and choose the right time, it was influential. "It played a positive role by creating a space for expression and breaking the type of siege that exists."<sup>74</sup> However, the moment they started to lose standards, confidence dropped, so it lost its viewers and the

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<sup>72</sup> Zyoud, Moez. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>73</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>74</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019

impact. Al Jazeera was able to play a tactical role, and it was a real outlet for the Tunisian citizen.

#### **2.2.4 Fourth Question: Are there changes in the structure and tools of Al-Jazeera speech after the revolution?**

Issues that have emerged in topics of the fourth question are:

- Media standards (four interviewees)
- Framing analysis and agenda-setting (two responders) , and
- Media monitoring (three respondents)

In the opinion of the researcher, "there is no change in the sense of the discourse, but there is interaction with events after the revolution which changed attitudes and divided even Arab countries. I do not see that the mechanisms and the way of Al-Jazeera have changed, but political events pushed to focus on issues and give priority."<sup>75</sup> After the revolution, many Tunisians boycotted Al-Jazeera. The Troika period was the primary determinant of understanding Al-Jazeera's position, according to the respondents. Al Jazeera was apparent by its biased rhetoric to the Islamists." Especially since the battle intensified and became an ideological battle, Al Jazeera covered the protests of the Islamists directly in Bardo and not the other protests."

As we mentioned earlier, it was two sit-ins which changed Tunisian views of Al-Jazeera, and its agendas became known for the Muslim Brotherhood's bias. That is because Tunisians practiced media censorship in the sense of evaluation of the media especially that the openness of the media after the revolution reached the level of cohesion, and media evaluation is the setting of standards that determine the objectivity of the media institution.

The president of the Tunisian Journalists Association, Naji Bghouri, assessed Al-Jazeera after the revolution that "Al-Jazeera serves political Islam because its speech was

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<sup>75</sup> Lutfi Hajji. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 26, 2019



unbalanced."The view of the director of Al-Jazeera after the political changes that "for the journalists, the task has become even harder to formulate the news cautiously and objectively accuse you that you are with X against Z, if you reported the news understood that this is in the interest of the party Y. Which means, the profession of the journalist has become harder. Before there were only two parties with or against authority, but now the scene is a big mess."

In sum, Al Jazeera's speech disagreed with the perspective of Tunisians after and before the revolution. Before the revolution, its rhetoric was against dictatorship, and Al Jazeera was committed to media standards. However, after the revolution, it began to take sides with the rhetoric of Islamists and Ennahda, even with tools its guests have an Islamic background. "Al-Jazeera practiced a kind of dictatorship after the revolution and was not a professional channel"<sup>76</sup>, the relationship with Al- Jazeera reached a boycott and expelled its reporters from Tunisia. "It was clear that Al Jazeera served in its discourse political Islam because its discourse was unbalanced."<sup>77</sup>

### **2.2.5 Fifth question: How do you assess the level of awareness of the elites of the impact of Al-Jazeera discourse among them?**

Issues that have emerged in topics of the fifth question are professional criteria by three interviewees and political factors by two, while one interviewee distinguished by adding psychological factors.

In the opinion of the researcher, "the media is one of the tools but not the main determinant in the revolutions"<sup>78</sup>. In general, this is the level awareness of media discourse to the elite. However, the Tunisian elites are diverse, and their interests and expectations are different. The Islamists have elites as well as the leftists. Even the Tunisian elites, in general, had the

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<sup>76</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019

<sup>77</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>78</sup> Previous source, fouad ghorbali.

influence of Al-Jazeera on them as the impact of the public, and it had a position before the revolution.

The balance has changed after and became political and ideological polarization and Qatar emerged "Qatar has become a political factor in the country in the sense that there is a large public against Al-Jazeera because they are against Qatar".<sup>79</sup> "Tunisians are very aware of this discourse, and the evidence is that the Tunisians punished Al-Jazeera, with the decline in viewership. That means Tunisians boycotted Al Jazeera because Al Jazeera had unprofessional, biased content that was unfair and unbalanced."<sup>80</sup>

Before the revolution and during it, Tunisian elites found on Al-Jazeera an outlet when it followed media standards which effected on it. Moreover, it is a pure news channel. It had a role in the absence of freedom and represented the speech of the other, but it is "an external tool in some way. Al-Jazeera does not talk about Qatar; for instance, every media has frame analysis and agenda-setting, financier, and goals. This agenda passes, when it is the only one to speak, but at the moment that other voices appear flows will appear."<sup>81</sup>

Every media institution has an agenda, but media differs on its credibility. "Al-Jazeera's assessment differed among Tunisians, but the objective ones praise Al-Jazeera's professionalism, which made Al-Jazeera at this level. It is free to focus on more programs, but it does not fake the news."<sup>82</sup> "Al Jazeera tried to be fairly objective but used influences to guide public opinion in Tunisia for a particular destination."<sup>83</sup>

One of the criteria a media institution must adhere to is the balance. In other words, the information presented in the media should reflect the negative and positive aspects because the media is directed to the public and has the right to know the information within the

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<sup>79</sup> Zyoud, Moez. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>80</sup> Previous source, naji bghouri.

