

**Translating and Representing Citizens' Quotations of the Syrian
Humanitarian Disaster in English-Language Newspapers: A Narrative Approach**

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Thesis submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a

doctoral degree in Translation Studies

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Abstract

In March 2011, following the self-immolation of a Syrian man named Hasan Ali Akleh, several demonstrations were staged across Syria, leading to the arrest of many Syrians in the town of Deraa. These demonstrations escalated into an ongoing conflict in most cities and towns, known as the “Syrian Conflict” (aka “Syrian Crisis,” “Syrian Civil War,” or “Syrian Uprising”). The conflict has resulted in the worst humanitarian disaster since World War II and the Rwandan genocide. According to recent published reports by many international organizations (e.g. United Nations, Amnesty International, Europa), 11.5% of Syria’s population has been killed or injured since the conflict erupted in March 2011, more than 500,000 people have died, over 5 million refugees have fled Syria since 2011, and there has been massive destruction in Syrian cities and towns.

This dissertation draws on narrative theory, narrative features, narrative framing, media responsibility, and the representation of the Other to provide a theoretical and conceptual foundation and fulfill the dissertation’s objectives. To do this, it has established a theoretical and conceptual model of analysis specific to the event in question to investigate how the quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens, delivered as texts presented in translation in English-language newspapers, narrate, frame, and represent the Syrian humanitarian disaster. This dissertation also scrutinizes media responsibility of the selected English-language newspapers as revealed in the selected and translated quotations and narratives. The dissertation methodologically utilizes a qualitative narrative analysis research design, and analyzes a purposive sample of translated quotations and narratives in 404 news texts from the online versions of the three

following English-language newspapers: the British *The Guardian*, the American *The New York Times*, and the Canadian *National Post*. The findings of this dissertation ultimately encourage a better understanding of the crucial role that translation plays in narrating, framing, and representing humanitarian disasters within global media outlets.

Keywords: English-language newspapers, Syrian citizens, media responsibility, narrative theory, narrative features, narrative framing, representation of the Other, Syrian humanitarian disaster, translated narratives, translated quotations

Résumé

En mars 2011, à la suite de l'auto-immolation du Syrien Hasan Ali Akleh, de nombreuses manifestations ont été organisées à travers la Syrie, entraînant l'arrestation de maints citoyens dans la ville de Deraa. Ces manifestations se sont amplifiées au point de donner naissance au conflit qui se poursuit encore aujourd'hui dans la plupart des villes syriennes et qu'on appelle le « conflit syrien » (aussi appelé la « crise en Syrie », la « guerre civile syrienne » ou, encore, la « révolution syrienne »). Ce conflit a provoqué la pire crise humanitaire depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale et le génocide du Rwanda. Selon les rapports récents de plusieurs organismes internationaux (par ex. l'Organisation des Nations Unies, Amnistie internationale, Europa), 11,5 % de la population syrienne a été tuée ou blessée depuis le début du conflit en mars 2011 (plus de 500 000 sont morts), le nombre de réfugiés qui ont quitté la Syrie excède les 5 millions, et les villes syriennes ont été en grande partie détruites. La présente thèse a recours à la narratologie, dont les notions de « traits narratifs » et de « contexte narratif », ainsi qu'à la notion de « représentation de l'Autre », afin d'établir les fondements conceptuels et théoriques permettant d'atteindre les objectifs visés. Elle propose également un mode d'analyse conceptuelle et théorique spécifique à l'évènement en question afin d'étudier comment les citations et les versions des faits narrés par les citoyens syriens dépeignent, contextualisent et représentent la crise humanitaire en Syrie dans les traductions qui en sont présentées dans les trois journaux anglophones ici à l'étude. La présente thèse se penche également sur la question de la responsabilité de ces mêmes quotidiens, telle que déployée par les citations et versions des faits narrés qui sont sélectionnées et traduites

dans les divers articles qui forment ici notre corpus. Quant à la méthodologie, la thèse suit un plan de recherche d'analyse narrative qualitative, en se concentrant sur un échantillon de citations et versions des faits narrés par les citoyens syriens ayant été spécifiquement tirées de 404 articles provenant de *The Guardian*, de *The New York Times* et du *National Post*. Plus globalement, les résultats de la présente thèse permettent de mieux comprendre le rôle crucial de la traduction, à laquelle on a inévitablement recours pour dépeindre, contextualiser et représenter les crises humanitaires aujourd'hui dans les médias du monde entier.

Mots-clés: presse imprimée anglophone, citoyens syriens, responsabilité des médias, narratologie, traits narratifs, contexte narratif, représentation de l'Autre, crise humanitaire en Syrie, versions des faits narrés traduites, citations traduites

“My Lord! Increase me in knowledge” (20: 114)

“ وَقُلْ رَبِّ زِدْنِي عِلْمًا ” (20: 114)

Dedicated to ...

My father and mother,

My beloved parents, thank you for your endless love, support, and sacrifice. You educated and enabled me to reach this level.

My wonderful wife,

None of my success would be possible without your continuous love and support. My white flower, *Fatema*, I love you from Ottawa to Beirut and back.

My daughters,

You are God’s gift to me and the fruits of our love. *Yasmeen*, your tenderness warms my heart. *Haneen*, your smile defines the meaning of life and tickles my soul. *Tasneem*, you are our family’s princess. My little girl, *Raseel*, God sent you as a special angel to shower us with joy and love. My lovely girls, you made me the happiest and successful father ever.

The memory of my professor, Dr. Mahmoud Eid,

I knew you as a friend, brother, and great teacher who taught me how to be a man of knowledge. Your scientific contributions and achievements will always inspire me and enlighten my academic journey.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Marc Charron for his supervision, insightful advice, support, and encouragement.

My appreciation to my examiners Dr. Chantal Gagnon, Dr. Benoit Léger, and Dr. Luise Von Flotow for their valuable comments, constructive criticisms, and suggestions.

A special thanks to my examiner Dr. Aliaa Dakroury.

Thanks to everyone who supported me to translate my childhood dream into reality!

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Preface

The self-immolation of street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia in December 2010 has resulted in a series of tumultuous events, protests, and demonstrations across the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA). In reality, it was simply the catalyst for these occurrences; many long-simmering economic, social, and political conditions triggered the Arab uprisings, first in Tunisia, and then in other Arab countries. Some of these reasons are high unemployment and low living standards, rising social inequalities, rising prices, government corruption, the violent nature of the Arab regimes, and the brutality of security forces (Ansani & Daniele, 2012; Salih, 2013; Özekin & Akkaş, 2014). The Arab uprisings led to the collapse of many political regimes which had been in power for decades in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen. These uprisings drew the attention of global and local media outlets, which labelled them in different terms, such as the “Arab Spring”, the “Arab Awakening”, and the “Arab Revolution”. In fact, the “Arab Spring”

has been widely discussed in the media and academia as an example of a shift in the investigation and dissemination of news. This is evidenced by the ways reporters, activists and protesters have utilised digital and social media to share and disseminate information across both alternative and traditional media platforms.

(Bossio & Bebawi, 2012, p. 1)

In an interview with the online version of *Egypt Today* journal in 2011, the director of the International Center for Journalists’ Middle Eastern Programs, Natasha Tynes,

commented on the important role of Arab local informants and citizen journalists as news sources during the global media¹ news coverage of the Arab uprisings. She claims that “[t]he international coverage of the Egyptian uprising wouldn’t have been that detailed and around-the-clock without the work of citizen journalists who documented events including the attacks on protesters and demonstrators’ reactions on the streets of Cairo”. Tynes adds that global media relied on local informants and citizen journalists as a “respected source of information” during their news coverage of both the Tunisian and the Egyptian uprisings.

The concept of citizen journalism (*sahafat al-muwatana* in Arabic) refers to the use of digital media by “ordinary individuals (who) temporarily adopt the role of a journalist in order to participate in newsmaking, often spontaneously during a time of crisis, accident, tragedy or disaster when they happen to be present on the scene” (Al-Ghazzi, 2014, p. 435). Shayne Bowman and Chris Willis (2003) argue that local informants and citizen journalists are “playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and (distributing) news and information” (p. 9). Kenton Good (2006) demonstrates that local informants and citizen journalists became important and reliable news sources for global media in the aftermath of the 9/11 event, with numerous eyewitness accounts and survival stories appearing in various global media outlets. Local informants and citizen journalists continued to play an essential role as primary news sources with the news coverage of the Asian tsunami in 2004, the London terrorist

¹ Defined as transnational media networks and news services which report national and international events such as CNN, BBC, Al-Jazeera, Reuters, *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, etc.

bombings of 2005, Hurricane Katrina in 2005, and most recently the Arab uprisings of 2011 and the ongoing conflict in Syria.

Providing the fast dissemination of digital information technologies across the world, both mass media and the public increasingly rely on ordinary people and citizens as primary news sources who provide first-hand accounts, news, and images during exceptional events such as wars, conflicts, and natural and humanitarian disasters. In this sense, Yves Gambier (2010) posits that “[t]oday, ordinary citizens can offer their first-hand reports, digital photographs, camcorder video footage, mobile telephone snapshots or audio clips. Much of this material... has an influence on audience perceptions of the crises around the world” (p. 236). However, Gambier argues that “[t]his development affects translation as well, that is, its very definition and maybe its process (from the selection of sources to readers’ reactions/feedback) and strategies” (ibid, p. 238).

Various global media outlets rely on Arab local informants and citizen journalists in their news coverage of the “Arab Spring”, because they often provide first-hand accounts, news, and images about the events of the Arab uprisings using different media such as social media, and because journalists have not been permitted access to all the protests (Harkin et al., 2012; Radsch, 2012; Soengas, 2013; Wall & el Zahed, 2014; Alqarni, 2015). In this sense, Omar Al-Ghazzi (2014) emphasizes that “[a]n online search for the term ‘citizen journalism’ and ‘Arab Spring’ reveals the diversity of acts referred to as citizen journalism in major U.S. and British news sources” (p. 437).

Amnesty International² states that “without citizen journalists reporting from their neighborhoods, often at great risk to their own safety, news of many of the abuses,

² <http://www.amnesty.org.uk>

including crimes against humanity and war crimes, might never have reached the outside world” (Wall & el Zahed, 2014, p. 6). Alexa Robertson (2013) also points out that “[t]he tumultuous weeks of early 2011, when citizen witnesses and professional journalists literally spoke to the world from the streets of Tunis and Cairo, underline the importance of the image, affect, experiential accounts, and emotive testimonies” (p. 329). Thus, there is a discursive connection during this news coverage between local informants and citizen journalists ‘on the ground’ in Tunisia and Egypt and the audiences watching and reading about the events from afar.

Many academic studies and articles have revealed the important role of Arab local informants and citizen journalists as primary news sources during the global media news coverage and representation of the “Arab Spring”. To begin with, Summer Harlow and Thomas Johnson (2011) reveal the crucial role played by local informants and citizen journalists in their study of *The New York Times*’ news coverage and representations of the 2011 protests in Egypt. The authors confirm that the American newspaper selected, quoted, and translated narrations of Arab local informants and citizen journalists in 52% of the analyzed news stories and texts. Mikkel Fugl Eskjær (2012) also conducted a study on the Danish media news coverage of the uprisings in Tunisia and Syria. He noticed that the Danish media relied essentially on Tunisian and Syrian citizens as their primary news sources when foreign correspondents were unavailable to report from the ground, and when foreign journalists had been denied access to the country, especially for reporting the ongoing conflict in Syria. Eskjær adds that “[t]his practice may nevertheless have added more local voices to the press coverage of the “Arab Spring”, considering that

news reports from the Middle East traditionally have been marked by international rather than local and regional sources” (ibid, p. 17).

In the same vein, Sarah Van Leuven, Annelore Deprez and Karin Raeymaeckers (2014) highlight the fact that ordinary citizens and eyewitnesses were the dominant quoted news sources during Belgian news coverage of the 2011 uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria in comparison to the news coverage of other international news and events. As a matter of fact, citizen journalism has become a fundamental component of much news-gathering and many stories in the global media about the Arab uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain and Yemen, and the ongoing conflict in Syria and its humanitarian disaster. Global media select and translate particular quotations and narratives from these Arab citizen journalists and represent them to their global audiences.

It is worth noting that local informants and citizen journalists’ accounts take the form of direct and indirect quotations within the news text. According to Allan Bell (1991), there are three fundamental functions of quotations in news texts: first, to present an incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmaker’s own words. Second, to add to the story the flavor of the newsmaker’s own words. Third, to absolve the journalist and news outlet from endorsement of what the source said. Siobhan Brownlie (2010) categorizes these people who are quoted in news texts into three groups: first, people who have power and authority; second, people who have some power and authority but are not well-known; and third, unknown people whose quotations are a matter of empathy with respect to the readers.

In effect, using direct and indirect quotations is a common feature in the media's news texts. Yet, the selection of particular quotations can affect how the media narrate, represent, and frame events. Christina Schäffner (2012) affirms that “[t]he selection of quotations for inclusion in journalistic articles is also a process of redefining power structures, since certain political actors can be empowered whereas other can be silenced” (p. 115). She also argues that the selection of quotations in journalistic writing poses a challenge for translation studies in regard to whose voices are underlined in a news text, how quotations narrate and frame the events, and how they situate and construct political actors.

1.2 The Syrian Conflict and its Humanitarian Disaster: 2011–Present

Beginning in March 2011, when a Syrian man named Hasan Ali Akleh committed suicide by self-immolation, peaceful anti-regime protests were staged in many Syrian cities and towns demanding political and democratic reforms in the country. These led to the arrest of many Syrian residents and protesters in the town of Deraa. These peaceful protests escalated into an ongoing conflict when Syrian security forces violently and brutally accosted the protesters in many Syrian cities. The ongoing conflict in Syria has become known since then as the “Syrian Crisis”, the “Syrian Civil War”, and the “Syrian Uprising”. The killing of protesters invoked anger and led to the gradual spread of protests and bloody clashes between protesters and Syrian security forces across the country. The brutal response of the Syrian security forces against these protests led to the killing of many civilians and incited armed and violent actions which have dragged Syria into an ongoing conflict since 2011 and have caused the worst humanitarian disaster since World War II and the Rwandan genocide.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the term “disaster” means “a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society causing widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources”. Internews (2014) defines a humanitarian disaster as

a situation with high levels of human suffering in which basic human welfare is in danger on a large scale. There are many possible causes of humanitarian crises. Two of the most common categories used within the humanitarian sector to describe types of crises are natural disasters and complex emergencies, or ‘conflict-generated emergencies’.

(pp. 20-21)

Accordingly, a “humanitarian disaster” is defined in this dissertation and referred to as a war or a conflict situation which causes mass destruction and a large number of civilian casualties and displaced people, and in which large portions of the country’s population are unable to meet their basic needs such as food, water, shelter, and medical treatment.

There are many contributing factors that caused the Syrian conflict to ignite, such as the failure of the Syrian political regime “to establish political and socio-economic stability, and, most importantly, undo its sectarian character” (Abraham, 2013, p. 64). As mentioned earlier, this ongoing conflict in Syria has caused the world’s largest current humanitarian disaster in terms of the number of casualties and displaced people.

According to recent published reports by many international organizations (e.g. United Nations, Amnesty International, Europa), since the conflict erupted in March 2011, 11.5% of Syria’s population has been killed or injured, more than 500,000 people have died, and over 5 million refugees have fled the country.

A report published in August 22, 2014 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights³ counted 191,369 identified victims of the Syrian conflict between March 2011 and April 2014. In addition, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees announced that the number of Syrian refugees grew to more than 3.1 million during 2013; most of these refugees have been hosted by neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Turkey. The United Nations also reported widespread attacks on civilian populations, massacres, crimes against humanity, violations of human rights and children's rights, torture, rape and massive destruction of infrastructures. Moreover, when the conflict escalated in Syria, local and foreign citizens became targets of not only the Syrian security forces, but also the anti-regime armed groups.

The European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department published the most recent factsheet and figures about the ongoing Syrian humanitarian disaster (henceforth SHD) in March 2017. The report⁴ estimates 13.5 million Syrian people in need of humanitarian assistance inside Syria, 4.7 million people in hard-to-reach or besieged areas, 6.3 million people internally displaced, over 11 million people having fled their homes from inside Syria to neighboring countries, and over 4.9 million registered and awaiting registration as refugees in the neighboring countries.

This humanitarian disaster has captured the attention of the global media, which played and continue to play a decisive role in narrating, representing, and framing this event, by relying on and translating Syrian citizens' accounts and quotations as primary news sources. Indeed, translation plays a crucial role during the global media news

³ www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/MENARRegion/Pages/SYIndex.aspx

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf

coverage of international and political events, especially in conflict zones in regions from which few foreign correspondents report, and where local citizens become primary news sources for global media outlets. In this sense, Elpida Loupaki (2010) claims that “the role of translation is crucial in both lifting linguistic boundaries and promoting specific representations of the Other” (p. 55).

However, Jun Tang (2007) argues that the translator as a mediator or communicator between different languages and cultures can create cultural, social, and ideological cross-cultural conflicts in a translational context. Tang grouped these cross-cultural conflicts into two different categories: soft and hard. Soft conflicts are often invisible in a translational context and they are derived from different cultural values, while hard conflicts concern international and diplomatic events which have political and ideological implications. Hard conflicts in a translational context are usually triggered by serious translational misinformation or misunderstanding.

Tang adds that when translation is involved as a fundamental aspect of the global media news coverage process of international events, it “plays a part in building up ill-grounded hostility towards and misconception of another country or an immigrant community as an enemy or adversary; other times, translation sends false messages of compromise or concession” (2007, p. 37). Although Tang argues that translation can be used as a manipulation tool when representing conflicts, she asserts that the translator can promote, reduce, or avoid any hard conflict in a translational context by positioning him/herself “with regard to the selection of a text to be translated, the choice of translational strategies and devices, or the potential impact of the translation” (ibid,

p. 138). Thus, there are three main factors that contribute to either promoting translation as a (mis)representation or a representation tool: selection criteria of source texts, translational strategies, and impact of translations on target audiences.

In the process of narrating, representing, and framing international events, specifically the SHD, the global media outlets select, accentuate, and represent particular aspects of this communicative event and reality. Mohammed Debbagh (2012) explains that “[t]o speak of this process of representation is to examine how events and people are selected or come into being and how they are structured or refashioned textually and visually” (p. 668). The English-language newspapers are among the global media outlets that rely on Syrian citizens and eyewitnesses as primary news sources during their news coverage of the ongoing Syrian conflict and its humanitarian disaster. With this in mind, the news coverage and representation of these conflicts provides an important indicator about the evolving relationship between the global media and local informants and citizen journalists where translation and translators play a crucial role as mediators. The Arab local informants and citizen journalists provide the global media with first-hand accounts, information, and visual materials relating to the Arab uprisings. There is no doubt that Arab local informants and citizen journalists play a significant role “to communicate the various messages and themes of the revolutions to the global community and to draw a vast audience into the very heart of the uprisings” (Haseeb, 2012, p. 194).

However, the global media outlets “produce significantly different versions of international events, rewriting texts to suit the specific needs of their markets and publics” (Bielsa, 2009, p. 17). Accordingly, the English-language newspapers select and translate specific Syrian citizens’ accounts and quotations on the SHD and represent them

to their target audiences. Indeed, “[b]y representations we mean the shifts in producing another knowledge about the event and a different regime of truth” (Bazzi, 2009, p. 190).

Esperanza Bielsa (2009) posits that “the media do not just determine available representations of war, but it also shapes representations of the other, which in time of violent conflict play a fundamental role” (p. 12). She adds that “[i]n translating news, bilingual journalists edit, rewrite, synthesize, add and alter information for specific audiences according to journalistic conventions and the criteria of news relevance and background knowledge of the target readers” (ibid, p. 17).

Brownlie (2010) suggests that “[i]t is through a close study of language, of linguistic choices, that discourses, narratives and positionings can be divined” (p. 34). Accordingly, choosing and selecting particular linguistic items and semantic equivalents affects the way the global media narrate, represent, and frame events and people in a specific narrative context and represent them to their global audiences. Hence, “specific words are chosen deliberately, and depending on genre and context quite well controlled, especially in written communication” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 128). In fact, Teun van Dijk (1995) reveals some examples of ideological language in news texts. He demonstrates that “calling a group of people ‘terrorists’ rather than ‘freedom fighters’, or vice versa, is not merely the nominal result of an evaluative categorization and identification, but also an ideological decision, given the political position of the speaker and her or his group” (p. 259).

On her part, Samia Bazzi (2009) examines how selecting certain semantic and syntactic clichés during the media news coverage of political and international events can sometimes distort certain aspects of reality and represent people and groups in ready-

made patterns of stereotypes. She adds that “[w]e can notice how linguistic representations that challenge the established uses of the dominant powers can reveal hidden ‘facts’... about reasons behind wars or about victims” (2009, p. 5). During the global media news coverage of international events, “[b]ias’ and ‘misrepresentation’ through the selection of grammatical patterns are the last thing editors would like to hear” (Barkho, 2008, p. 279).

The rationale behind the above-mentioned literature is to shed light on the debatable relationship between media news coverage and representation of international events, and the position of translation and translators within this process of reporting and representation. This new and growing area of study is still in need of further studies to better understand the crucial role that news translation plays in global media’s reporting and representation of international events such as conflicts, wars, and humanitarian disasters.

1.3 Research Problem and Objectives

In times of conflict and disaster, translators and interpreters are supposedly involved as “neutral” language mediators in the intercultural communication processes. However, the neutrality and fidelity of translators and their decisions, as well as the ethical and ideological use and implications of their lexical choices have been challenged and debated when media and news translators select particular source texts that narrate, represent, and frame international events such as conflicts, crises, and disasters. Indeed, the choice of source texts, words, and phrases and their implementation in a specific context and for target audiences can carry political, ideological, and ethical implications. In this sense, Bazzi (2009) posits that “the ethical role of the translator is seen in

examining the truth criteria given in the foreign text. Her or his decision of what needs to be included or excluded results from the dominant and commonsensical beliefs adopted in the target society” (p. 190).

According to Jerry Palmer (2007), the translator or interpreter takes one of two different positions, which are separated by a thin border line when working during conflicts, crises, and disasters. The translator can either play a role to ensure a transparent and faithful transition of information and facts between two languages, or the translator can let his/her own cultural belonging, interests, and motives affect the flow of information from one language to another and thus affect the publication and circulation of news to target audiences. Palmer (2007) adds that during the media news coverage and representation of international events, journalists “are rarely eyewitnesses of events ... [and] they must seek out direct witnesses who can inform them — e.g. survivors and the emergency services after an accident” (pp. 14–15).

Palmer (2007) recognizes that news sources offer information and facts that are ruled by their motives and interests. At the same time, the translator can select specific information and facts for translation and ignore others based on his/her motives and interests as well. Palmer (2007) argues that “it is not the adequacy of the translation that is really at issue so much as the adequacy of the information referred to by the translation” (p. 24). When the translator’s motives and interests intervene in the information flow process, they can affect decisions about the purposes for which certain texts are selected for translation and included in a news story instead of others.

Thus, there is a correlation between primary news sources that provide first-hand accounts and information about an event according to their motives and interests, the

translator who selects and translates particular accounts and quotations according to his/her interests and motives, and media outlets that publish and circulate news stories to their audiences. In addition, the information flow process and the relationship between these three agents may signal ethical, political, and ideological implications. Indeed, the way the global media narrate, represent, and frame international events affects the audiences' perception of these events. They eventually "receive a reframed 'story' that combines parts of the original frames used by the different actors in the conflict and new frames that are created by the media" (van Doorslaer, 2010, p. 209).

As mentioned earlier, translation plays a main role in the global media's news coverage and representation of international events. Although the current literature includes numerous studies on the media's news coverage of humanitarian disasters, few studies have examined the role of translation during such coverage. Translation is often an invisible activity and an unacknowledged aspect of global media news coverage of conflicts, crises, and disasters. The current translation studies literature also lacks empirical studies which examine and explore the role of news translation in the global media news coverage and representation of international events, specifically humanitarian disasters.

Given all the information presented above, this dissertation aims to uncover the crucial role that translation plays during the global media news coverage of international events—an important role which has been unacknowledged and ignored by scholars within translation studies and communication and media studies. This dissertation also provides a detailed examination of how English-language newspapers narrate, frame, and represent a specific international event by selecting and translating citizens' quotations

and narratives. In addition, it scrutinizes adherence to principles of media responsibility as revealed by the selected and translated Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives in English-language newspapers. The translated quotations are identified within the news texts as direct or indirect quotations from Syrian citizens. This dissertation examines dominant frames and lexical choices without referring to the original Arabic quotations; this is due to the unfeasibility of retrieving the original Syrian citizens' quotations, since "[o]ften with news translation, there is no source text, as we have long understood the concept" (Conway, 2015, p. 521).

The examination of the role of translation is conducted by applying a systematic analysis on the corpus, guided by a theoretical and conceptual model of analysis. It is worth noting that the political agenda and political economy aspect of the selected English-language newspapers and their impact on the selection and translation of specific Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives will not be examined because the main objective and purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the crucial role that translation plays during global media news coverage of international events.

The findings of this dissertation advance our understanding of how translation plays a significant role in narrating, representing, and framing humanitarian disasters in global media outlets. The corpus of the dissertation consists of news texts and represents a three-year time frame of the SHD, from March 2011 until February 2014. The news texts were retrieved from the online archives of three English-language newspapers: *The Guardian* (British), *The New York Times* (American), and *National Post* (Canadian). In order to fulfill the main purposes and objectives of this dissertation, the following are the key research questions:

- RQ1. How do English-language newspapers use narrative and types of narrative in the translated quotations?
- RQ2. In what ways are narrative features employed in the translated quotations and narratives?
- RQ3. How do English-language newspapers frame the SHD events as embedded in the translated quotations and narratives?
- RQ4. How do English-language newspapers represent the Other in the translated quotations and narratives?
- RQ5. To what extent do English-language newspapers fulfill their media responsibility during their representation of the SHD events?

It is also worth pointing out that this dissertation's suggested theoretical and conceptual model of analysis is specific to the SHD and it could be applicable to another event by adding other theoretical and conceptual components. This dissertation does not consider the political and economic trends of the English-language newspapers and their impact on the selecting and translating process of particular Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives because such consideration is beyond the scope of this study. In addition, the dissertation does not examine the impact of the target readers' cultural background on the interpretation of the translated quotations and narratives. The current study examines the role of translation within a specific linguistic and geographic territories and context. Hence, further studies can examine the role of translation in the global media news coverage of international events beyond a specific pair of languages, regions, or events.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter one has introduced the dissertation's topic and presented information and chronological facts about the events of the Arab

uprisings in many Arab countries and the protests that have occurred since December 2010. It has then introduced background information about the ongoing conflict in Syria and its humanitarian disaster, as well as provided the readers with data about the number of casualties and displaced people. The first chapter has revealed the important role played by local informants and citizen journalists and their narratives and quotations as primary news sources during the news coverage of international events. It has also identified the dissertation's research problems, objectives, and limitations.

The second chapter provides a theoretical foundation in order to establish a theoretical and conceptual model of analysis specific to the dissertation's topic and case study in question. It includes the dissertation's literature review, theoretical overview, and theoretical framework. The literature review section reviews the current literature on the role of translation in the global media news coverage of wars, conflicts, and humanitarian disasters. This review identifies the findings and implications of the existing literature. It also uncovers the shortcomings of the current literature, which are overcome by the dissertation's findings. The theoretical overview explains the employed theories, approaches, and concepts which constitute the dissertation's theoretical framework and model of analysis. This framework consists of the following theoretical foundations: narrative theory, narrative features, narrative framing, representation of the Other, and media responsibility.

Chapter three identifies and explains the following methodological approaches and components: concepts and their operationalization, research design, research questions, sampling and data collection, and a critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) approach. This chapter specifies the dissertation's research design, which is a

qualitative narrative analysis research design (using a case study) and identifies the dissertation's sampling strategy and data collection, as well as explaining the use of a CDA approach and how it is useful in exploring and analyzing the significance of using particular words and phrases embedded in the Syrian citizens' translated quotations and narratives as well as the various ways these can be interpreted.

The analysis and findings constitute the core material of chapter four. In this chapter, a qualitative narrative analysis is conducted—guided by the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis—on Syrian citizens' translated quotations and narratives embedded in a sample of 404 news texts from three English-language newspapers. The findings respond to the dissertation's research questions and provide a significant understanding of the crucial role that translation plays in narrating, framing, and representing the SHD in English-language newspapers.

The last chapter emphasizes the dissertation's main findings and general conclusions, as well as its contribution to the discipline of translation studies. It also suggests further studies which would aim to establish a better knowledge and understanding of the role of news translation in the global media's news coverage and representation of international events.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Overview and Model of Analysis

Global media play a key role in drawing attention to major international conflicts, wars, and humanitarian disasters, as well as in communicating and representing news and information about international events to their global audiences. However, the global media's news coverage and representation of international events is related to many factors such as primary news sources, medium of communication, language knowledge, and audiences, among others. In an article about the global media news coverage of natural and humanitarian disasters, Susan Moeller (2010) categorizes disasters into two major groups: natural and man-made disasters. The first group consists of "acts of God" or "natural disasters" or "simple emergencies", such as earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes, and volcanic eruptions, while the second group includes "man-made disasters" or "complex emergencies", such as civil wars, ethnic cleansing conflicts, and refugee migrations.

The global media really started to pay attention to international conflicts and humanitarian disasters during "civil wars in Biafra in the late 1960s, in Bangladesh in the early 1970s, and in Ethiopia in 1973 and 1984" (Rotberg & Weiss, 1996, p. 2). The global media news coverage of international events continued with the 1990–1991 Gulf War (aka Persian Gulf War, First Gulf War or Gulf War I), the Rwandan genocide in 1994, and the Bosnian War in 1995 (Myers, Klak & Koehl, 1996; Gilboa, 2005 & Patrick, 2016). But the global media news coverage of other international conflicts and humanitarian disasters has been occasional and incomplete, especially in Africa (Harvey,

2012). In fact, the current literature on the global media news coverage of international conflicts and humanitarian disasters includes many academic studies which deal with these topics and research questions from different academic perspectives and disciplines, such as communication and media studies, social science, and political science.

Translation studies' (TS) literature, however, lacks studies which focus on news translation and examine the role of translation during the global media news coverage and representation of international events, as discussed in the following sections.

2.1 News and Translation

According to Palmer (2009), news translation can be defined in terms of two different sets of concerns and questions. The first set of questions is related to the relationship between source texts and target texts. This relationship, which affects news output, is shaped by the translator's perception of the context and the goal of the original text. The second set of questions, on the other hand, is concerned with the translation process itself, the organization involved in news gathering and dissemination, the context and purpose of the translation, and who undertakes it. Theo van Leeuwen (2006) proposed the existence of two general patterns within the context of news dissemination and translation. Translation in the first pattern is employed to transform or recontextualize the local into the global by translating local news and language into global news and language. The use of translation in this pattern usually includes an ideological transformation of local news to suit the needs of global audiences and their expectations. In the second pattern, translation is utilized to transform or recontextualize global news into local news in order to localize global messages for local audiences and consumers, and to open new local markets to global media outlets.

News translation is a transformation process which transforms original news texts about international events to target texts. The translator adopts different translation strategies during the transformation process to localize the source text and implement it in a new linguistic and cultural context. Teun van Dijk (1995, 2006) suggested that local transformations of the translated text include omissions, additions, permutations, and substitutions. It is important for these local transformations to coincide with target audiences' linguistic and cultural norms. By the same token, Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett claimed that “[m]edia reports about political events are always forms of recontextualisation, and any recontextualisation involves transformations. Recontextualisation and transformation are particularly complex where translation is involved, that is, when media reports cross language boundaries” (2010, p: 2). Thus, translation is an important aspect of the recontextualization and transformation process when global media outlets report and represent international and political events.

Some of the transformations that occur during the recontextualization process “can be politically significant and can result in different interpretations of the ‘same’ political event by readers in different countries and even in political conflict” (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010, p. 17). Mona Baker (2005) argued that a context in the (re)contextualization process should be treated as a dynamic entity and as “a resource, something that we selectively and strategically construct as we engage in any act of communication” (p. 332). She believes that any communicative event can be translated and transformed into different linguistic and cultural contexts and by different participants and agents, depending on specific agendas and purposes.

In addition, Ewa Gumul (2010) clarified that “explicitation” as a translation tool and, as a tool for the linguistic manipulation embedded in the translator’s linguistic choices, can “affect the surface structure of the text by making the prepositions implied in the source text clearly visible in its target-language version” (p. 94). She posited that the shift from originals to translations, on the one hand, can be neutral, for example in translating and reporting a viewpoint from a source into a target text. On the other hand, however, it can be affected by an ideological influence which is eventually represented in the target text. According to Gumul, a translator can choose different types of explicitation, such as adding a proper name to a generic name or substituting a generic name with a proper name. A translator can also use “lexical specification”, such as substituting a word with a general meaning with another word that has a specific meaning. This “lexical specification” can result in ideological implications within particular contexts, especially in news translation when media outlets report and represent international events.

Luc van Doorslaer recognized the translated news text “as a complex mixture of summarizing, paraphrasing, transforming, supplementing, reorganizing and recontextualizing procedures” (2012, pp. 1047-1048). Based on this definition, he proposed the term “journalator” as “translating or transmitting journalists”, which interconnects the daily work of journalists and translators in news writing and news production when translation involves the process of transmitting, transferring, rewriting, and recontextualizing. Van Doorslaer added that “*journalator* would make the overall presence of forms of translation in newsrooms linguistically visible” (2012, p. 1049, *emphasis in original*). However, he argued that “the journalator’s interventions

simultaneously manifest characteristics of a translator, a communicator, a manipulator, a mediator and a transmitter” (ibid, p. 1050).

2.2 The Role of Translation is Still Concealed

Scholars within translation studies have started to pay close attention to media and translation. However, “most of the attention paid to the relationship between media and translation seems to deal with aspects of audiovisual translation, such as dubbing and subtitling” (van Doorslaer, 2009, p. 84). The discipline also lacks studies and publications that create awareness of the permanent use of translation in the media newsrooms.

Accordingly, more empirical studies are still needed to systematically and comprehensively understand the role that translation and translators play in the communication process, as well as the position of news translation during the global media news coverage and representation of international events. On this topic, Baker noticed that “[i]n recent conflicts, particularly Iraq and Afghanistan, journalists have begun to engage with the issue of language mediation and to register more awareness of the translator as a distinct participant in the events being narrated” (2010a, p. 203).

This section provides an overview of several studies and articles which deal with the global media’s news coverage and representation of international events. The rationale behind presenting the following studies is to shed light on the invisible and unacknowledged role of translation and translators in the global media’s news coverage, framing, and representation of international events such as conflicts, crises, and humanitarian disasters.

Bala Musa’s study (2007) employed the concept of framing and framing theory in analyzing media news coverage and reporting of conflicts, wars, and humanitarian

disasters. He examined the ways American print media outlets represented and framed conflicts, genocides, and humanitarian disasters in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and Darfur. He conducted a comparative frame analysis of the Bosnian genocide and the Rwandan genocide as reported and represented in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in order to explore different frames adopted by the two American newspapers.

Based on the framing analysis, Musa drew the following conclusions: first, the two newspapers relied on alternative frames more than on the traditional Cold War frames of the East-West conflict. Second, they adopted an “event-oriented” frame which applied to a specific event and the circumstances surrounding it. Third, the humanitarian frame of the Rwandan genocide exceeded the military frame while the military frame was the dominant frame in the news coverage of the Bosnian genocide. Finally, the two American newspapers framed the Rwandan genocide as a “tribal” conflict while the Bosnian genocide was framed as “ethnic cleansing”. Additionally, Musa noted that the stereotypical frames were prominent in the representation of the Bosnian conflict. Musa also noticed that the media’s news coverage and representation of the Cambodian genocide in 1975 relied on refugees who had escaped from Cambodia as primary news sources because no foreign correspondents remained on the scene. Thus, the American media responded to the refugee and humanitarian disaster and represented it in a “humanitarian frame”, whereas the genocide itself was represented in the “nation’s frame”, i.e., the frame of the United States. While this study focused on framing in the global media’s news coverage and representation of international events, it ignored the role played by translation and translators.

In another study, Tendai Chari (2010) employed the concept of framing and qualitative analysis to analyze *The New York Times*' framing and representation of the Rwandan genocide and its humanitarian disaster, as well as the “symbolic meanings” embedded in the frames and representations used. The study also examined the ideological forces that guide and influence the newspaper's framing process and the impact of the adopted frames on Western audiences, specifically on their perceptions of the genocide and its humanitarian disaster.

In view of that, Chari applied a qualitative textual analysis on a sample of 170 news texts retrieved from *The New York Times*' online archive. He divided the analysis process into three steps: first, classifying the news texts into four pre-determined frames: “historical baggage”, “tribalisation”, “Western benevolence”, and “Western indifference”; second, identifying key phrases, words, sentences, and discursive techniques, and finally, conducting a detailed qualitative analysis of the selected news texts in order to explain how the four pre-determined frames are implemented in the texts. Chari used the sentence as a unit of analysis, and sentences were analyzed according to their relevance to the four pre-determined frames.

Chari concluded that *The New York Times*' framing and representation of the Rwandan genocide and its humanitarian disaster was guided by the historical and stereotypical frames of Africa as a “Dark Continent” overwhelmed with tribal and ethnic conflicts, chaos, and disorder. This dominant frame was mostly observed in the news texts' headlines, which represented Rwanda as “another hopeless African country”, and the Rwandan refugees as “people afflicted by diseases”. Chari also noted that “[t]he *New*

York Times was also littered with words and phrases that connote that the Rwanda conflict was a result of ancient tribal hatred between the Hutu and the Tutsi” (2010, p. 339).

According to Chari, *The New York Times* represented the Rwandan genocide and its humanitarian disaster in the frame of an “ancient” and “long-running” tribal conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi. This frame was reinforced by images, headlines, and lexical items that accentuated tribalism. The American newspaper also represented Western governments and relief efforts to the Rwandan refugees as saviors and as the only hope in this conflict. Chari also demonstrated that “[t]he *New York Times*’s coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda shows that the newspaper was motivated by the desire to portray westerners as saviours of lives” (2010, p. 344). Chari posited that the newspaper’s representation and framing of the genocide showed indifference, as did the representation and framing of the genocide used by other Western media outlets, which used similar linguistic terms to label the Rwandan genocide and to describe it as a “tribal conflict” or as “acts of genocide” but not, strictly, as “genocide”.

By the same token, Marina Vujnovic (2009) utilized the concept of framing to explore *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*’s framing and representation of the Srebrenica crisis during the 12-year period from 1993 to 2005. The author applied a qualitative and quantitative content analysis to a sample of 185 news texts from the two American newspapers. Vujnovic divided the texts into two different time frames: from the beginning of the Srebrenica crisis in 1993 to 1995, when massacre was committed, and the period between 1995 and 2005, which marks the tenth-anniversary

commemoration of the end of the massacre. The rationale behind this division was to examine the framing shift between the two time frames.

In essence, Vujnovic operationalized frames as keywords and phrases in order to conduct a qualitative and quantitative content analysis. Accordingly, she categorized keywords and phrases into four different frame groups: the “ethnic cleansing” frame, the “genocide” frame, the “holocaust” frame, and the “blame” frame. Vujnovic pinpointed that the “ethnic cleansing” frame was the dominant frame group in most of the analyzed news texts in both newspapers from 1993 to 1995, while there was an absence of the “genocide” and “holocaust” frames. In contrast to this, the analyzed texts from 1995 to 2005 revealed that *The New York Times* adopted the “genocide” frame while *The Washington Post* widely used the “ethnic cleansing” frame to represent the Srebrenica crisis.

Vujnovic also noticed an apparent shift in news sources between the two different time frames. Between 1993 and 1995, both newspapers relied on the official sources of the United Nations, the United States government, and NATO which led to the representation of the Srebrenica crisis in the “ethnic cleansing” frame. Alternatively, the articles published between 1995 and 2005 revealed that the two newspapers relied on unofficial sources, local civilian victims, and eyewitnesses’ accounts, which led to the representation of the Srebrenica crisis in the “genocide” frame in *The New York Times* and in the “ethnic cleansing” frame in *The Washington Post*. Vujnovic concluded that “[r]eliance on official sources also warns that labelling and language used by official sources,[...] could foreground further reports and foreclose the range of reporters’ rhetorical freedom to label events differently” (2009, p. 42). This study highlights the

relationship between local citizens who act as primary news sources, the frames adopted by media outlets, and the importance of language mediation between local news sources and global media.

Another study, conducted by Ammina Kothari, focused on the American media's framing and representation of the Darfur conflict and its humanitarian disaster (2010). She examined *The New York Times*' framing and representation of the Darfur conflict and its humanitarian disaster between 2003 and 2006. To do so, Kothari applied a qualitative textual analysis to a sample of 116 news texts in order to analyze the frames used by the American newspaper and identify the primary news sources. She argued that *The New York Times* "started to write about 'genocide,' once they found the right frame" (2010, p. 210). Indeed, the right frame was "the Arabs are killing the Blacks". Kothari also claimed that the agendas of news sources "provide information for news stories and shape audience understanding of the issue" (ibid, p. 211). This means that news sources have their own bias and agenda which can affect the selection and translation process of information and facts, and the media's overall process of framing and representing international events.

Kothari revealed four salient frames used by *The New York Times* during its news coverage of the Darfur conflict. The four frames are the following: "the United States as savior of Sudanese people" frame, the "ethnic conflict" frame, the "fatalist" frame, and the "hybrid" frame. The author also categorized news texts into different groups based on three factors: the location of the journalists, the type of primary news sources quoted in the text, and the content of the news story. The three news story groups were summaries

of public event stories, investigative stories, and hybrid stories consisting of elements from both of these.

The findings revealed that 25 out of 116 news texts were summaries of public event stories, in which the dominant frame was “the United States as savior of Sudanese people”, and the most quoted news sources were US government officials and Western human rights experts. Another 26 of the 116 texts were investigative stories which included field coverage from the war zone and provided hidden details and facts about the conflict. The dominant frame in these texts was “ethnic conflict” and the local Sudanese people and aid workers were the most quoted news sources. These primary news sources labeled the event in the “ethnic conflict” frame. Finally, 65 out of the 116 texts were hybrid stories which included two dominant frames: “ethnic conflict” and “the United States as saviors of Sudanese people”. The most quoted news sources in these texts varied according to the story of each news text.

Kothari suggests that different types of news sources and the amount of graphic information in their accounts could influence the frame salience. Thus, the 26 investigative news texts had the highest average of graphic information because most of the quoted news sources were local Sudanese people. These investigative news stories were represented in a “graphic” and “sensationalized” frame. Conversely, the news texts that summarized public events had the lowest average of graphic information because the dominant quoted news sources were government and Western officials. Finally, the hybrid news texts had an inconsistent amount of graphic information since there were different types of news sources quoted in these texts. In summary, Kothari demonstrated

that “media frames are the result of certain conditions: (1) the type of news sources used in a story, (2) the location of journalists, and (3) the subject of the story” (2010, p. 222).

Mustafa Taha (2012) conducted another research report on global media’s representation and framing of the Darfur conflict and its humanitarian disaster. In his report, he used a qualitative content analysis and frame analysis to examine how *The New York Times*’ 52 editorials on the topic represented and framed the Darfur conflict and its humanitarian disaster between 2003 and 2008. Taha used key themes and framing devices as units of analysis. Accordingly, he divided major themes and framing devices into categories prior to the analysis process. Taha’s findings revealed that *The New York Times* framed the Darfur conflict as a “genocide”, using a frame like the “Holocaust” one. The analyzed editorials also represented and framed the Arabs in Darfur, who were supported by the Sudanese government, as “murderers” who committed “ethnic cleansing” and terrorized the black Africans. Taha also pointed out that some of the analyzed editorials “frame mass murders in Darfur in a context eliciting memories of the Holocaust, Cambodia, Rwanda and Srebrenica” (2012, p. 157).