<sup>81</sup> El Bour, Hamida. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019.

<sup>82</sup> Lutfi Hajji. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 26, 2019

<sup>83</sup> Zyoud, Moez. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

criteria of accuracy, balance, objectivity, timeliness, and clarity, but Al-Jazeera lost its balance after the revolution in news coverage.

## **2.6 The media discourse content of Al-Jazeera analysis**

This part of the research deals with what broadcast on Al-Jazeera regarding the interactions of the popular movement in Tunisia, called the Jasmine Revolution, by relying on the Maghreb harvest bulletin that was broadcast on the channel during the evening period, at a time that is most important for the Maghreb countries. This bulletin was only for broadcasting news and reports on events and developments in the Maghreb countries.

According to our knowledge and during the interviews, Maghreb harvest bulletin had viewers more than Harvest of Today bullist, in Maghreb countries because it broadcasted at 8 pm according to Arab Mashreq countries where time in the Maghreb at six or seven pm depending on the country itself.

Since the work system in Tunisia adopts the “morning and evening rations” system, this means that most employees and citizens have not arrived at their homes during the harvest period today, which made Al Jazeera allocate a special bulletin for the Maghreb countries commensurate with the local time of them.

This bullist began in the name of Al-Jazeera Magharebia. Its first broadcast in Rabat at 10:00 GMT on November 8, 2006, making it the first Arabic channel that publish a special bulletin on Maghreb affairs.

Through the above, we relied on analysis of the content of Tunisian news in Al-Jazeera Bulletin (Maghreb Harvest). This chapter will discussed the general results of the analytical study of the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin in Al-Jazeera during the Tunis revolution. In details, Al-Jazeera adopted this for the quality of the news confiscation of the channel in terms of Balance, diversity, and neutrality by presenting different points of view, the direction of

news coverage towards the ruling political system, and where the guests who hosted belong to and the time allocated to them.

## **2.7 Main Analysis Unit**

The main unit of analysis on the study based on news that focused on Tunisian affairs. Which means content analysis study included all issues related to the revolution, whether these issues appeared in the news of bulletin or by a reporter, or in the photo reports, or other news patterns.

## **2.8 Major Analysis Categories.**

- Duration of hosting by affiliation.
- The direction of news coverage towards the ruling political system, which included:
  1. Supportive / Positive
  2. Opposed/Negative
  3. Neutral/balanced
  4. Unclear or indeterminate
- **Entity if the guests:**
  1. Official entity
  2. Members of the House of Representatives
  3. Party figures
  4. Unclear orientation
  5. International figures
  6. NGOs
  7. Political activist
  8. Reporters/Media people

9. Artist
10. Citizens
11. University professors
12. Jurists
13. Doctors
14. Soldiers

**News sources:**

1. Government
2. opposition
3. expert
4. Channel Reporter or editor
5. News agency
6. Eyewitness

## **2.9 Procedural definitions**

Time-space category: Time is measured in minutes and seconds and includes the duration of interviews for guests during the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin.

Subject category:

Security: Includes news about security events and various military operations of the armed forces.

Political: Includes the category of news of the political and diplomatic dimension, such as negotiations, political meetings, parliamentary sessions, etc.

Social and humanitarian: It includes news related to human life in general, the movement of society and human rights organizations, issues of children and women, education, poverty, and humanitarian issues.

Economic: Includes news related to economic activities and related decisions.

Gusted figures category: who hosted on news bulletins to clarify information or to express an opinion or comment. They divided for analysis purposes:

Government figures: it defined by bulletin as part of the government or parties involved in the political process.

Opposition figures: who presented as part of an organization, party, or political forces that are openly opposed to the government or the political process.

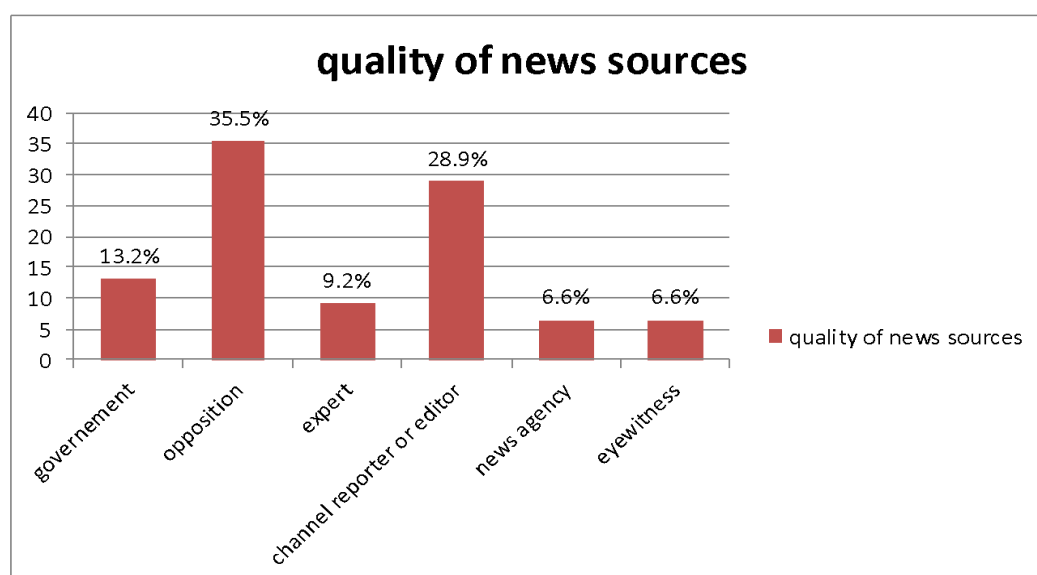
Neutral figures: who presented as independent or as part of an independent entity.

**Table 2.2. Relationship between the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin and the Quality of News**

Sources - Table 1<sup>84</sup>

News sources	Frequency	Ratio
Government	10	13.2%
Opposition	27	35.5%
Expert	7	9.2%
Channel Reporter or editor	22	28.9%
News agency	5	6.6%
Eyewitness	5	6.6%

**Figure 2.1: Relationship between the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin and the Quality of News Sources**



<sup>84</sup> البافعي، رشيد (2015)، "قطر وقناة الجزيرة": القيم والمرجعيات، دراسة تحليلية لتغطية "الجزيرة" لثوري تونس ومصر ( أطروحة دكتوراه غير منشورة)، معهد الصحافة وعلوم الاخبار، جامعة منوبة، تونس. وتم التعديل في الاقتباس

The table and chart shows that the frequency of the issues related to the revolution in Tunisia, which relied on its analysis on government sources is 10 cases by 13.2%, while those relying on opposition sources are 27 cases by 35.5%, which relied on expert as a source amounted to 7 cases by 9.2%. Which relied on a reporter or channel editor, the frequency of cases was 22, 28.9%,

The frequency of cases from the news agency and eyewitness 5 was equal by 6.6%.

The statistical analysis shows Al-Jazeera tendencies towards the opposition. Its dependence on opposition sources is three times that of government sources, and therefore, there is an imbalance in the presentation of the news. So, Overall performance was unable to make a logical assessment. Moreover, the dependence of Al-Jazeera on the sources of its reporter twice the dependence on government sources in the processing of news related to the revolution, and its dependence on eyewitnesses is few.

Al Jazeera's diverse sources of disturbing news make it somewhat objective. However, the inequality of information from specific sources makes it biased to a particular vision that Al-Jazeera wants the public to see to serve specific agendas and editorial policies. That is why it offered only 13.2% of the other part of conflict (the regime).

In view of the opposition and reporters, we found that the context of the guests relied more than half 50% on messages that are in line with the editorial policy of the channel. As it sought to play an active role in the mass movement that began in Tunisia "Al - Jazeera did not refuse during the revolution to pass any media content comes from certain sources, we, as the Journalists Syndicate as an example"<sup>85</sup>

Thus, despite the fair and objective distribution of the channel choice of news sources, but it was not in the context of neutrality or professionalism, which assumed that there is

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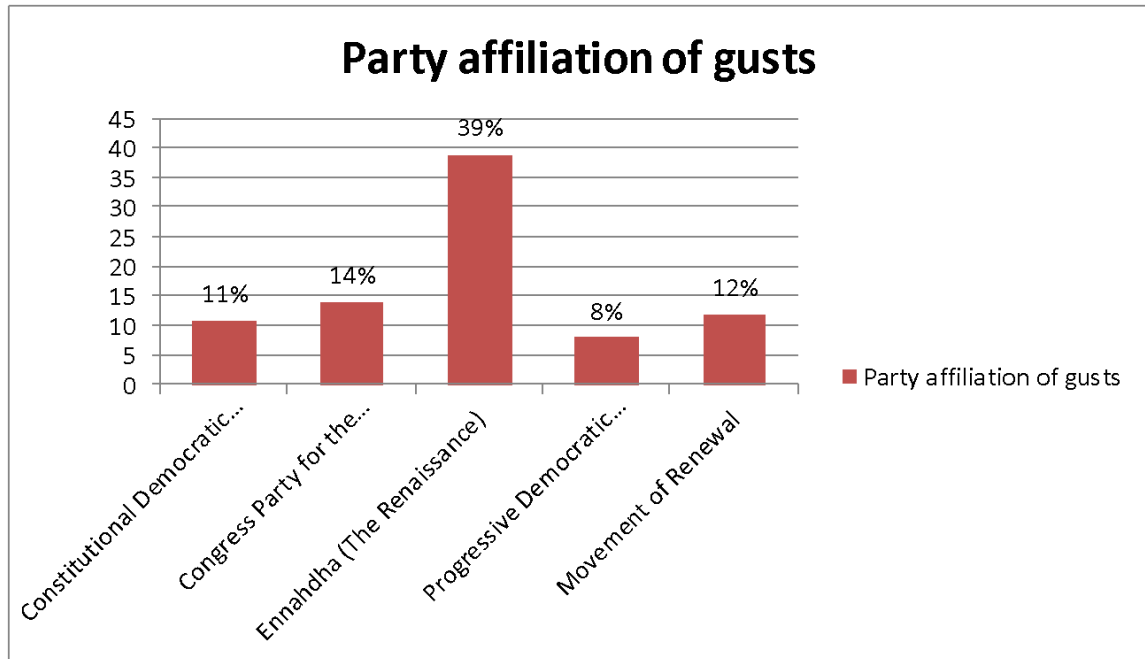
<sup>85</sup> Previous source, Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