Taha concluded that *The New York Times* “frames the conflict in Darfur simplistically and portrays it as a story of armed Arab villains terrorizing unarmed African victims” (2012, p. 156). The findings also uncovered some of the challenges that American journalists encounter during their news coverage and reporting of international conflicts. One of these challenges is obtaining authentic news from primary news sources, especially from local residents and refugees. Taha posited that “[p]roviding context to humanitarian crises is vital for exploring viable win-win solutions. The US

media organizations, including the *New York Times*, need to be more accurate and fair in foreign news reporting” (ibid, p. 160).

The literature relating to the global media’s representation and framing of the Rwandan genocide and its humanitarian disaster also includes Noam Schimmel’s (2011) study, which examined how American and European media outlets used language to represent this international event. According to Schimmel, American and European media outlets selected different lexical items to represent and label the event with different names such as “tribal war”, “ethnic extermination”, and “civil war”. Yet, Schimmel observed that American and European audiences learned little about the genocide because the media’s representation of the event “obscured, distorted and denied current events and thus undermined the public’s ability to understand the context, causes, and consequences of the genocide” (2011, p.1125).

According to Schimmel, both American and European media outlets ignored important aspects of the genocide, such as the suffering of the Tutsis in Rwanda, and suppressed details and sensational images considered too shocking for their audiences. Schimmel concluded that American and European media news coverage of the Rwandan genocide and its humanitarian disaster misrepresented the event because their news coverage was based on stereotypical prejudices about Rwanda and Africa. Schimmel also indicated that American and European media outlets failed to accurately report the Rwandan genocide for many reasons, such as the lack of local news sources and foreign correspondents in Rwanda, racism, the lack of media interest in reporting on Africa and Rwanda, and the lack of news images. According to Schimmel, both American and European media outlets represented and framed the Rwandan genocide based on ready-

made frames and stereotypes of Africa such as “barbaric”, “irrational tribalism”, “anti-African racism”, and “ethnic hatred”.

Taking different methodological approaches, Amir Shojaei, Kazem Youssefi, and Hossein Hosseini (2013) scrutinized the ways Anglo-American media outlets represented the ongoing conflict in Syria. For that purpose, they used a CDA approach as outlined in van Dijk’s (1998) socio-cognitive theory and Fairclough’s (1995) intertextual analysis of news discourse. In fact, they analyzed headlines and lead paragraphs of news texts published between January and August 2012 in 10 British and American media outlets. The objective of the analysis was to explore the ideological and political traits of the linguistic choices selected by the Anglo-American media outlets in their news coverage of the ongoing Syrian conflict.

The findings uncovered that the 10 Anglo-American media outlets selected lexical items and collocation patterns that represented the Syrian regime and its allies in negative frames such as “cruel”, “brutal”, and “savage”. In contrast, they chose lexical items and collocation patterns that represented Western officials and their allies as the ones who defend human rights and support democracy and peace-seeking. The findings also revealed that the voices of the United Nations, the European Union, and other Western officials were most quoted and reflected in the lead paragraphs, while the voices of the Syrian officials were undermined and ignored. Shojaei, Youssefi, and Hosseini suggested that selecting particular linguistic items “are among the most important items which result in a biased representation of news stories ... such ideological representations and biased languages in news media can result in legitimation of one side and suppression of the other side” (2013, p. 867).

In a related study, James Brown (2014) performed a comparative qualitative analysis on Western and Russian media's news coverage and their representation of the ongoing conflict in Syria and its humanitarian disaster. He asserted that Western media news coverage included "graphic portrayals of the violence, rendering the events significantly more real and shocking" (p. 49). This was because most of the analyzed news texts included Syrian citizens' translated quotations and eyewitness accounts which described the events in an emotive narrative way and in a "dramatic style, recounting harrowing personal stories and describing atrocities in gruesome detail. The effect is to ensure heightened emotional impact" (2014, p. 58).

Vivian Salama (2012) conducted another study which uncovered the fundamental role played by Syrian citizens as primary news sources in global media's news coverage and representation of the humanitarian disaster in Syria. Salama assumed that "[t]he obstacle for news organizations throughout the pan-Arab revolt has been to continue finding ways to tell the story while maintaining total objectivity" (2012, p. 516). She noticed that global media outlets and their correspondents encounter three challenges while reporting the ongoing conflict in Syria and its humanitarian disaster. One of these challenges is reporting remotely while relying on Syrian citizens inside Syria who provide first-hand accounts about the events. Most of these local news sources are protesters and members of the Syrian opposition who belong to one side of the conflict. According to Salama, these Syrian citizens "have little or no training in the balancing act of objectivity, and many cannot construct a comprehensive news narrative" (2012, p. 523).

The use of these Syrian citizens as sources is widespread. In a report published in June 2012 by *States News Service*, *The Washington Post*'s Baghdad Bureau Chief Liz Sly pointed out that dozens of global media outlets have supplemented their news reports with anonymous accounts by Syrian citizens; however, she also mentioned that she usually quotes Syrian citizens in her reports only when they meet her standards of accuracy. The report also claimed that global media outlets have relied on the opposition Local Coordination Committees of Syria (LCC) as a primary local news source offering a 24-hour reporting and translating service for global media.

2.3 Media Representation, Media Framing, and News Translation

Although the above studies provide significant findings in terms of the representation, narration, and framing of international events in the global media, they do not focus on examining the role played by translation, which is a fairly recent field of investigation. It was not until the beginning of the 21st century that academia witnessed a rise in the number of scholarly conferences and publications which focus on the significant role of translation in news production process (van Doorslaer, 2009 & 2012). One of these conferences was the University of Warwick *Translation in Global News* conference in 2006. The conference introduced many studies that uncovered the role of news translation and the impact of translation on the media's representation and framing of international news and events.

The University of Warwick's publications in 2006 included a study by Yves Gambier, who examined the role of media and news translation in the global media's representation of international events. In his study, Gambier claimed that "[m]edia texts not only mirror reality but also construct versions of it, and analysis can show how and

when certain choices are made – what is excluded/ included, foregrounded/ backgrounded, made explicit/implicit, thematized/silenced” (2006, p. 9). In view of that, he proposed two “tools of manipulation” in the translation process of news texts: “hyperbolic language” and “understatement”. According to Gambier, these tools are used to essentially arouse emotions of empathy among readers by referencing suffering, death, and pain. News translators can use these tools of manipulation during the translation process of news texts in order to “highlight, intensify, and amplify selected elements of the image of reality, [and] to be extremely pervasive in communication of any kind” (Gambier, 2006, p. 10). Gambier suggested that the use of news frames such as keywords, metaphors, concepts, and visual images in the global media’s representation of international events is essential in reproducing and reinforcing stereotyped representations which are recognized by local audiences, and drawing their attention to particular aspects of reality. According to Gambier, these stereotyped representations can lead to a distorted and misrepresented reality.

Gambier pointed out to many processing stages, such as “transediting” in the global media’s representation of international events. In effect, the concept of “transediting” was first proposed by Karen Stetting as “a new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating” (1989, p. 371). Transediting refers to translating and editing a news story, and is deemed an appropriate strategy in news translation for effectively meeting the needs and expectations of target audiences and producing a final news product for them. The process of transediting also transforms the original message from a source into a target language and culture by adopting strategies of deletion, addition, substitution, and re-organization. The strategy of deletion includes

omission of paragraphs, sentences, and information, while the addition and substitution strategies consist of adding information in order to provide target audiences with background information or details about the event. the other strategy, re-organization, involves a process of restructuring a source text and refocusing information in the target text in order to prioritize the flow and order of ideas, information, and key narrative elements.

Luc van Doorslaer (2009) scrutinized the role of language knowledge, the position of translation, translation awareness in the process of selecting international news, and the process of producing international news stories in two different linguistic newspaper groups in Belgium. For that purpose, he compiled a corpus of more than 1000 news texts on international news from nine daily Dutch-language and French-language Belgian newspapers. Van Doorslaer interpreted the quantitative data in terms of the origins of international news and the types of news sources. The quantitative data showed that the “quality newspapers” focused more on international news than popular dailies, and the news coverage of international events by the two different newspaper groups was different. In terms of the types of news sources, the Dutch-language newspapers relied on the American Associated Press (AP) for 45% of their news, while the Francophone newspapers relied on French-speaking news agencies such as Agence France Presse (AFP) for 75% of their international news coverage.

The findings also disclosed that only 4.6 % of the total number of international news texts in the Dutch-language Belgian newspapers were identified and presented as translations from other sources and languages such as English and German. In contrast, very few articles in the French-language Belgian newspapers were identified and

presented as translations because most of their news texts came from French news agencies such as AFP. In addition, van Doorslaer pointed out that most of the journalists adopted a transediting process as an integral part of their journalistic activity. By adopting transediting, it became “almost impossible to deconstruct a news message in order to determine which parts have been edited and which parts are the results of a translation act” (2009, p. 85). Although van Doorslaer’s study and findings are important with regard to examining the role of translation during the media news coverage and representation of international news, he focused on official news sources and international news agencies and ignored the fact that local citizens’ narratives and eyewitnesses’ accounts can be primary news sources in the representation of international news and events.

Mona Baker employed narrative theory and the concept of narrative framing in many of her studies and articles (2006, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2016), especially when dealing with international conflicts, wars, and terrorism. Baker (2007) examined translations between English and Arabic in the context of the Middle East conflict. To do so, she explored the ways translators accentuate specific aspects of the narrative in source texts and framing strategies used in translations. Baker provided numerous examples of how the selection of frames such as the manipulation of titles, naming groups or persons, and images with suitable captions can lead to “frame narratives” in a predetermined way. For example, Baker noticed that news translation organization such as the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) and Watching America would change the title of an Arabic text in order to frame a translated narrative of the Arab and Muslim as “extremist” or as “discursively alien”. According to Baker, MEMRI selected these specific frames

and narratives as part of “meta-narrative of the War on Terror” (2007, p. 159). Baker posited that “[i]ndividual translators and interpreters will continue, as they have done in the past, to make a variety of choices in relation to who or what they align themselves with” (2009, p. 238).

Baker also used the four narrative features (temporality, relationality, selective appropriation, and causal employment) and the concept of narrative framing in order to investigate how MEMRI employed translation to construct narratives and knowledge about Arabs and Muslims in the context of the “War on Terror” and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Baker provided many examples which uncover how MEMRI manipulated, replaced, and added its own titles and sometimes images with appropriate captions to translations to represent Arabs and Muslims in negative images and frames such as “extremists”. Baker suggested that MEMRI relied

much more heavily on exploiting the narrative feature of selective appropriation, choosing to translate the worst possible examples of Arab, Iranian and Muslim discourse. This serves to activate a pattern of causal employment that features Arabs and Muslims as extremist and threatening.
(2010b, p. 357)

Sue-Ann Harding (2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c) also applied narrative theory in her studies about translating eyewitness accounts of the Beslan hostage-taking in Russia in September 2004. The studies revealed how global media employed local informants’ translated quotations and eyewitness accounts within the meta-narrative of the event. Accordingly, Harding used concepts of “narrator” and “temporary narrator”, which are rooted in socio-narrative theory in order to examine how personal narratives (temporary narrators) of eyewitnesses were merged into the Russian and English news narrative of Beslan hostage-taking in three different online news media outlets. Harding demonstrated

that these media outlets employed translated accounts in order to reinforce, construct, and represent their version of the narrative. Harding considered that eyewitnesses' "stories are arguably the 'raw material' of the news agencies' narrative texts" (2012a, p. 231). She concluded that translations of eyewitnesses' narratives from Russian to English were manipulated, marginalized, and even removed from some articles and news texts in order to reinforce the media's own narrative and framing of Beslan hostage-taking in Russia in September 2004.

To sum up, few scholars focus on the role of translation and language knowledge in the global media's narration, representation, and framing of international events, specifically humanitarian disasters. Translation studies as a new academic field of research has become a more interdisciplinary field of study which can be viewed through the lens of other academic disciplines such as communication and media studies. In view of that, my dissertation can reflect a new trajectory of translation research, which Maria Tymoczko (2005) presented in her article *Trajectories of Research in Translation Studies*; it is an area of research where translation studies and communication and media studies merge in order to examine the role of translation in the global media's representation of international news and events, and its role as a mediator between local informants and global media.

The implications and findings of the above studies and articles contribute to the dissertation's theoretical and methodological framework in many ways. First, they reveal the role and impact of primary news sources (e.g. local informants, citizen journalists, eyewitnesses, refugees) in representing, narrating, and framing international events. Second, they reveal how the selection of particular linguistic items can represent or

(mis)represent the events in specific frames and the ways these linguistic items can affect the media's representing, narrating, and framing of international events. Finally, they confirm that the overall media narrative of an event can be identified through three elements: employed frames, types of news sources and citizen accounts, and themes and contents of news stories and texts.

However, the following shortcomings are present in the previously mentioned literature. First, the studies only marginally acknowledge the role and function of translation and language knowledge during global media news coverage and representation of wars, conflicts, and disasters. Second, there are insufficient empirical studies that investigate how quotations and narratives by ordinary citizens and citizen journalists, as texts presented in translation in global media, can represent, narrate, and frame international events. Third, there is not sufficient data about how foreign correspondents conducted interviews with refugees and in which language(s), or whether there were translators who translated local citizens and eyewitnesses' accounts. Finally, the studies did not elaborate on the impact of primary news sources on the media's representation, narrating, and framing of conflicts, wars, and humanitarian disasters.

2.4 Theoretical Foundation

The dissertation's theoretical foundation consists of relevant theories and approaches that are adequate to the topic at stake and its research questions. The following theories and approaches merge to constitute the dissertation's theoretical foundation: narrative theory, narrative features (temporality, relationality, causal emplotment, and selective appropriation), narrative framing, representation of the Other, and media responsibility. The rationale behind choosing these specific theories and approaches derives from the

nature, purpose, and objective of the dissertation, which combines the disciplines of translation studies and communication and media studies; these theories and approaches were also chosen because the dissertation investigates the role of translation in the global media's representation, narrating, and framing of international events, specifically during humanitarian disasters.

2.4.1 Narrative Theory and Types of Narrative

Walter Fisher's notions of "narrative paradigm" and "narrative rationality" (1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1987, 1989, 1997) constitute the theoretical and conceptual basis of narrative theory, types of narratives, and narrative features. According to Fisher, "[t]he stories inform one another and both are necessary to a full realization of the relationship of communication and what humans are and can become" (1985a, p. 76). The main function of the narrative paradigm is to assist in interpreting and assessing human communication and pragmatic effects of texts which "leads to critique, a determination of whether or not a given instance of discourse provides a reliable, trustworthy, and desirable guide to thought and action in the world" (Fisher, 1985b, p. 351). As well, the narrative paradigm is concerned with people and actors who act as storytellers, authors, co-authors, and who also act as main participants in the creation of communicative messages. Thus, Fisher focused on ontological narratives which are told and heard by people who interpret and assess the story and behave in accordance with their interpretation and assessment.

The narrative paradigm also provides a "logic" to assess stories and to determine whether or not audiences should accept these stories and form their decisions and actions based on these stories. The people's decisions, actions, and behaviors, according to Fisher, take the form of stories and are assessed by narrative rationality that provides the

principles of narrative probability and fidelity. He posited that narrative rationality in any event or situation “is relevant as a system for determining whether or not one *should* accept a story, whether or not a story is indeed trustworthy and reliable as a guide to belief and action” (1985b, p. 349, *emphasis in original*).

Fisher argued that narrative probability refers to the features of the story and the sequence of narrative elements, ideas, and actions. Narrative probability emphasizes coherence of the story, consistency, and harmonizing between narrative elements within the same story, while narrative fidelity stresses “truth qualities” of the story, and whether or not the story agrees with the logic of good reasons or values such as truth, the good, beauty, health, and wisdom. Fisher clarified that the story’s values should be examined in terms of “questions of fact, relevance, consequence, consistency, and transcendent issue” (1985b, p. 350). He argued that a good communication and a good story is the one that fulfills the requirements of narrative rationality, and of a reliable and trustworthy communication which guides one to “belief and action”. As well, the good story adheres to features and principles of narrative probability and fidelity.

It is also relevant to bring up Margaret Somers’s works (1992, 1994, 1997) on narrative theory, which employed the concepts of narrative and narrativity in social sciences research and studies. Somers noticed that social scientists and theorists and historians used to define narrative and narrativity as a “mode of representation”, but scholars today go beyond considering narrative and narrativity as simply a mode of representation. The new definitions of narrative and narrativity are recognized as main concepts of social epistemology and social ontology. It is through narratives and narrativity that “we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world, and it

is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities” (Somers, 1992, p. 600). Thus, the concepts of narratives and narrativity in social sciences have shifted from being mere representational forms to ontological condition of narrativity and social life.

After introducing the concepts of narrative and narrativity, the theoretical framework of this dissertation relies on Mona Baker’s narrative theory and narrative features as elaborated in her book *Translation and Conflict* (2006) because of their relevance to the dissertation’s topic and objectives, which merge the disciplines of translation studies and communication and media studies. In fact, these are especially relevant, as Baker (2006) elaborated on Fisher’s narrative paradigm and on Somers and Gibson’s (1994) typology of narrative theory and redefined narrative theory from TS’s perspective. According to Baker, narratives “are public and personal ‘stories’ that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour. They are the stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people, about the world(s) in which we live” (2006, p. 19).

Baker justified redefining narrative theory by saying

although hardly any of the work on narrativity in social and communication theory pays attention to issues of language, nor indeed translation, narrative theory does lend itself to being applied to both, and in a way that allows us to explain lexical items in relation to wider social and political contexts, but without losing sight of the individual text and event.

(2007, p. 154)

Baker (2006) pointed out the importance of using narrative theory as a theoretical framework in translation studies’ academic and professional studies. She explained that “[t]ranslation is thus understood as a form of (re-)narration that *constructs* rather than *represents* the events and characters it re-narrates in another language” (2014b, p. 159,

emphasis in original). According to Baker, narrative theory allows us to examine the function of translation and the role of translators in situations of conflicts and wars, and in the elaboration of competing narratives of the same event as embedded in the target text. In view of that, translators and interpreters play a significant role in the process of narratives formation because the events of conflicts, wars, and disasters are communicated by global media to global audiences with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Narrative theory also “allows us to piece together and analyse a narrative that is not fully traceable to any specific stretch of text but has to be constructed from a range of sources, including non-verbal material” (2006, p. 4).

As mentioned earlier, Baker’s categorization of narratives is based on a typology proposed by Somers and Gibson (1994) who distinguished four types of social narratives and narrativity: ontological, public, conceptual, and meta-narrative. However, Somers and Gibson examined the social aspects of narratives and narrativity and did not pay attention to issues of language and translation. For that reason this dissertation utilizes Baker’s (2006) narrative theory, types of narratives, and narrative features in order to fulfill the dissertation’s objectives and to draw the readers’ attention to the importance of translation and translators in representing narratives.

According to Baker, ontological or personal narratives are interpersonal and social stories in which individuals tell personal stories about their position in the world and their own personal experience and history. Nonetheless, Baker argued that “even a concrete personal story told in one language cannot necessarily be retold or translated into another language unproblematically” (2006, p. 28). Ontological narratives are dependent on collective narratives which are situated in a particular social and cultural context, and are

transmitted to audiences through different channels such as the media. An example provided by Baker of personal narratives dependent on collective narratives is the way Germans under the Nazis and white South Africans under apartheid narrated themselves as racially superior.

The second type of narratives, named public narratives are “stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the family, religious or educational institution, the media, and the nation” (Baker, 2006, p. 33). Public narratives are stories about national and international events, individuals who become public figures, a movement, or an ideology. These narratives circulate in any society and culture, and can change drastically over time in response to political and social changes. Accordingly, translation plays a decisive role in the survival of public narratives by circulating and articulating these narratives within different cultural and linguistic boundaries and contexts. As an example of how public narrative can change over time, Baker (2006) pointed out that Nelson Mandela was widely represented as a terrorist in the 1960s to the late 1980s but when the international anti-apartheid movement gained power in the 1970s and 1980s, Mandela became an international hero and a symbol of resistance.

The relationship between ontological and public narratives is crucial in the context of translation. According to Baker, both ontological and public narratives constrain each other interchangeably. On the one hand, personal narratives are constrained by symbols and formulations derived from public narratives. On the other hand, personal narratives contribute to the elaboration and maintenance of public narratives which are circulated by powerful agents such as the media. Baker added that a

personal narrative is ignored and not recognized by powerful agents through non-translation if it opposes the mainstream public narratives in a target culture. In some cases, personal narratives are translated and allowed to be circulated within public narratives of a target culture when they are framed in a specific way that undermines them. Baker noticed that

the issue of selecting what to translate, when resources are restricted, is thus one that can be informed by a better understanding of the contribution that personal narratives, unique and incidental as they are, can make to a broader project of questioning dominant, reductive public narratives of any conflict.

(2014b, p. 165)

The third type of narratives are conceptual or disciplinary narratives. Somers and Gibson (1994) defined conceptual narratives as concepts and explanations that social researchers construct in their studies. Yet, Baker expanded and elaborated more on this definition by include disciplinary narratives. She defined conceptual and disciplinary narratives as “the stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of inquiry” (Baker, 2006, p. 39). Baker believes that translators and interpreters can either promote or challenge any given conceptual narrative, and any conceptual narrative can affect and shape public narratives during a specific time period.

Baker (2006) mentioned James Mill’s *History of British India*, which was published in 1817, as an example of a conceptual narrative. According to Tesjawini Niranjana (1990), the history of British India relies on the translations of many British writers such as William Jones and others, who represented Indians as “insincere” and “untruthful”. Niranjana added that “Mill uses again and again in connection with the ‘Hindus’ the adjectives ‘wild’, ‘barbaric’, ‘savage’ and ‘rude’, thus forming by sheer

force of repetition a counter-discourse to the Orientalist hypothesis of an ancient civilization” (cited in Baker, 2006, p. 39). This example of a conceptual narrative reveals that the British emphasized their own conceptual narrative about Indians during the British colonial era of India.

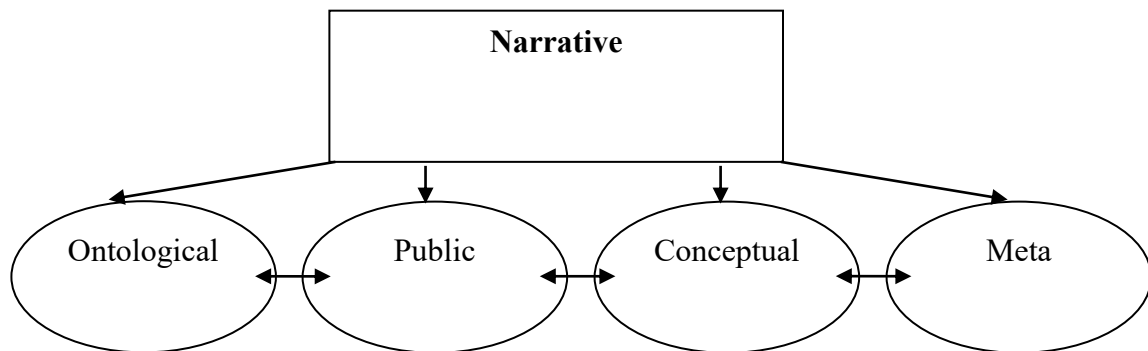
The last type of narratives is meta or master narratives, which are shared across different cultures and countries. Meta-narratives can travel beyond geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries of any society because of the media and the direct involvement of translators and interpreters. Meta-narratives can be “the epic dramas of our time: Capitalism vs. Communism, the Individual vs. Society, Barbarism/Nature vs. Civility”, and are those “in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history...Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, Enlightenment, etc” (Baker, 2006, p. 44). Baker added that the public narrative of the “War on Terror” is a recent example of meta-narrative which travels through the media across national boundaries and impacts every one. According to Baker, the words “terror” and “terrorism” have different features. For example, the word “terrorism” refers to one or more incidents involving violence, while the word “terror” refers to something that can rapidly spread across national boundaries. In fact, Baker indicated the importance of narrative theory and its use within TS discipline. She believes that

narrative theory allows us to look beyond accuracy and equivalence [...] and to recognize that a much more complex process is involved, one that does not even start from a source text and proceed to a translation and does not allow for any boundary to be drawn between the two.

(2014b, p. 172)

The theoretical concepts of narrative and types of narratives are introduced in *Figure 1*. *Figure 1* also illustrates the relationship between the four types of narratives through the arrows that link them:

Figure 1: Types of Narrative



The first theoretical component and its sub-components will be used to uncover types of Syrian citizens’ narratives which are selected and translated by English-language newspapers. This component will explain the choice of lexical items in relation to wider social and political contexts. It will also allow us to identify the selected Syrian narrators of the SHD and the selected themes and contents of their narratives and quotations.

2.4.2 Narrative Features

This dissertation uses Baker’s (2006) theoretical and conceptual insights on narrative features because of their relevance to translation studies. However, Somers (1992, 1994, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994) also proposed four features of narrative and narrativity which are mostly employed in social sciences, and which are useful here. These are “temporality”, “causal employment”, “relationality”, and “selective appropriation”. It is worth noting that Jerome Bruner (1991) also suggested other

narrative features⁵ but, they either overlap with Somers and Gibson’s four narrative features or they are less applicable to the dissertation’s objectives and topic.

The first narrative feature, named temporality, is understood as “constitutive of narrativity” and can be defined as a feature whereby “the elements of a narrative are always placed in *some* sequence, and that the order in which they are placed carries meaning” (Baker, 2006, pp. 50-51, *emphasis in original*). In the same vein, Paul Ricoeur suggested that narrativity and temporality are in a reciprocal relation. He considered “temporality to be that structure of existence that reaches language in narrativity and narrativity to be the language structure that has temporality as its ultimate referent” (1980, p. 169). Indeed, representation of narratives relies on the organization of the sequence of narrative elements in texts and visual materials such as news images and videos. Many institutions, especially media outlets, maintain a specific chronological order of events and impose a specific temporal structure and sequence of narrative elements according to several factors, such as the institution’s policy, norms, gate-keeping, and agenda-setting. Thus, the meaning of the events and narrative elements vary when the chronological order of these events and the sequencing of narrative elements are changed or modified. Also, the sequence of a narrative and the order of narrative elements in a text can affect and constrain the audiences’ interpretation and understanding of its meaning. In effect, every narrative has a specific temporal and sequential structure, that is, it has a beginning, middle, and end.

⁵ These features are narrative diachronicity, particularity, intentional state entailment, hermeneutic composability, canonicity and breach, referentiality, genericness, normativeness, context sensitivity and negotiability, and narrative accrual.

Temporality also means that people's narratives of events and the world are "historic laden" (Somers & Gibson, 1994). Thus, historicity is a function of narrativity and "a resource that narrators draw on in order to enhance identification with a current narrative and enrich it with implicit detail" (Baker, 2006, p. 57). For example, a translator can use specific representations and lexical items to imply and arouse certain historical events. In this sense, Baker (2006) mentioned that the narrative of Black people's suffering from racism and slavery in the United States draws on the historical narrative of Jewish suffering through the use of particular words and terms such as memorial, monuments, apologies, diaspora, testimony, descendants, and survivors. It is worth pointing out that temporality narrative feature can be used in different contexts and texts such as political, social, literary, and medical. For example, Robert Barsky (1993) explained the relationship between interpreters and asylum seekers, in which time and space are not objective realities; he believes that interpreters have to measure and evaluate the meaning of time differently for persons from different cultures.

The second narrative feature, causal emplotment, "gives significance to independent instances, and overrides their chronological or categorical order" (Somers, 1997, p. 82). While Baker argues that causal emplotment "allows us to *weight* and *explain* events rather than simply list them, to turn a set of propositions into an intelligible sequence about which we can form an opinion. It thus charges the events depicted with moral and ethical significance" (2006, p. 67, *emphasis in original*). The use of this narrative feature assists in re-ordering the same events and narrative elements and weaving them into other events and narratives. However, "causal emplotment means that two people may agree on a set of 'facts' or events but disagree strongly on how to

interpret them in relation to each other” (ibid). Like temporality, causal emplotment can be seen in the narrative through the sequence and temporal ordering of events. But causal emplotment usually marks events and narrative elements with moral and ethical implications.

In fact, translators can benefit from casual emplotment narrative features, which contribute to the changing of the order of events and narrative elements of an original narrative by choosing particular lexical items in order to produce in the target text a different pattern of causal emplotment which fits target audiences’ cultural and linguistic norms. Nevertheless, Baker assumes that translators and interpreters are not the only agents who can reconfigure patterns of causal emplotment but “[d]ifferent forms of intervention by other agents, combined with lexical items, often contribute to the elaboration of the reconfigured narrative” (2006, p. 71).

Baker (2006) offered an example of this in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She mentioned that one narrative represented Israeli-targeted assassinations as actions of Palestinian terror attacks, while another narrative represented a Palestinian suicide bombing as an outcome of Israeli state terrorism. In both competing narratives, there was an agreement on the facts and events, but disagreement on how the events and narrative elements were re-ordered and related to each other, which resulted in different interpretation of the same event.

Relationality is the third narrative feature, which means that every event and narrative should be interpreted and related to a larger configuration of events and narratives. Relationality clarifies that “it is impossible for the human mind to make sense of isolated events or of a patchwork of events that are not constituted as a narrative”

(Baker, 2006, p. 61). Accordingly, translators choose semantic equivalents that imply relational contexts and lead to specific interpretations in the target culture and for target readers. In effect, audiences and readers interpret each event and narrative within a larger configuration of events and narratives. It is true that a narrative consists of different elements, but these elements should be harmonized with each other in order to construct a coherent narrative. Some of these narrative elements are imported from another narrative, language, or culture. In this sense, Baker indicated that “[i]n the process of importing elements from another narrative, both the original narrative and our own narrative are inevitably *reconstituted*” (2006, p. 63, *emphasis in original*). Baker presented an example to reveal how translators used the feature of relationality in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict context. In some cases, translators avoided translating the Arabic word *shaheed* as *martyr* in English, because this word is associated and related to “Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism and suicide bombing” (ibid, p. 66).

The final narrative feature, named selective appropriation, refers to the selective process in which reality is represented, as well as to which sets of events and narrative elements are selected to be included in the target text and which other aspects of the narrative are excluded. Selective appropriation is an important narrative feature because it determines “where the choice of whose voice, which texts and which extracts from these texts are translated and made to ‘represent’ the values and ethos of the communities in question” (Baker, 2010b, p. 352). This narrative feature also manifests itself in patterns of addition and omission which serve to accentuate or suppress certain aspects of reality and narrative. Indeed, translators rely on the feature of selective appropriation in order to elaborate a specific narrative of events, groups, and even cultures. As an example of

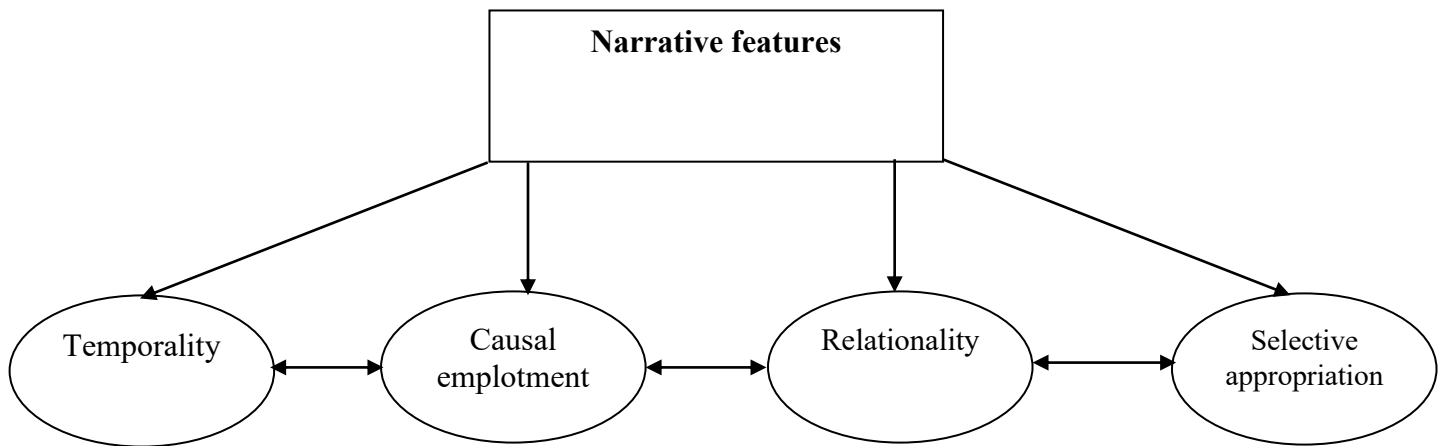
selective appropriation narrative feature in the context of translation, Baker mentions that MEMRI⁶ selected for translation news stories and reports which represented the Arabs in a negative manner, especially in the Israeli-Arab conflict context.

Baker determined that the above-mentioned four narrative features are interrelated and have a significant impact on events and narratives, especially when dealing with translations of events and narratives between different cultural and linguistic contexts and for different target audiences and readers. It is worth noting that “[a]ll of these features can be, and are, manipulated by communicators, including translators and interpreters, either intentionally or unintentionally” (Harding, 2013, p. 106).

The four narrative features and the relationship between them are presented in

Figure 2:

Figure 2: Narrative Features



The second theoretical component and its sub-components will be employed to examine the role and function of narrative features in the translated quotations. It will also allow

⁶ MEMRI (Middle East Media Research Institute) is an American institute which translates and publishes free English versions of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Pashto, and Turkish media reports.

us to understand how the SHD narrative works in the news texts of the selected English-language newspapers, and how these media outlets benefit from the use of narrative features to construct and represent a coherent SHD narrative to their target readers.

2.4.3 Narrative Framing

The dissertation's theoretical framework employs narrative framing theory to analyze and examine the ways English-language newspapers frame, select, accentuate, include, exclude, or modify facts and aspects of the SHD as represented in the Syrian citizens' translated quotations and narratives. The following section introduces various theoretical and conceptual definitions and approaches for narrative framing and frames, and their implications and relevance to the dissertation's theoretical framework.

To begin with, Erving Goffman's (1967, 1981, 1986) notion of framework is established on the individual's framing of activities and events which affect their verbal and physical actions. In his definition of the concept of framework, Goffman stated that "each primary framework allows its users to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms" (1986, p. 21). He distinguished two classes of primary frameworks: natural and social. Natural frameworks are formed by natural determinants and without any interference of agents and actors, while social frameworks offer background understanding and information about events and are affected by motives and intents of social agents and actors who select and apply certain social frameworks of understanding. Goffman concluded that "we tend to perceive events in terms of primary frameworks, and the type of framework we employ provides a way of describing the event to which it is applied" (ibid, p. 24).

For his part, Robert Entman (1991, 1993, 2004, 2007, 2010) identified the concept and function of framing within media and news discourse. According to Entman, news frames involve two main aspects: “selection” and “salience”. He demonstrated that framing an event means “to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described” (1993, p. 52, *emphasis in original*). Thus, Entman identified four main functions of news framing: 1) to define problems and determine the actions of a causal agent and the costs and benefits, 2) to diagnose causes and identify who creates the problem, 3) to make moral judgments and evaluate the effect of a causal agent, and 4) to suggest remedies and predict their effects.

Entman argued that news frames “are typically a part of the reporting process for three different classes of objects: political events, issues, and actors (who may be individual leaders, groups, or nations)” (2004, p. 23). Accordingly, he suggested four locations of frames in any communication process: 1) the communicator, 2) the text, 3) the receiver, and 4) the culture. The communicator decides consciously or unconsciously what to say, guided by frames that organize his/her belief systems. The text includes frames which are revealed by the presence or absence of specific key words, stereotypes, images, facts and information, and sources of information. The frames in a communicating text and the framing intention of the communicator may or may not reflect the frames which guide the receiver’s thinking and conclusion about a communicating event. Finally, the culture consists of a set of common frames in the discourse of most people who live in a particular society and culture.

In this sense, Entman mentioned that verbal and visual frames can be distinguished in a news text “by their capacity to stimulate support or opposition to the sides in a political conflict” (2004, p. 6). This capacity can be measured by what Entman called “cultural resonance and magnitude”. Hence, news frames that consist of more culturally resonant terms have an influential impact on audiences and their feelings. News frames “use words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say *noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged*” (ibid, *emphasis in original*), while magnitude “taps the *prominence and repetition* of the framing words and images” (ibid, *emphasis in original*). In fact, journalists frequently use and repeat certain words, phrases, and images in order to enlarge certain aspects of reality and narratives and diminish others.

Entman also noticed that “[m]ost frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience” (1993, p. 54). He added that “[n]ews frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative” (1991, p. 7). As a result, news frames identify dominant actors and voices within the text, and the interaction between news sources and journalists constitute the framing process of any news text. Therefore, framing and news frames play a substantial role in the representation process of events, groups, places, nations, and cultures. Entman added that “frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way” (2007, p. 164). In this sense, journalists and political actors can shape

news texts through the framing process to influence agendas and priorities that audiences think about. If journalists rely on the same news sources, they produce texts and images that reinforce the same verbal and visual frames and one-sided framing of the event.

Entman associated framing and news frames to media bias and news slant. He differentiated between three kinds of media bias: 1) distortion bias, which occurs with purportedly distorted news, 2) content bias, which refers to news stories that include slanted frames and favor one side of a political conflict and ignores the other, and 3) decision-making bias, which occurs with biased news texts and contents that are motivated by journalists and media decision-makers' belief system. News slant "occurs when a news report emphasizes one side's preferred frame in a political conflict while ignoring or derogating another side's" (Entman, 2010, p. 392). In effect, a news text encourages audiences to pay attention and weight certain aspects of reality and narrative and ignore others. Entman added that "[s]lanted framing results from the interaction of real world developments, cultural norms, and journalistic decision rules with the sometimes proficient and other times maladroit efforts of competing elites to manage the news" (2010, p. 389).

Using narrative framing as a theoretical and conceptual foundation in translation studies when we are dealing with news translation is important because it reveals how different frames embedded in a translated text can affect the representation of a reality and narrative, and can influence the audiences' perception of a particular event. It also allows us to compare media narratives of the same event and reveals how different choices of words, phrases, and images as frames can shift the audiences' attention towards certain aspects of an event and narrative. Discussing framing and news frames

from a translation studies perspective, Baker suggested that translation “may be seen as a frame in its own right, whether in its literal or metaphorical sense” (2006, p. 106). In fact, translators rely on various framing strategies and tools to accentuate or undermine certain aspects of reality and narrative encoded in a source text. In view of that, Baker defined narrative framing in translation “as an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality” (ibid). However, the concept of frame “overlaps with but is sufficiently distinct from that of narrative to be helpful as a complementary tool of analysis – specifically in terms of demonstrating how the ‘same’ narrative can be framed in very different ways by different narrators” (2010, p. 353).

Baker considers translation to encompass many interpretive frames and framing strategies for mediating narratives of a source text into a target text. Some of these framing strategies include frame ambiguity, temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation, and framing by labeling. Frame ambiguity and temporal and spatial framing are two framing strategies which essentially rely on the context of a narrative, while selective appropriation and framing by labeling are two framing strategies that intervene in the text itself where narratives are represented.

Framing of events and narratives in any communicative event is affected by frame ambiguity. Frame ambiguity, as explained by Baker, means that narrative elements of the same event can be framed in different ways in order to promote and legitimize competing narratives of that event. This ambiguity can be resolved, obscured, or exploited in translation by selecting particular linguistic items to frame events and narratives in different names. Eventually, a conflict can be framed in translation in many different

names and according to the translator's position. For example, a conflict can be framed as "war", "civil war", "terrorist acts", "inter-state war", "war of independence", or "state terror" (e.g. Blum-Kulka & Liebes, 1993; Chilton, 1997; Smith, 1997). Also, the framing of a conflict or an event is affected by the translator's narrative position and his/her political and ideological beliefs, as well as the target audiences' wants and needs and their cultural norms.

Temporal and spatial framing is another framing strategy that can be used in translation and by translators. This framing strategy "involves selecting a particular text and embedding it in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative it depicts and encourages us to establish links between it and current narratives that touch our lives" (Baker, 2006, p. 112). Hence, any narrative viewpoint is emphasized or undermined by embedding the translated text in a specific temporal and spatial frame in order to project it in a new cultural and social context and for new target audiences. As a result, translators and interpreters utilize the temporal and spatial framing strategy to guide target audiences to interpret a narrative in a specific way and to establish links between that narrative and other narratives. Translators and interpreters also use this framing strategy to avoid a direct intervention in the source text itself.

Selective appropriation framing strategy is broadly used by media and news translators to stress or undermine certain aspects of events and narratives, and to either elaborate or modify narratives. In contrast to the temporal and spatial framing strategy, which relies on the context to emphasize certain aspects of a narrative, translators and interpreters use selective appropriation framing strategy to intervene in the source text itself. Selective appropriation framing can be applied to textual materials within different

media such as literature, the media, and interpretation. Baker claimed that selective appropriation framing strategy “is realized in patterns of omission and addition designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative encoded in the source text or utterance, or aspects of the larger narrative(s) in which it is embedded” (2006, p. 114). She added that “[s]election of material to highlight, add or suppress aspects of the immediate narrative is then a question of the larger narrative in which the interpreting or translation is embedded” (ibid, p. 122).

Jeremy Munday (2002) presented a good example of the use of selective appropriation framing strategy in a news translation context. He analyzed three English translations of Gabriel García Márquez’s two-page column about the story of a six-year-old Cuban boy and his relatives who were rescued by the US navy after their boat capsized while attempting to flee Cuba to the USA. Munday noticed that the cuts and omissions in the English translations included details and information that negatively represented and narrated the US authorities and revealed the mistreatment of the Cuban family, as well as the bad history of bilateral relations between the USA and Cuba.

Similar to selective appropriation, framing by labeling strategy allows translators to get involved in the source text. Baker defined framing by labeling as “any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative” (p. 122). Different labeling used by translators to identify a participant in a narrative may provide an interpretive frame which normally guides and restricts the audiences’ response to that narrative. For example, translators use euphemisms as interpretive frames in many of their translations, especially in political and ideological contexts. For example, Baker (2006) noticed that during the

Afghanistan and the two Iraq wars, the phrase “civilian contractors” was used as a euphemism for “hired guns” or “mercenaries”. In fact, any linguistic item can be used in translation to label key narrative elements and this labeling can be associated with different political and social context of larger narratives in which a target text is represented. For example, the British newspaper *The Sun* labeled the 1991 massive bombardment of Iraq as “blitz on Baghdad”. This label “reduces the slaughter to a game of alliteration” (Keeble, 2005, p. 43).

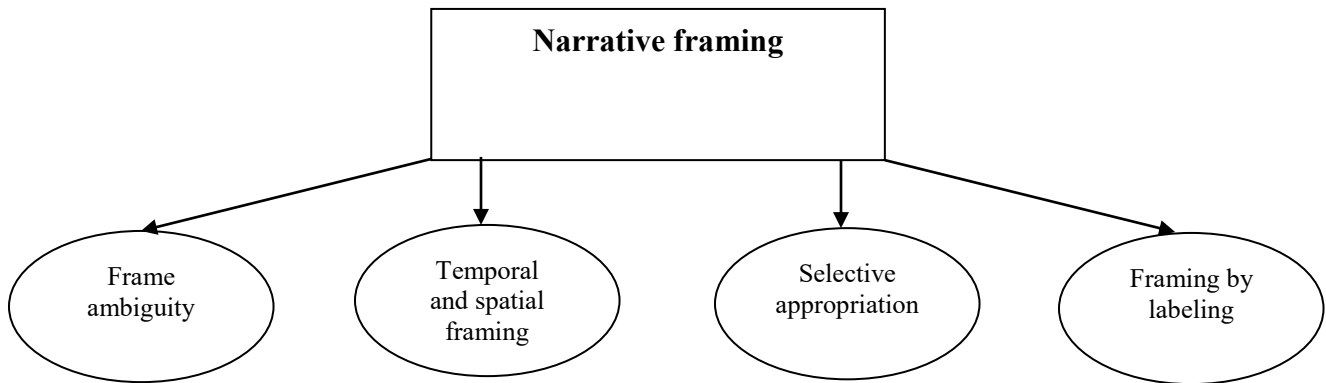
In addition, Baker (2006) suggested that rival systems of naming and titles of textual and visual materials can be a powerful means of framing by labeling, which guides and constrains the audiences’ interpretation of an event or narrative. Rival systems of naming are specifically related to naming persons, groups, and places. Indeed, rival systems are frequently problematic in translation because of their political and social meanings and implications, especially when translators deal with international events and political conflicts. Baker (2006) offered an example of translations of rival place names in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Translators who work for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) adopt a specific strategy in order to avoid naming places by their Arabic or Israeli names. When the BBC quotes Israeli politicians, translators leave the name of places as mentioned by the news source but they gloss their Arabic names only the first time they are mentioned. For example, the first mention of *Judea and Samaria* is glossed in square brackets as *West Bank*, while the following mentions of the same place name is left unglossed. Indeed, translators signal their political and ideological position in relation to the narrative when they use particular rival place names, and that imposes an ethical dilemma. For that reason, translators and

interpreters “may want to consider the larger narratives in which a text or utterance is embedded in order to make an informed decision about how to handle names, especially rival names of places” (Baker, 2006, p. 127).

Nonetheless, titles of textual and visual materials such as media and news texts are not part of rival systems of naming, but they are part of framing by labeling, which can be used by translators to (re)frame a narrative. Baker confirmed that the “use of titles to reframe narratives in translation is often accompanied by subtle shifts in the texts themselves, in line with the narrative position signalled in the new title” (2006, p. 130). Baker revealed how changing titles in translation can differently (re)frame a narrative after examining a book entitled *Anwar Sadat: Visionary Who Dared*, which was written in 1996 by the Jewish writer Joseph Finklestone and had been translated into Arabic in 1999 by Adel Abdel Sabour under the different title, *Al-Sadat: Wahm Al-Tahaddi (Sadat: The Illusion of Challenge)*. Baker remarked that the author of the original book and its title represents a positive narrative and representations of the Egyptian president Sadat, while the Arabic book and title represent a different narrative of Sadat and his role in the “Peace Process”. This translated narrative of Sadat is appropriate to most of the Arab target readers who believe that Sadat was an “American stooge” who wanted to sell his own people and the Palestinians to make peace with Israel. Baker (2006) also observed a series of subtle shifts throughout the Arabic translation that reinforced the (re)framing of the English title to fit the Arab target readers’ beliefs and norms.

The four narrative framing strategies are presented in *Figure 3*:

Figure 3: Narrative Framing



The third theoretical component and its sub-components will be utilized to explore how the selected English-language newspapers use certain linguistic choices to frame key narrative elements, aspects, and events of the SHD as represented in the Syrian citizens’ translated narratives and quotations. These selected linguistic frames and collocational patterns will also identify the position of the media outlets towards representing different aspects and groups of the SHD.

2.4.4 Representation of the Other

Many scholars have attempted to understand the relationship between translation as a constitutive agent of reality and the representation of the Other. No doubt, translation “is one of the core practices through which any cultural group constructs representations of another” (Baker, 2014a, p. 15). However, news media outlets are major vehicles that publish and circulate dominant discourses by shaping words and images that emphasize the conflict and “crisis of representation” between the Self and the Other, especially when dealing with the relationship between Western and Eastern or Muslim societies and

cultures (e.g. Poole, 2002; Hafez, 2000; Karim, 2003; Jiwani, 2014; Eid & Karim, 2014; Perigoe & Eid, 2014).

The concept of representation, according to Jack Goody (1997), has a plurality of meanings and is basic to human communication and culture. It “means a presenting again, a presenting of something not present, which may take a linguistic as well as a visual form” (p. 31). He believes that changes in the media have resulted in a mass culture of representations due to the overwhelming presence of icons and dramatic representations. By the same token, Elfriede Fürsich (2010) assumed that “representations are embedded in the 24-hour saturated media stream and establish norms and common sense about people, groups and institutions in contemporary society” (p. 115). Thus, representation in media messages goes beyond just reflecting a reality; it indeed creates and constructs reality and images that carry ideological implications because it is constituted in culture, meaning, and knowledge about the Self and the Other.

Stuart Hall’s approach to the relationship between language, ideology, and the practices of representation is beneficial to this dissertation’s theoretical framework. According to Hall, representation connects meaning and language to culture; it is “an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It *does* involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things” (1997a, p. 15, *emphasis in original*). Hall defined the concept of representation as

the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to *refer* to either the ‘real’ world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events.

(1997a, p. 17, *emphasis in original*)

Based on his definition, Hall proposed two systems of representation. First, there is the system of concepts and images, which is associated with concepts and mental representations of objects, people, and events. Hence, people are able to understand the meaning of the world and things around them through the first system of representation. The second system of representation, named the system of writing and spoken language, constructs the meaning of things and entities. Through this system, people who have a common language are able to represent and exchange concepts and meanings about the world with written words or spoken sounds. Hall named the term that we use for words and sounds that carry meanings as “signs”. These signs represent the concepts in our head and the conceptual relations between them, and together they form the “meaning-systems” of a common culture. Thus, representation is the process which connects things, concepts, and signs together, and this process lies within the production of meaning in language. Hall pointed out that

signs are organized into languages and it is the existence of common languages which enable us to translate our thoughts (concepts) into words, sounds or images, and then to use these, operating as a language, to express meanings and communicate thoughts to other people.

(1997a, p. 18)

Hall (1997a) explained how representation connects meaning and language to culture based on three different approaches. First, there is the reflective approach, which looks at language as simply a reflection of an existing meaning about an object, person, idea, or event in the real world. The second approach is the intentional approach, which deals with language as a medium to express and communicate the speaker’s or the writer’s intended and unique meaning of the world and things. However, Hall argued that intended and unique meanings must be ruled by shared and common rules, codes, and

conventions of language in order for the intended meaning to be understood. According to the final approach, named the constructionist or constructivist approach, things and the material world around us do not convey meaning; instead, we construct the meaning of things and the material world through our language and representational system; i.e. concepts and signs. According to Hall, concepts form a system of mental representation which divides the material world into meaningful categories while signs form the language as a medium where social actors communicate the meaningful world to others. Yet, signs can only convey meanings if they are ruled by the codes of social conventions and agreements that allow us to translate concepts into language and vice versa.

In addition, Hall examined the relationship between representation and stereotype, and paid particular attention to the representational practices or “stereotyping” of the Other in Western popular culture and the mass media. On the one hand, Hall claimed that “[r]epresentation is a complex business and, especially when dealing with ‘difference’, it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fears and anxieties in the viewer” (1997b, p. 226). On the other hand, he asserted that “[s]tereotyping reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature” (ibid, p. 257). Thus, stereotypes reduce everything about a specific person or group to a few simple and memorable traits and norms, then exaggerate and simplify these traits. Hall concluded that “*stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes ‘difference’*” (ibid, p. 258, *emphasis in original*).

According to Hall, stereotyping uses a strategy of “splitting”. It excludes everything which does not fit into a normal and acceptable category such as an acceptable behavior in a specific culture. In other words, stereotyping expels the Other and his/her

traits and everything different from the Self. Stereotyping occurs where there are inequalities of power, i.e. where the powerful Self stereotypes and represents the weak Other of a different culture. Hence, texts “do not express a meaning (which resides elsewhere) or ‘reflect reality’: they produce a representation of ‘the real’ which the viewer is positioned to take as a mirror reflection of the real world” (Hall, 1980, p. 149). In effect, there is a connection between representation, difference, and power within stereotyping. Hall believes that difference “*matters because it is essential to meaning; without it, meaning could not exist*” (1997b, p. 234, *emphasis in original*). In view of that, he explored four theoretical underpinnings in order to further explain the relationship between representation, difference, and the relation to Otherness.

First, he explored the theoretical linguistics approach which is associated with Ferdinand de Saussure’s insight on the use of language. Saussure argued that it is the difference between “white” and “black” which signifies and conveys meaning, and it is through the difference and contrast with its opposition that we know what “black” means. Accordingly, Saussure postulated that meaning is relational between differences, contrasts, and binary oppositions. However, the French philosopher Jacques Derrida claimed that there are very few neutral binary oppositions, and usually one pole of the binary dominates the other according to a relation of power between the two poles in a binary oppositions such as white (dominant)/black (dominated) and the Western (dominant)/the Oriental (dominated). Thus, Saussure’s theory is problematic as it does not take this into account.

The second theoretical approach discussed by Hall is based on theories of languages. These theories confirm that difference is important because “*we can only*

construct meaning through a dialogue with the 'Other'” (Hall, 1997b, p. 235, emphasis in original). One of the founders of this theoretical school is the Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin, who claimed that meaning is signified and modified by the interaction with the Other, who is essential to meaning. It is through difference between the people who participate in any dialogue that meaning is created.

Hall’s third theoretical approach is the anthropological approach, which explores the importance of difference and Otherness in order to construct meaning. According to this approach, *“culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system. The marking of ‘difference’ is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture” (Hall, 1997b, p. 236, emphasis in original).* Many anthropologists and sociologists assume that social groups organize and order things into classification systems in order for them to impose meaning on their world. However, binary oppositions are important for all classification because through these binary oppositions one detects differences between things, gives cultural meaning, and classifies them.

The last theoretical approach addressed by Hall is psychoanalytic: this refers the function of difference in the psychic life. This approach asserts that *“the ‘Other’ is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects, and to sexual identity” (Hall, 1997b, p. 237, emphasis in original).* Sigmund Freud, the founder of this approach, offered an example of the relationship between a boy and his father and a girl and her mother. This relationship and the sexual difference between the Self and the Other define the Self’s identity and his/her sexual identity as well.

In addition to Hall's theoretical approaches to representation, this dissertation's theoretical foundation also utilizes Edward Said's (1994a, 1994b, 1997) approach and his theory of the representation of the Other, and how Western literature, writers, and media represent the Orient, Arabs, and Muslims. According to Said, Orientalism is a "system of knowledge" about the Orient and it is one of the Western world's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (1994a, pp. 1-2). Consequently, the "relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (ibid, p. 5). In fact, Said divided his research and analysis of "contemporary reality" about the Western representation of the Oriental into three aspects: the distinction between pure and political knowledge, the methodological question, and the personal dimension.

In terms of the first aspect, Said identified his formal and professional designation of knowledge as humanist rather than political because "true knowledge" is essentially non-political. According to Said, Orientalism is not just a diffuse collection of texts about the Orient but it is a discourse that is produced and shaped by the exchange with power political such as colonial establishment, power intellectual such as linguistics, power cultures such as texts, and power moral such as the bilateral relations between the Self and the Other as reflected in the "we/they" and "us/them" dichotomy. Orientalism is also "a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture" (Said, 1994a, p. 12).

While the section on the methodological question lists the selected texts, authors, and periods relevant and appropriate for the study, in fact, Said's study of Orientalism focused on Anglo-French-American experience of the Orient, specifically the Arabs and

Islam representations. As well, his study emphasized the dynamic exchange between British, French, and American authors' historical and intellectual backgrounds, their political concerns in the Orient, and their culture. In order to conduct the study, Said relied on two methodological strategies for studying authority about Orientalism: strategic location and strategic formation. The first methodological strategy describes an author's position and location in the text and with relation to the Oriental materials in the text. The author's position in the text was identified by his/her narratives of the Orient, as well as the kinds of images and themes included in the text in order to represent the Orient to readers. The second methodological strategy analyzed the relationship between texts and how groups, texts, and textual genres can obtain space and power in the culture.

The final aspect, personal dimension, emphasized authors' "Oriental" orientation in their writings and texts where the "Islamic Orient has had to be the center of attention" (1994a, p. 26). In fact, Said's analysis of Orientalism reflects on the cultural representation of the Other in Oriental texts where

[l]anguage itself is a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and so forth. In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation.

(1994a, p. 21, *emphasis in original*)

Said pointed out that the most significant thing about the Orientalist discourse of the first decade of the 20th century was that the Westerners dominated the Orientals, occupied their land, and controlled their internal affairs. The Westerners knew the Orientals very well and this knowledge gave them power to control and dominate them. Said asserted that "the Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks" (1994a, p. 40,

emphasis in original). These Western dominating frameworks represented the Oriental as the one who acts, speaks, and thinks differently from the European.

The relationship between the East and the West had been characterized by two features since the mid-18th century. The first feature had to do with the “growing systematic knowledge” of the Orient in Europe. This systematic knowledge was driven during the colonial era by the European interest in knowing the developing sciences of the Orient. In addition, the literature produced by many novelists, poets, and translators added more knowledge and information to the European systematic knowledge of the Orient. The second feature of the European-Oriental political, cultural, and religious relationships revealed that Europe was always in a position of power and domination, and the Orient was in the weak and dominated position. Said extracted many words that were used to express this relationship between Europe and the Orient during the 18th century. The Orient was represented in the Western discourse as “irrational”, “depraved”, “childlike”, and “different”, while the European represented him/herself as “rational”, “virtuous”, “mature”, and “normal”.

The European’s perception of the Orient took different forms in the end of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th and 20th centuries because of the literature about the Orient inherited from the European past and the Oriental renaissance, which created a new awareness of the Orient for many European thinkers, politicians, and artists. This awareness of modern Orientalism was a result of “newly discovered and translated Oriental texts in languages like Sanskrit, Zend, and Arabic; it was also the result of a newly perceived relationship between the Orient and the West” (Said, 1994a, p. 42). Said summarized the relationship between Europe and the Orient as follows: the Westerners

were “rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion” (ibid, p. 49), while the Arab-Orientals lacked these characteristics. The Arabs “are thought of as camel-riding, terroristic, hook-nosed, venal lechers whose undeserved wealth is an affront to real civilization” (ibid, p. 108).

In effect, Said affirmed that Western knowledge about the Orient was not based on reality, but rather was established with repeated information and ideas transmitted from one text to another. Hence, the main aspects of modern Orientalism cannot be understood as related to objective knowledge about the Orient, “but as a set of structures inherited from the past, secularized, redisposed, and reformed by such disciplines as philology... In the form of new texts and ideas, the East was accommodated to these structures” (1994a, p. 122). Thus, the writing of many Orientalists⁷ in the 18th and 19th centuries represented the Orient by selecting and translating particular texts and a series of representative textual fragments from the Orient, which were republished again as Oriental literature and knowledge discourse for later Western generations and audiences. This knowledge process was featured as “a process of selective accumulation, displacement, deletion, rearrangement, and insistence” (ibid, p. 176).

Said also scrutinized Orientalism in the 20th century, i.e. during the British and French colonization and occupation of the East, when they controlled the Orient’s “freedom and knowledge”. At that time, the Oriental “belonged to the system of rule whose principle was simply to make sure that no Oriental was ever allowed to be independent and rule himself” (1994a, p. 229). According to Said, the West relied on two

⁷ For example, the writings of Edward William Lane in Britain, and Silvestre de Sacy, Ernest Renan, and François-René de Chateaubriand in France.

main methods to provide knowledge about the Orient to its audiences in the early 20th century. The first method was by “modern learning” and through learned professions, academic institutions, professional societies, and the publishing industry, while the second method was through an “important convergence”. This convergence occurred when Orientalists started to advise Western governments about the reality of the modern Orient. As a result, the role of Orientalists and their exploring missions to know the Orient changed from that of individual initiators into hired special agents, advisors, and representatives for Western governments.

Another facet of Orientalism explored by Said is Islamic Orientalism in the 20th century. The Islamic Orientalist expressed a “*resistance* to change, to mutual comprehension between East and West, to the development of men and women out of archaic, primitive classical institutions and into modernity” (1994a, p. 263, *emphasis in original*). Nonetheless, Islam has been misrepresented in the West because all representations are “embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representer” (ibid, p. 272). In this sense, representation as formations or deformations embedded in the language accomplished one or many tasks. For example, Arab and Muslim representations have become a caricature in American popular culture, as well as in the academic world and policy planners’ agendas.

Said also explored Orientalism and Islamic Orientalism in their latest phase in the 20th century after World War II, especially the Orientalism in the American culture and academic milieu, which eventually replaced the European-based Orientalism. He categorized the American representations of Islam and the Arabs into four types: 1) popular images and social science representations, 2) cultural relations policy, 3) merely

Islam, and 4) Orientals, Orientals, and Orientals. He provided several examples of how Arabs are represented in the American culture and popular images. Most of these popular images and representations have a “negative value” of the Arabs and Muslims. For example, the Arab had been represented and stereotyped in American culture and media after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War as something menacing and as a disrupter of Israel and the West’s existence and values. Additionally, most of the cartoon depictions of Arabs in the American media represented the “Arab sheik” standing behind a gasoline pump. The Arabs have always been portrayed in large numbers in news images, and most of these images “represent mass rage and misery, or irrational (hence hopelessly eccentric) gestures. Lurking behind all of these images is the menace of *jihad*” (Said, 1994a, p. 287, *emphasis in original*).

According to Said, the Arab has been represented in the American media with many negative words and phrases such as “murderer”, “violent”, “slave trader”, “camel rider”, and “a hater of the Jews and Israel”. American media started to represent and stereotype the Orientalized Islam as a “new empire of evil” after the demise of the Soviet Union, viewing Islam as a “religion of terrorism”, “violence”, and “tyranny”. These negative values and characteristics of the Arabs as embedded in the choice of lexical items were reinforced and supported by American academia as well. As a result, the Arab has been made to be represented for the American audiences because they cannot represent themselves.

The second American representation type used in the 20th century was “cultural relations policy”. The American interest in the Orient started during the 19th century and that was evident during the first annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in

1843, when its president invited the United States to study and explore the Orient and its culture “in order to follow the example of the imperial European powers” (Said, 1994a, p. 294). Thus, the study of the Orient was not simply academic and scholarly but rather it was political. This American interest in Oriental culture was translated into sending American missionaries to the Near East during the 19th and 20th centuries. Additionally, due to the cultural relations policy, attempts were made to obtain any significant publication published after 1900 in every Near Eastern language.

The third American representation type was “merely Islam”. According to Said, this type of representation of the Orient was seen from the perspective of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The good Arabs were the ones who accepted the existence of Israel and obeyed the Israeli and the West’s commands and orders, while the bad Arabs were the ones who opposed the existence of Israel and were labeled as “terrorists”.

The last American representation type was “Orientals, Orientals, and Orientals”. Said stated that the United States’ interest in the Middle East today is a priority. Indeed, most American policy advisors are expert Orientalists, and the Orientalist wants to see the Orient as an imitation West. These new Orientalist views of the Orient “are simply the old Orientalist stereotypes dressed up in policy jargon” (Said, 1994a, p. 321).

Said concluded that the literature about the Orient, named Orientalism, “is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire” (1994a, pp. 202-203). Said also argued that Orientalism’s objective discoveries “are and always have been conditioned by the fact that its truths, like any truths delivered by language, are embodied in language, and what is the truth of language” (ibid, p. 203). He asserted that each

society and age re-creates and represents its Others, but this representation of the Other can impose ethical dilemmas because it usually deals with different humans, races, religions, and civilizations. At the end, Said asked whether the representation is a useful one or is always “involved either in self-congratulation (when one discusses one’s own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the ‘Other’)?” (ibid, p. 325).

Because the concepts of representation and stereotype are interconnected, this dissertation’s theoretical foundation benefits from Walter Lippmann’s (1960, 2008) approach to stereotyping. Lippmann examined the relationship between stereotype and media representation of the Other when representing international news and events such as wars and conflicts. According to Lippmann, each party of any war or conflict believes in its picture of the opposite party and assumes that this picture is the absolute fact. He added that each party in times of wars and conflicts stereotypes the Other and the stereotype of the opposition is an unavoidable fact. During wars and conflicts, a high level of feelings and emotions are aroused, which “establish conflict, choice, hesitation, and compromise” (Lippmann, 1960, p. 11).

Lippmann claimed that the only feeling audiences can have about an event they do not experience is the feeling aroused by their mental images and symbolic pictures of that event. Each individual’s action is not based on direct and experienced knowledge, but on words and phrases that evoke images and symbolic pictures. These words and phrases are usually made by authorities, agents, or individuals such as journalists and editors. They shape mental images that determine the audiences’ feelings and emotions. Lippmann argued that the authorities’ choice of specific facts, messages, and vocabulary about an international event can form a pattern of stereotypes which should agree with

the audiences' beliefs and interests, and eventually affect their images, preconceptions, and prejudices about certain groups and cultures. For example, the same word in the reporter's mind might not call up the same idea and meaning in the reader's mind; if everyone interprets facts, ideas, or names in the same way though, the communication process will flow without misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

Audiences can only see one aspect and one phase of a reality, while their opinions cover a bigger space and a greater number of things that they can directly observe. The audiences' opinions have "to be pieced together out of what others have reported and what we can imagine" (Lippmann, 1960, p. 79). The "facts" that audiences see depend on their location and the habits of their eyes. Indeed, there is a connection between patterns of stereotypes and public opinion, and between our vision and the facts. Lippmann believed that "[f]or the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see" (1960, p. 81).

According to Lippmann, we define and stereotype things based on our culture, moral codes, social philosophies, and political agitations. Therefore, a pattern of stereotypes is not neutral but it is highly charged with feelings that are attached to this pattern because it engages our personal perceptions of reality and facts. He added that the "subtlest and most pervasive of all influences are those which create and maintain the repertory of stereotypes" (1960, pp. 89-90). In view of that, the media are very influential because they create patterns of stereotypes which greatly affect the audiences' process of perception about the world and events that they do not experience themselves. Audiences usually pay attention to facts that support their system and patterns of stereotypes and

ignore those that contradict and oppose their system and patterns of stereotypes.

Lippmann posited that

the stereotype not only saves time in a busy life and is a defense of our position in society, but tends to preserve us from all the bewildering effect of trying to see the world steadily and see it whole.

(1960, p. 114)

However, these systems and patterns of stereotypes raise moral and ethical dilemmas.

Although the facts are supposed to be neutral, authorities and individuals adjust and emphasize particular facts according to specific moral and ethical codes and canons and then represent these selected facts to the public. Accordingly, the public describe and judge events, people, and actions through their systems and patterns of stereotypes. In view of that, there is a pattern of stereotypes at the center of each moral and ethical code which determines what facts the public should see and read, and “a public opinion is primarily a moralized and codified version of the facts” (Lippmann, 1960, p. 125).

Lippmann pointed out that every news and editorial policy is imposed by the journal’s system of stereotypes, and the public’s access to information and facts about events is limited and controlled by this system of stereotypes. When two ideas come together, they arouse the same feeling and, even if this feeling is attached to one idea, our memory recalls any idea that relates to the same feeling. Therefore, “everything painful tends to collect into one system of cause and effect, and likewise everything pleasant” (Lippmann, 1960, p. 154). Moreover, original mental images and words which aroused mental images cannot be equal to the force of the feeling itself. If an event occurs out of sight and hearing, it cannot cover all dimensions of reality and facts. Hence, “the public opinions of any one community about the outer world consisted chiefly of a few

stereotyped images arranged in a pattern deduced from their legal and their moral codes, and animated by the feeling aroused by local experiences” (ibid, p. 174).

Lippmann also related truth and stereotypes. When there is a competition of opinions, “the truest will win because there is a peculiar strength in the truth” (Lippmann, 1960, p. 318). Truth is spontaneous and is secured when there is no external interference. But it becomes a complex matter in the context of an invisible environment. For example, newspapers cover and represent different events; however, some of these events occur beyond our experience and some of them within our experience. In this case, the constancy of the reader depends on how he/she feels and on his/her habits, as well as on the casual relation to the press.

Audiences pay close attention and show interest in the news that conforms to their systems and patterns of stereotypes, and they judge a newspaper based on the extent to which they feel themselves engaged. The media are responsible for stimulating the audiences’ participation in the news by “provoking feeling in the reader, of inducing him to feel a sense of personal identification with the stories he is reading” (Lippmann, 1960, p. 355). Yet, there is a difference between the role of news and truth. The “function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them into relation with each other, and make a picture of reality on which men can act” (ibid, p. 358). Thus, the body of truth and the body of news coincide to generate the entire picture of reality of an event.

In effect, representing other groups and cultures is often affected by the media’s stereotyping and framing, which greatly contribute in structuring the audiences’ perceptions of the Other, because the media are considered the primary source for

“knowledge and information about people, cultures, and actions around the globe” (Eid, 2014a, p. 99). Mahmoud Eid noticed that Western media represent and sometimes stereotype Eastern cultures and societies as inferior in comparison to Western cultures and societies, and they emphasize “the West” political, economic, and cultural domination over “the East”. Also, “[s]uch media images reinforce the representation of people from the Orient as incapable of defining themselves and needing to be either controlled or feared” (Eid, 2014a, p. 101). Eid determined that Western media represent Muslims through the use of different terminologies implicitly or explicitly, such as the use of “us” and “them” dichotomy. Moreover, most of the Western media representations of the Other are characterized by negative coverage of Muslims groups and societies, and portray them as “extremists”, “violent”, and involved in “terrorist activity”. Eid analyzed the 9/11 attacks in the United States as an example of how North American mainstream media and their conceptual frames represent Muslims after the attacks in a negative and distorted way, and with regard to violence and terrorism.

Eid revealed that during crises and conflicts, the Canadian media news coverage of Muslims “is largely fueled by the proliferation of images, texts, and messages that stereotype Islamic followers as incompatible with Canadian society” (2014a, p. 102). He added that the Canadian news coverage of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq “reinforce the broader political framing of Muslims as terrorists, mobilizing other negative metaphors and representations that fabricate an ‘enemy versus the West’ dichotomy” (ibid, p. 105). According to Eid, Western media outlets framed Muslims in “animalistic terms” when covering and representing the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. For example, reports and news texts on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq included many animal-related metaphors

and vocabulary such as “hunt”, “trap”, and “snare”. Eid (2014a) concluded that Western media representations of the Other were portrayed within two main frames: clashing with the West and involved in terrorism, extremism, and violence.

Similarly, Samuel Winch (2014) mentioned that “Western news media depictions of Middle Eastern – and specifically Arab subjects – tend to repeat similar stereotypes and myths” (p. 219). The use of particular language during Western media news coverage of international events represents Muslims as negative Other, which in fact imposes ethical dilemmas in terms of this news coverage and the associated representations due to ready-made stereotypes and distorted images of the Other’s culture. Also, it causes the questioning of media responsibility in representing the Other and framing news stories of international events. In this sense, Eid (2014a) emphasized the awareness of the Self and the media and their responsibility towards the Other, as well as the “equality of relationship” between the Self and the Other. He also called for fair and balanced modes of communication and media representations when labeling the Other, and the avoidance of stereotyping and distorting images of the Other and his/her culture.

For his part, Karim H. Karim (2014) asserted that the media’s naming and labeling of particular groups is fundamental for the development of their identifications within the Self/Other dichotomy. He added that the media’s naming and labeling of specific groups and social actors is part of its ideological strategies which help in representing specific point of views to global audiences. However, naming and labeling of specific groups undergoes a “redefinition” when the social perceptions of these groups change. In fact, the interpretations of such names and labeling can be changed over time when worldviews about the events change or when the media ideologically manipulate

meanings. Karim (2014) assumed that the “link between language, knowledge, and power gives elites the ability to use words to favor their own interests. Those who communicate to the public bear the ethical duty to engage in responsible uses of language” (p. 170).

It is also worth mentioning Doris Bachmann-Medick’s (2006) insight on the relationship between cultural translation and representation of the Other. Bachmann-Medick argued that a major problem in cultural translation is how to represent and translate the ways of thinking of other cultures “into the languages, the categories and the conceptual world of a Western audience” (2006, p. 35). For that reason, she asserted that within cultural globalization and its circulation and confrontations of symbols and images, cultural translation was no longer concerned with “faithfulness” to an “original” but “it took on the value of a medium through which specific representational conventions and a specific authority in cultural mediation establish themselves” (ibid, p. 36). According to Bachmann-Medick, cultural translation is a “cultural construction”. This cultural construction in one way or another is a translation and representation of the Other’s culture and its ways of thinking within a Western conceptual system which includes symbols, signs, and images.

There is always a possibility to manipulate and alter the text in cultural translation. This alteration is sometimes “motivated potentially by interests pertaining to both the source culture and the receiving culture” (Tymoczko, 2009, p. 179). Tymoczko claimed that “[t]ranslated representations of other cultures in situations involving violence can tend to the stereotypical, inflaming violence rather than calming it or promoting understanding” (ibid, p. 184). Similarly, Bielsa (2009) confirmed that cultural

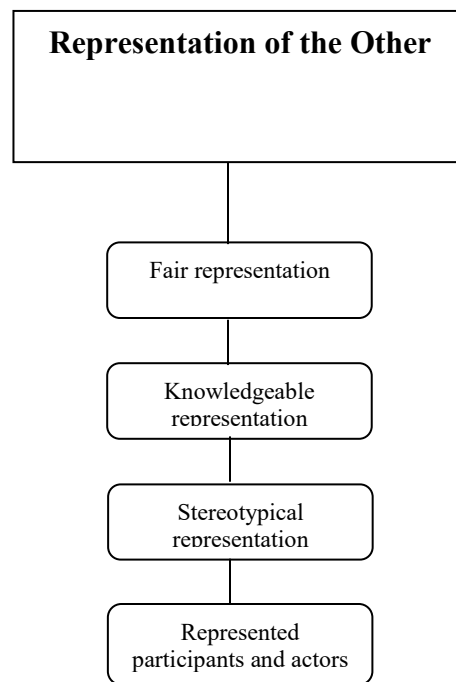
and news translations hide “the fact that they have originated in another language and that they have been manipulated to fit into new cultural and linguistic conventions” (p. 15).

It is also relevant to point out to the relationship between narrativity and representation. In effect, narrativity can be defined as a representational form and as a mode for representing reality and truth in which different social groups and their identities and events can be represented and constituted in the media as well as other institutions, and via the selection of particular narratives which uncover certain aspects and realities of an event.

The theoretical components of the “representation of the Other” are introduced in

Figure 4:

Figure 4: Representation of the Other



The fourth theoretical component and its sub-components will be used to determine how fair and knowledgeable the SHD events, participants, and actors are represented in the

news texts of the selected English-language newspapers. This component will also examine whether the selected and translated representations of reality and key narrative elements of the SHD are based on facts or stereotypes.

2.4.5 Media Responsibility

Claude-Jean Bertrand once said that “[i]t is usually in times of crisis that media start worrying about ethics” (2002, p. 149). The relationship between news translation and representation of the Other in news texts illuminates the ethical aspect of the translation process and media responsibility when it comes to problematic issues such as ideological, political, and textual manipulation and alteration. In effect, the selection of particular texts, quotations, information, and facts for translating and publishing imposes the question of media responsibility and the responsibility of journalists and translators towards target audiences, especially when translating and representing international events such as wars, conflicts, and humanitarian disasters. On this topic, Baker has stated that translators and interpreters encounter ethical choices and decisions with every translation process; they can either choose to “reproduce existing ideologies as encoded in the narratives elaborated in the text or utterance, or to dissociate themselves from those ideologies” (2006, p. 105). In the same token, Moira Inghilleri stressed that “[t]ranslators, particularly those working in conflict situations, operate under social/international conditions that can disrupt or disturb the means by which a space for notions of transcultural consciousness, humanity or ethical responsibility is realized” (2009, p. 209).

Media responsibility towards the public is crucial to an effective communication process, especially during severe situations such as wars, conflicts, and humanitarian disasters. Some fundamental media responsibilities towards the public when covering and

representing severe situations include “the dilemmas of labeling actors (whether to be called freedom fighters, retaliators, or terrorist) and choosing whether to cover or not” (Eid, 2014b, p. 252). Eid added that “[j]ournalistic decisions, for example, by writers, presenters, editors, and producers shape news-writing and determine the nature of the final product. Personnel are faced with various choices at various junctures of news production and make numerous decisions in this process” (ibid, p. 248).

In view of that, this dissertation examines media responsibility of English-language newspapers during their news coverage and representation of the SHD as embedded in Syrian citizens’ translated quotations and narratives. It is relevant to mention that Ali Darwish’s (2009) doctoral dissertation included a survey of more than 370 codes of ethics and codes of practice adopted by different global media. He indicated that none of these surveyed codes mentioned translation as a principle factor in ensuring accuracy and objectivity. Darwish also noticed that none of these codes of ethics of journalism and media associations in developed countries paid attention to translation in the news production process.

This dissertation’s theoretical foundation and framework consists of threads of knowledge from relevant media responsibility theories and approaches. Claude-Jean Bertrand is a media ethics and media responsibility theorist who recognizes media ethics as “a body of principles and rules, fashioned by the profession, preferably in cooperation with media users, in order that media can better serve most, if not all, groups within the population” (2002, p. 4). Indeed, serving the public interests well and fulfilling their wants and needs gratification is at the core of media ethics and responsibility. Media ethics, media responsibility, and media accountability systems have other purposes, such

as protecting freedom of speech and press and assisting in the expansion of democracy in the society. According to Bertrand, these purposes can be achieved by providing the following six types of commitments to better serve and inform the public.

First, the media should watch the environment in which they operate. They are the only intermediary that can obtain, filter, and interpret information and facts about events in the society. Yet, Bertrand suggested that “the main influence of media is by omission: what they do not say is more influential than what they do say” (2002, p. 28). Second, the media should ensure social communication through opening their platforms and forums for discussion between individuals and groups, and through contribution to international cooperation as well. Third, the media should provide an image of the world, because their main task is to inform audiences about news and events around the globe. Fourth, the media should transmit the cultural legacy from one generation to another and expose the cultural traditions and values of any group. Fifth, the media should contribute to the happiness of the society by entertaining audiences. Finally, the main purpose of the media is to sell their audiences to advertisers and to create a suitable environments for advertising. According to Bertrand, this media service and purpose is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the media play a positive role by promoting, advertising and informing their audiences about products and stimulating competition, which results in the lowering of prices. On the other hand, some critics accuse the media of manipulating their audiences and causing waste and pollution.

Bertrand also explored freedom of expression and press freedom and their relationship to social responsibility and audiences. He believes that the media should use freedom of expression and freedom to communicate in order to better inform their

audiences about international events. Hence, Bertrand identified press freedom “as the affirmation of a task to be achieved: satisfying each citizen’s right to information. His/her right to be well informed. And the right to inform, i.e., to have some access to the media” (2002, p. 32). Thus, the core of journalistic values is “to publish a full, correct, relevant, balanced report on the news; to give citizens the information they need; and, as they do so, not to cause anyone any harm” (ibid, p. 36). Bertrand proposed eight ethical principles that journalists should follow in their news coverage and representation of events. These eight journalistic ethical principles are the following: 1) to be competent and admit errors, 2) to be independent from political, economic, and intellectual restraints, 3) to avoid decreasing the public’s trust in the media, 4) to have a deep definition of news, 5) to give full, accurate, and fair news stories, 6) to serve all social groups, 7) to defend and promote human rights and democracy, and 8) to help in improving the society.

Bertrand categorized national and international media ethics rules, codes, and principles into six main groups based on their purposes. First, media rules are divided into four types according to their nature: ideal rules, general rules, rules with exceptions, and controversial rules. Ideal rules demand that journalists accept only assignments that do not contradict their ethics, that they know their topics well, and that they include different viewpoints in their news stories. General rules require journalists to accurately and ethically report and represent events. Rules with exceptions are rules can be ignored by media professionals if the ignorance is in favor of the public interest and public health. Finally, controversial rules govern certain issues, such as whether it is ethical or not for the media to question whatever comes from the government and official news sources.

The second media ethics group invites journalists to communicate local news to the public regardless of any internal or external pressure that can influence the choice of news stories and events. Journalists should avoid distorting news stories for the purpose of satisfying advertisers and their interests. The media and journalists should also avoid stereotypes about other cultural groups and countries when reporting and representing international events and news, and should express viewpoints of different social groups on major public and social issues.

The third media ethics group is concerned with the scope of the rules. Essentially, Bertrand divided these rules and principles into four categories: 1) rules specific to particular media such as print journalism, 2) rules concerning specialized journalism such as economic, sports, and religious journalism, as opposed to hard news stories about terrorism, crime, and trials, which are ruled by general ethical rules, 3) rules specific to some countries, which depend on the nation's cultural and economic development and its media system, and 4) the Third World rules which exist in the "Third World" countries and where media ethics are usually established in governmental and official regulations and laws.

The fourth media ethics group was established as a response to the media news coverage and representation of international conflicts, crises, and wars such as the Gulf War in 1991. This group of media ethical rules emphasizes the professional work of both media owners and journalists. On the one hand, media owners should pay reasonable salaries to their journalists and must not ask them to perform unethical tasks. Media owners must also not omit particular news and facts to protect political, advertising, or

business interests. On the other hand, journalists must stay neutral while reporting different events, and they should avoid any conflict of interest in their work.

The fifth media ethics group is directly related to media accountability systems. Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to themselves and to their employers when conducting professional tasks and assignments. They also have a responsibility towards the following four groups: their peers, news and information sources, people involved in the news, and media users. According to Bertrand, journalists must fight for their rights, combat censorship, and have a right to access to information. They should also adhere to accuracy in terms of reported words and direct quotations of people and news sources included in news stories, and they must not be manipulated or misinformed by news and information sources. In addition, journalists are responsible towards people involved in news stories. They should not publish information that may physically, morally, intellectually, culturally, or economically offend particular social and ethnic groups. Finally, journalists should not publish news and information that may cause harm to their audiences, communities, and societies.

The final media ethics group is related to the phase of work. Journalists must not invent news and facts and they should obtain their information and photos using legal and honest methods unless it is otherwise justified by public interest. They should also publish news and facts that are true, important and useful to the public and the society. Journalists should differentiate between a news story, view, editorial, or advertising and inform the public about this distinction. Moreover, journalists and media organizations are obliged to acknowledge any published error and untrue information and correct it, and

to give individuals and groups the right to reply to incorrect published news and information.

John Merrill suggested three main types of ethical theories which can inform and guide media and communication actions and responsibilities: deontological, teleological, and personalist or subjective theories. Deontological theories are ethical theories “that base ethical actions on *a priori* principles or maxims that are accepted as guides for such actions” (2011, p. 10, *emphasis in original*). These principles and maxims include the following rules: give sources of quotes in a news story, tell the truth, and be consistent. Deontological ethical theories also emphasize the ethicality of actions rather than their consequences and impact. Teleological theories, on the other hand, are ethical theories “that base ethical actions on a consideration of their consequences” (ibid). These theories highlight the importance of anticipating good consequences of any action for the self and the other. Finally, personalist or subjective ethical theories are less popular with media outlets and journalists because they do not take into consideration any norms or rules. These ethical theories are “non-rational” and lend themselves to “intuitive, emotive, spiritual, and other highly personal moral factors” (ibid, p. 12). According to these theories, the communicator acts based on his/her instinct or spiritual guidance and motivations rather than rationality or expected consequences of such actions.

On his part, Louis Day (2000) categorized theories of ethics into three branches: metaethics, normative ethics, and applied or descriptive ethics. Metaethics focus on the study of the nature and characteristics of ethics, as well as on the meaning of abstract words such as justice and fairness. Normative ethics focus on developing theories that rule any act or behavior. Finally, applied or descriptive ethics are derived from both

metaethics and normative ethics, and apply their general principles to specific ethical dilemmas. This branch of ethics also “gives an account of failures and successes in journalism practice, locates the problems, and identifies specific dilemmas facing media workers” (Christians, 2011, p. 1).

Richard Keeble (2001) introduced five journalistic ethical principles that help professionals to perform good journalism and overcome the ethical dilemmas that they encounter during news coverage and the representation of events. The five ethical principles are as follow: 1) fairness and accuracy, 2) social responsibility and the public interest, 3) the promotion of pluralism: media as the mirror of society, 4) codes of conduct/practice, and 5) the need for training. Keeble noticed that most media codes of ethics invite journalists and professionals to act fairly and accurately when reporting and representing events. Therefore, the media has a responsibility to promote political and cultural pluralism by reflecting different viewpoints and perspectives on news and events.

It is also worth pointing out that Eid (2008) proposed “a media decision-making model that contributes to rendering the performance of the media decision-makers *effective*, as a consequent result of being *rational* and *responsible*” (p. 265, *emphasis in original*). Eid established his model based on various theories and approaches of media ethics, media responsibility, and journalistic ethical principles. He argued that “the requirements of media ethics are more valid during war, given the great effects of the consequences” (2008, p. 88). For this purpose, he analyzed the media news coverage of the Iraq War in 2003, “which demonstrate the use of unethical journalistic practices such as misleading the public through manipulation, a lack of objectivity and truthfulness, and imbalance in coverage” (2008, pp. 88-89). Essentially, Eid investigated media

responsibility towards the Self and the Other in his model “Crises Decision-Making Model for Media Rational Responsibility” (CD_M³_R²). The model consists of four main components: rational thinking, responsible conduct, crisis decision-making, and final acts. However, this dissertation’s theoretical framework utilizes only the second component of Eid’s model – the media’s responsible conduct – in order to assist in examining English-language newspapers responsibility during the representation and translation of the SHD narrative.

According to Eid (2008), the media’s responsible conduct contains the following four cyclical⁸ tasks, each of which includes many actions: 1) balancing various responsibilities and interests, 2) emphasizing ethical principles, 3) dealing with major effects on decision makers, and 4) focusing on facts. Eid also proposed nine ethical principles for media decision-makers: integrity, serving the public interest, accuracy, fairness, independence, truth, objectivity, balance, and maintaining context. These nine ethical principles must be followed by media decision-makers during the media news coverage and representation of international conflicts, crises, and wars. In consequence, a fair, accurate, and balanced news story should include enough information and facts about the event, as well as quotations from different news sources and opposing parties. Eid also stated that many media codes of ethics stress truth telling as a primary and important ethical principle for journalists and as an indicator of media responsibility. In addition, the task of balancing various responsibilities and interests consists of eight components: sources, authorities, subject, employer, colleagues, profession, self, and

⁸ Eid (2008) says that “cyclical” means that the tasks and their actions have no specific order in which they must be implemented and that they continue until the achievement of responsible conduct during the crisis.

public. Media decision-makers should show responsibility and maintain the interests of the eight components mentioned above in order to balance various media's responsibilities and interests.

Eid's media responsible conduct model and the nine proposed media ethical principles can be applied to translation studies and linked to Anthony Pym's five principles for the translator's responsibility in a communication act. Pym (2012) asked the following question: "why translate?" Eventually, he proposed several ways to answer this question. One of these ways is to focus on ethics of content, which leads us to distinguish between "what you should or should not translate" (p. 8, *emphasis in original*). Hence, the translator's responsibility within a communication act forms a basis for translation and a professional code of ethics. Also, translators hold responsibility within their own space and in relation to their target readers.

According to Pym, the translator's responsibility resides in his/her decisions in terms of what to translate or what aspects of the source text to represent and reproduce, as well as what lexical and syntactical choices to make. In this sense, Pym claimed that "[e]thics is only there to help or direct the choices that arise from the translator's thought processes" (2012, p. 69). He added that "the receiver *believes* the translation fully represents an anterior text. This belief – illusion, or indeed lie – is often false or ideologically quite easily manipulated. Yet that is what the translator is partly responsible for" (*ibid*, p. 76, *emphasis in original*). Thus, Pym suggested three types of translator's responsibility: responsibility to the matter, responsibility to the client, and responsibility to the profession.

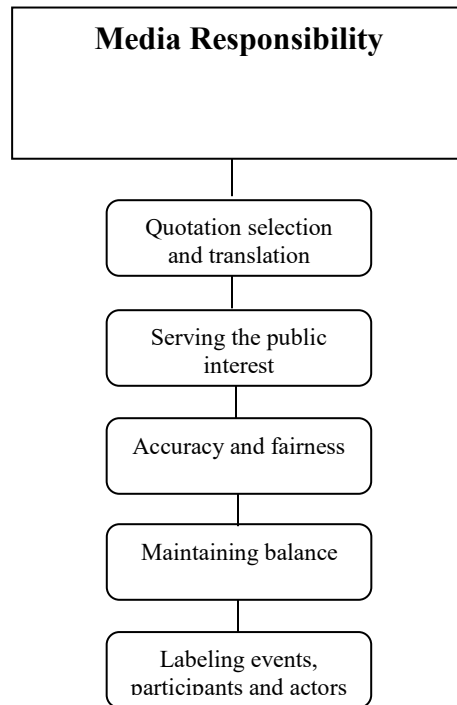
Responsibility to the matter improves the product (translations) by correcting mistakes when the text is retranslated again. In essence, the translator should be faithful to the matter, i.e. to the message and primary information of the source text.