convergence in the proportions of news sources, especially, since its main slogan is "opinion and the other opinion."

**Table 2.3: The Relationship of the Tunisian Revolution with the Party Affiliation and the Time of Hosting - Table (2)<sup>86</sup>**

Party affiliation of gust	Frequency	Time of hosting in minutes
Constitutional Democratic Rally	2	11
Congress Party for the Republic (CPR)	3	14
Ennahdha (The Renaissance)	9	39
Progressive Democratic Party (PDP)	3	8
Movement of Renewal	3	12

**Figure 2.2: The Relationship of the Tunisian Revolution with the Party Affiliation and the Time of Hosting**



The table and chart show that the frequency of issues for Ennahdha 9 is 39%, while the frequency of issues 9 is 39% for the Congress Party (CPR), Progressive Democratic Party and the Renewal Movement combined. As for the frequency of cases of the ruling party (Constitutional Democratic Rally) amounted to 2 by 11%.

<sup>86</sup> 82 مصدر سابق. رقم



The percentages indicate that Al-Jazeera gave a large time to Annahda party affiliated to the Muslim Brotherhood by 39%, which confirms that Al-Jazeera sided and supported in the media coverage of the views of political Islam movements, and fail again by the criterion of balance.

Al Jazeera was clear with its priorities, and shed light on political Islam at the expense of other currents and other topics, which confirms what interviewees spoke of the bias of Al-Jazeera to host guests with an Islamic background," al Jazeera hosted guests with an Islamic background before and after the revolution. Al-Jazeera is a trumped and spokesperson for the Islamists in an intelligent way; Al Jazeera gave the word to Islamist opponents and their allies against the regime. We have not heard of democratic women; for instance, we have only heard of Islamic opponents."<sup>87</sup> Which confuses people by giving the Islamists a large size, and this is because of the high concentration of the channel on this type of guests, and use its influence to pass the policy they want in the region.

By combining Al-Jazeera news sources with the party affiliation of guests, it is clear that Al-Jazeera has taken a political position and made itself a key player in the conflict that began in Tunisia. It also shed light on one message and not the other messages that exist in the Tunisian parties, namely the message of the movements of political Islam, mainly that the choice of Al-Jazeera for its reporters depends mainly on their intellectual, partisan and ideological references. "Most of the broadcasters of Al Jazeera come from an Islamic political background."<sup>88</sup>

It became clear that Al-Jazeera was not a news media and covered events, but sought to influence Tunisian public opinion directly in favor of one specific direction.

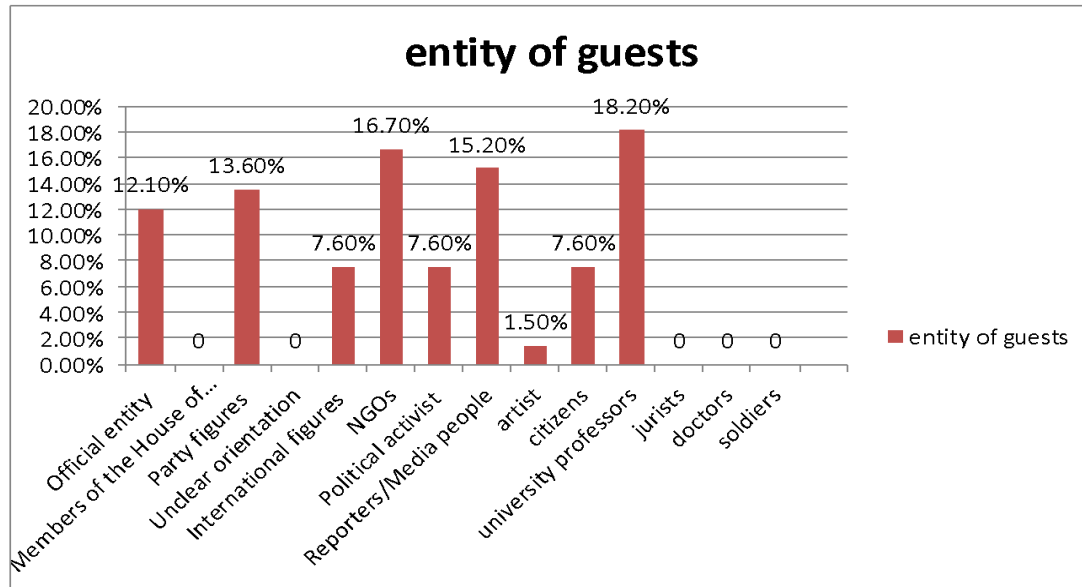
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<sup>87</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019

<sup>88</sup> Previous source, fouad ghorbali.