Responsibility to the client focuses on the relationship between the translator and his/her client. Thus, the product should fulfill the client's demands and the requirements of the target language and readers. Finally, responsibility to the profession deals with the translator's ability to make ethical decisions during the translation process. Pym assumed that the master and professional translator is able to decide what, why, and how to translate regardless of the instructions of the client. In this case, the translator is responsible for his/her choices. Pym believes that "the less inferiority the translator adopts, the more responsible for their choices they will be" (2012, p. 79).

Consequently, Pym proposed five general principles for the translator's responsibility. First, translators should assume responsibility for their product, decisions, and choices when they proceed with the translation process. Second, translators are responsible for the possible effects of their translations, such as the motivator for a translation, the costs of translating, and the impact on target receivers. Third, translators should not be involved in favoring cultures, societies, languages, or social classes. Fourth, translation costs should not exceed the total benefits of the corresponding cooperative interaction. Finally, translators are responsible for the contribution of their translations to long-term and stable cross-cultural cooperation, which includes trust, respect for the Other, and minimization of communicative suffering.

The theoretical components of media responsibility are introduced in *Figure 5*:

Figure 5: Media Responsibility



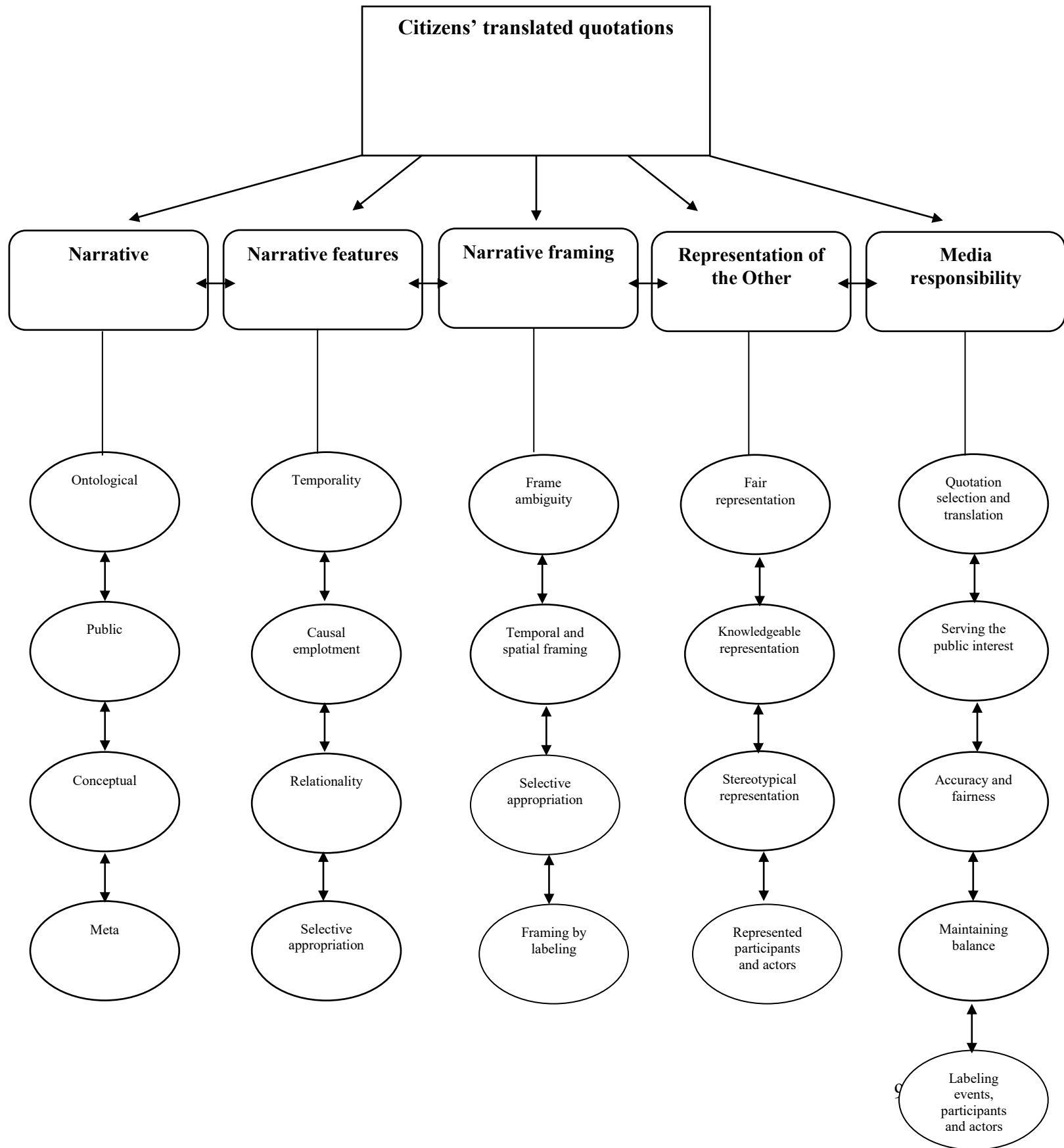
The last theoretical component and its sub-components will be employed to examine whether or not the three selected English-language newspapers adhere to media responsibility principles by selecting and translating appropriate and newsworthy Syrian citizens' narratives and quotations during their representation of the SHD events.

2.5 Building the Theoretical and Conceptual Model of Analysis

This dissertation's thread of knowledge is interwoven with the theoretical overview expounded above in order to synthesize a theoretical framework and establish the components and sub-components of the suggested theoretical and conceptual model of analysis. In effect, the theoretical foundation of the suggested model benefits from theories and approaches of both the discipline of translation studies and that of

communication and media studies. The proposed theoretical and conceptual model guides the analysis process in order to obtain objective and scientific outcomes. It is worth pointing out that the proposed model is contingent on the dissertation's topic and case study, and might not be applicable to other similar or different communicative events. The proposed theoretical and conceptual model of analysis and the associated relationship between its components and sub-components are introduced in *Figure 6*:

Figure 6: The Theoretical and Conceptual Model of Analysis



The model consists of five major theoretical and conceptual components and each one of these components contains sub-components. The model's components function and interact on the same horizontal level. The analysis process begins with the first far left component and its sub-components, and then moves to the right. The five theoretical components of the model are as follows: 1) narrative and types of narrative, 2) narrative features, 3) narrative framing, 4) representation of the Other, and 5) media responsibility.

The first component includes four sub-components: ontological, public, conceptual, and meta-narrative. The second component contains four sub-components: temporality, causal emplotment, relationality, and selective appropriation. The third component consists of four sub-components: frame ambiguity, temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation, and framing by labeling. The fourth component contains four sub-components: fair representation, knowledgeable representation, stereotypical representation, and represented participants. The final component consists of five sub-components: quotation selection and translation, serving the public interest, accuracy and fairness, maintaining balance, and labeling events, participants, and actors.

As mentioned earlier, the model's theoretical and conceptual components and sub-components are derived from various theories and approaches within both translation studies and communication and media studies, which are also relevant to the dissertation's topic and case study. The use of the model's components and sub-components in the analysis process is as follows:

Narrative and types of narrative is the first theoretical component, which consists of four sub-components: ontological narrative, public narrative, conceptual narrative, and meta-narrative. The use of this component and its sub-components is clarified as follows:

- Narrative theory uncovers the types of narratives and narrators that are included in the selected translated quotations of Syrian citizens and local informants. Also, it allows us to explain lexical items in relation to wider social and political contexts, and to examine the function of translation and the role of translators in situations of humanitarian disasters. Many studies (e.g. Baker, 2006, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2014; Harding, 2012a) have used narrative theory and types of narrative to examine how translated ontological narratives of ordinary citizens and eyewitnesses are merged into the media meta-narrative of the event in order to reinforce, construct, and represent the overall news coverage of the event.

The second theoretical component of the model, narrative features, consists of four features: temporality, causal emplotment, relationality, and selective appropriation. The use of this component and its sub-components is explained as follows:

- The first narrative feature, temporality, is used to explore the representation and organization of narrative elements in the selected translated quotations of Syrian citizens. This narrative feature is also used to examine the chronological order of events and narrative elements as embedded in the translated quotations. The ordering and sequencing of narrative elements within the text affect the audiences' interpretation and understanding of events.
- The second narrative feature, causal emplotment, is employed to explore the meanings of narrative elements in the translated quotations and how they form an opinion about a narrative. It also examines how different ordering of same events, facts, and narrative elements can be interpreted differently in relation to each other. In fact, the choice of specific lexical items can change the weighting of

events and narrative elements of original narrative in order to produce a different pattern of causal employment in the target text and for target readers. In competing narratives, there is usually an agreement about the facts and events, but there is disagreement about how the events are related to each other and causes which motivate actions.

- The third narrative feature, relationality, is utilized to examine the relationship between the choice of certain lexical items and specific interpretations in the target culture and for the target audiences, because the audiences interpret every event or narrative within a larger configuration of events or narratives.
- The final narrative feature, selective appropriation, is applied to determine how media organizations and translators select specific quotations, facts, and narrative elements for translation and publication while ignoring others. In effect, the examination of this narrative feature in the translated quotations is essential because it determines which facts are selected, translated, and represented in the news text. This narrative feature also manifests itself in patterns of addition and omission, which serve to accentuate or suppress certain aspects of reality and narrative.

The third theoretical component of the model, narrative framing, contains four sub-components: frame ambiguity, temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation, and framing by labeling. Narrative framing is used to analyze how English-language newspapers and translators frame, select, accentuate, include, exclude, or modify facts and aspects of the event as narrated in translated quotations. The use of this component and its sub-components is determined as follows:

- Frame ambiguity is used to explore how narrative elements are framed differently by the Syrian citizens' translated quotations in order to promote competing narratives of the same event.
- Temporal and spatial framing is utilized to examine why and how media outlets and translators select and translate particular quotations and embed them in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative they depict.
- Selective appropriation is employed in the model in order to investigate how specific aspects and certain sets of facts are emphasized or undermined within the Syrian citizens' translated quotations. In fact, selective appropriation is realized in patterns of omission and addition which aim to suppress, accentuate, or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative and facts encoded in the source text.
- Framing by labeling is employed to examine the interpretations of the selected words and phrases which label and identify events, persons, groups, events, or other key elements of a narrative.

The fourth theoretical component of the model, representation of the Other, contains four sub-components: fair representation, knowledgeable representation, stereotypical representation, and represented participants and actors. This model's component and its four sub-components are used as follows:

- Fair and knowledgeable representation is utilized to explore whether or not the Syrian citizens' translated quotations offer fair and knowledgeable representation of the SHD events. In addition, this sub-component allows us to explore whether the selected and translated quotations and narratives consist of appropriate and relevant information that fulfill target readers' wants and needs gratification.

- The stereotypical representation sub-component is used to detect whether the translated quotations ensure neutral and objective linguistic representation of the SHD events, or they are based on systems and patterns of stereotypes.
- The represented participants and actors sub-component is used to uncover the linguistic representation of the participants in the events of a specific narrative. This sub-component also allows us to identify the position of the represented subjects in the translated quotations.

The final theoretical component of the model, media responsibility, consists of five sub-components: quotation selection and translation, serving the public interest, accuracy and fairness, maintaining balance, and labeling events, participants, and actors. The use of media responsibility component and its sub-components is described as follows:

- Quotation selection and translation is employed to uncover the media's selection criteria of citizen quotations for translation and publication, and to determine whether or not the selected translated quotations are useful to inform the public and the audiences about the SHD events. In addition, this sub-component will examine the role of news agencies and whether or not the translator is visible in the selected news texts.
- Serving the public interest is utilized to investigate if the selected translated citizen quotations serve the public interest and inform their audiences about the SHD events in a sufficient and efficient way, and whether they fulfill the public's wants and needs gratification.
- Accuracy and fairness are applied in the model to examine if the Syrian citizens' translated quotations are fair, accurate, and represent all events and aspects of the

SHD. This sub-component is measured based on the accuracy and fairness level of the information and facts which are included in the selected and translated quotations and narratives of the SHD. This sub-component also explores how consistent English-language newspapers are when identifying the quoted Syrian citizens in order to determine the level of accuracy and fairness of the selected and translated quotations and narratives.

- Maintaining balance is used to reveal if English-language newspapers and their selected and translated quotations reflect different viewpoints and perspectives on the events of the SHD. In effect, balanced translated quotations should express viewpoints and perspectives of different social and cultural groups.
- Labeling events, participants, and actors allows us to explore different naming and labeling of events, participants, and actors of the SHD as embedded in the translated quotations and narratives. In fact, the interpretation of different names and labels can raise questions relevant to media responsibility. For example, media outlets can differently name and label actors who are involved in a war as “freedom fighters”, “retaliators”, or “terrorists”.

Chapter 3

Methodological Approaches

The core of this dissertation is news translation and its purpose is to investigate how the selected and translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens in English-language newspapers narrate, frame, and represent the SHD events. It also examines media responsibility of the selected English-language newspapers as embedded in the translated quotations and narratives.

Following a systematic analysis of the translated quotations and narratives in 404 selected news texts from three English-language newspapers, guided by the suggested theoretical and conceptual model of analysis, the findings provide a better understanding of the crucial role that news translation plays when global media narrate, frame, and represent humanitarian disasters. In view of that, the dissertation employs the appropriate methodological approaches in order to fulfill its purposes and objectives. As a matter of fact, the researcher has taken many basic decisions in conducting scientific studies. These decisions are related to “defining research problems, constructing explanations, making observations, and testing hypotheses, as well as developing research programs” (Eid, 2011, p. 3). This chapter identifies and explains the following methodological components: concepts and operationalization, research design, sampling and data collection, and CDA.

3.1 Concepts and Operationalization

The model’s theoretical components are the dissertation’s key concepts, and they are defined and operationalized for the purposes and objectives of this dissertation. These key

concepts are: narrative and types of narrative, narrative features, narrative framing, representation of the Other, and media responsibility.

The measuring of each component is identified by measuring all its sub-components, which are defined and operationalized as follows:

- ❖ Narrative and types of narrative:
 - Ontological narrative, public narrative, conceptual narrative, and meta-narrative: the main function of narrative is to assist in interpreting and assessing human communication and pragmatic effects of texts, which in turn determines whether or not a particular discourse provides a reliable and trustworthy guide to events in the world. Thus, the rationale behind using narrative theory and types of narratives as one of the model's components is that it allows us to know and understand the SHD events as narrated by the Syrian citizens and represented and translated by the selected English-language newspapers. Also, the dissertation uses concepts from narrative theory to identify how the selected and translated quotations and narratives from the three English-language newspapers constitute the SHD ontological, public, conceptual and meta-narrative. These sub-components are measured based on the types of narratives that the selected English-language newspapers rely on when translating the Syrian citizens' quotations on the SHD events.
- ❖ Narrative Features:
 - Temporality: this sub-component is measured according to the temporal sequence and chronological order of the SHD narrative elements and events as represented in the translated quotations and narratives.

- Causal employment: this sub-component is measured based on how the SHD narrative elements can affect the target audiences' perception of the SHD events by arranging the SHD narrative elements in particular causal patterns to show the relationship between causes and effects.
 - Relationality: this sub-component measures the relationship between the selection of lexical choices and the interpretations of these choices in the target culture and for the target audiences. It also measures how the SHD events and narratives are related to a larger configuration of events and narratives.
 - Selective appropriation: this sub-component measures the selection process of the English-language newspapers and explores their criteria in selecting and translating specific Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives. This sub-component also determines the selected voices and facts which are translated and represented in the target text.
- ❖ Narrative Framing:
- Frame ambiguity: this sub-component is measured with regard to the ways the SHD narrative elements are framed within the translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens, and how these different frames can promote competing narratives of the SHD in the selected English-language newspapers.
 - Temporal and spatial framing: this sub-component is operationalized in terms of how the English-language newspapers embed the selected and translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens in a temporal and spatial context that can accentuate a particular narrative they depict.

- Selective appropriation: this sub-component is determined by exploring how appropriate the selection of frames are in terms of representing the selected SHD aspects and facts as embedded in the translated Syrian citizens' quotations. This sub-component is also realized in patterns of omission and addition of information which aim to suppress, accentuate, or elaborate particular aspects of the SHD narrative.
- Framing by labeling: this sub-component measures the choice of lexical items in the translated quotations and narratives which aim to label and identify persons, groups, places, and any other key elements of the SHD narrative.
- ❖ Representation of the Other:
 - Fair and knowledgeable representation: these two sub-components are measured based on the ways the selected English-language newspapers represent the Other and the events of the SHD through their selection and translation of Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives, and whether or not they offer fair and knowledgeable representations of the SHD.
 - Stereotypical representation: this sub-component measures any representation in the translated quotations and narratives which follows a system and pattern of stereotypes. These stereotypical representations are explored in linguistic items such as words and phrases that might signal any type of stereotypical representation of the SHD events.
 - Represented participants and actors: this sub-component looks into the identity of the represented SHD participants and Syrian citizens who are quoted and represented in the translated quotations and narratives. This sub-component also

allows us to identify the position of the represented subjects in the translated quotations and narratives.

❖ Media Responsibility:

- Quotation selection and translation: this sub-component is measured based on whether or not the selected and translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens reflect important facts and aspects of the SHD, and inform the target audiences about the events of the SHD. In addition, this sub-component will examine the role of news agencies and whether or not the translator is visible in the selected news texts.
- Serving the public interest: this sub-component uncovers whether or not the selected and translated quotations and narratives serve the interests of the greatest number of audiences and fulfill their needs and wants. Also, it measures whether the selected and translated quotations and narratives serve the public interest by providing newsworthy news and information about the SHD events.
- Accuracy and fairness: these two sub-components are interrelated, and they are measured based on the level of accuracy and fairness of the selected and translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens.
- Maintaining balance: this sub-component is measured with regard to the English-language newspapers' representation of viewpoints and perspectives, and whether or not they represent the viewpoints and perspectives of different groups, and reflect a balanced representation of the events of the SHD from different points of views.

- Labeling events, participants, and actors: this sub-component is measured based on how the selected English-language newspapers label and name events and actors of the SHD as embedded in the translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens.

3.2 Research Design

The dissertation utilizes a qualitative narrative analysis research design. Indeed, many qualitative researchers use qualitative narrative analysis because “narrative is the linguistic form uniquely suited for displaying human existence as situated action...Narrative is the type of discourse composition that draws together diverse events, happenings, and actions of human lives...” (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). For his part, Lawrence Neuman (2011c) posited that a narrative is considered as “a type of historical writing that tells a story and a type of qualitative data analysis that presents a chronologically linked chain of events in which individual or collective social actors have an important role” (p. 360). In fact, the rationale behind choosing a qualitative narrative analysis research design is that the analyzed corpus and data of the case study consist of translated quotations and narratives from Syrian citizens in three selected English-language newspapers within a specific time frame, and the dissertation investigates the role of news translation from a narrative perspective.

The choice of this research design is appropriate to this dissertation because the systematic analysis that is guided by the theoretical and conceptual model reveals the differences and similarities between the three selected English-language newspapers. Neuman (2011a) pointed out that numerous social researchers rely on studies that use historical-comparative research to address many central issues in social theory and to

explain major societal processes such as terrorism, a nation going to war, growing poverty, sources of inequality, rising immigration rates, and urban decay. For his part, Todd Schaefer (2003) suggested that “[w]hen analyzing media’s coverage, comparative case studies help illuminate the inevitable biases, framing, or other news judgments journalists use in constructing a narrative” (p. 94).

The testing of the employed theories and approaches relies on inductive reasoning. Inductive reasoning is used to proceed from particulars to more general statements, as well as to define problems and interpret the results. Thus, the dissertation provides a set of indicators by examining how quotations and narratives from Syrian citizens, as presented in translated texts, narrate, frame, and represent the SHD events. After compiling the corpus, a qualitative narrative analysis is conducted, guided by the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis, in order to investigate how the selected English-language newspapers narrate, frame, and represent the SHD as embedded in the translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens. In addition, the qualitative narrative analysis unveils the differences and similarities between the three English-language newspapers in their representation of the SHD events. Subsequently, the findings of this dissertation encourage a better understanding of the role of news translation in terms of narrating, framing, and representing humanitarian disasters during global media reporting and the representation of international events.

3.3 Sampling and Data Collection

Because the dissertation employs a qualitative narrative analysis research design, it uses a purposive sampling technique. This technique follows a non-probability or non-random sampling strategy that aims to illustrate key features of a specific aspect of the

communicative event and to deepen our understanding of the main theme. Choosing a non-probability sampling strategy is suitable because sample sizes, when selected from a specific medium, can rarely be determined in advance.

Non-probability sampling techniques ensure the consistency of the qualitative narrative analysis in the selection and analysis of a purposive sample of news texts from the three selected English-language newspapers. Indeed, consistency is related to the process of selecting and classifying the representative corpus. Accordingly, the corpus is compiled from three different English-language newspapers which operate in three different countries: the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. This approach helps to ensure the consistency of the dissertation's qualitative narrative analysis.

The validity and authenticity of the qualitative narrative analysis is ensured by the method used in compiling the corpus and the selection criteria. This corpus is compiled from three well-known English-language newspapers which have reported the ongoing conflict in Syria and its humanitarian disaster on a daily basis and have an allotted space for this daily news coverage. In this vein, Neuman indicated that “[a]uthenticity means offering a fair, honest, and balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of the people who live it every day” (2011b, p. 181, *emphasis in original*). Similarly, Lynne Bowker and Jennifer Pearson (2002) emphasized that any selected text should be “an example of real ‘live’ language and consists of a genuine communication between people going about their normal business” (p. 9).

The corpus is compiled from the online versions of the following three English-language newspapers: *The Guardian* (British newspaper), *The New York Times* (American newspaper), and *National Post* (Canadian newspaper). The choice of these

three specific media outlets relied on the following criteria: first, their commitment to international news coverage on a daily basis, especially the ongoing conflict in Syria and its humanitarian disaster; second, their high daily circulation average; third, their reach to a wide range of global audiences, and finally, because the choice of three print media outlets from three different countries and with different political trends allows us to explore differences and similarities in the ways they narrate, frame, and represent the SHD events.

To begin with, *The Guardian* is a British daily newspaper founded in Manchester in 1821 and owned by the Scott Trust, and it has a liberal leftwing political alignment. It is the third largest newspaper in the United Kingdom with an average daily circulation of 193,228 copies according to a report published by the Audit Bureau of Circulations⁹ in the United Kingdom in June 2013. The second newspaper, *The New York Times*, is a daily newspaper founded in New York City in September 1851, and it has a liberal slant. It is the third largest newspaper in the United States in terms of national circulation, with an average daily circulation of 1,250,000 copies according to a report published by the New York Times Company¹⁰ in March 24, 2014. Finally, *National Post* is a Canadian daily newspaper, founded in Toronto in 1998, and it has a conservative political alignment. The Canadian newspaper has an average daily circulation of 142,509 copies according to a report published by the Alliance for Audited Media¹¹ in March 2013. The

⁹ www.abc.org.uk

¹⁰ www.nytimes.com

¹¹ www.auditedmedia.com

following list shows the website URLs for the three selected English-language newspapers:

1. *The Guardian*: www.theguardian.com
2. *The New York Times*: www.nytimes.com
3. *National Post*: www.nationalpost.com

The corpus consists of news texts from three selected English-language newspapers, and represents a three-year time frame of the SHD events, from March 2011 to February 2014. The selection of news texts was based on a three-step process. First, I used the three newspapers' online archives and the search for news texts was narrowed to the country of "Syria". Although, the headlines of the news texts in the hard copy of the selected print media can be different from the online headlines, the selection process relied on the online headlines since the selected news texts were retrieved from the online archive of the three print media. Second, I searched for news texts whose headlines included particular keywords clearly related to the SHD, such as victims, death, refugees, ruins, and shortage of food, water and medication. Finally, I included only the news texts that contain a significant number of Syrian citizens' translated quotations and narratives (see appendices A, B, &C) in my corpus, and excluded those with few translated quotations and narratives. This three-step selection process ensures the reproducibility of the corpus.

This process has resulted in a corpus comprised of 404 news texts published between March 2011 and February 2014. Although, the corpus is not big since it includes one aspect of the Syrian conflict, it explicitly represents the three-year time frame of the SHD in three different English-language newspapers. The selected corpus includes 177

news texts from *The Guardian* distributed as follows: 27 news texts published in 2011, 75 news texts published in 2012, 58 news texts published in 2013, and 17 news texts published in 2014. The corpus also includes 149 news texts from *The New York Times* distributed as follows: 28 news texts published in 2011, 28 news texts published in 2012, 74 news texts published in 2013, and 19 news texts published in 2014. As well as these, the corpus includes 78 news texts from *National Post* distributed as follows: 23 news texts published in 2011, 28 news texts published in 2012, 24 news texts published in 2013, and 3 news texts published in 2014. However, the Canadian newspaper mainly cited other media sources and news agencies such as Reuters and the Associated Press in 73 of its news texts. This fact indicates that *National Post* did not employ translators and enough staff to report and write about the SHD, but the Canadian newspaper was still responsible for selecting and publishing the Syrian citizens' translated narratives and quotations. It is worth pointing out that the Syrian citizens' translated quotations and narratives as embedded in the selected news texts take various journalistic forms such as personal interviews, Skype interviews, YouTube videos, phone calls, and reports published by international organizations.

Following the data collection, a systematic analysis guided by the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis was conducted in order to answer the dissertation's key research questions. The translated quotations and narratives as embedded in the selected 404 news texts from the three English-language newspapers were analyzed in accordance with each of the model's components and sub-components. It is also worth pointing out that the analysis process considers the Syrian citizens' translated quotations in both the form of direct quotation and the form of indirect quotation. In effect, the direct and

indirect quotations of Syrian citizens about the SHD events include the direct involvement and mediation of translators because most of the quoted Syrian citizens are speaking or writing in their native Arabic.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

The selection of source texts for translation, as well as the representation and framing of news stories can signal an ideological and political implication in target texts, especially when dealing with news translation of international events. In this sense, Peter Fawcett and Jeremy Munday (2009) asserted that “[t]he essence of ideological intervention in the case of translation is that the selections made during the translation process...are potentially determined by ideologically based STRATEGIES governed by those who wield power” (pp. 137-138). Translation studies scholars started to address and examine the ideological and political implications of media and news translation during the late 20th century in a series of books, articles, and academic papers. The scholars also started to examine the relationship between language, ideology, and political action as embedded in media and news texts (Wilkins, 2011; Malkawi, 2012).

Ian Mason (2016) proposed that a CDA “describes a broad approach to the analysis of discourse that employs a variety of methods in order to reveal ways in which discourse practices are closely involved in the exercise of power and control in society” (p. 203). Indeed, a CDA approach can be employed as an important methodological tool to uncover implicitly the ideological and political implications in translations (Fawcett & Munday, 2009). In view of that, this dissertation employs a CDA approach as an analysis tool in order to uncover the implications and traits of the linguistic choices used to

represent the SHD events, participants, and actors as embedded in the Syrian citizens' translated quotations and narratives about the SHD.

In order to fulfill this objective, the dissertation draws on Teun van Dijk and Norman Fairclough's theoretical insights on CDA to identify relevant concepts that assist in the analysis process. The rationale behind choosing van Dijk and Fairclough's approaches to CDA is that they apply their approaches to media and news discourse. Van Dijk stressed the importance of using systematic discourse analysis while examining media and news messages. According to van Dijk, discourse analysis aims to analyze qualitative data rather than quantitative data, and it also pays attention to "underlying semantic structures and make[s] explicit implications, presuppositions, connections, strategies, etc." (1983, p. 27).

In his theoretical and empirical studies on CDA and news discourse analysis, van Dijk (1983, 1993, 1995, 2006, 2009) demonstrated that a CDA aims to study, analyze, and explain the relationship between written and spoken discourse, power, dominance, social inequality, and bias. He also examined how these components are reproduced and represented in the text and within specific social, political, and historical contexts. Van Dijk defined dominance as "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality" (1993, pp. 249-250). He also claimed that

ideologies are sociocognitively defined as shared representations of social groups, and more specifically as the 'axiomatic' principles of such representations. As the basis of a social group's self-image, ideologies organize its identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as its relations to other social groups.

(2006, p. 115, *emphasis in original*)

According to van Dijk, ideologies indirectly control mental representations which constitute the basis and context of discourse and its structures. Written and spoken discourse of social groups can produce and reproduce ideology in societies. Based on his definition of ideology and its function in a discourse, van Dijk proposed the “ideological square” or “ingroup-outgroup polarization”, which describes the binary relationship between a positive “ingroup” and a negative “outgroup” within the same discourse. This binary relationship is usually manifested in language use and in the choice of other linguistic choices which carry positive representations of the “Self” or “Us” and negative representations of the “Other” or “Them”.

According to van Dijk, this polarization is also “coded” in written and spoken discourse by using pronouns such as “us” and “them” or possessives such as “our” and “their”. In effect, the choice of specific lexical items and linguistic features often emphasizes “our” good actions and positive “self-presentation” and ignores “our” bad actions, while accentuating “their” bad actions and negative “other-presentation” and ignoring “their” good actions. In this sense, van Dijk revealed that “*words, phrases, topics or intonations, are not ideologically biased*. It is their specific use in specific communicative situations that make them so” (2006, p. 128, *emphasis in original*).

Fairclough (1992, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2009) used a CDA approach to examine the relationship between social relations, power, institutions, and cultural systems. As stated by Fairclough, a CDA aims “to provide a framework for systematically linking properties of discursive interactions and texts with features of their social and cultural circumstances” (1999, p. 79). Hence, a CDA focuses on general characteristics of speech or discourse in a particular communication and in relation to certain events and issues,

such as power, representations of the Other, and social realities. Fairclough divided the analysis of media and news discourse into three aspects: text analysis, the analysis of discourse practice, and the analysis of sociocultural practice.

This dissertation utilizes the second aspect of the analysis process because it is relevant to the dissertation's objectives and purposes. According to Fairclough, the analysis of discourse practice includes an analysis of the process of production, interpretation, distribution, and consumption. The analysis of a communicative text from a discourse practice perspective also includes an analysis of editorial procedures and changes that the text undergoes during the production, transformation, and consumption processes. Fairclough added that the linguistic analysis of a communicative text at the discourse practice level includes "intertextual analysis", which focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework.

Intertextual analysis aims to identify the traces of the discourse practice in the text. Fairclough proposed that discourse representation is a form of intertextuality "in which parts of specific other texts are incorporated into a text and are usually... explicitly marked as such, with devices such as quotation marks and reporting clauses" (1992, p.273). These parts of other texts, especially in news stories, are "representations of what newsworthy people have said" (ibid). Fairclough noticed that discourse representation varies according to who and what is quoted, when, how, and why. Thus, a news story can be written or represented in different ways according to the voices of people being reported and the content of their quotations.

Fairclough also observed that media and news discourse are affected by two fundamental dimensions of institutional practices: the production and consumption of

media and news texts. The production process of media and news texts involves news gathering, news selection, writing, and editing, while the consumption process is related to the ways in which audiences receive and comprehend the media and news discourse. Hence, the selection process of news includes choosing, for any news text, which sources of information to use and which subjects to quote. Fairclough argued that “an account of communication in the mass media must consider the economics and politics of the mass media: the nature of the market which the mass media are operating within, and their relationship to the state, and so forth” (1995, p. 36). The economy of the media and commercial pressures on the media determine what news is selected for publishing and what news is neglected, while the politics of the media play a crucial role in producing media and news discourse.

To sum up, a CDA approach can be used as an analysis tool which examines the use of language and its implications and traits in media and news texts. In addition, the choice of specific lexical items to refer to people and cultural groups can signal ideological and political implications. These implications of language are shaped through the ways different cultural groups are represented in media and news texts, the social consequences of these representations, and the interactions between different cultural and linguistic groups (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010; Norton & Gieve, 2010).

Chapter 4

Analysis and Findings

This dissertation systematically conducts a qualitative narrative analysis of Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives as embedded in a sample of 404 news texts from the three selected English-language newspapers. This analysis process is guided by the proposed theoretical and conceptual model. Accordingly, the presentation of findings follows the internal components and sub-components of the theoretical model of analysis. The dissertation also provides examples of the analyzed translated quotations and narratives from the three English-language newspapers in order to reveal how the theoretical components and sub-components are applied and reflected in the newspapers' news texts.

Subsequently, the dissertation's findings provide a better understanding of the crucial role translation plays in narrating, framing, and representing humanitarian disasters in global media. The findings uncover the role news translation plays during the reporting and representing of international events. Translation as a field of study and profession is still unacknowledged within communication and media studies and within the profession of journalism, so this dissertation will shed some light on its relevance to communication and media studies, and to journalism. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that the dissertation also analyzes Syrian citizens' indirect quotations, because translators are involved in these indirect quotations on the SHD, which are originally narrated in Arabic.

4.1 SHD Narrative in the English-Language Newspapers' Translated Quotations

The first component of the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis is narrative. The examination of this theoretical component sheds light on the SHD discourse as narrated by the Syrian citizens, and translated and represented by *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and *National Post*. This theoretical component and its sub-components allow us to examine the role of news translation and translators in global media when it narrates and represents situations of wars, conflicts, and disasters; specifically, it uncovers the newspapers' trends in translating and narrating the SHD events. In addition, the examination of narratives used by the selected English-language newspapers identifies the selected Syrian narrators of the SHD and the selected themes and contents of the translated narratives and quotations. This theoretical component also examines the significant role that news translation plays in identifying the social and political functions of the SHD narrative in the selected English-language newspapers. Accordingly, the following section analyzes the construction of the SHD narrative as embedded in the Syrian citizens' quotations in the three English-language newspapers' news texts. It is relevant to mention that the four types of narrative are interrelated and rely on each other in constructing the overall SHD narrative. The analysis process of the first theoretical component is guided by its four types of narrative:

- 1) Ontological or personal narrative
- 2) Public narrative
- 3) Conceptual narrative
- 4) Meta-narrative

4.1.1 The Guardian's Narratives Represent the SHD's Victims and Refugees

The analysis process of the translated quotations as embedded in *The Guardian's* 177 news texts focuses on types of Syrian citizen narrators, contents and themes of their ontological narratives, and constitution of the overall SHD narrative. In the beginning of the SHD in March 2011, most ontological narratives of the SHD as embedded in the direct and indirect translated quotations were narrated by Syrian citizens and eyewitnesses residing inside Syria. These narratives mainly describe protests in different Syrian cities and towns, especially the protests organized every week after Friday praying. For example, many of *The Guardian's* translated quotations include the naming of Friday protests, such as "Dignity Friday", in addition to religious and anti-Syrian regime slogans such as "there is no God but Allah", and "down with the regime ". The Syrian citizens' ontological narratives also represent the brutality of Syrian security forces against protesters, and describe the scattered bodies of Syrian protesters and residents who were shot and killed by Syrian security forces. It is also noticeable that *The Guardian* positioned and published some of the translated quotations in many of its headlines, especially the translated quotations which consist of personal stories narrating the brutality of Syrian security forces. By doing so, the British newspaper emphasized the ontological narratives and representations of the brutality of Syrian security forces against protesters and residents.

However, from August 2012 until February 2014, this trend changed, and *The Guardian* frequently selected and translated ontological narratives which were told by another type of narrator, i.e. Syrian refugees. These narratives took the form of direct interviews with the refugees in different refugee camps. The contents and themes of most

of these ontological narratives describe the refugees' suffering and shortages of food and water. Also, the Syrian narrators in *The Guardian's* translated quotations are represented as victims of the Syrian regime and its security forces. In effect, the repetition of the contents and themes of the selected and translated ontological narratives of Syrian citizens aims to stress the dominant narrative of the SHD, which blames the Syrian regime and its security forces for the suffering of Syrian residents, protesters, and refugees. Moreover, the selection and translation of particular ontological narratives can affect target readers' views and perceptions of the SHD and encourage them to blame the Syrian regime and its security forces for the ongoing SHD, the number of casualties, and the suffering of Syrian residents, protesters, and refugees. The following ontological narrative was told by a Syrian resident who described the situation in one of the Syrian cities:

An activist who called himself Ahmad said: "My family fled to the mountains from Latakia today. Everyone is scared. Most of the citizens in the areas which had protests are out of the city, many of them were gathered by force in the sports city in order to film them and say those are pro-regime people. Early morning gunfire and tanks continued. Many people died but we couldn't get names". "There are many snipers on the rooftops around the areas that are besieged. We can see them. Armoured vehicles are still here but they stopped shooting and there is less gunfire. The shabiha and security forces this morning were cleaning the streets, taking any dead bodies and removing bullets and everything. We think they will destroy the neighbourhood. What happened was a massacre, a massacre".

(See Appendix D/n: 17)

The second ontological narrative of the SHD was told by a Syrian refugee who talked about her life as a refugee in one of the refugee camps:

My name is Raneen. I'm 18 years old. I live here in Za'atari. There are six of us here: me, my mother and younger sisters and brother. My two older brothers and my father are still in Syria. We live in a small one-room

prefab caravan. We don't have a kitchen, just a small space for cooking. Every day, we wake up at dawn on the call for prayers. The first problem we face is getting water, especially when it is still dark. We have to search for the nearest water tanks to get a supply to wash. We have to take two-gallon containers, walk for some distance in harsh weather conditions and queue for water – the whole thing takes over half an hour. Anything we want to get here requires queuing. Sometimes people get into disputes over queues.

(See Appendix D/n: 106)

The above translated quotations and ontological narratives contain narrative elements that reveal two types of narrators: residents and refugees. Hence, each narrator's ontological narrative includes different themes and contents. The narrator of the first example is a Syrian activist (Ahmad) who describing the situation in his city (Latakia), how pro-regime security forces and "shabiha" – which can mean "thugs" in English – behaved inside the city and how cruelly they treat local residents. The content and theme of this ontological narrative are apparent in narrative elements and lexical items such as "gunfire and tanks", "snipers", "[a]rmoured vehicles", "dead bodies", and "massacre" which was repeated twice in the same narrative. The narrator of the second example is a Syrian refugee (Raneen) who relates the refugees' suffering in Za'atari camp in Jordan. The content and theme of her ontological narrative can be traced in phrases and words such as "small one-room prefab caravan", "The first problem we face is getting water", and "We have to take two-gallon containers, walk for some distance in harsh weather conditions and queue for water".

The Syrian citizens' ontological narratives constitute *The Guardian's* SHD public narrative. Hence, the majority of the Syrian citizens' translated quotations consist of ontological narratives which narrate different aspects of the SHD such as the brutal actions of Syrian security forces against protesters and residents, refugees' suffering, and

shortages of food and water. Thus, the SHD public narrative as translated and represented by *The Guardian* essentially represents Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees as victims, while it represents the Syrian regime and its security forces as the ones who responsible for the ongoing SHD.

The lexical items and terminology used in *The Guardian*'s translated quotations construct the SHD conceptual narrative, which can influence target readers' perceptions of the SHD events and represent positively or negatively the SHD participants involved in the translated narratives. For example, the Syrian president, the Syrian regime, and Syrian security forces are mostly represented in negative words and phrases such as "brutal dictators", "Assad's gangs", "killers of children", "Shabiha", "armed gang", "ghosts", and "thugs". The Syrian regime's attacks against Syrian residents and protesters are also represented in negative lexical items such as "genocidal attack", "massacre", "slaughtered like sheep", and "buried alive", while Syrian citizens are represented in positive words and phrases such as "martyrs". Indeed, this conceptual narrative, along with the SHD public narrative, construct *The Guardian*'s meta-narrative or master narrative of the SHD, which is circulated to its target readers, who are informed about the events and aspects of the SHD as narrated by Syrian citizens. The meta-narrative of the SHD in *The Guardian*'s translated narratives and quotations represent the relationship between the suffering of Syrian residents, protesters, and refugees on the one hand, and the brutal and violent actions of the Syrian regime and its security forces on the other hand.

4.1.2 The New York Times Represents the SHD's Sectarian Narrative

While the analysis of *The Guardian's* translated ontological narratives revealed a change in the type of Syrian narrators throughout different time frames of the SHD, the analysis process of the translated ontological narratives in *The New York Times'* 149 news texts shows that most of these narratives are narrated by Syrian protesters, eyewitnesses, and residents in different Syrian cities and towns. In these ontological narratives, Syrian narrators describe the violent attacks of Syrian security forces against protesters and residents in different Syrian cities.

In addition, *The New York Times'* translated ontological narratives represent the fatalities resulting from the brutal engagement of Syrian security forces. However, this newspaper selected and translated Syrian refugees' ontological narratives containing sectarian and religious quotations as implied in phrases and words such as "The Shiites shout at us that we are the killers of Hussein", "we are going to kill them [referring to the Alawites] with our knives", "just like they killed us", "I hate the Alawites and the Shiites", "All the Alawites are security agents. After the revolution, we want to kill them", and "Sunnis are Muslims, and Shiites and Alawites are the ones who kill us", in addition to the repetition of words "Sunnis", "Alawites", and "Shiites". The selection and translation of these specific quotations encourages target readers to understand the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD events as a result of a sectarian conflict between different Syrian religious sects.

By selecting and translating Syrian ontological narratives and quotations that consist of sectarian and religious linguistic items, *The New York Times* represents another aspect of the SHD narrative, which is the "sectarian narrative" of the ongoing Syrian conflict

and the SHD. As a matter of fact, the representations of sectarian narratives by the American newspaper are not new when it comes to covering and representing conflicts in Africa and the Middle East. As shown earlier, many studies (Chari, 2010; Kothari, 2010; Musa, 2007; Schimmel, 2011; Taha, 2012; Wall, 2007) examined *The New York Times*' representations and reporting of similar conflicts and humanitarian disasters such as the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, the Bosnian conflict and genocide in 1995, and the Darfur conflict between 2003 and 2006. The findings confirmed that the American newspaper represented these conflicts in stereotypical prejudices and ready-made frames and sectarian frames such as "tribalism conflicts", "ethnic conflicts", "ethnic cleansings", "ethnic hatred", "barbaric conflicts", and "irrational tribalism".

Since July 2012, *The New York Times* selected, translated, and circulated Syrian ontological narratives and quotations, which were mainly narrated by two types of narrators. First, eyewitnesses and resident narrators whose stories represented the Syrian regime's airstrikes and the casualties and damages in properties resulting from these airstrikes. Second, the Syrian refugee narrators whose stories portrayed the sufferings in refugee camps. Since September 2013 though, many translated ontological narratives and quotations depicted the violent attacks and brutality of some anti-regime and Al-Qaeda affiliated groups such as the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS) and Jabhat Al-Nusra. This aspect of the SHD events was ignored by *The Guardian*'s translated ontological narratives and quotations. It was also noted that some English words used by *The New York Times* are Arabic words written in English letters although there are English semantic equivalents for them such as "Mokhabarat" (Arabic word for Intelligence). The following are three examples from *The New York Times*' translated ontological narratives

and quotations which uncover types of Syrian narrators and the contents and themes of the selected and translated ontological narratives:

“We are not scared anymore,” said Abu Nadim, a protester in Douma, a town on the outskirts of Damascus. “We are sad and we are disappointed at this regime and at the president. Protests, demonstrations and death are now part of the daily routine” ... Mr. Nadim, the protester in Douma, said plainclothes security forces carrying machine guns were omnipresent in the town. He said snipers were also stationed on top of two hospital buildings. Protesters left the mosque after noon prayers, their numbers growing to 5,000, he said. They met a force of 3,000 security men, he said. “The minute they saw us they started shooting at us,” he said.

(See Appendix E/n: 14)

"I hate the Alawites and the Shiites," Ibtisam said as a crowd of children and adults nodded in agreement. “We are going to kill them with our knives, just like they killed us” ... The convictions of Heza, 13, were blunt. “We will never live together,” he said. “All the Alawites are security agents. After the revolution, we want to kill them.” Even if it might mean killing a Syrian child his own age? “I will kill him,” Heza said. “It doesn’t matter” ... “Sunnis are Muslims, and Shiites and Alawites are the ones who kill us,” Salem, 12, explained matter-of-factly. Ranya, 13, insisted that “there will always be a problem between Sunnis and Alawites, because they are the ones who are doing this to us”.

(See Appendix E/n: 45)

“The tents are drenched. Kids are crying. Puddles of water are all over,” the refugee, who asked to be identified by only his first name, Mohamad, said in a telephone interview. “I am walking, my shoes are covered with rainwater. I can’t remember being so cold. I don’t even want to think about more than half of the camp living in tents. Something has to be done”.

(See Appendix E/n: 57)

The above examples reveal that the ontological stories narrated by Syrian eyewitnesses and local informants in the beginning of the SHD represent the violent actions of Syrian security forces against protesters and residents in many Syrian cities, as well as representing the fatalities resulting from the excessive force used by Syrian security forces. In the first example, the narrator is a Syrian protester (Abu Nadim) from Douma

who describes the brutal and violent actions of Syrian security forces against protesters. This ontological narrative's content is apparent in phrases and words such as "Protests, demonstrations and death are now part of the daily routine", "plainclothes security forces carrying machine guns", and "The minute they saw us they started shooting at us".

The narrators of the second example are Syrian refugee children (Ibtisam, Heza, and Ranya), whose ontological narratives and quotations contain many sectarian linguistic items. The content and theme of their ontological narratives can be traced in many words and phrases such as "I hate the Alawites and the Shiites", "All the Alawites are security agents. After the revolution, we want to kill them", and "Sunnis are Muslims, and Shiites and Alawites are the ones who kill us". The narrator in the third example is a Syrian refugee (Mohamad) who tells about his miserable situation and suffering in a refugee camp during the winter, and the content of his ontological narrative is apparent in phrases such as "The tents are drenched", "Kids are crying", and "Puddles of water are all over".

In view of that, the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations construct *The New York Times'* public narrative of the SHD, which accentuates the brutal actions of Syrian security forces against protesters and residents, and the suffering of the Syrian people, as well as the violent actions of some anti-regime groups against Syrian residents and the siege of Syrian cities and towns. Also, *The New York Times'* translated ontological narratives and quotations constitute the SHD conceptual narrative which includes many sectarian and religious lexical items that encourage target readers to interpret the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD from a sectarian perspective. Additionally, *The New York Times'* meta-narrative of the SHD plays a significant role in

shaping its target readers' perception of the SHD narrative, specifically blaming the Syrian regime and its security forces for the ongoing SHD, as well as legitimizing empathy with the Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees.

4.1.3 Tortured Children and Pro-regime's Narratives are among National Post's Translated Narratives

In terms of *National Post's* 78 news texts, most of the translated ontological narratives were narrated by Syrian eyewitnesses, protesters, and residents. Like both *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*, *National Post* selected and translated Syrian citizens' ontological narratives which represented the brutality of Syrian security forces against Syrian protesters and residents, the victims who were shot dead or injured by Syrian security forces in many Syrian areas, and the ruins resulting from the Syrian regime's airstrikes on different cities and towns. The selected and translated ontological narratives also include quotations by Syrian children who described how Syrian security forces tortured them.

Nevertheless, the number of Syrian refugee narrators and their ontological narratives are relatively low in *National Post* compared to their representation in its counterparts in Britain and the United States. These ontological narratives represent the Syrian refugees' sufferings during the cold winter, and food, water, and medical shortages in refugee camps. The Syrian refugees' ontological narratives also blame the international community and urge it to intervene and put an end to the ongoing SHD. The content and theme of these ontological narratives can be traced in phrases such as 'We are begging you for a no-fly zone': Angry Syrian refugees confront John Kerry with demands (headline, *National Post*, 18 July 2013).

It is worth pointing out that the Canadian newspaper selected and translated few pro-regime ontological narratives and quotations which were narrated by pro-regime Syrian citizens accusing anti-regime groups of committing crimes against Syrian civilians and residents. These ontological narratives and quotations also blame the United States and some Arab countries for killing the Syrian people and the suffering of the Syrian people. These observations are apparent in lexical items such as ‘Death to America’: Funerals for Syrian bombing victims turn into pro-Assad rallies (headline, *National Post*, 24 December 2011). It is remarkable that both *National Post* and *The Guardian* published many translated quotations in their headlines, which can be interpreted as an attempt to draw their target readers’ attention to the content and theme of these particular quotations. The following examples include Syrian citizens’ quotations about the events of the SHD:

Security officers burned the boy with cigarettes on his neck and hands and threw boiling water on him, the parents were quoted as saying. Another 13-year-old told Human Rights Watch that security forces tortured him for three days at a military security branch after he was detained in May. He said he fell unconscious after being electrocuted on the stomach. “When they interrogated me the second time, they beat me and electrocuted me again. The third time they had some pliers, and they pulled out my toenail,” the boy was quoted as saying.

(See Appendix F/n: 27)

“It is hell – boiling hot in the summer and freezing cold now,” lamented Ahmad Zibi, 45, who said he spent the night watching over his five children when his tent collapsed. “Rain flooded the tent and its shafts submerged and collapsed on us” ... Fadi Suleiman, 30, said camp conditions were “worse than living in Syria,” where rebels are fighting a civil war against authoritarian ruler Bashar Assad that has killed some 60,000 in nearly two years of fighting. “It’s one misery after the other as the international community sits idle, doing nothing to help us get rid of the tyrant Assad,” he said. “But this one is dangerous: There’s a serious storm that could kill children and old people”.

(See Appendix F/n: 52)

The content of the first ontological narratives is marked by the use of narratives elements and lexical items such as “Security officers burned the boy with cigarettes on his neck and hands and threw boiling water on him”, “security forces tortured him for three days”, and “When they interrogated me the second time, they beat me and electrocuted me again. The third time they had some pliers, and they pulled out my toenail”.

The narrators (Ahmad Zibi and Fadi Suleiman) of the second example talk about their suffering during the cold winter in a refugee camp and blame the international community for not interfering against Assad. Their ontological narratives’ content and themes are designated in phrases and words such as “It is hell – boiling hot in the summer and freezing cold now”, “Rain flooded the tent and its shafts submerged and collapsed on us”, and “It’s one misery after the other as the international community sits idle, doing nothing to help us get rid of the tyrant Assad”. However, some lexical items in this translated ontological narrative and quotations convey more than one meaning in Arabic. For example, the phrase “boiling hot” expresses more than one meaning in Arabic such as *الحر المغلي, المغلي الساخن*, “freezing cold” can mean *البرد القارس, البرد المتجلد*, and “shafts” which conveys more than one Arabic equivalent such as *أعمدة, مهوي, أرماع*.

In terms of constructing the SHD public narrative, *National Post* selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations which depict particular aspects of the SHD such as the brutality of security forces against protesters, fatalities of violent attacks from both sides the regime and its security forces and anti-regime groups, food and water shortages in many Syrian cities, and refugees’ suffering in refugee camps. In addition, *National Post*’s SHD conceptual narrative is constructed through the selection of certain lexical items which positively represent Syrian protesters, children, residents, and

refugees, while it selected lexical items that negatively represent Assad, the Syrian regime, and security forces. Accordingly, *National Post*'s meta-narrative of the SHD gives more attention and weight to the civilian casualties, suffering of children, and ruins in different Syrian cities and towns.

As can be seen in the above analysis, narrative theory is an analytical and conceptual tool that can be used to describe the local informants and Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives of the SHD, and to explore how each of the three English-language newspapers emphasized various aspects and participants of the SHD events by selecting and translating quotations narrated by Syrian citizens and local informants and communicating these narratives to their target readers. Applying narrative theory to the SHD as a case study has also allowed us to follow the gradual structuring of the SHD public narrative, built through the combination of common and similar Syrian citizens' ontological narratives. As well, it sheds light on the importance of narrators and their personal narratives in the configuration of the SHD public narrative.

4.2 Narrative Features in the English-Language Newspapers

The second component of the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis is narrative features. In effect, examining the role and function of narrative features in the translated quotations allows us to understand how the SHD narrative works in the news texts of the three selected English-language newspapers, and how these media outlets benefit from the use of narrative features to construct and represent a coherent SHD narrative to their target readers. It is worth noting that the four narrative features are interrelated and overlap in order to elaborate a coherent narrative and promote a particular version of a

narrative. The examination of the use of narrative features in the translated quotations is guided by the four sub-components:

- 1) Temporality narrative feature
- 2) Causal emplotment narrative feature
- 3) Relationality narrative feature
- 4) Selective appropriation narrative feature

The examination of the use of temporality by the three English-language newspapers identifies how these media outlets place the sequence and position of the SHD narrative elements and events which affect the overall representations of the SHD narrative. Hence, different orders and sequences in which the narrative elements are placed within the translated quotations carry different meanings and interpretations. The analysis process of the use of temporality and the sequence of the SHD narrative elements is divided into three aspects: space, thematic, and chronologic. Temporality space sequence is analyzed in terms of the order of space and places where the translated quotations narrate the events of the SHD. In addition, temporality space sequence allows us to explore the position of the translated quotations within the news texts and the connotation of these allotted positions.

Temporality thematic sequence reveals the changing mood of contents and themes in the SHD translated quotations during different time frames. Temporality chronological sequence shows the chronological order of narrative elements in the translated quotations, and whether or not the chronological sequence of the SHD events has changed during the 3-year time frame. Temporality chronological sequence also examines if the lexical items

used by the three English-language newspapers recall historical events and narratives which are transferred to target readers.

The examination of the use of causal emplotment by the three English-language newspapers explains and evaluates the narrative meaning and interpretation of independent narrative elements and events which override their chronological or categorical order, and encourage target readers to establish an opinion about certain narratives. In addition, the examination of the use of causal emplotment explains how the same facts and events can be correlated differently in the translated quotations of the three selected newspapers. Also, causal emplotment uncovers whether or not the SHD narrative elements and events are charged with moral and ethical implications when they are linked to each other. Indeed, patterns of causal emplotment can be changed by translators and media agents through the selection of certain semantic equivalents and by differently weighting narrative elements and events from these in the source text and original narrative.

The analysis process of the use of relationality reveals how the events of the SHD can be interpreted and related to a larger configuration of events. Hence, the meaning of narrative elements and events cannot be conveyed to target readers without being related to each other and interpreted within a particular meta-narrative. The narrative elements and events should merge together to elaborate a coherent meta-narrative, and there is no doubt that news translation plays a remarkable role in weaving narrative elements and events together in the target text. The analysis process focuses on how lexical items in the three selected newspapers' translated quotations are loaded with relational meanings and interpretations in the target culture and for target readers. This narrative feature is also

scrutinized in terms of how relationships and connections between the SHD narrative elements and events are positioned within the translated quotations, for example, in the rearrangement of the causes and effects and the relationship between the doer or the actor and the goal.

In terms of the use of selective appropriation in the translated quotations, the analysis process determines what sets of narrative elements and events of the SHD are appropriately selected, translated, and represented in the news texts of the three English-language newspapers. This selection process reveals what aspects and events of the SHD are accentuated or suppressed in the analyzed translated quotations and narratives of the three selected English-language newspapers. Through news translation, selective appropriation was used in order to select specific representations of the SHD.

4.2.1 Use of Temporality in the Translated Quotations

This section examines the use of temporality in its space, thematic, and chronological sequence in the translated quotations of the three selected English-language newspapers. To begin with, *The Guardian* used temporality space sequence in its selected and translated quotations and ontological narratives to first narrate the SHD events in the city of Deraa, and then in other Syrian cities such as Homs as the Syrian conflict progressed into many places inside Syria. After that, *The Guardian* used temporality space sequence to narrate the Syrian refugees' daily sufferings in different refugee camps. This change in temporality space sequence occurred after the Syrian refugee aspect of the SHD escalated into a global crisis and dominated other aspects of the SHD.

The Syrian narrators quoted in *The Guardian's* quotations and ontological narratives in the beginning of the SHD events were frequently Syrian protesters and citizens

residing inside Syria, and later on, the British newspaper mainly selected and translated quotations and ontological narratives which were told by Syrian refugees. The British newspaper also positioned the Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives in the news texts' lead paragraphs, and many quotations were even located in the headlines. The following are examples of the use of temporality space sequence in *The Guardian's* translated quotations. The following two examples show how the use of temporality space sequence in *The Guardian* changed throughout the 3-year time frame of the SHD events:

A resident of Deraa said that at least 34 people had reportedly been killed, with 20 or more bodies brought to Deraa national hospital and others taken elsewhere ... "It was a very difficult, bloody day," said the resident, who asked to remain anonymous. "There is a state of undeclared curfew in Deraa – whenever troops see four or five more people gathered they open fire". "Deraa today is like a ghost town, we are very scared. Everything is closed and the streets are empty – everywhere you look there's security".

(See Appendix D/n: 2)

My first year as a refugee from Syria: 'I was devastated by the impact of suddenly, in the blink of an eye, losing everything' – mother-of-four Um Fouad on her family's new life at the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan

(See Appendix D/n: 159)

As can be seen from the above two examples, *The Guardian* selected and translated quotations and narratives from Syrian residents in Deraa at the beginning of the SHD events in March 2011, and then used temporality space sequence to move from inside Syria into refugee camps by selecting and translating quotations and narratives for Syrian refugees who were settled in various refugee camps such as the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan.

With regard to the use of temporality thematic sequence, most of *The Guardian's* selected and translated quotations and narratives consist of the following SHD's themes:

protests in different Syrian cities and town, civilian casualties, devastations, food and medical shortages, the Syrian security forces' brutal attacks against protesters, and the Syrian refugees' human suffering and food and medical shortages in refugee camps. It is worth pointing out that *The Guardian* directly quoted Syrian citizens when their narratives include anti-regime themes, while it indirectly quoted Syrian citizens when their narratives include pro-regime themes. Selecting and translating direct quotations lends the news text a sense of immediacy which gives target readers an opportunity to read and hear the facts and words directly from news sources, i.e. Syrian citizens. This immediacy reinforces the credibility of the facts about the SHD events. The following examples reveal the use of temporality thematic sequence:

“The tanks came into the city around 5.30am from four different directions,” a Hama resident said by telephone, as gunfire was heard in the background. “They ran over some of the makeshift checkpoints and there is gun and tank fire,” he said ... “It's a massacre. They want to break Hama before the month of Ramadan,” a witness who identifies himself by his name, Ahmad ... “There are bodies uncollected in the streets,” said another resident, adding that army snipers had positioned themselves on the roofs of the state-owned electricity company and the main prison.

(See Appendix D/n: 13)

Ibrahim [a Syrian refugee in Jordan]: I have relatives living in Zaatari, and it is a challenging life in the camp. Outside the camp you have a roof but in the camp you have a tent. The person who wants to leave the camp needs to pay money, and most don't have money. Hind [a Syrian refugee in Jordan]: Living outside the camp is easier. We found shelter and food. In the camp there is no safety, and the living circumstances are very hard. There is abuse; more than outside the camp. There is no life in the camp compared to outside. There are so many challenges outside the camp, but it is always better than living in the camp.

(See Appendix D/n: 117)

As noted in the above two examples, *The Guardian* selected and translated quotations and ontological narratives which include the following themes: pro-regime security

forces' attacks against residents, victims, and the suffering of Syrian refugees in refugee camps. These themes are apparent in many narrative elements, phrases, and words, such as "They ran over some of the makeshift checkpoints and there is gun and tank fire", "It's a massacre", "There are bodies uncollected in the streets", "In the camp there is no safety, and the living circumstances are very hard", and "There is abuse; more than outside the camp. There is no life in the camp compared to outside". It is worth noting that the back translations for some English words in the above examples such as "break", "bodies", and "uncollected" have more than one Arabic semantic equivalent and each one conveys a different meaning. For example, the verb "break" can be translated in Arabic as كسر, قطع, خلع, فصل.

The use of temporality chronological sequence in *The Guardian* can be traced in many translated narratives when the British newspaper has selected and translated Syrian citizens' quotations which chronologically relate some of the SHD events to the Arab uprisings in the Arab world, such as those in Tunisia and Egypt, as well as to similar historical events in Syria. As a matter of fact, temporality chronological sequence supports Baker's (2006) assumption that history "is a function of narrativity" in which past narratives affect present and future narratives and "enhance identification with a current narrative and enrich it with implicit detail" (p. 57). The following Syrian citizens' narratives show how *The Guardian* employed temporality chronological sequence in its translated quotations to relate some events of the SHD to the Arab uprisings events and to similar historical events in Syria:

Other grainy clips show crowds holding a banner saying: "The martyr Hamza al-Khatib, killed under torture by Assad's gangs." Cries of "Allahu Akbar" (God is greatest) were heard at his funeral and pro-democracy protesters have designated this Friday as "Children's Friday" in his

memory” ... "It's the same thing that happened with Mohammed Bouazizi [the vendor who burned himself to death in protest] in Tunisia and Khaled Said [who was killed by police] in Egypt. But this was not another young man. He was just a boy".

(See Appendix D/n: 7)

“It is a real massacre,” said a witness who took part in Friday’s protests in Hama and fled the gunfire. “People were running, shouting. We ran up to people’s homes and hid there until the gunfire died down” ... "You cannot separate what happened in 1982 from what is happening now. It's the same trend, but of course the world has changed so it cannot be on the same scale," he said.

(See Appendix D/n: 8)

In the first example, the ontological narrative relates the torture and killing of Hamza al Khatib¹² by Syrian security forces. This SHD event was also linked to another “Arab Spring” event, specifically to Mohammed Bouazizi¹³, who burned himself to death and whose death in Tunisia in December 2010 ignited a series of tumultuous events, protests, and demonstrations in many Arab countries. As well, the same SHD event was chronologically related to the killing of Khaled Said¹⁴, who was killed by security forces in Egypt. The use of temporality chronological sequence and the relationship between the “victim” and the “killer” in this ontological narrative is noticeable in lexical items such as “Hamza al-Khatib, killed under torture by Assad’s gangs” and “It's the same thing that happened with Mohammed Bouazizi [the vendor who burned himself to death in protest] in Tunisia and Khaled Said [who was killed by police] in Egypt”. The second example

¹² A 13-year-old Syrian boy who died while in the custody of Syrian security forces in the city of Deraa.

¹³ A Tunisian street vendor who burned himself to death in response to the confiscation of his wares, harassment and humiliation from municipal officials.

¹⁴ A young Egyptian man whose death in 2010 under police custody in Alexandria incited protests and demonstrations in Egypt.

shows a relation between a historical event and a current SHD event. This narrative reveals a chronological relationship between the Friday protests in Hama in 2011 and the Hama massacre¹⁵, which was committed by Syrian security forces in 1982. There are many phrases and words that refer to temporality chronological sequence in the second narrative, such as “It is a real massacre” and “You cannot separate what happened in 1982 from what is happening now”.

In terms of the use of temporality in *The New York Times*' selected and translated quotations and ontological narratives, the analysis process reveals that the American newspaper used this narrative feature in its temporality space sequence to mainly narrate and represent the protests in Syrian cities which first took place in the city of Deraa and then in other Syrian cities such as Douma, Homs, Deir al-Zour, and Idlib. Also, *The New York Times* selected and translated quotations and narratives from Syrian narrators who were residing inside Syria and narrated the humanitarian disaster from different Syrian places. In addition, the American newspaper frequently positioned the translated quotations, narratives, and eyewitnesses accounts of the SHD in lead paragraphs which emphasized the facts and information in these selected quotations and narratives. The following examples reflect the use of temporality space sequence by *The New York*

Times:

Weeks of clashes in Syria between protesters and the government intensified on Monday and early Tuesday as security forces fired on a crowd of thousands of demonstrators in the central square of the city of Homs, witnesses said. The crowd had gathered to protest a deadly crackdown by the security forces, who activists say killed 14

¹⁵ The Hama massacre occurred in February 1982 when the Syrian army, under the rule of the Syrian president, Hafez al-Assad, besieged the city of Hama, leading to the death of thousands of Syrian citizens.

demonstrators on Sunday. Tensions mounted throughout the day, and at about 2:10 a.m. on Tuesday the forces began firing again, witnesses said... Ahmad, 28, a university student at the Homs protest, said: "We people of Homs are calling for three days' general strike to show our rejection of the cold-blooded killing of peaceful protesters. Homs is boiling and no one can tell you what will happen in near future".

(See Appendix E/n: 13)

"This was the only cave I could find when I came here," said Ahmad Sheikh, 51, whose family lives in a smaller cave than the Darwish family's four-room warren, and slightly farther uphill ... "It became impossible to live in the village without being exposed to the possibility of your death at any time," Mr. Sheikh said ... His family is fastidious. The warmest room is neat, and shoes are stacked at its edge. "I keep it organized," he said. Cleanliness alone cannot keep away the hardship. After enduring the winter, he said, his wife's legs are swollen. Their three young children suffer from chest infections and earaches. As he spoke, a sluggish black beetle, about the half the size of his thumb, slid off the wall and came to rest on its back beside his feet. Mr. Sheikh picked up the insect and threw it toward the cave's entrance, like a stone. "Now you have seen with your own eyes how we are forced to live", he said.

(See Appendix E/n: 64)

Temporality space sequence in the above two examples is observed in many phrases and words, such as the word "Homs", which is repeated four times in the activists and eyewitnesses' narratives and emphasizes temporality space sequence where the events of the SHD occurred. *The New York Times* also employed temporality thematic sequence to narrate and represent the suffering of Syrian residents inside Syrian cities and towns and to describe ruins in different Syrian cities and towns, as well as shortages of food and water. The following two examples reveal the use of temporality thematic sequence:

"Today we are alive, but tomorrow we don't know," said a resident reached by telephone who gave his name as Fadi. "The humanitarian situation is getting worse day by day" ... The resident reached by telephone said that 200 tanks had entered the city before dawn, and that security forces blocking residents from gathering in the city's mosques ... An activist in Deir al-Zour who gave his name as Tarik said that thousands of soldiers and hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles were trying to divide the city into smaller parts, a tactic the military has used elsewhere.

Protesters still gathered in some squares, he said. “We’re trying to block the roads,” said another resident, a grocer who gave his name as Mohammed. He put the numbers of protesters on Friday in the tens of thousands and said the demonstrators were chanting, “We don’t want the army inside cities.” Some residents, also reached by telephone, reported shortages of food and water.

(See Appendix E/n: 20)

If the government manages to reassert control in Damascus in the coming days, then maybe the country will not disintegrate, he said [30-year-old construction engineer], but he was not optimistic, especially as the hatred deepened between Alawites and Sunnis. “I think a civil war is coming; you can see it and feel it,” he said, with Alawites talking about their fears of surviving while Sunnis burn with the desire for revenge. “Eighty percent of the problem is sectarian and maybe 20 percent is about corruption,” said Mohamed al-Jazaeri, a young engineer, explaining his wish for a slow, measured political reform process that is nowhere in sight. “They are going to destroy the country, and they won’t be able to bring it back for another 20 years”.

(See Appendix E/n: 39)

The first example includes narratives and quotations from Syrian residents who represent the humanitarian situation inside Syria, as well as the security forces’ attempts to ban residents from gathering and protesting. Temporality thematic sequence is traced in phrases such as “The humanitarian situation is getting worse day by day” and “The resident reached by telephone said that 200 tanks had entered the city before dawn, and that security forces blocking residents from gathering in the city’s mosques”. The second example consists of narratives and quotations that refer to the causes of the ongoing conflict in Syria. This theme is obvious in the choice of phrases and words such as “I think a civil war is coming; you can see it and feel it” and “Eighty percent of the problem is sectarian and maybe 20 percent is about corruption”.

With regard to the use of temporality by *National Post*, the Canadian newspaper employed temporality space sequence to narrate and represent the events of the SHD

from inside different Syrian cities and towns such as Deraa, Hama, Homs, Baba Amr, and Aleppo. Most of the Syrian citizens' narratives were told by Syrian residences, eyewitnesses, and activists who narrate the ongoing protests against Assad and his regime, the number of civilian casualties, and the destruction of properties. As of the beginning of 2013, the use of temporality space sequence by *National Post* moved from inside Syria to different refugee camps in hosting countries. Hence, the Syrian refugees' quotations and narratives contain information about their suffering and shortages of food, water, and medications. Moreover, most of the translated quotations were located in the middle of *National Post*'s news texts, while some translated quotations were positioned in the news texts' headlines and sub-headlines. The following is a sample of translated quotations which reveal the use of temporality space sequence by *National Post*:

Syrian tanks firing shells and machineguns stormed the city of Hama on Sunday, killing 80 civilians, rights activists said, in one of the bloodiest days in a five-month-old popular revolt against President Bashar al-Assad ... Another resident said that in Sunday's assault, bodies were lying uncollected in the streets and so the death toll would rise. Army snipers climbed onto the roofs of the state-owned electricity company and the main prison, he said. Tank shells were falling at the rate of four a minute in and around north Hama, resident said. Electricity and water supplies to the main neighbourhoods had been cut, a tactic used regularly by the military when sweeping into restive towns. Later on Sunday, security forces shot dead three people in the southern city of Deraa who were among hundreds in a rally staged in support of residents of Hama, local activists said. In the restive Damascus suburb of Harasta, at least 42 people were injured on Sunday when security forces threw nail bombs at a demonstration, two residents said.

(See Appendix F/n: 5)

"We don't have enough to eat," complains Mustafa Habun, a 34-year old plumber from the town of Idlib twenty miles south of the camp. "The meals are small and they don't come on a regular schedule" ... Residents lay their thin blankets on the mushy soil, but it is not enough to prevent the soggy dirt from seeping through. "We live in perpetual cold," says Hamid Jabir, a 46 year old grocer. "The world is silent as we suffer".

(See Appendix F/n: 53)

These quotations and narratives point to many Syrian places, such as the city of Hama, which is repeated three times in the first example, as well as other Syrian cities and towns such as Deraa and Idlib. *National Post's* temporality thematic sequence is apparent in the types of themes of its selected and translated quotations and narratives of Syrian citizens, which can be classified under the following thematic categories: protests in Syrian cities, shooting and killing of protesters by security forces, shortages of food and water inside Syria, humanitarian situation in Syrian cities, and suffering of the Syrian refugees and shortages of food, water, and medications in refugee camps. The following are two examples of the translated quotations which reveal the use of temporality thematic sequence:

Residents who fled the district spoke of bodies decomposing under rubble, sewage mixing with litter in the streets, and a campaign of arrests and executions. "The smell of death was everywhere. We could smell the bodies buried under the rubble all the time," said Ahmad, who escaped to Lebanon. "We saw so much death that at the end the sight of a dismembered body ... stopped moving us"... A man who fled Baba Amr a day after the army went in said soldiers raided houses, arresting men and executed some of them. Activists say at least 60 men were executed since Friday. "They are cleansing the neighborhood, they are robbing houses, arresting people then executing some. Baba Amr is besieged from all sides. It is a disaster," said Omar, speaking by telephone from inside Homs after he fled Baba Amr. "They said they have a list of 1,500 men and they want them all ... They are shooting everything that is moving, even animals," he said with a trembling voice.

(See Appendix F/n: 33)

"My two big sisters are shy. They do not want to leave home, but I do not mind. We need money to eat. Nobody is helping us enough," said the young refugee, who managed to collect \$14 before departing downhill with her younger brother through the dark allies of the capital ... "Now, my family is scattered and the food we get is not enough to feed us. Now the feeling of dependency on aid groups is worse than death".

(See Appendix F/n: 63)

As can be seen from the above two examples, there are many narrative elements and lexical items that draw target readers' attention to specific SHD themes as embedded in the selected and translated quotations and narratives. These quotations and narratives depict the buried bodies under the rubble, the execution of Syrian citizens by security forces, and the refugees' suffering in refugee camps. The themes of these narratives are noticeable in many phrases such as "The smell of death was everywhere. We could smell the bodies buried under the rubble all the time", "They are cleansing the neighborhood, they are robbing houses, arresting people then executing some", "They are shooting everything that is moving, even animals", and "Now, my family is scattered and the food we get is not enough to feed us".

It is worth pointing out that *The Guardian* is the only newspaper that employed temporality chronological sequence in its translated quotations and narratives in order to represent historical events and relate them to current SHD events. By doing this, the British newspaper may have intended to remind its target readers about the brutal history of the Syrian regime, as well as the Middle East's violent history.

4.2.2 Use of Causal Emplotment in the Translated Quotations

The examination of the use of causal emplotment in the SHD translated narratives and quotations uncovers how each of the English-speaking newspaper emphasizes particular SHD narrative elements in its news texts, as well as the sequence and order of narrative elements, along with the relationships between them during different time frames, in order to reveal the relationship between the SHD causes and effects. Indeed, patterns of causal emplotment in news texts can be changed through the choice and arrangement of

lexical items and semantic equivalents in news texts. These patterns of causal employment may affect target readers' perceptions and views of the SHD events.

An analysis is conducted on the selected news texts from the three newspapers with a focus on a particular aspect of the SHD; i.e. the chemical attack on Syrian civilians which occurred on August 21, 2013, in the east Ghouta district of the Syrian capital, Damascus. The rationale behind choosing this aspect of the SHD is to closely explore patterns of causal employment in the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations, and how the same facts, information, and events can be interpreted differently through different sequence arrangements of narrative elements and the relationship between them in order to represent to target readers the causes of the attack, who is responsible for the attack, and how it has occurred.

In terms of the impact of causal employment patterns on *The Guardian* target readers' perceptions and views of the SHD, the examination of the translated narratives and quotations reveals that these patterns arranged narrative elements to essentially draw the readers' attention towards particular aspects of the SHD. Specifically, the repetition of the same patterns of causal employment frequently represented the violent encounters of Syrian security forces with protesters in different Syrian cities, and the idea that the Syrian regime is the one to blame for the casualties and injuries of Syrian protesters and residents. The patterns of causal employment also played a crucial role in forming the readers' perceptions about the Syrian refugees' suffering and the responsibility of the Syrian regime and some anti-regime groups for this suffering. The following two examples closely uncover patterns of causal employment:

A witness told the Guardian by phone that 4,000 people had gathered in Harasta, which has not seen demonstrations on previous Fridays. They

carried olive branches and chanted “freedom”. “It was peaceful until security forces attacked and some shots were fired”, said the man, who asked for anonymity. “I saw six people shot, three of them with two bullets each”. A witness in Kafer Souseh said protesters leaving al-Refai mosque after prayers were beaten by security forces using batons and stun guns. He said he saw several “badly beaten” bodies which looked “lifeless”.

(See Appendix D/n: 4)

Syrian refugees fleeing to neighbouring Lebanon on Monday said they feared they would be slaughtered in their own homes as government forces hunted down opponents in a brutal offensive against the opposition stronghold of Homs ... “We fled the shelling and the strikes,” said Hassana Abu Firas. She came with two families who had fled government shelling of their town al-Qusair, about 14 miles (22km) away, on the other side of the Syrian border. The town is in Homs province, where the government has been waging a brutal offensive for the past month. “What are we supposed to do? People are sitting in their homes and they are hitting us with tanks,” Firas said. “Those who can flee, do. Those who can’t will die sitting down”.

(See Appendix D/n: 42)

The use of causal emplotment by *The Guardian* and the arrangements of narrative elements in the above narratives and quotations encourage target readers to establish a relationship between the brutality of the Syrian regime and its security forces on the one side and peaceful Syrian protesters and citizens on the other. In addition, target readers may interpret the SHD events as the fault of the regime and security forces for the increasing number of victims and the suffering of refugees. The majority of the selected and translated narratives and quotations include lexical items which imply a correlation between the actions of Syrian security forces and the number of fatalities resulting from these violent actions.

With regard to patterns of causal emplotment in the translated narratives and quotations that narrate and represent the chemical attack, the arrangements of narrative

elements implicitly indicate the responsibility of the Syrian government for the attack even though selected and translated narratives and quotations from *The Guardian* did not explicitly and directly accuse and blame the Syrian regime for the attack. In the following example, patterns of causal emplotment are included in the narratives and quotations that describe the chemical attack and its victims. As well, they describe how the Syrian government launched a military operation in the same area where the chemical attack happened. These narratives encourage target readers to make a link between the causes and the responsibility of the chemical attacks, and the number of victims who died as a result of this attack. These narratives are also followed by an eyewitness's account which describes the symptoms of the chemical attack and the condition of the victims.

“We were in a panic to take the children and run out of Zemalka to any nearby villages,” said Um Hassan of her area in the east Ghouta district of the capital. “People who were sleeping in their homes died in their beds because they could not feel the effects of the attack”... “I still feel sick and drowsy with all the smoke I have breathed,” she said 36 hours after the attack, which killed hundreds of people, wounded many more, and sparked outrage around the world”. “As we were trying to [leave], I could see people coming out of their homes but they would fall down. We tried to help some of them but they died before we got them to the hospital”. The attack seemed relentless, according to Um Hassan and other victims and first responders contacted by the Guardian via Skype on Thursday. The Syrian government has acknowledged that its military launched a large operation in eastern Ghouta in the early hours of Thursday, but has vehemently denied the use of chemical weapons. “We picked up a woman with her two kids, the rocket had hit their house but ... they all died. I could see the foam coming out of their mouths and noses”.

(See Appendix D/n: 139)

The examination of causal emplotment in *The New York Times*' translated narratives and quotations uncovers the patterns adopted by the American newspaper which affect its target readers' perceptions and views of the SHD events by arranging SHD narrative elements. Unlike *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*' translated narratives and

quotations show additional patterns of causal employment to draw its target readers' attention to another cause of the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD: the nature of Syrian society, which consists of many different religious sects. It is noticeable that *The New York Times* arranged the SHD narrative elements and sectarian lexical items such as "Shiite rejectionists", "Alawite minority", "Sunni majority", "Sunni jihadists", and "mujahedeen of the Shield of Mohammed" within the translated narratives and quotations in order to stress this specific cause and aspect of the SHD.

In addition, patterns of causal employment in *The New York Times*' translated narratives and quotations which narrate and represent the chemical attack include arrangements of narrative elements that clearly and explicitly indicate the responsibility of the Syrian regime for the chemical attack, which resulted in hundreds of victims. The following example shows patterns of causal employment as embedded in the translated narratives and quotations, blaming the Syrian regime for the chemical attack.

"I saw many children lying on beds as if they were sleeping, but unfortunately they were dead," said an activist reached via Skype in the suburb of Erbin, who gave his name as Abu Yassin. "We thought this regime would not use chemical weapons, at least these days with the presence of the U.N. inspectors," he said. "It is reckless. The regime is saying, 'I don't care'". Others said that field hospitals were overwhelmed with the number of patients and that many ran out of medication. An activist who gave only his first name, Mohammed, said the dead in one suburb, Zamalka, were laid out in front of a mosque, where a voice over loudspeakers called on residents to identify their relatives.

(See Appendix E/n: 98)

In *National Post*, on the other hand, patterns of causal employment and the arrangement of narrative elements in the translated narratives and quotations mainly reveal the relationship between Syrian security forces, protesters, victims, and the refugees' suffering. This relationship and the arrangement of narrative elements influence target

readers' perceptions and views of the SHD. The arrangement of the SHD narrative elements which are represented in the translated narratives and quotations encourage target readers to establish a connection between the causes and the effects of the SHD. Specifically, the patterns of causal emplotment point out the Syrian regime and its security forces as the main cause of killings, the suffering of refugees, and the ongoing conflict in Syria. The following examples show patterns of causal emplotment in *National Post's* translated narratives and quotations:

“Douma, the morning of June 29, 2012. This is the massacre committed against the people of Douma. God is our savior. Two whole families are here [among the dead] ... God help us,” said the man filming the scene. One man held up the limp body of a girl, her pink blouse drenched in blood. “This is another massacre of the massacres by Assad and his secret police,” he said. “This is another massacre of the massacres by the international community, of all the great nations that have conspired against our people”.

(See Appendix F/n: 39)

Naima, 45, said she and her husband came this week from Daraa, the southern city where the Syrian protest movement was born two years ago, now held by opposition fighters. Speaking from behind a tattered blanket they have strung up for a little privacy, she says the Assad regime's tank shells and air strikes are regularly hitting civilian homes, while six of her cousins were stabbed to death by government troops in the last week. “Buildings are destroyed, and you find people in the street killed or slaughtered,” said the woman, who like other refugees at Zaatari refused to give her last name out of concern for reprisals. “We sleep and as soon as we wake up we are in terror and fear”.

(See Appendix F/n: 60)

Moreover, the patterns of causal emplotment and the arrangement of narrative elements as embedded in the narratives and quotations which represent the chemical attack encourage target readers to blame the regime for the chemical attack which caused the death of hundreds of Syrian men, women, and children. In the following example, the

patterns of causal emplotment as embedded in the translated narratives and quotations indirectly relate the chemical attack to the regime's attempts to retake control over Ghouta and the number of civilian casualties claimed by this attack.

The attack appears to have taken place after rebels in eastern Damascus repelled several days of assaults mounted by Mr. Assad's forces. Most of these suburbs have been out of government control for over a year, but that of Ghouta, where the deadliest chemical weapon assaults are alleged to have happened, lies on a key supply route. Consequently, the regime has made repeated and determined efforts to retake this area. One doctor, who did not give his name, said that between four and six missiles loaded with chemical warheads struck the suburb of Zamalka at about 2 a.m. "Are these the terrorists they are talking about, these children?" he asked. "In one hospital, there are 155 people dead. Look at these women and children, entire families: 12 people in one family – the mother, the father, the children, and the grandfather. We found three buildings, all their inhabitants dead".

(See Appendix F/n: 68)

4.2.3 Use of Relationality in the Translated Quotations

The examination of the use of relationality by the three English-language newspapers determines the ways target readers can constitute a relationship between different SHD narrative elements, and interweave them into a larger configuration of events. In view of that, the analysis process focuses on how key words and phrases in the translated quotations have relational meaning and interpretations for target readers. To begin with, it is noticeable that several Syrian citizens' translated narratives and quotations in *The Guardian* have a contextual relationship to other similar events, specifically to the "Arab Spring" events in other Arab countries (e.g. Tunisia and Egypt). This contextual relationship draws target readers' attention towards the events of the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD, and encourages readers to consider them as another aspect of the "Arab Spring" and the Syrian people's suffering to be caused by the political regime in Syria. As well, the Syrian people are paying the price for demanding freedom and

political and social reforms. The following example shows the relational meaning and context between the SHD narrative elements and other similar narratives and events of the “Arab Spring” in Tunisia and Egypt:

In the YouTube video, a picture of Hamza is held above his coffin. It shows his angelic grin and thick head of black hair. He is dressed in a polo shirt. Below the gold-framed photo lies his body. “He was taken alive and he was killed because he called for freedom,” says the voice-over. Other grainy clips show crowds holding a banner saying: “The martyr Hamza al-Khatib, killed under torture by Assad’s gangs” ... “It’s the same thing that happened with Mohamad Bouazizi [the vendor who burned himself to death in protest] in Tunisia and Khaled Said [who was killed by police] in Egypt. But this was not another young man. He was just a boy”.

(See Appendix D/n: 7)

Furthermore, many key words and phrases in the translated quotations are written in the Latin alphabet, but they are originally Arabic words such as “shaheed شهيد”, which means “martyr” in English, and “Allahu Akbar الله أكبر”, which means “God is greatest”. The word “martyr” is the English equivalent of the Arabic word “shaheed”, but the Arabic word is related and associated to Islam, Muslims, and the Arabic culture. In addition, the word “shabiha” – which is frequently repeated in the translated quotations – was translated using different semantic equivalents and lexical items such as “plainclothed armed regime supporters”, “Assad’s feared paramilitaries”, “ghosts”, and “militias”. This observation indicates that *The Guardian* was inconsistent in terms of choosing equivalents when translating some frequent and repeated words.

Relationality was used by *The New York Times* to mostly relate the rising number of casualties to the violent and aggressive actions of Syrian security forces. However, some pro-regime translated narratives and quotations relate the causes of the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD to some Western and Arab countries such as the United

States, Jordan, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. The following two examples show the relational meaning and context of the SHD narrative elements and events:

Syrian warplanes have killed dozens of civilians, including more than 20 children, in an intensifying campaign of anti-insurgency airstrikes across the country over the past few days, bombing some targets as families were congregating outside to enjoy a sunny break from prolonged winter storms, activists and international medical aid workers said Monday ... A second video showed the bodies of half a dozen children laid out on blood-soaked blankets, including one curly-headed toddler no more than 2 years old. "Let the whole world observe, those are the victims [referring to bodies of children]," a narrator said on the video. "Those are the ones Bashar al-Assad is fighting".

(See Appendix E/n: 58)

In Damascus, the Syrian capital, on Monday, some residents blamed the United States and its allies, which back the opposition, for the devastation. A half-hour after the bombing, a drawing teacher, her hand bandaged, wept as she picked her way past bloodstains and shattered furniture inside what was left of the technical school. "I was going to open the door, and it fell on me," she said shakily, giving only her first name, Hanan. "Many students were injured". A man with her prevented her from talking and shouting: "This is America, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia! They are funding those people to do those explosions"!

(See Appendix E/n: 66)

The use of relationality in the first example is apparent through the narrative elements that promote the contextual relation between Assad's responsibility and the victims who died in a Syrian airstrike, while the use of relationality in the second example encourages target readers to establish a relationship between the responsibility of the United States and a number of Arab countries on the one hand and the explosions and casualties in Damascus on the other hand. Moreover, many translated narratives and quotations in *The New York Times'* news texts include key words and phrases which have relationality to Islam and Muslims such as "radical Islamists", "Islamist extremists", "jihadi fighters", and

“Islamic militants”. These lexical items and collocational patterns do not merely have relational context to Islam but they are also loaded with relational context to violence.

National Post used relationality in its translated narratives and quotations to primarily relate the Syrian residents and refugees’ suffering to the Syrian regime and its security forces’ violent and brutal attacks. Nonetheless, the Canadian newspaper selected and translated several narratives and quotations which encourage target readers to relate some aspects of the SHD to anti-regime and Islamists groups. The following examples reveal the use of relationality and how SHD narrative elements and events are related to each other:

Syrian tanks occupied the main square in central Hama on Wednesday after heavy shelling of the city, residents said, taking control of the site of some of the largest protests against President Bashar al-Assad ... “Ten buses full of security entered Mouadhamiya. I saw 10 youths falling down as I was running away from the gunfire. Hundreds of parents are in the streets looking for their sons,” said one witness in Mouadhamiya, 30 km (20 miles) from the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights.

(See Appendix F/n: 6)

“What are they doing to our children?” Civilians angered by Syrian rebels who reportedly seize goods, recruit teens [headline] ... “They act as if we exist to serve them,” the 36-year-old bank teller said. “They brought these hardships on us and now they want us to suffer while they take the choice of goods” ... “They come in and clean off my shelves and offer only promises of payment when they ‘liberate’ the city,” says Faris Kindi, a 53-year-old grocer ... “Spending all night in line for bread doesn’t endear me to the FSA [Free Syrian Army],” says Mr. Kazaz. “It just makes me want to return to the quiet we had before the revolution”.

(See Appendix F/n: 54)

The residents’ ontological narratives and quotations in the first example emphasize the contextual relationality between the SHD events and the attacks of Syrian security forces. On the contrary, the use of relationality in the Syrian citizens’ ontological narratives and quotations of the second example motivates target readers to associate the SHD events to

anti-regime groups. The above two examples reveal how selecting and translating particular narratives and quotations can differently relate the SHD events and narrative elements of the same events.

4.2.4 Use of Selective Appropriation in the Translated Quotations

The examination of the use of selective appropriation focuses on the SHD narrative elements and aspects which were selected and emphasized by the three English-language newspapers. In addition, the use of selective appropriation determines through intertextual analysis the legitimized voices that are reflected in the translated narratives and quotations, versus the silenced voices. As well, the examination of selective appropriation explores when the selected newspapers translate direct quotations and indirect quotations of Syrian citizens in their news coverage and representation of the SHD events.