**Table 2.4 Relationship of the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin with the Entity of the Guests-****Table 3<sup>89</sup>**

Entity if the guests	frequency	Ratio
Official entity	8	12.1%
Members of the House of Representatives	0	0
Party figures	9	13.6%
Unclear orientation	0	0
International figures	5	7.6%
NGOs	11	16.7%
Political activist	5	7.6%
Reporters/Media people	10	15.2%
Artist	1	1.5%
Citizens	5	7.9%
University professors	12	18.2%
Jurists	0	0
Doctors	0	0
Soldiers	0	0
Total	66	100%

**Figure 2.3: Relationship of the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin with the Entity of the Guests**

<sup>89</sup> مصدر سابق رقم 82، مع تعديل

Table and chart show that frequency of cases handled by the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin during its hosting of guests belonging to the category of "government" was 8 cases, 12.1%. The most important was the frequency of cases during the hosting of guests belonging to the category of members of the House of Representatives was zero. The number of cases in the category of party figures 9 by 13.6%, and the frequency of cases in the category of unclear orientation was zero, while the frequency of cases in hosting guests belonging to the category of international figures amounted to 7.6%.

While the frequency of cases in hosting guests belonging to the category of civil society organizations amounted to 11 (16.7%), the frequency of cases in hosting political activists was 5 (7.6%). While the frequency of cases in hosting guests belonging to the category of artists was 1.5%. As for the category of citizens, the frequency of cases in hosting them as guests was 5 by 7.6%, while the frequency of cases when hosting university professors was 12 by 18.2%, while the frequency of cases in hosting guests belonging to the category of jurist, doctors or military was zero.

University professors were 18.2% for the frequency of cases, while the channel did not benefit from other categories. The channel did not provide an opportunity for representatives of the ruling regime to comment, so that the participation rate did not exceed 12.1% in return was the opportunity for groups with a viewpoint of opposition such as political activists, international figures and civil society organizations, Citizens and journalists 54%, more than half.

Al Jazeera tried to take into account the participation of different categories of guests to cover up the news related to the revolution, but the channel did not take into account the justice in the frequency and the participation of each category of analysis on various issues.

In the period of conflict or disputes, there were several items that media institutions that must have abided by to get out of the crisis and influence the public towards peace.

Including presentation of the causes and options for each conflict party, on another hand the adoption of realistic and transparent terms with the public, and raising the voice and view of the conflicting parties in a balanced and equal manner. However, Al-Jazeera was not balanced, and therefore, it had a supportive and destabilizing role.

This conclusion is apparent in the previous three tables that Al-Jazeera entered the conflict system as an actor not only in the interest of the opposition but also in the interest of one direction of the Tunisian opposition. That was confirmed by the interviewees who considered that Al Jazeera was a trumpet for the Islamic trend in Tunisia and thus no longer professional and neutral.

**Table 2.5: Relationship between the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin and the Tunisian Revolution in terms of the direction of news coverage - Table 4 <sup>90</sup>**

<b>Direction of news coverage</b>	<b>frequency</b>	<b>Ratio</b>
<b>Supportive / Positive</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4.9%</b>
<b>Opposed/Negative</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>70.6%</b>
<b>Neutral / balanced</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>22.1%</b>
<b>Unclear or indeterminate</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2.9%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100%</b>

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<sup>90</sup> مصدر رقم 82، مع تعديل

**Figure 2.4: Relationship between the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin and the Tunisian Revolution in terms of the direction of news coverage**