The analysis of the use of selective appropriation by *The Guardian* indicates that the narrative elements and aspects of the SHD which are accentuated and represented in the translated narratives and quotations narrate particular aspects of the SHD, beginning with the peaceful protests in many Syrian cities; the brutality of the Syrian security forces; food, water, and medical shortages; and the Syrian refugees' suffering in refugee camps. With regard to the selection of which Syrian citizens' voices are quoted and represented, *The Guardian* mostly selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations from anti-regime Syrian citizens who were residing in different Syrian cities and towns. But when the Syrian refugees' situation developed into a global crisis by mid-2012, the British newspaper represented the voices of Syrian refugees, which mainly took the form of interviews in many refugee camps in Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq,

and Europe. Most of the refugees' voices were of those who oppose the Syrian regime. *The Guardian* translated anti-regime ontological narratives in the form of direct quotations which describe and represent the violent actions of the Syrian regime and its security forces. By doing that, the British newspaper gave significance and importance to the facts and information included in these narratives and quotations. Pro-regime narratives of the SHD events, on the other hand, were translated by *The Guardian* in the form of indirect quotations. These pro-regime quotations basically blame anti-regime groups and other countries for the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD, but the indirect format essentially undermines the importance of their content.

The contents of the selected SHD aspects and events as embedded in the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations constitute selective representation of reality and promote *The Guardian's* version of the SHD narrative by emphasizing aspects and events that represent Assad as "enemy" and the Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees as "victims". The following translated narratives and quotations show the selected SHD aspects and events in *The Guardian's* news texts:

In YouTube footage purporting to come from protesters in Hama, heavy gunfire can be heard amid improvised road blocks in the street with a tank in the background. A voice says: "Hama, 5 August 2011, severe artillery shooting in Hama ... tanks incursion of Hama ... gangs of Bashar al-Assad are shooting Hama neighbourhoods". The date and name of the city are repeated ... "Hama, we are with you until death," a crowd marching through the central Damascus neighbourhood of Midan shouted. In another district, Qadam, protesters carried a banner reading: "Bashar is slaughtering the people and the international community is silent".

(See Appendix D/n: 16)

Um Eddine is a teacher and mother of four. She left her home in Deraa after receiving death threats and arrived in Jordan in the middle of March. Her husband was arrested by the Assad regime in December. She says the threats started last year. "In July last year, government security appeared, knocking at the front door. I looked out of the window and saw a lot of

heavily armed men wearing black. They weren't soldiers, they were Shabiha (militia loyal to the Assad regime) ... She made the decision to leave after tanks entered the city late in February. "Many people were slaughtered," Um Eddine says. "They just ran over them with the tanks. Walking home from school to my mother's home that day, blood ran in the streets. When I got to her home, everything had been destroyed or stolen. It was impossible to stay there. My neighbours told me, come and see your house. I went to pick up some things but there was nothing left to take. There was nothing else to do. We had to be smuggled into Jordan".

(See Appendix D/n: 47)

The first example emphasizes particular narrative elements, aspects, and events of the SHD which are apparent in key words and phrases. These narrative elements are repeated in most of the translated ontological narratives and quotations. For example, the ontological narrative in the YouTube footage stresses the following narrative elements, aspects, and events: heavy gunfire and artillery shooting, the city of Hama which is repeated several times in the ontological narrative, and Assad, who, along with his "gangs" is accused of "slaughtering the people". The ontological narrative of the second example includes narrative elements which accentuate the responsibility of the regime and its "shabiha" for the refugees' crisis and for "slaughtering" the Syrian people.

The examination of the use of selective appropriation in *The New York Times'* translated narratives and quotations explores what SHD narrative elements, aspects, and events were selected for translation and representation. The American newspaper selected SHD narrative elements, aspects, and events which essentially represent the protests in several Syrian cities and the violent reaction of the Syrian security forces which led to the killing of numerous protesters, residents, and citizens. Additionally, the selected and translated narratives and quotations describe the regime's airstrikes against civilians, which led to the killing of Syrian citizens and children.

The New York Times selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations about Syrian protesters after Friday prayers when Syrian residents were called for massive rallies against the regime through different social media platforms (e.g. YouTube and twitter). It is also noticeable that *The New York Times* selected and translated footage of Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations from amateur videos which were posted on social media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook, or through interviews by phone or via Skype. The American newspaper selected and translated particular footage from these videos, such as when Syrian citizens describe the falling victims during protests and those who were killed by airstrikes, as well the Syrian security forces' siege of cities and towns, and the shortages of food and water.

Most of *The New York Times*' translated ontological narratives are of anti-regime Syrian citizens who narrate the brutal actions of the security forces against protesters, residents, and civilians, and these are presented as direct quotations. In contrast, the few pro-regime Syrian citizens' ontological narratives, which blame anti-regime groups and Islamist groups for the SHD, take the form of indirect quotations. The following examples show how *The New York Times* used selective appropriation in its news texts to accentuate specific events of the SHD:

Tens of thousands of Syrians in cities and towns around their country took to the streets on Friday after noon prayers shouting "We will not kneel" in a strong show of defiance against the government of President Bashar al-Assad, and at least 15 protesters were killed by security forces, human rights activists and residents said ... "Today they were successful in dispersing the crowds by force," Saleh al-Hamawi, an activist from Hama, Syria's fourth-largest city and a linchpin of the uprising, said by phone. "But they failed to put fear in our hearts, which they are betting on" ... "The security used a different tactic today," an activist who gave his name as Hozan said by phone. "They attacked crowds immediately as they came out of mosques".

(See Appendix E/n: 22)

Interviews with more than two dozen activists, rebels and doctors in areas near the attack sites [chemical attack], as well as an examination of more than 100 videos and photos of the aftermath, back up this assertion ... "Those are my cousins," said one person in a video shot in the city of Hamouriyeh, pointing to the ground where the bodies of a man and his two children lay. "I'm still looking for the rest," he said. "Five or six of them".

(See Appendix E/n: 101)

The above ontological narratives and quotations include narrative elements which are selected and repeated in most of *The New York Times*' news texts to emphasize the responsibility of Assad and his security forces for killing protesters and residents in various Syrian cities and towns. In effect, the selection of particular SHD narrative elements in the translated ontological narratives and quotations reinforces the regime's responsibility for the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD.

The examination of the use of selective appropriation by *National Post* reveals that the Canadian newspaper selected and translated Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations that highlight the aspects of protests, victims, and the humanitarian situation inside Syria, as well as the Syrian regime's siege of many Syrian cities and towns. However, the Canadian newspaper kept selecting and translating ontological narratives and quotations from Syrian residents even after the Syrian refugee crisis dominated other aspects of the SHD. In addition, the majority of the translated ontological narratives were from anti-regime and anti-Assad Syrian citizens, and they took the form of direct quotations, while few personal stories were narrated by pro-regime and pro-Assad citizens—those that were though, all took the form of indirect quotations. The following two examples show the use of selective appropriation:

At least 25 people were killed in Syria on Thursday, including 14 civilians shot in a military crackdown on protesters calling for President Bashar al-Assad to go, and five soldiers killed in ambushes, activists said.

Thousands marched at funerals for 24 civilians killed by pro-Assad forces the day before, said activists, including eight in Damascus in one of the bloodiest attacks on demonstrations in the capital since the start of the seven-month uprising. Rallies demanding Assad's removal continued across the country. "We are going to heaven, martyrs in the millions," sang a crowd at a rally in the town of Helfaya near Hama, according to a YouTube video. The song has become a popular chant in other Arab countries witnessing "Arab Spring" revolts.

(See Appendix F/n: 14)

Syria military siege in Aleppo city leaves food and cooking gas in short supply. Food and cooking gas were in short supply and power cuts plunged homes into darkness as soldiers and rebels battled Tuesday to tip the scales in the fight for Aleppo, Syria's largest city and the current focus of its civil war. Life for Aleppo's 3 million residents was becoming increasingly unbearable as a military siege entered its 11th day ... "The regime couldn't enter the neighbourhoods so they were shelling from a distance with helicopters and artillery," said Mohammed Nabehan, who fled Aleppo for the Kilis refugee camp just across the Turkish border some 30 miles (50 kilometers) away. Nabehan and others said it was a struggle to find food.

(See Appendix F/n: 43)

The selection and repetition of particular SHD narrative elements, aspects, and events in *National Post's* ontological narratives and quotations as shown in the above examples reinforce the Canadian newspaper's version of the SHD narrative, which relates the aspects of the SHD and the ongoing conflict in Syria to the crackdown on protesters and residents by Assad's regime and Syrian security forces. For example, the word "Assad" is repeated three times in the first example and it is associated with military crackdown and killing of protesters and residents.

As a matter of fact, all the three newspapers used narrative features in their selected and translated narratives and quotations to emphasize the responsibility of the Syrian regime for the ongoing SHD, while ignoring others' responsibility. Hence, the

newspapers stressed spaces and themes that reveal the attacks of pro-regime and security forces against anti-regime cities, towns, and residents. At the same time, many opposition and Al-Qaeda affiliated groups were carrying out similar attacks on pro-regime areas and residents, but these narratives were ignored by the three newspapers. In addition, the three newspapers essentially selected and translated only those Syrian citizens' narratives blaming the regime for the chemical attack, although many reports, eyewitnesses, and local informants' accounts claimed anti-regime groups were in fact responsible for it—these narratives were not presented in the newspapers though.

4.3 Narrative Framing in the English-Language Newspapers

The third component of the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis is narrative framing. The rationale of examining this theoretical component is that narrative framing and narrative features mesh and interweave to frame the SHD narrative in particular frames and to represent this specific version of the SHD narrative to target readers. In effect, the examination of the use of narrative framing identifies how the three English-language newspapers used certain linguistic choices to frame key narrative elements, aspects, and events of the SHD as represented in the Syrian citizens' translated narratives and quotations. The lexical items and collocational patterns, and the frequency of particular words and phrases used by translators and media outlets are important framing devices and tools to represent communicative situations and social groups. Accordingly, the use of narrative framing in the three selected English-language newspapers' news texts is analyzed and guided by the four sub-components which constitute the narrative framing:

- 1) Frame ambiguity

2) Temporal and spatial framing

3) Selective appropriation

4) Framing by labeling

The examination of the use of frame ambiguity by the three newspapers uncovers how these media outlets adopt different linguistic and narrative tools in the translated narratives and quotations to frame the same SHD narrative elements and events in order to promote and legitimize a particular version of the SHD narrative. In view of that, frame ambiguity and the employed linguistic frame determine the position of the selected English-language newspapers with regard to narrating and representing the SHD participants and events.

The examination of the use of temporal and spatial framing by the three newspapers explores in what ways the selected and translated narratives and quotations are embedded in a temporal and spatial framing and context in order to accentuate certain key aspects and events of the SHD narrative that they depict during the representation of the SHD in the three-year time frame. The examination of temporal and spatial framing also shows how this narrative framing is employed by the three newspapers to encourage their target readers to interpret the SHD narrative in a specific way and to establish links between the SHD narrative and other narratives and events.

The use of selective appropriation framing in the translated narratives and quotations reveals different ways the SHD narrative elements are framed by the three newspapers. The examination of the use of selective appropriation framing allows us to explore patterns and criteria of selectivity which aim to suppress, accentuate, elaborate, or

modify particular key narrative elements, aspects, and events of the SHD narrative as represented in the Syrian citizens' translated narratives and quotations.

Finally, the analysis of framing by labeling focuses on the lexical items employed by the three English-language newspapers in order to label and identify events, persons, places, groups, and any other key narrative element of the SHD. Framing by labeling may include political implications, which are encoded in the translated narratives and quotations and can affect target readers' perceptions and views of the SHD, since framing by labeling is used to identify the events and participants of the SHD.

4.3.1 Frame Ambiguity in the Translated Quotations

This section examines the ways the same key narrative elements, aspects, and events of the SHD are framed in different ways by the selected English-language newspapers to either accentuate or undermine a particular version of the SHD narrative by adopting various linguistic and narrative framing tools in the translated Syrian citizens' narratives and quotations. The analysis process examines how *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and *National Post* employ particular linguistic and narrative tools in their news texts to frame aspects and events of the SHD narrative.

The use of frame ambiguity by *The Guardian* is examined in terms of framing particular aspects and events of the SHD narrative, as well as framing different participants of the Syrian conflict and the SHD as embedded in the selected and translated narratives and quotations. The analysis reveals that the British newspaper used linguistic and narrative tools to negatively frame and represent the attacks of the Syrian regime and pro-regime groups against Syrian protesters, residents, and civilians. These linguistic frames are traced in many of *The Guardian's* translated quotations. For

example, the word “massacre” is frequently repeated in *The Guardian*’s news texts to describe the Syrian regime’s attacks on Syrian residents in different Syrian cities and towns. The choice and repetition of the word “massacre”, which the Oxford Dictionary defines as “the killing of a large number of people especially in a cruel way” (2005: 943), refers to the brutal killing of Syrian protesters and residents by the regime and its security forces. The British newspaper also selected negative words and phrases to frame the regime’s attacks against civilians, such as “bloodshed”, “slaughtered like sheep”, “slaughtering”, “brutal disdain”, “torture”, “terrorising”, “murdering”, and “genocidal attack”.

Alternatively, the British newspaper used linguistic and narrative tools in the translated quotations to frame and represent anti-regime’s attacks against the regime and its security forces as actions of “revolution”. Yet, the few narratives and quotations which were narrated by pro-regime Syrian citizens and translated by *The Guardian* frame and represent anti-regime groups and members as “insurgents” and supporters of “Zionism and U.S. schemes”. *The Guardian*’s framing of the regime’s attacks reveals the position of the British newspaper, which promotes the narratives that criticize and blame the regime and its security forces for the killing of Syrian protesters and residents.

Similar to the case of *The Guardian*, the examination of the use of frame ambiguity by *The New York Times* shows that the American newspaper frequently used negative linguistic and narrative tools to frame and represent the attacks of the Syrian regime and pro-regime groups against Syrian residents as “massacre”, “bloody massacre”, “ethnic cleansing”, “killing and killing and more killing”, “cold-blooded killing”, “bombing us”, “real war”, and “artillery shelling”. On the other hand, the

American newspaper used positive words and phrases to frame and represent anti-regime attacks against the regime and its security forces as actions of the “Syrian revolution” and “revolution”. The use of frame ambiguity by the American newspaper determines its position, which emphasizes the Syrian citizens’ narratives blaming the Syrian regime and security forces for killing Syrian protesters and residences.

The examination of the use of frame ambiguity in *National Post*’s translated narratives and quotations reveals that the Canadian newspaper employed linguistic and narrative tools to essentially frame and represent the violent attacks of the regime and the victims of these attacks. Also, *National Post* used frame ambiguity to frame and represent anti-regime groups’ attacks against pro-regime supporters and Syrian residents.

Additionally, *National Post* selected and translated many narratives and quotations from children and describing how the regime and its security forces used different methods to torture children. Therefore, the use of frame ambiguity by the Canadian newspaper clearly ascertains its position blaming the SHD and the Syrian people’s suffering on the regime’s violent attacks against them.

It can be determined that *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* frequently used linguistic and narrative tools to negatively frame and represent the Syrian regime’s attacks against protesters and residents, while *National Post* selected fewer negative lexical items to describe the regime’s attacks against the Syrian people, with words such as “massacre” and “slaughter” used sparsely. However, in all three English-language newspapers, the use of frame ambiguity and the choice of linguistic frames in the selected and translated narratives and quotations determine their position siding with the Syrian people against the regime and its security forces.

4.3.2 Temporal and Spatial Framing in the Translated Quotations

The examination of the use of temporal and spatial framing reveals that *The Guardian* selected and translated particular ontological narratives and quotations and embedded them in the SHD context in a way to encourage target readers' to make a relationship between the regime and its security forces as main causes of the SHD and the rising number of casualties and fatalities and the suffering of Syrian refugees. This relationship is observed in the majority of *The Guardian's* translated ontological narratives and quotations, which underline the responsibility of the regime and its security forces for the SHD. The following example shows how *The Guardian* used temporal and spatial framing to establish links between the Syrian regime on the one hand and the SHD on the other hand:

The death toll from the siege of Hama had by Wednesday night reached 28, with dozens more wounded, according to residents and activists. One resident told the Guardian he had counted 93 tanks on the outskirts of the city – an indicator of what may lie ahead if Hama's 800,000 people continue to defy the regime's leaders in Damascus ... "On Monday and Tuesday, security forces and thugs came into the outside neighbourhoods of the city – though some security forces are already anyway inside the city in the Ba'ath [party] headquarters. They shot people. They even shot a child. Why? Why?"

(See Appendix D/n: 11)

The examination of the use of temporal and spatial framing reveals that *The New York Times* also selected and translated Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations which encourage its readers to make a link between the regime and its attacks against protesters and civilians on the one side, and the SHD and the suffering of the Syrian people on the other. This relationship is traced by examining *The New York Times'* news texts which highlight the responsibility of the Syrian regime and its security forces for the

SHD and the killing of Syrian citizens during the three-year time frame in question. The American newspaper embedded its selected ontological narratives and quotations in a temporal and spatial context to elaborate the aspects of the SHD that link the causes and the effects of the SHD events. The following example shows the use of temporal and spatial framing:

Syrian opposition activists said on Monday that soldiers and pro-government thugs had rounded up scores of civilians in the devastated central city of Homs overnight, assaulted men and women, then killed dozens of them, including children, and set some bodies on fire. Syria immediately denied responsibility ... In a video posted on YouTube, a man being treated for what appeared to be bullet wounds in his back said he had escaped the killings in Karm al-Zeitoun. “We were arrested by the army, then handed over to the shabiha,” he said, using a common word for pro-government thugs. After two hours of beating, he said: “They poured fuel over us. They shot us – 30 or 40 persons”.

(See Appendix E/n: 33)

The examination of the use of temporal and spatial framing by *National Post* shows that the Canadian newspaper also employed this narrative framing strategy to frame and narrate different aspects of the SHD during the three-year time frame. In the beginning of the SHD, *National Post* used temporal and spatial framing to select and translate ontological narratives and quotations and to embed them within a “peaceful expression movement” context, while the reaction of the regime which led to the falling of causalities is embedded in a “violent and brutal” context. Later on, after July 2012, *National Post* used temporal and spatial framing to select and translate ontological narratives and quotations and to embed them within the contexts of refugees’ suffering and shortages of food and water. Subsequently, the Canadian newspaper used temporal and spatial framing to constitute a link between the causes and effects of the SHD, and by selecting certain ontological narratives and quotations, elaborated *National Post*’s version

of the SHD narrative. The following translated ontological narrative shows the use of temporal and spatial framing:

Syrian helicopter gunships fired machineguns to disperse pro-democracy protests, witnesses said, in the first reported use of air power to quell unrest in Syria's increasingly bloody three-month-old uprising ... "At least five helicopters flew over Maarat al-Numaan and began firing their machineguns to disperse the tens of thousands who marched in the protest," one witness said by telephone. "People hid in fields, under bridges and in their house, but the firing continued on the mostly empty streets for hours," said the witness, who gave his name as Nawaf ... "There were peaceful protests today (in Maarat) calling for freedom and for the downfall of the regime," one demonstrator said by phone. "The security forces let us protest, but when they saw the size of the demonstration grow, they opened fire to disperse us".

(See Appendix F/n: 3)

4.3.3 Selective Appropriation Framing in the Translated Quotations

The majority of *The Guardian's* Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations accuse and blame the Syrian regime for the ongoing conflict in Syria and the SHD, while few translated ontological narratives and quotations describe and narrate the responsibility of anti-regime groups towards the Syrian residents or their role in the SHD. In fact, *The Guardian* selected anti-regime ontological narratives and quotations and placed them in many of news texts' headlines while most of its news texts include a high frequency of anti-regime ontological narratives and quotations, followed by a low frequency of pro-regime ontological narratives and quotations. Accordingly, the selected ontological narratives and quotations in *The Guardian* give more weight to anti-regime narrators and to their versions of the SHD narrative.

The New York Times used selective appropriation framing to accentuate certain aspects and key narrative elements of the SHD which link the Syrian regime's responsibility to the suffering of Syrians and the killing and ruins inside Syrian cities and towns. Most of the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations are

appropriate to this narrative in that they show a direct relation between the violent and brutal attacks of Syrian security forces against Syrian citizens and peaceful protesters. However, the American newspaper focused on the selection of personal stories and eyewitness accounts of Syrians who were residing in Syrian cities and towns even after the Syrian refugee crisis dominated other SHD aspects in 2013.

The New York Times also selected few ontological narratives and quotations relating the violent attacks of anti-regime groups against Syrian civilians and security forces. In addition, most lead paragraphs in the analyzed news texts include information about aspects of the SHD according to Syrian residents and eyewitnesses. These lead paragraphs are also followed by selected ontological narratives and quotations that reinforce the contents of the lead paragraphs and the position of *The New York Times* on representing and narrating the events of the SHD.

National Post also used selective appropriation framing to stress specific aspects of the SHD and to draw the attention of target readers to the Syrian regime's responsibility for the violent attacks against Syrian protesters and the killings inside different Syrian cities and towns. It is also observable that most of the selected ontological narratives and quotations establish a link between the Syrian regime and security forces and the number of victims and the suffering of Syrian citizens and refugees. This relationship is emphasized by selecting and translating specific Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations, which reflect the responsibility of the Syrian regime for the SHD. However, the Canadian newspaper also selected and translated several Syrian ontological narratives and quotations for pro-regime narrators

who narrated and described the violent attacks of anti-regime and Islamist groups against Syrian residents in many Syrian cities and towns.

4.3.4 Framing by Labeling in the Translated Quotations

Framing by labeling is the last sub-component of narrative framing which is examined in the three English-language newspapers in terms of the choice of linguistic items selected by the three newspapers to identify and label the participants and key narrative elements of the SHD. *The Guardian* used framing by labeling to label and identify Assad, security forces, and pro-regime groups with negative words and phrases such as “brutal dictators”, “Assad’s gangs”, “killers of children”, “armed gang”, “gangs of Bashar al-Assad”, “shabiha”, “ghosts”, “thugs”, and “terrorists”. Alternatively, to name the Friday protests and anti-regime groups, this newspaper used positive words and phrases, such as “Dignity Friday”, “children’s Friday”, “free revolutionaries”, and “martyrs”. These labels represent the two sides of the SHD: first, the Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees as the victims of the ongoing Syrian conflict and the regime’s attacks against them, and second, Assad and his regime as the main cause of the ongoing SHD, the death of thousands of victims, and the sufferings of millions of Syrian refugees.

In the same way, *The New York Times* used framing by labeling to label Assad and the regime in negative words and phrases such as “idiot”, “horse”, “donkey”, “tyrant”, “the child killer”, “A doctor in London, a butcher in Syria”, “shabiha”, “government’s armed gangs”, and “the only killer is the Assad regime”. However, *The New York Times* also chose positive labeling to frame anti-regime victims, such as “martyrs”, which is frequently repeated in the translated quotations to label the victims of the regime’s attacks. *National Post* also used framing by labeling to label Assad and the regime in

negative words and phrases such as “Bashar, you butcher”, “the criminal Bashar”, “Assad is the enemy of Allah”, “This dog Assad and his men”, “shabiha”, “criminals”, “gang”, “Alawite pigs”, “Assad forces”, while it selected positive linguistic framing to label Syrian victims as “martyrs”.

As can be seen from the above analysis, target readers are heavily exposed to verbal framing which negatively frames the regime, pro-regime groups, and Assad and their attacks, described as “massacres”, because the three newspapers selected and translated Syrian citizens’ narratives and quotations containing negative frames of the regime. The same narratives and quotations frame anti-regime groups as “revolutionists” and their attacks as actions of a “legitimate revolution”. As a result, the three newspapers give more weight to Syrian citizens’ narratives and quotations containing negative frames of the Syrian regime and Assad, while the same narratives and quotations use positive frames of anti-regime groups and their attacks.

4.4 Representing the Other (SHD) in the English-Language Newspapers

The fourth theoretical component is representing the Other (SHD), its events, and its participants and actors. The examination of this component in the translated narratives and quotations from the three English-language newspapers determines the ways the SHD events are represented in translations. This component also examines whether the selected and translated representations of reality and key narrative elements of the SHD are based on facts or stereotypes. To do so, the representation of the SHD events is analyzed and guided by the four sub-components:

- 1) Fair representation
- 2) Knowledgeable representation

3) Stereotypical representation

4) Represented participants and actors

The examination of the fair representation sub-component in the translated narratives and quotations explores whether or not the English-language newspapers select and represent various aspects, events, and participants of the SHD in a fair and balanced manner. Thus, the analysis process investigates whether the three English-language newspapers represent all aspects, events, and participants of the SHD or underline particular aspects and undermine others in their selected and translated narratives and quotations.

The second sub-component, knowledgeable representation, is measured based on the reliability of the information and facts embedded in the translated narratives and quotations and on whether or not the information and facts are frequently repeated in the translated narratives and quotations. This sub-component is also measured based on the English-language newspapers' knowledge and understanding of the SHD as represented in the selected and translated narratives and quotations.

The third sub-component allows us to detect any patterns of stereotypical representations as reflected in the choice of lexical items which represent aspects and participants of the SHD narrative embedded in the translated narratives and quotations.

Finally, the fourth sub-component, represented participants and actors allows us to explore the participants who are mostly represented in the three English-language newspapers' news texts and the voices projected in the selected and translated narratives and quotations of Syrian citizens. The examination of this sub-component uses the CDA tools and concepts identified in the dissertation's methodological framework in order to explain any political and ideological implications which can be carried by the lexical

choices and collocational patterns adopted by the three newspapers' translated narratives and quotations.

4.4.1 Fair Representation of the SHD in the Translated Quotations

The aspects, events, and participants of the SHD include the followings: protests of Syrian residents; killing of protesters; Syrian victims; brutal attacks of the Syrian regime and its security forces; suffering of the Syrian people; medical, food, and water shortages; and suffering of the Syrian refugees. The analysis of this sub-component examines whether or not all the SHD aspects, events, and participants are fairly represented in the English-language newspapers' translated narratives and quotations.

The selected and translated quotations and narratives in *The Guardian* frequently represented the Syrian casualties and victims who were shot by Syrian security forces during peaceful protests in different Syrian cities during the three-year time frame of the SHD; the majority of the analyzed narratives and quotations contain sufficient accounts and information about Syrian victims (e.g. protesters, civilians, and children), the ways they were killed, and who was responsible for the killings. Additionally, the translated narratives and quotations fairly represented the refugee aspect of the SHD and provided target readers with information and accounts about different aspects of Syrian refugees' suffering and their daily life in different refugee camps.

In terms of *The New York Times*, the translated quotations and narratives fairly represented the protests and the Syrian victims because numerous news texts contained Syrian citizens' accounts about the brutal and violent confrontations of Syrian security forces against protesters, and the victims who were shot and killed by Syrian security forces. However, the American newspaper did not give the same attention to Syrian

refugees as its British counterpart, even when the refugee aspect dominated other aspects of the SHD and developed into a global crisis. Thus, the refugee aspect of the SHD was undermined by the American newspaper and unfairly represented in the selected and translated narratives and quotations.

In *National Post*, the selected and translated narratives and quotations in the news texts mainly represented the Syrian fatalities and the torturing practices of Syrian security forces against Syrian children. This is observable in the content of numerous news texts which include children's accounts that essentially describe how Syrian security forces tortured them. In addition, several translated narratives and quotations represented the brutal attacks of anti-regime groups against Syrian residents and the suffering of the residents as a result of the violent actions of these groups. However, there were not sufficient and fair representations of the Syrian refugee crisis, or the shortages of food, water, and medical care in different refugee camps where Syrians were scattered.

4.4.2 Knowledgeable Representation of the SHD in the Translated Quotations

The examination of this sub-component explores whether or not the selected and translated narratives and quotations were based on knowledgeable and unbiased representations of reality. In effect, the analysis points out whether the SHD representations adhere to reliable facts and information about the aspects, events, and other key narrative element of the SHD as embedded in the translated narratives and quotations.

In terms of *The Guardian*'s translated narratives and quotations on the SHD, most of the quoted Syrian citizens and eyewitnesses, especially those who narrated the events of the SHD from inside Syria, were either identified by first name only, by a pseudonym,

or their identity was kept completely anonymous “for fear of reprisals” (e.g. *The Guardian*, 9 April, 2011). The British newspaper indicated at the end of most of its news texts, “Name changed for security reasons” (e.g. *The Guardian*, 25 July, 2013). Although most of the real names and identities of Syrian citizens quoted and translated by *The Guardian* are unknown, the facts and information in their narratives and quotations are mainly reliable because the majority of these narratives and quotations include same or similar contents and themes about various SHD aspects, events, or other key narrative elements, especially the translated narratives and quotations which narrate the brutality of the Syrian regime and the suffering of both Syrian residents and refugees.

Alternatively, in *The New York Times*, most of the quoted Syrian citizens and eyewitnesses were fully known and identified in the news texts. The translated narratives and quotations in *The New York Times* all have common or similar facts and information about different aspects and events of the SHD; this repetition of facts and information ensures the reliability of the contents of the selected and translated narratives and quotations, and ensures that the American newspaper followed and maintained a knowledgeable representation of various SHD aspects and events.

As for *National Post*'s news texts, several translated narratives and quotations included footages from amateur videos by eyewitnesses and residents. These videos were posted on different social media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook. Most of these videos include identification of the date and place by the narrators who are recording, and keep reminding audiences of the date and place throughout the videos. The facts and information selected and translated by the Canadian newspaper were from Syrian citizens' videos. Thus, the included visual and linguistic materials in these videos can be

considered reliable since the narrators were informing audiences about the date and place of the events either verbally or in writing.

4.4.3 Stereotypical Representation of the SHD in the Translated Quotations

This sub-component uncovers whether or not some of the linguistic choices and collocations carry patterns of stereotypes and reflect stereotypical representations of the SHD in the translated narratives and quotations in the three English-language newspapers. The analysis also reveals the type of stereotypical representations and patterns of stereotypes, whether they are based on religion, ethnicity, or cultural and political agitations. To begin with, some of the lexical items used in *The Guardian*'s translated narratives and quotations include patterns of religious stereotypes which encourage target readers to relate some events and participants of the SHD to Islam, and imply that most of the SHD's participants are Muslims. These patterns of religious stereotypes are noticeable in many of *The Guardian*'s news texts, with lexical items such as "There is no God but Allah", "There is no God but God", "God is great", "God is greatest", "Allahu Akbar", "Dignity Friday", "children's Friday", and "Friday's protest was huge, the biggest yet". All these linguistic choices and collocational patterns relate protests and protesters to Islam and Muslims. Other stereotypical representations were shown in many lexical items in *The Guardian*'s translated narratives and quotations, such as the representation of Assad with words and phrases such as "dictator", "brutal dictators", and "you know what dictatorships are like in the Middle East". These representations conform to and solidify target readers' patterns of stereotypes identifying rulers of the Arab and Middle Eastern countries as "dictators".

The examination of stereotypical representation in *The New York Times*' translated narratives and quotations shows that many words and phrases represented the SHD according to sectarian and religious patterns of stereotypes such as "The Shiites shout at us that we are the killers of Hussein". In effect, this lexical item represents the SHD as a result of a bloody conflict between different Islamic sects, specifically Shiites and Sunnis. Additionally, some translated narratives and quotations represented Syrian security forces in their stereotypical Arabic representations, such as "Mokhabarat", which means "Intelligence" in English, whereas some anti-regime groups were represented as "Mujahedeen", a word mainly associated with Islam and "Jihad". Moreover, numerous translated narratives and quotations represented the Syrian regime and Syrian security forces in political stereotypical representations by using words and phrases loaded with political patterns of stereotype, such as the word "shabiha" – which can mean "thugs" in English – is frequently used by the three newspapers to represent pro-regime groups and supporters.

The investigation of *National Post*'s translated narratives and quotations reveals that the Canadian newspaper is the only English-speaking newspaper studied whose news texts do not include lexical items that may signal stereotypical representations of the aspects, events, and participants of the SHD. *National Post*'s translated narratives and quotations adhere to facts, such as the narratives and quotations which relate the torturing of Syrian children by security forces. This aspect of the SHD was represented in a neutral manner and as narrated by many tortured Syrian children.

4.4.4 Represented Participants and Actors in the Translated Quotations

The final sub-component is utilized to explore how the SHD's participants and actors are frequently represented in the three English-language newspapers' news texts, as well as the voices projected in the selected Syrian citizens' translated narratives and quotations. To closely examine this sub-component, an analysis was conducted on a representative sample of 10 lead paragraphs selected from the three English-language newspapers. The selection of these leads relied on two main criteria: first, the leads mainly contain Syrian citizens' narratives and quotations; and second, the leads selected avoid redundancy in the leads' themes and contents. Lead paragraphs were selected for the following reasons: their importance in journalism, their summarization of the news event, and their containing the most important facts and newsworthy elements. The examination of these leads uses the CDA tools and concepts which were identified in the dissertation's methodological framework in order to discover whether or not the lexical choices and collocational patterns selected by the three newspapers in their news texts' lead paragraphs carry political and ideological implications. The lexical choices and collocational patterns in the leads which represent the SHD events and aspects are highlighted in **bold**, and the choices and patterns which represent the SHD participants and actors are *italicized*, while the lexical choices and collocational patterns which project the SHD voices are underlined.

As can be seen in *Table 1*, the SHD participants and actors represented in the selected lead paragraphs are grouped into two different categories: pro-regime and anti-regime actors. In effect, *The Guardian* selected and translated narratives and quotations containing lexical choices and collocational patterns that represent the "out-group" pro-

regime actors as “Syrian security forces”, “government forces”, “pro-regime militiaman”, and “fighters loyal to the president, Bashar al-Assad”; while the “in-group” anti-regime actors are represented as “anti-government protesters”, “Syrian people”, “children”, and “civilians”.

In addition, the pro-regime participants are the active actors when it comes to violent and brutal actions such as “massacre”, “killing”, “massive regime artillery barrage”, “deadly attack”, “genocidal attack”, “slaughtering”, and “executing”, while anti-regime participants are passive actors who are “killed”, “victims”, “weak”, and “besieged”. Hence, the actions of the Syrian regime and security forces are represented in negative images and collocational patterns which relate their actions to the death of victims and the sufferings of Syrian people. However, the voices of anti-government activists, residents, refugees, and witnesses are also active, and their voices and narratives are projected in *The Guardian*’s selected and analyzed lead paragraphs, while the pro-regime Syrian citizens are passive and their voices are silenced in the same leads.

Table 1: Lexical Choices and Collocational Patterns in The Guardian’s Leads

Date	Lead
3 June 2011	<i>Syrian security forces</i> killed at least <i>34 people</i> when <i>they</i> opened fire during one of the largest anti-government protests so far in the 10-week uprising , <u>activists said</u> at least <i>34 people</i> were killed on Friday/, in a city where thousands died in a failed revolt against the regime 30 years ago.
9 June 2011	As the blood from a gunshot wound oozed down his right thigh , <u>Abu Majid</u> shook his fist: "You know what <i>dictatorships</i> are like in the Middle East," <u>he</u> said. " <i>Syria was the strongest of them all, like an iron ball. Well it isn't any more.</i> "
4 February 2012	The Syrian city of Homs was left reeling on Saturday from harrowing accounts of a massacre that has left <i>hundreds of people dead</i> . <u>Residents of the besieged city said</u> that at least <i>300 people had been killed</i> in a massive regime artillery barrage, the most deadly attack of the 11-month uprising.

7 February 2012	Residents inside the besieged city of Homs claim <i>they</i> are under "genocidal attack" from a <i>Syrian regime</i> apparently deaf to international opinion and determined to "bomb, starve and shoot" <i>them</i> into submission.
5 March 2012	<i>Syrian refugees fleeing to neighbouring Lebanon on Monday said they</i> feared they would be slaughtered in their own homes as <i>government forces</i> hunted down opponents in a brutal offensive against the <i>opposition stronghold of Homs</i> .
4 May 2012	<i>Syrian forces</i> are executing scores of suspected opposition sympathisers in the northern city of Idlib, often burning their bodies in piles or torching them in their homes then sending family members to find them , <i>witnesses say</i> .
26 May 2012	<i>At least 90 people, including many children, have been killed after Syrian forces</i> shelled and attacked the town of Houla in Homs province , <i>according to anti-government activists</i> .
7 June 2012	<i>Witnesses to an apparent massacre that killed close to 100 civilians in a small Syrian village</i> <i>have described</i> watching <i>pro-regime militiamen</i> whom they personally knew pass by with loyalist troops minutes before the killing started.
4 May 2013	<i>Hundreds of Syrians</i> have fled the coastal town of Baniyas where <i>activists claim</i> that <i>fighters loyal to the president, Bashar al-Assad,</i> have carried out a massacre .
25 July 2013	<i>I'm</i> from Der Ba'alba in Homs. The <i>Syrian army</i> stormed our district with tanks and soldiers, raiding houses looking for men. They were killing everything in their way. I and my family, which is made up of 12 people, had to flee our district to escape the killing , along with many other families in our district.

Unlike *The Guardian's* lead paragraphs, *The New York Times'* selected and analyzed lead paragraphs (Table 2) represent the SHD events in numerous lexical items and collocational patterns which mainly describe the devastating situation in Syria. These lexical choices and patterns include "military's siege", "government's crackdown", "shelling", "series of massacres", and "bombing campaign", and their relations to the regime and security forces reinforce narratives of "killers" who belong to pro-regime out-group participants and actors such as "government thugs", "soldiers", "security forces", and "troops". Anti-regime in-group participants and actors, on the other hand, are represented as "victims", "protesters", "army defectors", "civilians", "children",

“women”, “men”, and “rebel fighters”. These narratives were from anti-regime Syrian citizens, such as Syrian opposition activists, witnesses, and residents, and their voices are well projected in the lead paragraphs. However, the Syrian government’s voice is also projected in one of the analyzed leads when it denied responsibility for killing dozens of civilians in “the devastated central city of Homs”.

In addition, one of *The New York Times*’ lead paragraphs represents the SHD event as “Syria’s increasingly sectarian uprising against President Bashar al-Assad”. This specific representation is characterized by ethnic tension and sectarian conflict. It is also worth noting that *The New York Times* chose the collocational pattern “radical Islamists” to describe some anti-regime groups, and it used the verb “executed” to represent their actions. By choosing this collocational pattern and this verb, the American newspaper established a relationship between Islam, Muslims, and executions of people.

Table 2: Lexical Choices and Collocational Patterns in *The New York Times*’ Leads

Date	Lead
29 April 2011	<i>Soldiers</i> fired on <i>protesters</i> carrying olive branches and seeking to break the military’s siege of a rebellious town in Syria on Friday, killing at least 16 people, as thousands took to the streets in what organizers proclaimed a “Friday of Rage” against the government’s crackdown on a six-week uprising, <u>witnesses and activists said.</u>
12 August 2011	<i>Tens of thousands of Syrians</i> in cities and towns around their country took to the streets on Friday after noon prayers shouting “We will not kneel” in a strong show of defiance against the <i>government of President Bashar al-Assad</i> , and at least 15 protesters were killed by security forces, <u>human rights activists and residents said.</u>
30 September 2011	<i>Thousands of Syrians</i> took to the streets on Friday in demonstrations that seemed to be dwindling in size, while clashes continued between <i>security forces and army defectors</i> in central Syria, <u>residents and witnesses said.</u>
12 March 2012	<u>Syrian opposition activists said</u> on Monday that <i>soldiers and pro-government thugs</i> had rounded up scores of civilians in the

	devastated central city of Homs overnight, assaulted <i>men and women</i> , then killed dozens of them, <i>including children</i> , and set some bodies on fire. <i>Syria</i> immediately denied responsibility.
10 June 2012	<u>Activists reported</u> new violence in southwest Syria on Saturday, <u>saying</u> shelling by <i>troops</i> and clashes between <i>soldiers</i> and <i>rebel fighters</i> in the city of Dara'a had killed 17 people, including women and children.
12 July 2012	Syrian opposition activists said <u>more than 200 people</u> were killed in a Sunni village on Thursday by <i>government forces</i> using tanks and helicopters, which, if confirmed, would be the worst in a series of massacres that have convulsed Syria's increasingly sectarian uprising against <i>President Bashar al-Assad</i> .
20 September 2012	At least 30 people, and possibly dozens more, were killed in Syria on Thursday in northern Raqqa Province when <i>government warplanes</i> bombed a gas station crowded with cars and people, <u>according to a witness at the scene and activist groups</u> .
21 April 2013	Syrian opposition activists said Sunday that <i>government forces</i> had killed at least 80 people in a town south of Damascus, and then carried out mass arrests as the <i>residents</i> tried to bury the bodies.
10 June 2013	<i>The teenager's name was Muhammad al-Qatta</i> , and he was 14 years old when <u>witnesses said</u> radical <i>Islamists</i> in the northern Syrian city of Aleppo pulled him from his coffee kiosk on Sunday and later executed him in a public square.
28 December 2013	<i>Syrian government forces</i> continued their bombing campaign in the northern city Aleppo on Saturday, with a single strike in a crowded vegetable market killing at least 21 people, <u>activists and residents said</u> .

As can be noticed in *Table 3*, *National Post's* lead paragraphs represent pro-regime participants and actors as “security forces”, “Syrian government forces”, “gunmen”, and “militiamen” who killed and massacred “civilians”, “men”, “women”, and “children” by “bloody crackdown on protests against his rule [Assad]”, “military crackdown”, and “assault”, and “unleashed a heavy artillery barrage”. These SHD participants, actors, and events are represented in the narratives of Syrian witnesses, activists, residents, and survivors whose voices are projected in *National Post's* lead paragraphs. Indeed, the two

words “killed” and “killing” are repeated 7 times in *National Post*’s lead paragraphs, where pro-regime participants and actors are frequently represented as “killers”.

Table 3: Lexical Choices and Collocational Patterns in National Post’s Leads

Date	Lead
10 June 2011	Syrian helicopter gunships fired machineguns to disperse pro-democracy protests, witnesses said, in the first reported use of air power to quell unrest in Syria’s increasingly bloody three-month-old uprising.
10 August 2011	Syrian forces killed 15 civilians in the city of Homs on Wednesday, an activists’ group said, despite international calls for President Bashar al-Assad to end a bloody crackdown on protests against his rule.
12 August 2011	Syrian forces shot dead 13 protesters on Friday, activists said, as tens of thousands demanded the overthrow of President Bashar al-Assad, chanting “we will kneel only to God.”
3 November 2011	Syrian security forces killed five people in the city of Homs on Thursday, activists and a resident said, a day after the government agreed to pull the military out of cities as part of an Arab League initiative to end unrest.
10 November 2011	At least 25 people were killed in Syria on Thursday, including 14 civilians shot in a military crackdown on protesters calling for President Bashar al-Assad to go, and five soldiers killed in ambushes, activists said.
4 February 2012	Syrian forces killed more than 200 people in an assault on the city of Homs, activists said, the bloodiest day of an 11-month uprising giving sudden urgency to a push for a U.N. resolution calling for President Bashar al-Assad to cede power.
21 February 2012	Syrian government forces killed 21 people and wounded some 340 on Tuesday when they unleashed a heavy artillery barrage on a rebel-held district of the city of Homs, activists said.
30 May 2012	The gunmen arrived shortly before dusk, some in uniform and some in plain clothes, before herding whole families into rooms and killing them in cold blood, according to survivors.
12 July 2012	More than 200 Syrians, mostly civilians, were massacred in a village in the rebellious Hama region when it was bombarded by helicopter gunships and tanks and then stormed by militiamen, opposition activists said.
21 August 2013	The men, women and children lying undisturbed in their beds had looked so peaceful they might have been just sleeping, Abu Nidal thought, as he and other rescuers dragged their bodies into the street.

Therefore, the ideological square and binary relationship between “in-group”, which includes anti-regime and anti-Assad Syrian citizens, and “out-group,” which includes Assad and his regime and security forces, is represented and framed in different ways as manifested in the choice of lexical items and collocational patterns. On the one hand, the “in-group” members are represented with positive linguistic choices and collocational patterns, and they are framed as victims, innocents, and peaceful protesters. On the other hand, the “out-group” members are represented with negative lexical items and collocational patterns, and they are framed as killers, slaughterers, and abusers.