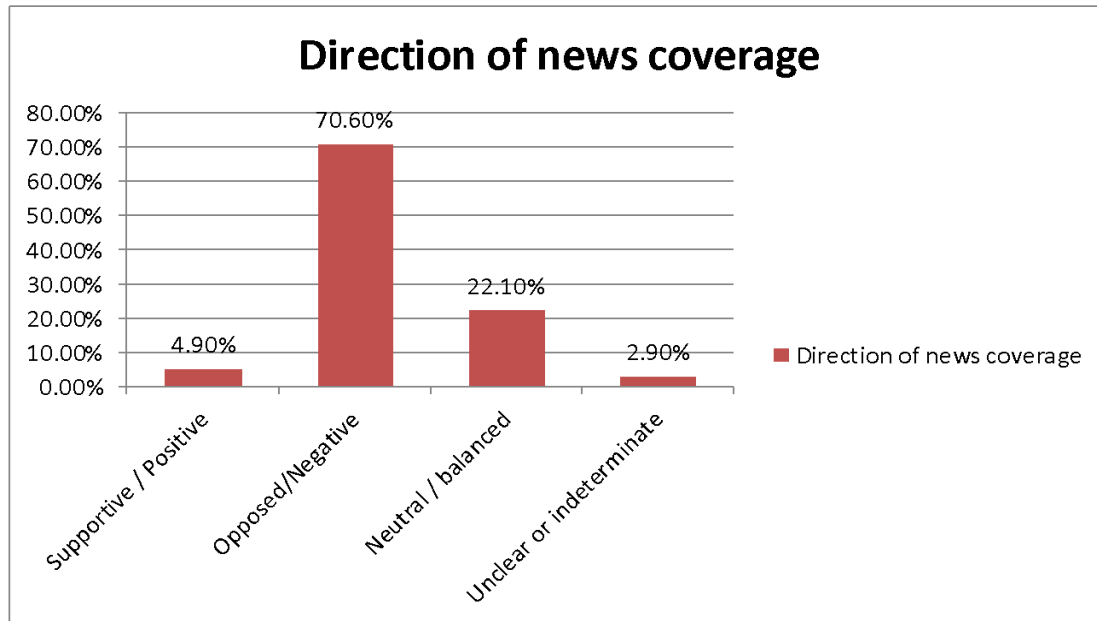


table and chart indicates opposed or negative direction of news coverage by the frequency of cases reached 48 by 70.6% more than two-thirds, while the frequency of cases of neutral direction of news coverage 15 by 22.1% and the frequency of supporting or positive issues in coverage 3 by 4.9%, and the frequency of Issues in unclear direction 2 by 2.9%.

Al-Jazeera evident a high focus on opposition issues, and raised the voice and views of opposition forces in an unbiased manner. "The more prominent the news - in terms of frequency and coverage - the more important it is to the public."<sup>91</sup>

Al Jazeera used the theory of dependence on the media, that is, dependency in the process of disseminating information. It is the theory that the public relies on the media to achieve their needs and get specific goals, and the critical point in this theory, which relied on Al Jazeera that "<sup>92</sup>media will affect people and public by focusing on the relationships between social systems and micro, large and medium information and the components of each."

<sup>91</sup> Lyengar; kinder 1987.p. 16

<sup>92</sup> عبد الرحمن ( عواطف)، قضايا التبعية الاعلامية والثقافية في العالم الثالث، سلسلة عالم المعرفة رقم 78، سلسلة كتب ثقافية شهرية يصدرها المجلس الوطني للثقافة والفنون والادب، الكويت، يونيو، 1984.

In the content of Al-Jazeera messages, guests, and references, relied on uses and saturation references because it used certain people and specific messages to satisfy the Tunisian street search for different news.

It is undeniable that Al-Jazeera since its inception has been providing different messages was silenced by the media while circulating whispered among the masses Al-Jazeera came to broadcast it, which made it the most followed news channel at the beginning of the popular movement in Tunisia against the regime of Ben Ali.

## General Results

The researcher reached some points after analyzing the content of Al-Jazeera's media discourse in the Maghreb Harvest Bulletin and analyzed the interviews conducted with some Tunisian media professionals and academics. They are:

- The crisis phase in the conflict in Tunisia "revolution" belongs to issues of psychological, political, and international factors. The revolution was result of many accumulations, the failure of the development model, the marginalization of the interior of the republic, high prices, declining employment opportunities, political failure, a state of tyranny that created a state of opposition, a contradiction between ambitions and the values of youth and the middle class, and between a system governed by it. In a way that infringes on freedoms, and a gap between the way people rule and their intellectual level.
- Al-Jazeera in the crisis and confrontation phase in the conflict had credibility and high impact on the public. Because of media space, absence in Tunisia at that time, and AL-Jazeera was realistic in its presentation of topics. In addition to the different discourse that present which saturated the viewer's desire for the ceiling of freedom. On the other hand, interviewees unanimously agreed on the freedom ceiling of-Jazeera and the space that gave it to the various Tunisian views to express their opinion and those who prohibited from appearing in the media.
- Al Jazeera provided 7.6% of media space to present international media views opposing the regime. It tries to send a message to protesters and demonstrators of international support. It also has prepared for an alliance between different political spectrums.
- From the interviewees' points of view, Al Jazeera changed its editorial line from all perspectives to one-sidedness. However, it tried to take into account the participation of different categories of guests to cover up the news related to the revolution, but the channel did not take into account the justice in the frequency and the participation of each

category of analysis on various issues, Therefore, Al-Jazeera entered into a system of conflict as an actor in favor of the Islamic opposition.

- Al-Jazeera did not adhere to the principle of impartiality, objectivity, and balance in dealing with issues and news related to the revolution. It raised the street by promoting ideas against the ruling authority that were accepted by the citizens, such as: "Change, democracy, revolution and justice, with the aim of controlling their ideas, attracting their trust, and using the media message to inflame their anger against the government, to achieve the political goals of regime change, So according to interviewees, AL-Jazeera had high views.