4.5 The English-Language Newspapers Responsibility towards the SHD

The final component of the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis is media responsibility. The examination of the English-language newspapers responsibility during their representation of the SHD events allows us to explore whether or not the three selected newspapers adhere to media responsibility principles by selecting and translating appropriate and newsworthy Syrian citizens’ narratives and quotations. This final component is guided by its five sub-components:

- 1) Quotation selection and translation
- 2) Serving the public interest
- 3) Accuracy and fairness
- 4) Maintaining balance
- 5) Labeling events, participants, and actors of the SHD

The first sub-component, selecting and translating Syrian quotations, explores the types of ontological narratives and quotations that each newspaper selected and translated and determines whether or not the selected and translated narratives and quotations are

newsworthy in terms of informing target readers about the events and aspects of the SHD. In addition, this sub-component examines the role of news agencies and determines whether or not the translator is visible in the selected news texts.

The next sub-component, serving the public interest, is measured based on the newsworthiness criteria of the information and facts included in the selected and translated narratives and quotations, and whether or not they reflect and express different attitudes and perspectives, and offer a coherent reporting of the events and aspects of the SHD to the greatest number of target readers.

The third sub-component is measured based on the accuracy and fairness of the information and facts included in the selected and translated narratives and quotations about the SHD. Fairness is measured in terms of whether the translated quotations and narratives include sufficient information and facts about the event, as well as whether a variety of points of view, including both pro-regime and anti-regime citizens, are quoted. This sub-component also considers the identity of the Syrian citizens who are quoted within the news texts and how consistently these primary news sources are identified in order to determine the level of accuracy and fairness of the selected and translated narratives and quotations. Essentially, an accurate and fair news story should contain enough information and facts about the event, as well as quotations from different news sources and opposing parties.

Maintaining balance is the sub-component measured based on the frequency with which different points of views and perspectives of the SHD as embedded and represented in the three newspapers' selected and translated narratives and quotations are presented. In effect, maintaining balance in selecting and translating narratives and

quotations ensures the level of objectivity which should be reflected in the media news coverage and reporting of the SHD events.

The final sub-component explores similarities and differences in labeling events, participants, and actors of the SHD as embedded in the selected and translated narratives and quotations of Syrian citizens in the three selected English-language newspapers. It is worth pointing out that all five sub-components are interconnected and identify the English-language newspapers' responsibility in terms of labeling the SHD events, participants, and actors.

4.5.1 Selecting and Translating Ontological Narratives and Quotations

The examination of this sub-component uncovers the selection criteria that the three English-language newspapers relied on when selecting, translating, and publishing Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations in their news texts and how ethical the selection criteria was with regard to narrating and representing the events and aspects of the SHD narrative. This sub-component will also examine the role of news agencies and whether or not the translator is visible in the selected news texts. The examination of *The Guardian's* selection criteria shows that the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations convey sufficient information and facts to its target readers about different aspects and events of the SHD narrative. This information and these facts are communicated to *The Guardian's* readers through many Syrian citizens' ontological narratives in the form of direct and indirect translated quotations within the news texts.

It is noticeable that the British newspaper relied on its journalists in 130 of the analyzed news articles, while it referred to other media sources, especially news agencies, in 47 news articles during its news coverage of the SHD. These different media sources

include unspecified agencies (n=20), the Associated Press (n=12), *The Observer* (n=11), which is a British newspaper published on Sundays and owned by the same parent company, “Guardian Media Group Limited”, and other media sources (n=4). Thus, *The Guardian*’s journalists wrote and edited the majority of the analyzed news texts. Furthermore, the Arabic translator was visible in 54 of the analyzed news texts and some of these translators’ names were frequently repeated, such as the name of “Mona Mahmood” (n=27). However, in the majority of the selected news texts, the translator was invisible (n=123).

With regard to *The New York Times*, the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations represent information and facts to its readers about the Syrian casualties inside Syria and the brutality of Syrian security forces. However, the American newspaper’s selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations do not provide sufficient information about other aspects of the SHD, such as food, water, and medical shortages; the refugees’ suffering; ruins and massive destruction in the Syrian cities and towns; and the anti-regime groups’ attacks against Syrian civilians and residents.

The American newspaper relied on its journalists in 146 of the analyzed news articles, while it referred to other news agencies in only 3 of its news articles during the news coverage of the SHD. These news agencies are the Associated Press (n=2) and Reuters (n=1). Therefore, *The New York Times*’ journalists wrote and edited almost all the selected and analyzed news texts. The Arabic translator was mentioned 156 times in the analyzed news texts and many of these names were frequently repeated such as, “Hwaida Saad” (n=62), “Hania Mourtada” (n=23), and “Kareem Fahim” (n=14).

Similar to *The New York Times*, *National Post*'s selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations communicate adequate information and facts about the Syrian civilians who were shot and killed by Syrian security forces. Yet, the Canadian newspaper does not convey sufficient information about other aspects of the SHD narrative, such as the Syrian refugee crisis. It is also relevant to mention that many selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations in *National Post* do provide information to target readers about the attacks against civilians by anti-regime groups, as well as the Syrian security forces.

Unlike both *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*, *National Post* cited other media sources in the majority of its news texts (n=73). In fact, during its news coverage of the SHD, *National Post* mainly referred to news agencies such as Reuters (n=43), the Associated Press (12), and other media sources (n=18). Although the Canadian newspaper cited news agencies in most of its news articles, Reuters' Arabic translators were also visible in 35 of the analyzed news texts and some of these names were regularly repeated, such as "Khaled Oweis" (n=18). The name of a translator was invisible in 43 of the selected news texts, though.

4.5.2 Serving the Public Interest

The examination of this sub-component reveals whether or not the ontological narratives and quotations in the three English-language newspapers serve target readers' interest with regard to fulfilling their wants and needs gratification to be informed about the SHD events. In effect, serving the public interest relies on the newsworthiness and news value of the information and facts included in news texts. The newsworthiness of the selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations is measured based on the following

criteria: timing, significance, proximity, prominence, and human interest. Overall, *The Guardian*'s ontological narratives and quotations include facts and information which have a reasonable level of newsworthiness and news value, and their news elements narrate different aspects and events of the SHD. In addition, *The Guardian*'s ontological narratives and quotations reflect different points of views of Syrian citizens affected by the SHD.

By the same token, *The New York Times*' ontological narratives and quotations serve the interests of its readers because they offer information and facts about the events and various aspects of the SHD. The selected ontological narratives and quotations narrate and describe the loss of human lives during protests and civilians killed or injured by Syrian security forces' attacks and airstrikes. However, the ontological narratives and quotations in *The New York Times* do not serve the interests of those target readers wanting to know more about the refugee aspect of the SHD, since the selected and translated narratives and quotations do not provide as much information about the refugee crisis and the food, water, and medical shortages as it does about the situation inside Syria.

National Post's ontological narratives and quotations do contain sufficient information about the Syrian casualties and the brutality of Syrian security forces against protesters and Syrian civilians. Yet, the amount of information about other aspects and events of the SHD are insufficient and do not serve the interests of readers wanting to know more about other events and aspects of the SHD, such as the Syrian refugees' suffering in refugee camps. Thus, *National Post*'s ontological narratives and quotations

do not serve the greater good for the greatest number of its readers when it comes to representing the refugee aspect of the SHD.

4.5.3 Accuracy and Fairness of Translated Ontological Narratives and Quotations

The examination of the accuracy and fairness of the ontological narratives and quotations focuses on the selected and translated facts and information presented in the three newspapers' new texts, as well as the types of Syrian citizens quoted, and whether both those who support the Syrian regime and those who oppose it are represented. Therefore, this sub-component explores whether or not the three selected English-language newspapers' narratives and quotations represent accurate and fair information and facts about the various aspects and events of the SHD.

With regard to *The Guardian*, the direct and indirect quotations are selected from a wide range of ontological narratives narrated by different Syrian citizens such as protesters, residents, eyewitnesses, and refugees who offered detailed accounts about different aspects and events of the SHD. Additionally, the majority of the translated quotations have common and similar content, which promotes the accuracy of the selected ontological narratives. Indeed, the accuracy and fairness of the translated quotations in the British newspaper is maintained by including similar contents and themes in the selected ontological narratives and quotations, as well as by using a variety of primary news sources (e.g. eyewitnesses, local informants, refugees, activists) quoted in the news texts.

The level of accuracy and fairness in the ontological narrative and quotations in *The New York Times* is close to that of *The Guardian* because the majority of the translated quotations contain common and similar facts and information about the events

and aspects of the SHD. However, the American newspaper selected Syrian protesters and residents as its primary news sources and it did not pay equal and balanced attention to Syrian refugees as primary news source when it came to describing the refugees' suffering aspect of the SHD, especially when this turned into a global crisis and dominated other SHD events and aspects. As a result, with regard to the refugee aspect of the SHD, the level of accuracy and fairness of *The New York Times*' ontological narratives and quotations is considered unsatisfactory.

The accuracy and fairness of *National Post*'s ontological narratives and quotations is also considered adequate because of the common contents and themes in the selected ontological narratives and quotations representing different aspects and events of the SHD. However, the Canadian newspaper selected and translated quotations from Syrian children who described their suffering and their torture by Syrian security forces. Relying on children as primary news sources can, for some target readers, raise the issues of accuracy, reliability, and validity of their narratives and accounts, so this is problematic.

Nonetheless, the three newspapers mainly quoted Syrian citizens and local informants who oppose the regime and Assad, while they undermined narratives and quotations of pro-regime and pro-Assad Syrian citizens. In effect, the prioritization of these specific anti-regime Syrian citizens and local informants' narratives and quotations violated one of the main principles of fairness which requires media outlets to quote different news sources who express contrasting points of view and convey newsworthy information about the event.

4.5.4 Maintaining Balance

Maintaining balance is the sub-component measured based on how diverse the represented viewpoints are in the selected and translated narratives and quotations. Most of the three newspapers primarily selected and translated Syrian citizens' ontological narratives and quotations from anti-regime citizens who described the brutal actions of the Syrian regime and its security forces; however, *National Post* also selected and translated some ontological narratives and quotations from pro-regime Syrian citizens. The three English-language newspapers did maintain balance in terms of selecting and translating different viewpoints with the ontological narratives and quotations of various anti-regime Syrian citizens relating the events and aspects of the SHD. However, the three newspapers did not frequently select and translate ontological narratives and quotations describing the violent actions of anti-regime groups.

Thus, the events and aspects of the SHD are represented from the perspective of those who oppose Assad, the regime, and Syrian security forces. Essentially, *The Guardian* published and circulated information and facts about two major aspects of the SHD: fatalities inside Syrian cities and towns, and the situation and suffering of the Syrian refugees. Meanwhile, *The New York Times* and *National Post* mainly represented information and facts about the civilian victims and casualties who were shot by security forces in different Syrian cities and towns.

4.5.5 Labeling Events, Participants, and Actors of the SHD

The examination of this sub-component allows us to explore similarities and differences in labeling and naming key events, participants, and actors of the SHD as embedded in the translated narratives and quotations of the three English-language newspapers. It is

noticeable that the three English-language newspapers label and name key events, participants, and actors of the SHD with positive labels when the key events, participants, and actors represented are related to Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees, while negative labels are used when the key events, participants, and actors represented belong to Assad, the Syrian regime, and Syrian security forces.

For example, the three English-language newspapers frequently selected and translated ontological narratives and quotations labeling the protests in different Syrian cities and towns as “Dignity Friday”, “children’s Friday”, and “Friday of Rage”, while the attacks of the regime and its security forces are labeled as “massacre”, “brutal”, “bloody”, “bloodshed”, and “slaughter”. Additionally, Assad is frequently and repeatedly labeled by the three English-language newspapers as “dictator”, and his supporters as “shabiha”, “ghosts”, and “gangs”, while anti-Assad groups are labeled as “protesters”, “martyrs”, “heroes”, and “free revolutionaries”. These different labelings of the SHD key events, participants, and actors represent two major sides of the SHD: first, the Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees as the victims of the ongoing Syrian conflict and the regime’s attacks against them, and second, Assad, his regime, and Syrian security forces as the main causes of the ongoing SHD, the death of thousands of victims, and the sufferings of millions of displaced Syrians. Essentially, these labels can be explained as frames that the three newspapers have adopted while representing the SHD. In view of that, the adopted frames of labeling can be divided into two groups: the Syrian people as “victims” and Assad, the regime, and security forces as “killers” and “torturers”.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation analyzed the translated ontological narratives and quotations relating to the SHD in 404 news texts that were published in three English-language newspapers and distributed as follows: 177 news texts from *The Guardian*, 149 news texts from *The New York Times*, and 78 news texts from *National Post*. The analyzed sample covered a three-year time frame and focused on translated narratives and quotations by Syrian citizens. The dissertation's findings emphasized the crucial role played by news translation and its significant presence in the global media's news coverage and representation of international humanitarian disasters, especially when primary news sources are native speakers of a language different than that of the media outlet.

In this conclusion, I attempt to link the dissertation's findings to what was proposed by Brian Mossop in 1983 when he claimed that translators should consider themselves as "rapporteurs" and that "translating *can* be seen as reporting" (p. 256, *emphasis in original*). Mossop argued that the experienced translator reports to the target-text reader what the source-text author writes to the source-text reader. He emphasized that "translation is not the transfer of a message from one language to another or from one text to another but rather its removal from one complete language-transaction system (A → B) and incorporation into another (X → C)" (ibid, p. 246). According to Mossop, the act of reporting is by nature a "social act" which is embedded in another social and cultural act. In view of that, the translator reports the source author's discourse and

his/her transactions with source readers to target readers. Mossop concluded that the translator as “rapporteur”

is someone unlike the source-text author A who is asked by someone else to tell C what A wrote to B; who reads what A wrote, determining the pattern of relevant meaning; who drafts a report-from-text in his or her own words in a manner appropriate to C; and who finally edits the report, comparing it with the source-text pattern of meaning and reading it as an English composition whose aim is to answer C’s original question.

(1983, pp. 269-270)

The dissertation’s case study and its findings correspond to Mossop’s concept of “rapporteur” and his model, which considers the translator as a person who translates to his/her target readers what a source-text author writes for his/her source readers. In effect, the findings confirm that a news translator should be considered a “rapporteur” who reports to target readers what the primary news source tells source readers. However, this dissertation went beyond just considering translators as “rapporteurs”. It investigated the crucial role that news translation and translators play in the global media’s news coverage and representations of international events when there are two different social and cultural contexts. However, reporting includes selecting relevant aspects of reality or source-texts for translating and representing, and embedding them in a social and cultural news context for target readers.

The systematic analysis of the translated narratives and quotations relating to the SHD in the selected English-language newspapers’ news texts and the dissertation’s findings, guided by the theoretical and conceptual model of analysis, emphasized the role of news translation as a main aspect of, and translators as necessary agents in, any media’s news coverage and representation of international events. The dissertation’s

findings explored the significant role of news translation and the ways it can be employed by global media to narrate and represent international events such as the SHD.

The findings also revealed the role of translators as “rapporteurs” in the global media’s reporting and representation of international events. Essentially, Syrian citizens who are native Arabic speakers informed Arabic audiences about the SHD events. At the same time, these Syrian citizens consciously or unconsciously informed global media about the SHD events. In view of that, the three English-language newspapers selected and translated particular narratives and quotations from these Syrian citizens, which they then represented in English news texts for English target readers.

In most cases, the three English-language newspapers selected and translated Syrian citizens’ narratives and quotations containing mainly words, phrases, and collocations which represent negative image of Assad, the regime, and security forces. By adopting these representations, target readers are encouraged to understand that Assad, the regime, and security forces are the only side to be blamed and accused for the ongoing SHD, the killing of civilians, and the scattering of refugees around the world. At the same time, these selected and translated narratives and quotations from Syrian citizens include words, phrases, and collocations which represent positive images of the Syrian protesters, residents, refugees, and anti-regime groups.

Target readers’ perceptions of the SHD narrative are formed and reinforced by the three English-language newspapers through their selection and translation of particular narratives and quotations from Syrian citizens, which can result in the legitimatization of one side’s narrative versions and the suppression of those of the other side. The three English-language newspapers mainly selected and translated anti-regime narratives and

quotations which were narrated by Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees. The three newspapers also selected and translated particular themes and content from source texts and primary news sources that communicate the SHD narrative to their source audiences (Arab citizens) with the same system of verbal signs. The same primary news sources intentionally or unintentionally communicate the SHD narrative to global media, who in turn translate the Syrian citizens' accounts to another system of verbal signs. However, the three English-language newspapers' selection and translation mainly of quotations and narratives that are anti-regime and anti-Assad reinforce and legitimize their own version of the SHD narrative. This affects the target readers' perception and public opinion about the events of the SHD, because they are only exposed to one side of the narrative, while the other side is ignored and undermined.

The selected and translated narratives and quotations of Syrian citizens establish a contextual relationship between the causes and effects of the SHD. This relationship is apparent in the blaming of Assad, the regime, and security forces for the death of protesters and residents, as well as for scattering hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees around the world. The three newspapers' selected and translated narratives and quotations also legitimized the voices and narratives of anti-regime Syrian citizens, while the voices and narratives of pro-regime Syrian citizens were silenced. Hence, the voices of anti-government activists, residents, refugees, and witnesses were active and their voices and narratives were widely projected in the three newspapers' news texts while the pro-regime Syrian citizens were mostly passive and their voices were ignored in the same news texts. All three newspapers emphasized the responsibility of the Syrian regime for the ongoing SHD while ignoring others' responsibility by stressing spaces and themes

that reveal the attacks of pro-regime and security forces against anti-regime cities and towns, and blaming the regime and its security forces for the chemical attack in Ghouta. The three newspapers thus undermined the Syrian citizens' narratives and quotations that claim many opposition and Al-Qaeda affiliated groups were responsible for attacking pro-regime areas and residents, as well as for the chemical attack.

The analysis and findings also explored the representations of the SHD events, participants, and actors in the three English-language newspapers' translated narratives and quotations. These representations were recognized and identified in particular lexical choices and collocational patterns. These lexical choices and collocational patterns include words and phrases such as "military's siege", "government's crackdown", "shelling", "series of massacres", "bloody crackdown on protests against his rule [Assad]", "military crackdown", "assault", "unleashed a heavy artillery barrage", "massacre", "killing", "massive regime artillery barrage", "deadly attack", "genocidal attack", "slaughtering", "executing", and "bombing campaign". These linguistic choices were used by the three English-language newspapers when they represented the brutal and violent actions of Assad, his regime, and Syrian security forces against protesters and residents. As well, the three newspapers used negative lexical choices and collocational patterns to represent the "out-group" pro-regime participants and actors such as "shabiha", "gangs", "pro-regime militiaman", and "fighters loyal to the president, Bashar al-Assad", while the "in-group" anti-regime participants and actors were represented in positive lexical choices and collocational patterns such as "anti-government protesters", "Syrian people", "children", "women", and "civilians".

Additionally, the three English-language newspapers employed linguistic frames depicting Assad, the regime, and security forces in negative images and representations by selecting particular words and phrases such as “dictator”, “tyrant”, “the child killer”, “A doctor in London, a butcher in Syria”, “Assad’s gangs”, “killers of children”, “Bashar, you butcher”, “the criminal Bashar”, “Assad is the enemy of Allah”, “This dog Assad and his men”, “armed gang”, “gangs of Bashar al-Assad”, “shabiha”, “ghosts”, “thugs”, and “terrorists”. Syrian protesters, residents, and refugees, alternatively, were framed by the three English-language newspapers in positive images and representations through positive linguistic items such as “peaceful protesters”, “martyrs”, “heroes”, and “free revolutionaries”.

The examination of the three newspapers’ responsibility mainly considered whether or not the selected and translated Syrian citizens’ narratives and quotations contained relevant and appropriate information and facts about the SHD events necessary to fulfill target readers’ needs and wants gratification. In addition, the media responsibility analysis of the three newspapers examined the role of news agencies and whether or not the translator was visible in the selected and analyzed news texts. To begin with, *The New York Times* was the only newspaper whose journalists wrote and edited the majority of the analyzed news texts and whose translators were visible in translating the Syrian citizens’ quotations and narratives. Thus, the American newspaper was responsible for selecting, writing, editing, and translating the Syrian citizens’ quotations and narratives. The translator in *National Post* was not visible, since the majority of its news texts referred to news agencies as sources; however, the Canadian newspaper is still responsible because it selected particular aspects of the SHD narrative

as translated by different news agencies, in particular Reuters. While *The Guardian* referred to its journalists in most of the analyzed news texts, the translator was only visible in 54 of the analyzed news texts. Therefore, the British newspaper was mainly responsible for selecting, writing, and editing the SHD narratives it presented. However, since the translator was not visible in 123 of the selected news texts, it was only partially responsible for translating the Syrian citizens' quotations and narratives since the translator was not visible in 123 of the selected news texts.

The qualitative narrative analysis of the 404 news texts from the three English-language newspapers and the dissertation's findings can provide an impetus for future research projects focusing on quantitative narrative analysis, which can offer quantitative data. Future studies and academic projects could focus on a variety of research problems and questions, such as how the political economy of media outlets and their political agendas affect the selection and translation of specific ordinary citizens' narratives and quotations, the translation of citizens' narratives in different media such as social media, the comparison of translations of the same citizens' narratives in different media (e.g. social media, print, audio, and visual), or an analysis of the translated narratives in the presence of the original narratives and a comparison of source and target texts in order to examine similarities and differences between original texts and translations.

Future studies and projects can also go beyond verbal and interlingual translations and representations, and focus on what Roman Jakobson (1959) calls "intersemiotic translation" or "transmutation", which is defined as translating signs from one system into another different system or as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems" (p. 233). Additionally, a comparison could be conducted

between verbal translations and representations as embedded in news texts and intersemiotic or non-verbal translations and representations as embedded in associated images to news texts in the global media's reporting of international events.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Examples from *The Guardian*

Example 1:

Syrian tanks kill protesters in Hama

Syrian troops' assault on opposition stronghold appears to be part of nationwide offensive ahead of start of Ramadan

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- [Nour Ali](#) in Damascus and agencies
 - [theguardian.com](#), Sunday 31 July 2011 12.27 BST
-



A screengrab taken from al-Arabiya shows an armoured vehicle on a street of an unspecified Syrian city. A tank assault on Hama is said to have killed scores of people. Photograph: EPA

Scores of people have been shot dead and there were reports of bodies lying in the streets of the opposition stronghold of Hama following a tank assault as Syrian troops unleashed an apparent nationwide offensive targeting protesters against the regime of President Bashar al-Assad.

Videos posted online showed columns of black smoke rising from Hama after tanks moved in at dawn, with witnesses reporting indiscriminate firing at citizens. Residents shouted "God is great!" and threw firebombs and stones at the tanks as they pushed through the city.

Assad's forces also opened fire in the eastern cities of Deir Ezzor and Al Boukamal and the southern town of Hiraq.

"The tanks came into the city around 5.30am from four different directions," a Hama resident said by telephone, as gunfire was heard in the background. "They ran over some of the makeshift checkpoints and there is gun and tank fire," he said.

The death toll continues to rise, with activists saying at least 40 people may have been killed in Hama alone. Bodies were reported to be piling up in hospitals, where doctors were calling for blood donations.

The foreign secretary, William Hague, condemned the assault.

"I am appalled by the reports that the Syrian security forces have stormed Hama with tanks and other heavy weapons this morning killing dozens of people, he said.

"Such action against civilians who have been protesting peacefully in large numbers in the city for a number of weeks has no justification."

Those confirmed dead include Khaled al-Hamed who, activists from the Local Coordination Committees said, was shot and then run over by one of the tanks while attempting to flee from his neighbourhood.

In what appears to be a coordinated nationwide assault on the eve of Ramadan, the military moved into Deir Ezzor and Al Boukamal on Saturday, according to activists and residents, with reports of a further 10 people shot dead there on Sunday.

Four people were killed after forces entered the southern town of Hirak, close to the southern city of Deraa where protests first broke out en masse, the Local Coordination Committees said. More than 200 people were also arrested in Moadimiyeh, close to Damascus, in dawn raids.

Activists say they believe the regime is trying to scare people off the streets before Ramadan, when protests are expected to intensify after daily evening prayers.

"It's a massacre. They want to break Hama before the month of Ramadan," a witness who identified himself by his first name, Ahmed, told The Associated Press by telephone from Hama. He said he had seen up to 12 people shot dead in the streets in a district known as the Baath neighbourhood. Most had been shot in the chest and head, he said.

A doctor, who preferred to remain anonymous, told Reuters that the city's Badr, al-Horani and Hikmeh hospitals had received 24 bodies.

"There are bodies uncollected in the streets," said another resident, adding that army snipers had positioned themselves on the roofs of the state-owned electricity company and the main prison.

Tank shells were falling at the rate of four a minute in and around northern Hama, residents said.

The now notorious government official Reem Haddad, who has provoked comparisons with Iraq's Comical Ali for insisting on absurd explanations for the brutal government

responses to protests, told al-Jazeera that forces had entered Hama because people could not go about their daily life. "It's as if it belongs to another planet," she said.

Human rights groups say 1,600 civilians have died in the crackdown on the largely peaceful protests since mid-March and thousands have been detained.

But the bloodshed has only served to rally more people to the streets, while the regime has focused on consolidating its support base. After offers of dialogue and reforms accompanied by raids, killings and arrests failed to kowtow protesters, the regime appears to have decided to escalate its use of brute force.

"The attack [on Hama] appears to be part of a coordinated effort across a number of towns in [Syria](#) to deter the Syrian people from protesting in advance of Ramadan, Hague said. "President Bashar is mistaken if he believes that oppression and military force will end the crisis in his country. He should stop this assault on his own people now." Hama has become the epicentre of demonstrations with thousands taking to central al-Aasi square after government forces moved out of the city following the shooting dead of more than 70 people on 3 June. While protesters have controlled the streets, government forces have surrounded the city since the start of July and conducted overnight raids.

Before the assault on Hama, electricity and water supplies had been cut, activists said, in a tactic regularly used by the regime before entering towns.

Analysts say the regime had been holding off from attacking Hama because of its historical sensitivity. In 1982, at least 10,000 people were killed in the Sunni city of 800,000 when the army put down an armed Islamist revolt against the rule of Assad's late father, Hafez.

Earlier this month the US and French ambassadors made a visit to the city to show solidarity with the protesters, while the Turkish prime minister, Recip Tayyip Erdogan, has said there must not be "another Hama" in reference to 1982 massacre.

There were also reports this weekend of a Syrian army colonel saying he had founded an army of defectors after fleeing with hundreds of soldiers. The man, identifying himself as Colonel Riad al-Asaad, told AFP: "I am the commander of the Syrian Free Army" and warned against any attack on Deir Ezzor.

Amateur footage circulating online also purported to show soldiers defecting in Hama, including one video showing soldiers kissing protesters.

Example 2:

Syrian refugees: In their own words

Thousands of Syrians have escaped the violence and persecution that followed the Arab spring. In camps along the border, refugees talk about the dangers they face and what it means to leave their homes behind

- Interviews by [Constanze Letsch](#) in [Turkey](#) and [Phoebe Greenwood](#) in [Jordan](#)
- [The Guardian](#), Monday 2 April 2012 20.00 BST



Syrian refugees at a camp in Reyhanli, Turkey. Photograph: Shawn Baldwin/Corbis

Abu Ali, 42, from Azmaren

Abu Ali had to leave his home in Azmaren, a small town of about 5,000 inhabitants just across the border, eight months ago. He owns several acres of olive groves and a farm that he can see from the hills on the Turkish side, but that he cannot reach. "If I return, they'll kill me," he says. Abu Ali used to work as a singer at village weddings, but a year ago he started to use his talent to sing anti-Assad songs at rallies in Hama. Both of his children had been in university when they had to leave, now he lives with them and his wife in a Turkish refugee camp. "I have sold my car to get by, and I have only \$100 left." He sighs. "I will have to start selling my land."

Abu Ali is in constant phone contact with his fellow Azmaren residents. "The Syrian regime has interrupted the mobile phone coverage," he says. "But we all use Turkish SIM cards – Turkcell covers up to 10km across the border. Bless them."

He explains that at night the river crossing is used to smuggle food and medical supplies into [Syria](#), and that people come to [Turkey](#) this way too. "I help as much as I can," he says. "These are all my countrymen."

To get to the river, you have to wade through knee-deep mud. The military police station of Hacıpasa is close by, but only a pack of dogs take notice of people approaching the border, marked solely by the river. Some people have lit fires on the Syrian side of the river. Despite it being a mild spring day, the water is still very cold, and several young men take turns diving, while others try to warm up again. When they notice Abu Ali, they swim to the Turkish side to greet him. Squatting in the mud, clad in nothing but white briefs, they describe the death of their friend.

17-year-old Omar Sheikh Mohammed drowned on 20 March, running from the Syrian Army who had surrounded Azmaren. "It was dark, and the water was very cold," a man called Nidal says, shivering himself. "He was wanted by the Syrian Army because he had participated in protest rallies, so he panicked and jumped into the water to get to Turkey." His friends nod in agreement. "But he didn't know how to swim, and because he was fully clothed, he just sank, we weren't able to save him."

Abu Ali says that they are now diving for the body of the young man. "His parents deserve at least a funeral, to find some peace of mind." Nidal is angry that nobody feels responsible. "We asked the Turkish authorities, but they said we should come back tomorrow. We asked the Syrians, and they said: 'Let him become fish food.' Now we try to find his body ourselves, and risk drowning just like he did."

Mohammed, 34, from Idlib

Mohammed, a 34-year-old police officer, had been working as a prison guard in the central Idlib prison for 11 years. "I never thought about defecting until last year," he says. He first came to Turkey in December 2011, after hiding "in the mountains" for six weeks. In January 2012, he returned to Syria to join the Free Syrian Army, but when soldiers attacked them in the middle of March, he fled to Turkey once again, taking only what he was wearing at the time. Because both of his parents and his two-year-old son are in Syria, he wishes to remain anonymous.

For Mohammed, joining the armed struggle seemed the only possible response to what he had seen in his job as a prison guard. "In April 2011, there were protest rallies in Idlib," he says. "About 320 people were arrested and put in jail." He says that all of these political prisoners received a "reception" on their arrival in the central prison: "On the 700 metres between the front and the main gate, prisoners were beaten with sticks, electric cables and water hoses." He did not take part in the beatings. "They were all fellow Idlib residents. How could I have hit them?"

In the subsequent weeks and months, Mohammed witnessed torture and abuse inside the prison: beating, stress positions, electrocution. He lights another cigarette and takes a deep drag before he continues. "One man lost an eye in a beating. If prisoners refused to say that 'Assad is our leader', they sat them down naked on to a glass bottle. The bottleneck penetrated [their anus]."

Two weeks ago, Amnesty International published a report that lists systematic torture in Syrian prisons. Mohammed says that violence was also directed against police officers if they stepped out of line: "A man came to our prison to ask if his son had been arrested and brought there. Because I told him that this was the case, I was reprimanded and incarcerated in a prison for political prisoners in Idlib for two days, and I was beaten there. Only because I told this man that his son was in prison."



Refugees cross from Syria into Turkey near the refugee camp in Reyhanli. Photograph: Shawn Baldwin/Corbis

In November 2011 an arrest order was filed against Mohammed, because a close family member had joined the armed opposition, so he left to hide in the mountains surrounding the city, and finally entered Turkey in December. Having joined the Free Syrian Army in January, he witnessed the military operations in Idlib in mid-March: "They attacked with tanks. They evicted people from their houses and burned all of their possessions, and they burned down the houses of opposition members. Many people died.

"Thank God it was raining, so their projectiles did not reach as far. This way we were able to save several hundred people from being killed." While he denies any sectarian bias on the side of the opposition forces, it is clear that he has some bitterness about his job status: "While I should have been promoted for the first time after two years, it took them four years to actually do it." Mohammed is convinced that this is related to him being Sunni: "They discriminate against Sunni, and the Alawites get all the good jobs." Now sheltered in a Turkish refugee camp, Mohammed wants to go back to Syria as soon as he feels strong again: "Someone needs to do something. So many people in Syria live in poverty. And 40 years is too long for any government."

Rawja, 25, from Jisr al-Shughour

Spring has come late to the Turkish province of Hatay this year, and for the first week in months, the rain has stopped. At 11 in the morning, it is already stifling hot inside the tents in Altinözü refugee camp, just across the Syrian border, but the children inside one of the school tents, where Arabic-speaking Turkish teachers follow a Turkish curriculum, diligently follow the lesson.

Rawja visits her two sons, four and five years old, in the nursery tent, where about 20 children are gathered around low tables, painting, colouring, or playing with putty. Her younger son bites his lips in concentration while working on his colouring book. The refugee camp in Altinözü houses 2,000 of the 17,000 Syrians who have so far crossed the border, according to Suphi Atan, a camp co-ordinator for the Turkish foreign ministry.

Rawja came to Turkey two months ago for the first time. "We stayed for a little while, and then we went back home again," she says. "But because things were not improving [in Syria], we returned to Turkey one month ago, and now we are here, waiting." She is impatient to return to her house in Jisr al-Shughour, though she is not sure if it still stands: "I heard that half of our house was destroyed, and that my neighbours have lost their homes. Many people have died."

While Rawja does not feel at home in the Altinözü camp, others have tried to settle down as much as possible under the circumstances. One of her neighbours in the tent city, 21-year-old Sabiha who has been here for 10 months, met and married her husband in the camp. A few metres from Rawja's own tent, a 25-year-old man from Jisr al-Shughour has constructed a coop for his doves, all 30 of which he brought with him in boxes when he fled Syria. Some people have opened semi-legitimate businesses to get by. There are two "cornershop" tents and one bakery – "Revolution Bakery" has been scribbled on the tent – where, the two bakers say, they sell bread at Syrian prices.

Rawja's husband is active in the armed opposition. With his help and the help of his contacts, they were able to cross the mountains unharmed to come to Turkey. She explains that not everybody was this lucky: "Many more want to come, but they are afraid. There are soldiers controlling the roads, it is dangerous." Her husband, who lives in the Altinözü refugee camp with her, often crosses into Syria to transport supplies, and to escort [refugees](#) to Turkey: "My husband is wanted in Syria, but he keeps going there. Every time he leaves me I am afraid that I will never see him again. We fight a lot, I don't want him to go, but he doesn't listen."

While she says that the Turkish authorities take good care of them in the refugee camp, she is unhappy here: "I cry every day. God willing this war will end soon, so we can all go home."

Salwa, from Latakia

The walls of the room are empty except for a makeshift Syrian flag pieced together from pieces of cloth and a frilly Christmas tree made from crêpe paper. 17-year-old Reem laughs. "I really wanted a Christmas tree, so I made us one," she explains in flawless English. "We celebrate all the holidays in our family. Christmas or Eid Al Adha, it doesn't matter."

A tall woman wearing her hair at chin-length, her mother Salwa is a psychologist who ran her own practice in Latakia before she and her two teenage daughters decided to give up their rental apartment and sell everything they owned to come to Turkey in June 2011. "Things were getting too difficult, and I started to be really afraid for my family."

Since they had valid Syrian passports, Salwa and her two daughters Reem and 19-year-old Asra came into Turkey at a regular border crossing. Turkey lifted visa requirements for Syrian citizens in 2009, but now their passports have expired. "We do not want to attract too much attention around here," Salwa says, lighting a cigarette. "If the Turkish authorities find us, they will put us in one of the refugee camps."

Reem was in her last year of high school when they left. "I wanted to go to college and study psychology too," Reem says. "It is very hard here. Because I don't speak Turkish, I haven't been able to find a job. We do not want anyone's pity or help. I would like to work, but nobody employs me."

As Amnesty International has repeatedly pointed out, Turkey still refuses to grant refugee status to nationals from outside Council of Europe countries, leaving people such as Salwa, Asra and Reem, who are fleeing a conflict zone, in a legal vacuum. "We have no right to work, go to school or open a business," Reem says. "We haven't been able to do anything for almost a year." Just like other Syrian refugees who prefer not to live inside one of the refugee camps, they have no access to free healthcare either.

Four months ago, Asra found work in a local restaurant where she works 10 hours a day and seven days a week to support the rest of the family. "My mum and I are mostly at home," Reem says. "We are on the internet all day; we watch the news on TV to see what happens in Syria."

Living in a predominantly Alevi neighbourhood in Antakya, Salwa explains that she now introduces herself and her daughters as Palestinian to everyone she meets, just in case. "In our old apartment people knew we had come from Syria, and the police came twice to check our documents." Reem adds: "People in Turkey always ask if you are Sunni or Alevi. I stopped answering that question because I am worried of what they might do if I tell them that I am Sunni." Salwa nods. "This question used to be irrelevant in Syria, nobody would ask it." She is afraid that her country might slide into a bloody civil war soon. "Now it seems your sect is all people care about."



Syrian children in Altinözü refugee camp, Turkey. Photograph: Constanze Letsch

Um Eddine, 32, from Daraa

Um Eddine is a teacher and mother of four. She left her home in Daraa after receiving death threats and arrived in [Jordan](#) in the middle of March. Her husband was arrested by the Assad regime in December. She says the threats started last year. "In July last year,

government security appeared, knocking at the front door. I looked out of the window and saw a lot of heavily armed men wearing black. They weren't soldiers, they were Shabiha [militia loyal to the Assad regime]. They were knocking with such force I opened the door immediately. They stormed in asking where my husband was. I told them that honestly, I didn't know, and they called me a liar. They started tearing off the curtains and destroying the furniture."

One officer advised her that after they left she should lock the door and not open it to anyone again. "Shortly after that, my husband called and told me never to accept a call from his number again. This made me really afraid." Her husband was arrested in December. "I have no idea where he is now."

She made the decision to leave after tanks entered the city late in February. "Many people were slaughtered," Um Eddine says. "They just ran over them with the tanks. Walking home from school to my mother's home that day, blood ran in the streets. When I got to her home, everything had been destroyed or stolen. It was impossible to stay there. My neighbours told me, come and see your house. I went to pick up some things but there was nothing left to take. There was nothing else to do. We had to be smuggled into Jordan."

They travelled on a cold night, four or five families all together, women and children. They took nothing. "We walked through the farms. Once we reached the edge of Daraa, the young people told us to walk the next 1km to the border in complete silence. I asked why, we have young children. They told me that all along the top of the mountains are government soldiers. If they hear anything, they shoot immediately. We would all be killed.

"We all thought we were going to die. We refused to stop and rest. The young people helped me carry my children. We had to cross a mountain and then we reached a small barbed-wire fence. I was carrying my youngest two, but the older two boys were walking ahead. They had become tangled in the barbed wire but were too afraid to call out for me. When I crossed I couldn't find them. So I went back to Syrian land to find them. They were calling to me softly: 'Mum, help, I'm caught.' I found them and released them as quickly as I could. I picked up the two little ones and told the other two to hold on to my dress."

Jordanian soldiers met them. "My three-and-a-half year-old asked me, why do these soldiers gave us tea while the ones at home kill people? I said: 'Because that is Syria.'"

"My sons haven't gone to school for a whole year. They haven't been able to play in the streets for a year. In Daraa, they were in a state of fear the whole time. I'm planning to start a new life here, planning to erase the last 32 years of my life – forget they ever happened.

"I pray that I will see my husband again. I pray for him and all those who are arrested."

Abu Shadi, 40, Damascus

Abu Shadi, a married father of three used to work for the Syrian water ministry in Damascus. He and his brothers claim to have led the uprising in their suburb on the outskirts of the capital. As a result of his activism, he is wanted by the Syrian government. He fled to Jordan in October last year and now lives in Amman with his older brother.

"One evening, my brother and I we were watching the news. They were talking about what was happening in Tunisia and Egypt, and the commentators said Syria will be next. We looked at each other and said: 'Why don't we do it?'"

Abu Shadi says that before the uprising he was never bold enough to talk politics, even with his brother. But the Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings changed all that. "It took them a few weeks to bring down their governments. I thought it would take us 20 days. That was our initial intention. Now we've reached a stage where they are killing young children."

Initially they did little more than graffiti. The first march attracted only a couple of dozen people. "But it was like dominos," Abu Shadi says. "The next Friday, 2,000 turned up. We were shouting and they were shooting. They were afraid even though we had no weapons."

The town is surrounded by the fourth and fifth brigades of the army. It used to house 23,000 people. "Now there's no one there, only old people and children. The rest have fled."

Abu Shadi escaped in October. His family came afterwards. "I came legally, before they had wanted lists at the border. Even though I'm away from Syria, it's not out of my mind for even a second. I can't live without it. We will definitely return, God willing. All our property, everything is in Syria. I'll only stay one or two months here, then I'll return.

"I was an activist before the uprising and I am still an activist even now, in Jordan. I'm still doing all I can to help. I do many things, but I don't want to talk about them now. It's not necessary.

"I want a government elected by the people that is democratic and fair. Those involved in torture should be put to trial. That would be fair."

Some names have been changed at the request of interviewees.

Example 3:

Syrian eyewitness accounts of alleged chemical weapons attack in Damascus

Victim: I could see people coming out of their homes but they would fall down – there was foam coming out of their mouths

Source: mona Mahmood and martin chulov



A mother and father weep over their child's body who was killed in a suspected chemical weapons attack on the Damascus suburb of Ghouta Photograph: REX/Erbin News/NurPhoto

Few people sleep early in Damascus, even in times of war. So when shells started to crunch into the east of the capital at around 2am on Wednesday, Um Hassan and her four children were wide awake, bracing for familiar sounds of bombs falling on buildings and the empty road below.

Soon, though, loudspeakers in the neighbourhood, some attached to mosque minarets, started blaring terrifying warnings – telling residents to leave their houses and flee.

"We were in a panic to take the children and run out of Zemalka to any nearby villages," said Um Hassan of her area in the east Ghouta district of the capital. "People who were sleeping in their homes died in their beds because they could not feel the effects of the attack."

Headaches and nausea quickly overcame the family as they scrambled through blackened streets towards the family car, a violent cacophony of shelling all around and the air filling with a strange, noxious odour.

"I still feel sick and drowsy with all the smoke I have breathed," she said 36 hours after the attack, which killed hundreds of people, wounded many more, and sparked outrage around the world.

"As we were trying to [leave], I could see people coming out of their homes but they would fall down. We tried to help some of them but they died before we got them to the hospital."

The attack seemed relentless, according to Um Hassan and other victims and first responders contacted by the Guardian via Skype on Thursday. The Syrian government has

acknowledged that its military launched a large operation in eastern Ghouta in the early hours of Thursday, but has vehemently denied the use of [chemical weapons](#).

"We picked up a woman with her two kids, the rocket had hit their house but ... they all died. I could see the foam coming out of their mouths and noses."

Not far away in Zemalka, Abu Omar, a militant with the Free Syrian Army, was on call when he heard the first rocket land. "I ran to my house immediately to check if my wife and kids were OK. When I reached home, I began to smell something like vinegar and rotten eggs. Then, I heard people shouting that the district was under attack by chemical rockets. I and some of my colleagues ran to the FSA headquarters in Zemalka to get ambulances to evacuate the people.

"We were in a district called Al-Mazra'a. We started to knock on the doors, calling people to get out. Those who were not responding or opening the doors, we began to break their doors and look for people inside. We were able to evacuate 20 people. None of them were dead but they were suffocating.

"We distributed them among the makeshift hospitals in the district. It is really a miracle that none of the victims were dead ... though some of them were foaming at the mouth and their bodies were turning blue."

Abu Omar says another burst of rockets landed around 3am. But they were unlike other explosions that had regularly peppered the area for the last year as regime forces tried to dislodge rebel groups and the communities that backed them from their stronghold less than seven miles from the heart of Damascus.

"You could hear the sound of the rocket in the air but you could not hear any sound of explosion." And they caused no visible damage to any buildings. The smell became overpowering.

Abu Omar says he tried to seek shelter in the local mosque, but was turned back by the scene of a sheikh and his family lying dead. The dead and dying were by now all around.

"I went to one of the houses and found an infant who was a year and a half old. I can't forget this scene till now," he said. He was jumping like a bird, struggling to breathe. I held him immediately and ran to the car but he died. I swear to God the number of the dead infants and children are more than the numbers of elders. We even broke the locks of the shops to pile the victims inside. In one of the shops, there were 200 children."

Also in Zemalka on Wednesday morning, Ashraf Hassan, 18, and his four friends were playing cards.

"Around 1.30am, we started to hear shouts of people for help. We did not hear any attack or shelling. We went out to find out that the district is in complete chaos and panic. At 2am, mortars started to fall.