Its news was an "irrefutable fact"<sup>93</sup> that Al-Jazeera "promoted against dictatorial regimes and on the other hand promoted Islamists as a political team."<sup>94</sup> Therefore, Al-Jazeera visibility and credibility declined, transforming its rhetoric from change and democracy to Islamist rhetoric.

- Al Jazeera's view of the opinions of official figures was limited to 12.1% against the opportunity for groups with an opposing view. For example, political activists, international figures, civil society organizations, citizens and journalists by 54%, which confirms that the channel contributed directly to the formation of support and a particular political direction With the aim of changing the regime through the media crowd.
- Al Jazeera took 35.5% of the opposition in the news sources and gave 39% of its guests to the Ennahda party, which made it clear towards political Islam and made itself a key player in the conflict.
- Al-Jazeera tended in its coverage towards opposition by 48%, which is a clear indication of channel bias against the political system, and showed it as a negative system in dealing

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<sup>93</sup> Naji Bghouri. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 24, 2019

<sup>94</sup> Ghorbali, Fouad. "Tunis Revolution." Interview by author. June 22, 2019



with the requirements of the people, and stripped of objectivity and impartiality in the presentation of news in balance.

- Al-Jazeera contradicted professional standards when it overlooked the opportunity for members of parliament, juridical, doctors and military figures to present their views on issues, especially the category of jurists, to clarify the legal view of the issues raised because of their importance, as well as military.
- Al-Jazeera elaborated on breaks between bulletins sections to ignite the spark of angry audiences in the fields as well as viewers with some words and sentences and broadcast them constantly. (The people want to overthrow the regime) (Arhal) Which are magic words and the key to the enthusiasm of the demonstrators in Habib Bourguiba Street in central Tunisia, and the image of the old man who says, "we are old for this historic moment" in the channel promo.
- Al-Jazeera lost its balance in news coverage to be noticeable to the Tunisian street and elites after the revolution, which decreased views to 9%.
- Research indicators indicated that Al-Jazeera has adopted a policy of fanning. In addition, Al-Jazeera has been keen to provoke the angry feelings of the masses, and prompted citizens to participate in demonstrations and sit-ins against the political system and even support the demands to overthrow the entire political system, without presenting the negative repercussions on the various political, constitutional, social and security levels, due to their frequent transfer of the opposition viewpoint to the regime, they gave the other conflict party only 13.2%.

## **General conclusion**

Al Jazeera presented a new media model in the Arab region; it was a convincing alternative to the traditional media and the Western media because of its high professionalism, its presentation of the other dissenting opinion. In addition to raising the ceiling of freedoms, it seemed like a solo event since its inception, since the visual media was an official media with distinction at that time. It was the first in the Arab world and given a high level of credibility and reliability among the Arab public.

Recently, by the end of 2010, the Arab region witnessed the beginning of many revolutions, uprisings, and social movements. There were several factors explained conflicts (revolutions), such as psychological, international, and political factors that caused these conflicts.

Through this study, we wanted to look at the real causes of the Tunisian revolution from Tunisian media and academics point of view, and the extent of the role of visual media in influencing the conflict by fueling or deactivate it.

We started in this study from the problem statement: to what extent did Al-Jazeera's media discourse affect the Tunisian public on widespread protests in Tunisia during the so-called Jasmine Revolution against President Zine El Abidine's regime in 2011? In addition, three Sub-Questions: first, What is the reality and the nature of the visual media in the Arab case "Al-Jazeera model"?

Second, what are the backgrounds, nature and dimensions of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions in the studies of conflict and peace through analysis of the Tunisian model?

Third, what tools, media and technology did Al-Jazeera use to influence its followers and the role it played in the political conflict in the Tunisian case?

The study concluded that Al-Jazeera is framed and broadcasts the agendas of its financier. Also, adopted slogans of change, democracy, and human rights to attract public confidence

and fuel their feelings to achieve political goals. Moreover, the Tunisian revolution was the result of accumulations of political failure and failure of the development model. In addition, AL-Jazeera has had an impact on fueling the political situation in the region, and this has been confirmed by:

- Al-Jazeera did not meet the necessary media standards and did not perform its functions as a media institution in the conflict phase, through several examples:
  - Al-Jazeera's bias towards the opposition and giving the floor to them, which undermined the rule of media balance that achieves impartiality and objectivity.
  - Not exposed to official figures and decision-makers towards the crisis and ways to deal with it to contain its effects, and not to focus on a particular party to the conflict.
  - The presence of guests Al-Jazeera refuses to contact them out of disagreement with their views with the direction of the channel as the institution of democratic women, a well-known institution in Tunisia.
  - Its bias towards the Islamic trend by giving Annahda guests more duration.
- The study found the impact of psychological, political, and international factors on the existence of conflict:
  - Psychological factors were a great motivation for the revolution to the hope of the people to escape from the harsh and unsatisfactory conditions, such as high prices, unemployment, poverty, the high proportion of young people in Tunisia. Educated young people and graduated from universities and without work, they have the values of the middle classes and want to integrate into the consumer market, in addition, To marginalize the interior and focus the development on the coastal areas of the Republic.
  - Political factors: the policy of gagging and oppression followed by the former regime, there was no outlet for the expression of opinion and suppression of political freedoms and freedom of organization.

- International factors: There were environmental changes and external interventions such as support for the demonstrators and talk that Tunisians have the right to freedom, and the news of Wiki leaks published about Zine El Abidine before the revolution.

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## الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة الموسومة بـ " دور الاعلام المرئي في تأجيج الصراع السياسي " إلى دراسة دور الاعلام في تأجيج الصراع السياسي، الذي برزت فيه الاشكالية التي تتمحور في سؤال إلى أي مدى أثر الخطاب الاعلامي الموجه من قناة الجزيرة نحو الجمهور التونسي على الاحتجاجات الشعبية في تونس أثناء ما سمي بثورة الياسمين ضد نظام الرئيس زين العابدين بن علي في عام 2011؟، واستخدمت الباحثة للوصول إلى النتائج الأدوات البحثية التالية، منهجية تحليل المضمون الاعلامي بالاعتماد على نشرة الحصاد المغربي التي كانت تبث على قناة الجزيرة مساءً، بالإضافة إلى المنهجية الوصفية التحليلية المستندة إلى المقابلات التي أجرتها الباحثة مع اعلاميين واكاديميين تونسيين.

وقد جاءت الدراسة في مقدمة، وفصلين، تناولت في المقدمة أحداث الربيع العربي وعلاقته بعلم الصراع و دور الاعلام فيه، وفي الفصل الاول، تناول نظريات ودراسات سابقة حول الصراع والاعلام كعلمين منفردين، وجعلت الفصل الثاني للجانب التطبيقي والتي قسمته الباحثة إلى قسمين قسم للمقابلات التي أجرتها مع نخب من الاعلاميين التونسيين، لعرض وجهة نظر المختصين في مهنية الجزيرة بنقل الحدث ومدى تأثيرها على الشارع في فترة الثورة من خلال نظام الترميز.، وقسم تحليل المضمون الاعلامي من خلال نشرة الحصاد المغربي، حيث تناول البحث في هذا الفصل النتائج العامة للدراسة التحليلية الخاصة بنشرة الحصاد المغربي في قناة الجزيرة خلال ثورة تونس، بشكل تفصيلي لكل من نوعية مصادرة الخبر للقناة من حيث التوازن والتنوع ومدى الحياد بطرح وجهات نظر مختلفة، واتجاه التغطية الاخبارية نحو النظام السياسي الحاكم، والجهة التي ينتمي إليها الضيوف الذين تمت استضافتهم الحيز الزمني المخصص لها.

وتوصلت الدراسة إلى جملة من النتائج:-

ان قناة الجزيرة لم تتوفر فيها المعايير الاعلامية اللازمة ولم تقم بمهامها كمؤسسة اعلامية في مرحلة الصراع وهذا من خلال امثلة عديدة:

- انحياز الجزيرة نحو المعارضة واعطاء الكلمة لهم، ما ينسف قاعدة التوازن الاعلامي التي تحقق الحياد والموضوعية.
- لم تتعرض لموقف المسؤولين وصانعي القرار باتجاه الأزمة وسبل التعامل معها لاحتواء أثارها، و التركيز على طرف بعينه من أطراف الصراع.
- من المعايير الإعلامية وجود ضيوف ترفض الجزيرة الاتصال بهم من باب عدم اتفاق آرائهم مع اتجاه القناة كمؤسسة نساء ديمقراطيات وهي من المؤسسات المعروفة في تونس.
- انحيازها للتيار الاسلامي، بدليل المدة الزمنية الأكبر لاستضافة ضيوفها ذو الانتماء لحزب النهضة الاسلامي.
- توصلت الدراسة لتأثير العوامل النفسية والسياسية والدولية لوجود الصراع:
- العوامل النفسية كانت دافع كبير للثورة لأمل الشعب في الهروب من الظروف القاسية والغير مرضية، كغلاء الأسعار، البطالة، نسبة الفقر، نسبة الشباب العالية في تونس وهم شباب متعلم وتخرج من الجامعات وبدون عمل وهم لديهم قيم الطبقات الوسطى ويريدون الاندماج في سوق الاستهلاك، بالإضافة إلى تهيش المناطق الداخلية وتركيز التنمية على المناطق الساحلية في الجمهورية.
- عوامل سياسية: سياسة تكميم الافواه والقمع التي اتبعتها النظام السابق، فلم يكن هناك متنفس للتعبير عن الرأي و قمع للحريات السياسية وحرية التنظيم.
- عوامل دولية: كان هناك تغيرات اقليمية وتدخلات خارجية كالدعم المقدم للمتظاهرين والحديث بأن التونسيين لديهم الحق في الحرية بالإضافة إلى اخبار ويكلبس التي نشرت عن زين العابدين قبيل الثورة.