"We began to break in houses to check out about the people inside. In one of the houses, I found four brothers sleeping opposite each other dead in their bed and their parents were

dead too in another room. All of them suffocated. I could see foam on their mouths and noses.

"I helped many other guys evacuate bodies and some people who were still alive ... until I myself started to smell the gas.

"The smell was like cooking gas. My friends told me to wear a mask on my nose and mouth but I began to feel nausea and vomiting. My eyes turned very red and started to itch.

"I felt I'm almost going to lose consciousness. I woke up today with very itching eyes and could not open them at all, so I came to the hospital for treatment."

He said all those who survived the attack were suffering from the same symptoms.

As whatever it was that dropped on Zemalka and two other areas in eastern Ghouta continues to ravage its residents, survivors and eyewitnesses have tried to piece together where the rockets or missiles were fired from.

Two areas of the capital, not far away, and both in regime held areas are being scrutinised.

"They came from around four kilometres away," said Haitham Baghdadi, a resident of Jobar, who on Thursday was trying to flee with his family to Jordan. "One site was the October War Panorama, and another was the air base. They have tried to wipe us off the map."

Example 1:

Security Forces Kill Dozens in Uprisings Around Syria



Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

A picture taken by a mobile phone shows anti-government protesters in Baniyas in northeastern Syria on Friday.

By [ANTHONY SHADID](#)

Published: April 22, 2011

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Security forces in [Syria](#) met thousands of demonstrators with fusillades of live ammunition after noon prayers on Friday, killing at least 81 people in the bloodiest day of the five-week-old Syrian uprising, according to protesters, witnesses and accounts on social networking sites.

From the Mediterranean coast and Kurdish east to the steppe of the Houran in southern Syria, protesters gathered in at least 20 cities and towns, including in the outskirts of the capital, Damascus. Cries for vengeance intersected with calls for the government's fall, marking a potentially dangerous new dynamic in the revolt.

“We want revenge, and we want blood,” said Abu Mohamed, a protester in Azra, a southern town that had the highest death toll Friday. “Blood for blood.”

The breadth of the protests — and people’s willingness to defy security forces who were deployed en masse — painted a picture of turmoil in one of the Arab world’s most authoritarian countries. In scenes unprecedented only weeks ago, protesters tore down pictures of President [Bashar al-Assad](#) and toppled statues of his father, Hafez, in two towns on the capital’s outskirts, according to witnesses and video footage.

But despite the bloodshed, which promised to unleash another day of unrest as the dead are buried Saturday, the scale of the protests, so far, seemed to fall short of the popular upheaval of revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia. Organizers said the movement was still in its infancy, and the government, building on 40 years of institutional inertia, still commanded the loyalty of the military, economic elite and sizable minorities of Christian and heterodox Muslim sects who fear the state’s collapse.

Coming a day after Mr. Assad endorsed the lifting of draconian emergency rule, the killings represented another chapter in the government’s strategy of alternating promises of concessions with a grim crackdown that has left it staggering but still entrenched. “There are indications the regime is scared, and this is adding to the momentum, but this is still the beginning,” said Wissam Tarif, the executive director of Insan, a Syrian human rights group. “Definitely, we haven’t seen the millions we saw in Egypt or Tunisia. The numbers are still humble, and it’s a reality we have to acknowledge.”

The images of carnage marked one of the deadliest days of the so-called Arab Spring, and the coming days may be replete with its lessons. In other places in the Middle East, violence has led to funerals where many more are often killed. The government’s belated attempts at reform, meanwhile, have often simply escalated protesters’ demands.

In that, the government faces perhaps its greatest challenge: to maintain its bastions of support with promises for the future and threats that its collapse means chaos, against the momentum that the vivid symbols of martyrdom have so often encouraged.

“We are not scared anymore,” said Abu Nadim, a protester in Douma, a town on the outskirts of Damascus. “We are sad and we are disappointed at this regime and at the president. Protests, demonstrations and death are now part of the daily routine.”

In a sharply worded statement, [President Obama](#) said the “outrageous use of violence to quell protests must come to an end now.” The statement also said President Assad was seeking Iranian help in repressing his people, but did not provide details.

In the capital, a city that underlines the very authority of the Assad family’s decades of rule, hundreds gathered after Friday Prayer at the al-Hassan Mosque. Some of them chanted, “The people want the fall of the government,” a slogan made famous in both Egypt and Tunisia. But security forces quickly dispersed the protests with tear gas, witnesses said. Syria’s second-largest city, Aleppo, appeared to remain relatively quiet.

The government's determination to keep larger cities somewhat subdued may have led to some of the highest death tolls. Protesters in some towns on Damascus's outskirts said security forces fired at them to prevent them from marching toward the capital. And in Azra, protesters said, government forces were intent on keeping them from Dara'a, a poor town 20 miles away that helped unleash the revolt in March.

A protester in Azra who gave his name as Abu Ahmad said he brought three of those killed to the mosque — one shot in the head, one in the chest and one in the back — the oldest of whom was 20 years old. Video that was posted on social networking sites showed a man carrying the bloodied corpse of a young boy, apparently shot by the police. Taken together, most of the victims died in protests in the towns around Damascus, where demonstrators have sought to occupy a city landmark in a replay of Cairo's Tahrir Square. Both sides seemed to understand the significance of the capital: Mass protests there would serve as a devastating blow to the government's prestige.

Mr. Nadim, the protester in Douma, said plainclothes security forces carrying machine guns were omnipresent in the town. He said snipers were also stationed on top of two hospital buildings. Protesters left the mosque after noon prayers, their numbers growing to 5,000, he said. They met a force of 3,000 security men, he said.

"The minute they saw us they started shooting at us," he said. Protesters retreated, then surged again. "Peaceful! Peaceful!" he said they shouted as the gunfire continued.

Organizers said at least some dissent was reported in every province, and the protesters' calls were far more sweeping than in the uprising's earliest days, when demonstrators were seeking democratic changes rather than regime change.

In Baniyas, a coastal city, a banner denounced Mr. Assad and his ruling [Baath Party](#): "No Baath, No Assad, we want to free the country." Another banner, referring to Mr. Assad's medical training abroad, read, "A doctor in London, a butcher in Syria."

Razan Zeitouneh, an activist with the Syrian Human Rights Information Link in Damascus, basing her account on witnesses, said 88 people had been killed — 20 in Azra; 1 in Dara'a; 22 near Homs; 39 in the suburbs of Damascus; 1 in Latakia; 3 in Hama and 2 elsewhere. Mr. Tarif's group, Insan, said 81 people were killed.

In Homs, where major protests erupted this week, activists said security forces and plainclothes police officers flooded the city, setting up checkpoints and preventing all but a few dozen people from gathering. By afternoon, one resident said the streets were deserted, the silence punctuated every 15 minutes or so by gunfire.

"We closed the windows and the curtains and hid at home," one woman said via [Skype](#). "The gunfire was so loud and close." She added, "God save us."

Hwaida Saad contributed reporting from Beirut, Katherine Zoepf from New York, and employees of The New York Times from Beirut and Damascus, Syria.

Example 2:

Syrians Fleeing Capital Leave Bodies and Bombs Behind



Syrians crossing into Lebanon on Friday at the border town of Masnaa. The United Nations estimated 18,000 Syrians fled the fighting in a 48-hour period.

By [NEIL MacFARQUHAR](#)

Published: July 20, 2012

MASNAA, Lebanon — After five days of fierce street battles pitting government forces against rebel fighters in the central Damascus neighborhood of Midan, one Syrian family that managed to escape into Lebanon described what was left behind: a hellish landscape of burning buildings and vehicles and streets barricaded with rubble, all punctuated by explosions erupting at random.

“Sometimes you feel that the bombs are very close, other times that they are far away,” said Sarah, 19, crammed into the back seat of a white sedan with her mother and two sisters at this Lebanese border crossing, where the [United Nations](#) said about 18,000 Syrians fleeing the fighting crossed in the past 48 hours. “You don’t know what is happening. People are so scared that they all departed; there is no one left in our building.”

The Syrian military struck back hard in Midan and elsewhere across Damascus on Friday. The fighting created scenes of mayhem unimaginable in the capital even last week, and

prompted a wide exodus as the military tried to retake the upper hand from an opposition emboldened after a bomb attack on Wednesday killed four top security officials.

In [Syria](#), the raging battle seemed to be as much about public image as it was about the realities on the ground. The state remained determined to project an image that all was well, even while thousands fled. “Our heroic forces have completely cleansed the Midan area of the terrorist mercenaries and restored security,” state television reported, using its usual label for the rebel forces. The gruesome pictures showed corpses lying in blood, some in the streets with flies buzzing around them.

The retreating rebels claimed they were pulling back to spare civilians the full wrath of the army. “We are not ‘armed gangs or terrorist groups,’ ” said Abu Rami, 25, one of the rebel fighters abandoning Midan. “We are a popular armed force, and ordinary people support us. If we were not hosted by the people, we could not fight in these districts.” With the sounds of exploding shells booming across the city at all hours and clouds of smoke billowing out of various neighborhoods, residents of Damascus either cowered at home or fled. Live broadcasts on state television meant to show that downtown Damascus was under control mostly showed its thoroughfares deserted.

“For people living in Damascus, seeing families flee the violence is very, very emotional,” said Sigurd F. Mikkelsen, a journalist for the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation as he crossed the border to Lebanon in a taxi with Syrians who were leaving. “They are afraid of the state falling apart,” he said.

Most of the Syrians crossing into Lebanon were scared and confused. They talked about power cuts in the richest neighborhoods and gasoline stations with no gas. They talked about civilians in Damascus suddenly trapped by the fighting for the first time in the 17 months since the conflict broke out.

“You feel the government is losing control, slowly but surely, every day a little more,” said one 30-year-old construction engineer, declining to give his name because he might go back. “After the assassinations, the people who were saying the system will survive started talking about its collapse.”

If the government manages to reassert control in Damascus in the coming days, then maybe the country will not disintegrate, he said, but he was not optimistic, especially as the hatred deepened between Alawites and Sunnis.

“I think a civil war is coming; you can see it and feel it,” he said, with Alawites talking about their fears of surviving while Sunnis burn with the desire for revenge.

“Eighty percent of the problem is sectarian and maybe 20 percent is about corruption,” said Mohamed al-Jazaeri, a young engineer, explaining his wish for a slow, measured political reform process that is nowhere in sight. “They are going to destroy the country, and they won’t be able to bring it back for another 20 years.”

Many Syrians were headed to stay with relatives, some to apartments they already owned and a few to hotels. But many without means staggered to the nearest village, Majd al-Anjar, where the local mosque set up a charity center where volunteers said that they had just distributed several hundred thin foam mattresses and food kits.

The mayor, Anwar Hamzeh, said Thursday night that he was stunned to see Syrian families parked by the side of the road, uneasy about where to go next. “They were afraid if they ended up in a Shiite village they would be killed,” he said. Hezbollah, the main Shiite party in Lebanon, supports the government of [Bashar al-Assad](#), and many of those fleeing are Sunni Muslims.

So Majd al-Anjar opened its homes and one of its seven schools to the Syrians. Many more will come, they are sure. “There are seven million people in Damascus; where will they all go?” said Omar Abdel-Rahman, responsible at the charity center for distributing aid.

For everyone reaching Lebanon, there were hundreds more fleeing the capital into the Syrian countryside as the mood in Damascus shifted markedly — not least because the government warned residents that it would shell rebellious neighborhoods.

Many of those arriving were well-to-do young families, the parents saying all they wanted was to get their children out of harm’s way while they were sure they still could. Some were obviously coming for the long haul, cars stacked with extra suitcases and children’s bicycles and kitchen utensils like a colander.

Many regretted the decision to leave even as they relaxed a bit in getting out. “I would rather die in Damascus; you are a stranger anywhere you go except your own country,” said Ghada, a 41-year-old housewife fleeing with her husband and two children. She, like others, did not want her last name used for fear of being identified.

Some maintained they were just headed to Beirut to relax, and they would take stock in a week or so. Most said they were not political, just worried, although there was an occasional whispered political opinion like, “We want freedom.”

On the other end of the scale, a young man riding in the passenger seat of a glistening, charcoal Porsche Panamera with special government license plates rolled down his window and denied anything was amiss in Damascus.

“There is nothing,” he said before the car roared off.

Friday was also the first day of [Ramadan](#), the Muslim holy month that combines fasting and celebration and family reunions. But for Syrians, the holiday spirit was distinctly lacking.

“We don’t really feel like it’s Ramadan because of this war,” Mr. Jazaeri said. “It is going to the worst Ramadan in Syrian history, or at least the worst since the Ottomans invaded.”

That was in the early 16th century, but this is even blacker, he said, because “then they were fighting foreign invaders; this time they are fighting each other.”

Example 3:

Blasts in the Night, a Smell, and a Flood of Syrian Victims



Abo Alnour Alhaji/Reuters

On Monday, United Nations chemical weapons experts viewed some of the victims of last week’s attack near Damascus, Syria.

By BEN HUBBARD, [MARK MAZZETTI](#) and [MARK LANDLER](#)

Published: August 26, 2013

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Thousands of sick and dying Syrians had flooded the hospitals in the Damascus suburbs before dawn, hours after the first rockets landed, their bodies convulsing and mouths foaming. Their vision was blurry and many could not breathe.

Overwhelmed doctors worked frantically, jabbing their patients with injections of their only antidote, atropine, hoping to beat back the assault on the nervous system waged by suspected chemical agents. In just a few hours, as the patients poured in, the atropine ran out.

To avoid contamination, medics stripped new arrivals down to their underwear and doused them with water before taking them inside.

New patients kept coming. One doctor from the town of Kafr Batna likened the scene to a horror movie, with cars bringing in entire families — fathers, mothers and children — all of them dead.

The doctors soon faced a new problem: where to put the dead. Some were covered with blocks of ice to fend off the summer heat, others were wrapped in white sheets and lined up in rows so family members could identify the victims.

It would be hours before officials in Washington woke up on Wednesday to learn the extent of the massacre. President Obama, who had recently returned from a weeklong vacation and planned a quiet day at the White House before departing for a two-day bus tour across New York and Pennsylvania, was told of the attack in the Oval Office that morning during his regular intelligence briefing.

The White House issued a cautious public statement about the attacks from a deputy spokesman shortly before noon, but behind the scenes the president and his national security team were grappling with the urgency and enormity of the event: the largest mass killing of the Syrian civil war, and most likely the deadliest chemical weapons attack since Saddam Hussein's troops killed thousands of Kurds with sarin gas during the waning days of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988.

Interviews with more than two dozen activists, rebels and doctors in areas near the attack sites, as well as an examination of more than 100 videos and photos of the aftermath, back up this assertion.

Not only has the attack brought widespread condemnation on President Bashar al-Assad's government in Syria, which the United States and its allies are convinced carried out the strike, it is also already shaping up as an inflection point for a war that has been grinding on for more than two years and has claimed more than 100,000 victims.

An American president who has tried desperately to keep the United States out of another war in the Middle East is now weighing a military attack on Syria — cornered by his own statement that a large-scale chemical weapons strike would be a “red line” forcing Washington to respond.

Mr. Assad's government has repeatedly denied using chemical weapons, while blaming rebels for reported attacks. But Western nations say they have solid evidence that the Syrian government has used such weapons on at least two occasions before last Wednesday. And the supplies of atropine on hand in rebel-held areas just outside Syria's capital testify to the repeated, if limited, use of chemical agents as a tactical weapon in what has become a street-by-street war of attrition, the rebels and doctors said.

If the United States does get involved, it will most likely be because of the scale of what took place in the dead of night last Wednesday, in towns just outside Damascus that the government was determined to retake. The attacks caused such chaos among residents

that the death toll is still unknown, and many are still uncertain about the fate of their relatives.

“Those are my cousins,” said one person in a video shot in the city of Hamouriyeh, pointing to the ground where the bodies of a man and his two children lay. “I’m still looking for the rest,” he said. “Five or six of them.”

By nightfall in Syria, the bodies that were unclaimed had been buried in an archipelago of new mass graves. Before laying them to rest, activists put numbers on their foreheads and snapped photos — in case their families came looking for them later.

Many Trapped at Home

It began just after 2 a.m.

Those who heard the explosions and lived to tell about them were surprised at the sound, saying it was “like a water tank bursting” or “like opening a Pepsi bottle.”

Then came the smell, which burned eyes and throats, like onions or chlorine. The effects were immediate and devastating.

At the time of the strikes, a few hours before morning prayers, most people were still asleep in their homes. The substance released by the barrage of rockets, which crashed into suburbs on two sides of Damascus, killed many people before they were even able to get out of their beds.

The deadliest of the attacks struck at the heart of a region known as Eastern Ghouta, an area northeast of Damascus whose towns have swelled into cities in recent decades with an influx of mostly poor Sunni Muslims from the countryside, the key constituency of the anti-Assad uprising.

Towns in the area have been held for more than a year by various factions of the rebellion. Unlike in northern and eastern Syria, extremist groups like the Nusra Front are not dominant. The area’s economic isolation made it fertile ground for the rebellion, and it has proved to be a perpetual threat to Mr. Assad’s control over the capital region.

The neighborhoods are dotted with homes that have been damaged — or have collapsed outright — from the persistent government shelling over the past year.

In the months before Wednesday’s attack, according to interviews with rebels, the battle around Eastern Ghouta had reached a stalemate. While both sides frequently carried out guerrilla raids and sniper attacks, the front lines had moved little.

In the meantime, the government had sought to break the stalemate by severing the region’s links to the capital and starving rebel troops in Eastern Ghouta. Shipments of flour, fuel and electricity to the area were stopped, and government troops on the few

remaining byways confiscated bread and siphoned fuel from gas tanks to ensure it did not reach the rebels.

Shortly after Wednesday's rocket barrage began, rebel fighters spread the news of the assault by shouting, "Chemical attack!" into their walkie-talkies while loudspeakers affixed to minarets on the top of mosques blared warnings to residents to flee or to seek fresh air on their rooftops.

As in many rebel areas, residents had grown used to dealing with government attacks, instincts that this time only increased the death toll.

According to local doctors, some people took cover in basements, where the gas settled and suffocated them. Medics and photographers who had become accustomed to rushing to the site of attacks arrived too quickly, succumbing to the gases themselves. The attacks appeared to fit into a pattern of continued escalation by government forces throughout the war, with large strikes on residential areas that appear to serve no immediate tactical purpose.

Such attacks seem to be aimed not at killing rebel fighters, but at terrifying the rebels' civilian backers in strategic areas that Mr. Assad's forces have been unable to subdue. "They knew that people's sons were on the front lines, so if you hit their families, they would go back and check on them and it would be easier to invade," said an activist from Zamalka who gave only his first name, Firas. But he said that the tactic had not worked and had instead rallied rebel fighters to defend their positions.

Some military analysts said that the apparent chemical attack appeared to be part of a broader operation by Mr. Assad's forces, which have also used tanks, conventionally armed rockets and air power to wrest control of rebel areas around the Syrian capital. "It appears that they were trying to break resistance in the Damascus area, which they have been trying to do unsuccessfully for some time," said Jeffrey White, a former Middle East analyst with the Defense Intelligence Agency who is now a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Firas, the activist, said he was driving home with some friends when he heard about the attack over his walkie-talkie. He said he was terrified, since no one knew where the attacks had occurred and how far the suspected gas had spread. They used wet pieces of cloth to cover their noses and mouths and sped out of town to a field hospital farther east.

Hospitals Overwhelmed

Whatever the chemicals used, the carnage caused by Wednesday's attack overwhelmed field hospitals on the outskirts of Damascus. Bodies covered tile floors, stretched down hallways and were laid out on sidewalks and streets.

A doctor from the town of Kafr Batna said he rushed to his clinic soon after the attack and found 100 patients.

“We had men, women and children, all of them choking and having trouble breathing,” said the doctor, Sakhr. “Some of them had foam coming out of their mouths and nostrils and many had lost consciousness.”

The medical charity Doctors Without Borders said Saturday that three clinics it supports in the area recorded 355 deaths.

The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, which tracks the conflict from Britain through a network of contacts inside Syria, said it had confirmed the deaths of 322 people, including 54 children and 82 women.

Some activists have compiled lists of names and say that more than 1,000 people were killed in Wednesday’s predawn attack.

By the end of that day, Dr. Sakhr of Kafr Batna said, 16 of the 160 bodies collected at his clinic had not been claimed. Volunteers took the bodies to a nearby graveyard, photographed their faces one by one, and buried them in a mass grave.

For those who survived, there was a different kind of grim reckoning.

Nearly a week after the attack, Dr. Sakhr said local residents who had not fled the area were flooding him with questions about where to sleep to protect themselves from future attacks.

Others were still searching for lost relatives, including children who had been taken in by strangers after their parents disappeared.

“Some found their relatives, said ‘praise God’ and sat down next to them,” said Dr. Sakhr.

“Others didn’t find them, and had to look elsewhere.”

A Careful Response

As video images and eyewitness accounts of the assault began to spread through social media, President Obama was easing back into his routine after a week away on Martha’s Vineyard. His only public event last Tuesday, hours before the attack began, was welcoming players from the undefeated 1972 Miami Dolphins to the White House for a much-belated ceremony.

The president had planned no public events for Wednesday. When he learned of the attack during his intelligence briefing that morning, many hours after it had occurred, American intelligence about the attack was still sketchy. But officials said that if the reports of chemical weapons use proved to be true, the attack was on a far greater scale than chemical attacks earlier this year.

Still, the White House moved carefully, driven in part by its experience with smaller-scale chemical weapons attacks in Aleppo and on the outskirts of Damascus. In those cases, a senior official said, there was conflicting evidence long afterward.

“In the past, it took weeks to match eyewitness accounts with intelligence,” said a senior official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss the internal deliberations. “This time, there was a consistency in all the information that was coming in for the first 24 to 48 hours.”

In the subsequent statement, which was only two paragraphs, the White House urged the Assad government to allow United Nations investigators to visit the site and put the emphasis on gathering more information. The statement was issued by the White House’s deputy spokesman, Josh Earnest, who declined to speculate about who was culpable for the attack.

Mr. Obama kept his travel plans to upstate New York on Thursday, although as his armored bus rolled from Buffalo to Rochester to Seneca Falls, he was on the phone several times with his national security adviser, Susan E. Rice.

At the White House that morning, Ms. Rice had convened a three-hour meeting of cabinet officials, including Secretary of State John Kerry, Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel and John O. Brennan, the director of the C.I.A. Military officials from United States Central Command joined the meeting by video.

The debate was robust, officials said. Some officials argued forcefully for military action, while others raised potential dangers about American missile strikes, including fears that they would destabilize the region and set off a vast new refugee flow into Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon.

One question that puzzled intelligence officials was exactly what kind of chemicals were used in the attack. American spy agencies conferred with allied intelligence services in Europe, Israel and Arab countries to get a clearer picture of what happened. In Israel, three Israeli officials briefed on the attack said they believed the rockets carried a “cocktail” of sarin gas mixed with several other components. Syria’s government is believed to have large quantities of sarin, mustard gas and VX.

One Israeli official even suggested that whoever planned the rocket barrage might have miscalculated.

“It’s quite likely that there was kind of an operational mistake here,” one senior Israeli suggested. “I don’t think they wanted to kill so many people, especially so many children. Maybe they were trying to hit one place or to get one effect and they got a much greater effect than they thought.”

Meanwhile, Mr. Kerry made phone calls to foreign ministers from Europe and the Arab world, hoping to build international support for a potential military strike against Mr. Assad.

On the day of the White House meeting, he called Syria's foreign minister, Walid al-Moallem, to complain that the Assad government had not allowed United Nations inspectors to quickly visit the sites of the suspected attack.

It was a rare high-level contact between American and Syrian officials in the time since the United States closed its embassy in Damascus last year.

As Thursday wore into Friday, American officials said, it became clear that the Assad government was still thwarting the members of the United Nations team — who had arrived in Damascus days earlier to inspect other possible chemical weapons sites — from visiting the scenes of Wednesday's attack. Russia, long a supporter of President Assad, was blaming rebel forces.

Russia's public statements blaming the rebels hardened the views of White House officials. By the time the full National Security Council assembled, with Mr. Obama presiding, on Saturday morning, "the focus had really shifted to how we respond to this event, not whether we respond," a senior official said.

Ben Hubbard reported from Beirut, and Mark Mazzetti and Mark Landler from Washington. Jodi Rudoren contributed reporting from Jerusalem, Michael R. Gordon from Washington and Hwaida Saad and an employee of The New York Times from Beirut.

Example 1:

Nearly 50 die over 48 hours in Syrian clashes

REUTERS | November 10, 2011 1:53 PM ET



Handout/REUTERS Demonstrators protesting against Syria's President Bashar al-Assad march through the streets on the first day of the Muslim festival of Eid-al-Adha in Amude November 6, 2011. The signs (top) read as "This is the fate of every oppressor" and (bottom) "Amude". Picture taken November 6, 2011.

AMMAN — At least 25 people were killed in Syria on Thursday, including 14 civilians shot in a military crackdown on protesters calling for President Bashar al-Assad to go, and five soldiers killed in ambushes, activists said.

Thousands marched at funerals for 24 civilians killed by pro-Assad forces the day before, said activists, including eight in Damascus in one of the bloodiest attacks on demonstrations in the capital since the start of the seven-month uprising.

Rallies demanding Assad's removal continued across the country.

"We are going to heaven, martyrs in the millions," sang a crowd at a rally in the town of Helfaya near Hama, according to a YouTube video. The song has become a popular chant in other Arab countries witnessing "Arab Spring" revolts.

Thursday's death toll included 14 civilians shot by loyalist forces in the city of Homs, 140 km (90 miles) north of Damascus, where troops have been trying to crush protests and a nascent armed insurgency, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights said.

Five soldiers were killed in ambushes near Maarat al-Numaan, a town 70 km south of Aleppo, and in the country's tribal desert east, said the British-based group, headed by dissident Rami Abdelrahman.

The United Nations says 3,500 people have been killed in Assad's crackdown. Authorities blame armed groups for the violence, saying more than 1,100 soldiers and police have been killed.

Syria has barred most foreign media, making it difficult to verify accounts from activists and officials.

DEFECTORS KILLED

An activist in the eastern Damascus suburb of Harasta, who gave his name as Assem, said three defectors were killed after they abandoned military units which fired live ammunition at a demonstration of 1,500-2,000 people in the al-Zar neighbourhood.

"Security police could not put down the demonstration. The eight soldiers defected when Republican Guards and the Fourth Armoured Division were sent in," he said.

A YouTube video distributed by other activists purportedly showed several soldiers in Harasta wearing helmets and ammunition vests running for cover behind a vegetable stall amid the crackle of automatic gun fire.

In Homs, activists said the number of tanks in the city had increased and new roadblocks were set up, especially around Bayada and Bab Sbaa, districts that have seen regular protests against Assad.

Authorities said on Wednesday that life had returned to normal in the city after it was cleansed of "terrorists" who have been attacking civilians and troops.

"Arrests are non-stop. If the army spots any group of youths anywhere they arrest them," he said.

Another activist in Maarat al-Numaan said a main roadblock 3 kms south of the town came under attack by defectors and tank deployment had increased in and around the city, especially in the Wadi al-Deif area, a main staging ground.

A 15-year-old boy was killed by army fire in the town of Khan Sheikhoun after fighting broke out between the Free Syrian Army, the best organised defectors force, and Assad's soldiers, local activists said.

The official news agency said four soldiers were injured by a roadside bomb planted by "armed terrorist groups" on the main northern highway near Khan Sheikhoun.

It also said two boys were killed in Moualaqa village in the northwestern province of Idlib when they inadvertently set off explosives at an abandoned house that was being used by "armed terrorist groups" to make bombs and "attack roadblocks and sabotage public property."

Example 2:

Young children, entire families among almost 200 'massacred' in besieged Syrian city of Douma

[Erika Solomon, Reuters](#) | June 29, 2012 | Last Updated: Jun 29 8:42 AM ET



AFP/Getty ImagesA handout image released by the Syrian opposition's Shaam News Network on June 29, 2012, shows the bodies of people allegedly killed by government forces during unrest in Douma.

BEIRUT — Syrians in the besieged city of Douma wrapped mangled and bloodied corpses in white burial shrouds early on Friday, according to video posted online, after 190 people were killed in one of the deadliest days of Syria's 16-month-old uprising. Activists said more than 50 of those killed on Thursday died in Douma, about 15 km (9 miles) outside the capital Damascus.

Video published on YouTube showed rows of shrouded bodies lining what activists said was a street in Douma. The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights said 41 people had died in the city, while other activists placed the toll at 59 or higher.

“Douma, the morning of June 29, 2012. This is the massacre committed against the people of Douma. God is our saviour. Two whole families are here [among the dead] ... God help us,” said the man filming the scene.

One man held up the limp body of a girl, her pink blouse drenched in blood.

“This is another massacre of the massacres by Assad and his secret police,” he said. “This is another massacre of the massacres by the international community, of all the great nations that have conspired against our people.”

Douma has been under siege for weeks by security forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad.

Activists say rockets have been raining down on the city for days amid heavy fighting between rebels and government forces. Video showed homes whose roofs had caved in and clouds of dust rising from crumbling buildings.

An activist called Mohammed Doumany told Reuters by Skype that 22 people from a single family had been killed.

“Dozens of the victims are still waiting to be buried, as cities continue to be under fire,” said a statement from activists posted online. Many of the injured were in critical condition.

Syria's revolt has grown bloodier in recent weeks.

Rebels, apparently getting access to heavier weapons that can be used against tanks, have inflicted higher losses on Assad's forces.

The army has also intensified its onslaught, using helicopter gunships to attack rebels and laying siege to rebellious towns.

Opposition activists accuse the international community of inaction. Diplomacy has failed to produce an agreement between Western powers, who favour the opposition, and

Russia, which has used its veto power at the United Nations Security Council to block Western and Sunni Arab moves to drive Assad from power.

Example 3:

Syrians retrieve ‘sleeping’ dead after alleged chemical attack kills more than 500 people, including scores of children

ERIKA SOLOMON AND STEPHEN KALIN, REUTERS | August 21, 2013 7:25 AM ET



AP Photo/Local Committee of Arbeen This citizen journalism image provided by the Local Committee of Arbeen which has been authenticated based on its contents and other AP reporting, shows a Syrian man helping a woman as she mourns over the dead bodies of children after an alleged poisonous gas attack fired by regime forces, according to activists in Arbeen town, Damascus, Syria, Wednesday, Aug. 21, 2013.

BEIRUT — The men, women and children lying undisturbed in their beds had looked so peaceful they might have been just sleeping, Abu Nidal thought, as he and other rescuers dragged their bodies into the street.

His was one of many accounts of a massive assault on the eastern suburbs of Damascus that activists say killed more than 500 people on Wednesday morning. They say some of the bombs were loaded with chemical agent, which would make it the worst chemical attack since Syria's two-year conflict began.

"We would go into a house and everything was in its place, every person was in their place. They were lying where they had been. They looked like they were asleep. But they were dead," he told Reuters by Skype from the suburb of Erbin.

Some first responders found it surprising that either President Bashar al-Assad's forces or the rebels trying to topple him would carry out such an attack just days after a United Nations team arrived in the capital to inspect previous reports of chemical weapons use.

The U.N. investigators are staying in a hotel just a few kilometres away.

It has been difficult to confirm previous reports of chemical attacks or determine responsibility, with no experts able to examine the scene.

When shelling hit her town of Mouadamiya, southwest of the capital, Farah al-Shami ignored the rumours on Facebook that rockets were loaded with chemical agents. She thought her district was too close to a military encampment to be affected.

"And at the same time the U.N. was here. It seemed impossible. But then I started to feel dizzy. I was choking and my eyes were burning," the 23-year-old said, speaking by Skype.

"I rushed to the field clinic nearby. Luckily no one in my family was hurt, but I saw entire families on the floor."

Reuters was unable to verify witness accounts. Doctors interviewed in the area describe symptoms they believe point to sarin gas, one of the agents Western powers accuse Damascus of having in an undeclared chemical weapons stockpile.

The government denies having such weapons and says that if it did possess them, it would not use them against other Syrians. It repeated those statements again on Wednesday, calling the reports of the gas attack "fabrications".

Videos uploaded from the suburbs of the rebel stronghold outside the capital, known as Eastern Ghouta, show similar scenes of small children convulsing on the floor, foaming at the nose and mouth. Some show rows of men, women and children – pale but with no signs of injury – laid out for burial.

Abu Nidal said the alleged chemical strike took some of the first responders by surprise, too, when the first round of rockets hit between 2:20 and 2:40 a.m.

"We saw men collapsed on staircases and in doorways. It looks like they were trying to go in and help and then were affected themselves. Some of them were dead," he said.

Within half an hour after the attack on Erbin, however, residents had passed on reports of apparent gas attacks nearby.

“Some of them passed the information on the loudspeakers from mosque minarets, saying towns like Ain Tarma and others were claiming chemical strikes.”

Medics went house to house, he said, breaking down doors to check even homes that were not hit by the shelling to ensure there were no victims of the gas attack.

Majid Abu Ali, a doctor treating patients in the eastern suburb of Douma, said at least half of the people he treated were women and children who arrived in his clinic around 3 a.m.

“The injuries correspond with sarin gas,” he said in an interview on Skype. “Difficulty breathing, heavy breathing, inability to breathe to the point of suffocation. Slowing of the heart reaching cardiac arrest, constricted pupils, perspiration, convulsions and loss of consciousness to the point of death.”

By the time the rockets hit near Abu Omar, a doctor in Mouadamiya, he and his medics immediately prepared themselves with masks and plastic gloves.

But unlike previous attacks that left only a few dozen hurt or killed, he was taken aback by the numbers. Like many doctors, he said he treated hundreds on Wednesday. Of 120 he reported dead from the shelling, he said 50 were killed by gas.

“We didn’t know what to do with them all so I started sending some of the injured to wait in the streets,” he said, speaking from his clinic by Skype, his voice intermittently drowned out by the sound of artillery still pummeling the area.

Activists said the army had launched a fierce offensive, with repeated air and artillery strikes that have not let up since Tuesday night.

“I’ve had dozens of the rescuers hurt today, and nine killed. At first they were being affected by the gas,” Dr. Abu Omar said. “But now they’re dying in the regular shelling. The bombs just won’t stop.”

Appendix D: 177 news texts from *The Guardian*

News texts published in 2011 (n=27)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
1	March 23	Syria: Four killed in Deraa as protests spread across south	Katherine Marsh
2	March 24	Shots fired as Syrians defy crackdown to march at funerals of slain protesters	Associated Press
3	April 3	Syrian mourners say government snipers carried out massacre	Katherine Marsh
4	April 9	Syria's biggest day of unrest yet sees at least 20 people killed	Katherine Marsh
5	April 10	Syria death toll rises as threats of force become more explicit	Katherine Marsh
6	May 17	Syrian mass grave found near Deraa, residents say	Nidaa Hassan
7	May 31	Teenage victim becomes a symbol for Syria's revolution	Shiv Malik, Ian Black and Nidaa Hassan
8	June 3	Syrian forces kill at least 34 protesters at anti-government protest	The Guardian
9	June 9	Syrian refugees in Turkey: 'People see the regime is lying. It is falling apart'	Martin Chulov
10	June 11	Syrian army enters besieged town as protests leave at least 20 dead	Martin Chulov and Julian Borger
11	July 6	Hama is beacon of resistance 30 years on from massacre	Martin Chulov and Nidaa Hassan
12	July 27	Syrian regime launches deadly Damascus raids on suspected protesters	Nour Ali
13	July 31	Syrian tanks kill protesters in Hama	Nour Ali
14	August 1	Syrian protesters demand action to halt killings by Bashar al-Assad regime	Ian Black and Peter Walker
15	August 4	Syrian protesters reject Assad gesture amid fresh bloodshed	Ian Black and Nour Ali
16	August 5	Syrians take to streets over Hama massacre as outrage grows	Mark Tran and Paul Owen
17	August 16	Syria ignores protests over siege of Latakia	Nour Ali and Martin Chulov
18	August 30	Syria crackdown horror catalogued	Nour Ali

		in Amnesty deaths in detention report	
19	September 2	Syrian exiles tell of life under Assad: 'They shoot us as if they're hunting'	Foreign staff in Cairo
20	September 9	Syrian soldiers executed for refusing to target activists	Paul Owen and agencies
21	September 18	Syrian boy, 11, shot dead as protest breaks out on first day of term	Nour Ali
22	October 5	Syria attacks 'media fabrications' by showing 'beheaded' woman alive on TV	Ian Black and Matthew Weaver
23	October 17	Syrian troops and militias 'abducting injured dissidents' from hospitals	Martin Chulov
24	October 25	Wounded Syrian protesters being tortured in hospital, claims Amnesty	Luke Harding
25	November 6	Syrian crackdown leaves at least 11 dead, opposition claims	Associated Press in Beirut
26	December 23	Syria blames al-Qaida after two car bombs kill dozens in Damascus	Martin Chulov and Matthew Weaver
27	December 29	Syria: human rights groups challenge leadership of Arab League mission	Julian Borger

News texts published in 2012 (n=75)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
28	February 4	Syria: more than 200 dead after 'massacre' in Homs	Ben Quinn and agencies
29	February 4	Syria: '300 killed' as regime launches huge attack on besieged city of Homs	Martin Chulov, and Paul Harris
30	February 5	Assad forces continue deadly assault on Homs	Martin Chulov
31	February 6	Syrian forces 'kill at least 50' in Homs bombardment	James Meikle and agencies
32	February 6	Syria: 'You cannot imagine how brutal it has been here'	Martin Chulov
33	February 7	Syrian siege of Homs is genocidal, say trapped residents	Luke Harding, Mona Mahmood and Matthew Weaver
34	February 8	The siege of Homs: scores	Luke Harding, Mona

		killed in fifth day of shelling	Mahmood, Matthew Weaver and James Meikle
35	February 8	Inside Homs: 'We are seriously dying here. It is really war'	Luke Harding, Mona Mahmood and Matthew Weaver
36	February 9	Syria uprising is now a battle to the death	Martin Chulov
37	February 11	Homs from the frontline: never-ending shelling and a child buried in the night	Paul Wood
38	February 12	Syria: 'the regime put in our lives a system of killing people'	Martin Chulov
39	February 20	Homs, city of torture	Jonathan Littell
40	February 22	Syrian regime's bombardment of Homs goes on with at least 80 more dead	Martin Chulov
41	February 25	'We've been buried alive': inside Homs' only bomb shelter	Javier Espinosa
42	March 5	Syrians fleeing to Lebanon 'feared slaughter' in Assad backlash	Associated Press in Lebanon
43	March 8	Homs devastation shocks UN humanitarian chief	Peter Beaumont
44	March 17	Syria: car bombs kill at least 27 in Damascus	Peter Beaumont and agencies
45	March 22	Dozens reported killed in Syria as troops shell opposition areas	Associated Press
46	March 31	Syria claims revolt is over, but bloodshed continues	Damien Pearse and agencies
47	April 2	Syrian refugees: In their own words	Constanze Letsch and Phoebe Greenwood
48	April 8	Syrian troops launch fresh assaults before ceasefire deadline	Agencies
49	April 10	Syrian rebels run low on food and hope	Mona Mahmood and Peter Walker
50	April 13	Syrian activist: 'They are just slowing the number of people they kill'	Haroon Siddique
51	May 4	Inside Syria's crackdown: 'I found my boys burning in the street'	Donatella Rovera
52	May 4	Syrian forces executing and burning residents of Idlib, Amnesty says	Martin Chulov
53	May 5	Five dead in Syria blast,	Staff and agencies

		opposition activists claim	
54	May 10	Damascus hit by deadly explosions	Haroon Siddique, Matthew Weaver and agencies
55	May 19	Syria car bomb kills nine and injures hundreds	Agencies
56	May 22	Syria massacre survivor tells of killing of army defectors at Jebel al-Zawiya	Martin Chulov
57	May 26	Syria shelling 'kills at least 90'	Damien Pearse, Conal Urquhart and agencies
58	May 28	Houla massacre survivor tells how his family were slaughtered	Martin Chulov and Hala Kilani
59	June 1	The Houla massacre: reconstructing the events of 25 May	Martin Chulov, Mona Mahmood and Hala Kilani
60	June 2	I saw massacre of children, says defecting Syrian air force officer	Martin Chulov
61	June 7	Syria accused of massacring 100	Ian Black
62	June 7	Syrian regime troops and militiamen 'seen walking towards massacre site'	Martin Chulov
63	June 8	Assad regime has lost humanity – UN	Martin Chulov
64	June 8	Syria: Defiance of village where army killed 39 from a single family	Javier Espinosa
65	June 9	Syria clashes kill at least 17 in Deraa, reports say	Conal Urquhart and agencies
66	June 16	Syrian shelling kills Damascus residents	Jo Adetunji and agencies
67	June 17	Syria intensifies shelling, killing at least 50 people and wounding hundreds	Associated Press in Beirut
68	June 29	Syria's widows: Hungry and homeless, but undefeated	Tara Sutton
69	July 11	In northern Syria, people forced to scavenge for fuel and food	Martin Chulov
70	July 12	Syrian opposition activists: more than 200 dead in Hama village massacre	David Batty
71	July 13	Syria: at least 200 killed in Hama province massacre, say activists	Julian Borger

72	July 13	Clinton outraged as evidence emerges of brutal massacre by Assad regime	Julian Borger and Adam Gabbatt
73	July 15	Syria massacre: Assad's forces 'shot anything moving'	Martin Chulov, Hala Kilani and Lubna Naji
74	July 22	Syrian death toll tops 19,000, say activists	Staff and agencies
75	July 24	Inside Syria: rebels and regime trapped in cycle of destruction	Ghaith Abdul-Ahad
76	August 1	Syria regime responsible for crimes against humanity in Aleppo – Amnesty	Ian Black
77	August 1	Syrian army pounds Aleppo as video appears to show rebels' revenge killings	Ian Black, Martin Chulov, Lubna Naji and Mona Mahmood
78	August 2	Syrian refugee crisis: we can't feed our people, say advancing FSA rebels	Martin Chulov
79	August 10	Inside Aleppo: air strikes on war-torn city leave anguish on the ground	Martin Chulov
80	August 10	Fear follows the 'martyrs' on the roads to Damascus	Jonathan Steele
81	August 11	Anger, tears, and forgiveness as Syrian rebel and his prisoner share their fears	Martin Chulov
82	August 16	Syria: full scale of carnage becomes apparent in wake of Azaz bombardment	Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, Martin Chulov and Mona Mahmood
83	August 20	Syrian shelling and torture claims mar Eid	Haroon Siddique and Mona Mahmood
84	August 26	Syrian regime accused of massacre of 200 civilians in Daraya	Julian Borger
85	August 27	Syrian regime accused of killing hundreds in Daraya massacre	Julian Borger
86	August 28	Syria's worst massacre: Daraya death toll reaches 400	Mona Mahmood, Luke Harding and agencies
87	September 3	Syrians at refugee camp struggle with choking sand and wretched conditions	Harriet Sherwood
88	September 4	Record number of people fleeing Syria, UN reports	Brian Whitaker
89	September 7	Syria crisis: Daraya massacre leaves a ghost town still	Janine di Giovanni

		counting its dead	
90	September 25	Syria civil war: 'We expend the one thing we have, men. Men are dying'	Ghaith Abdul-Ahad
91	September 25	Tortured, traumatised, scarred: the children caught up in Syria's war	Harriet Sherwood
92	September 25	Syria's civil war: how saying the wrong thing can get you tortured	Ghaith Abdul-Ahad
93	October 3	Syria 'suicide bombers' kill 34 and injure 120 in Aleppo	Associated Press
94	October 18	Up to 28,000 Syrians have 'disappeared' since uprising began	Luke Harding
95	October 24	Syria's black market in housing adds to the nation's turmoil	Hassan Hassan
96	November 3	Execution of Assad troops widens split among rebel fighter factions in Syria	Martin Chulov
97	November 11	Syrian exile: 'My mother is dead. And it was my father who killed her'	Martin Chulov
98	November 26	Suspected cluster bomb attack by regime condemned by rights groups	Martin Chulov
99	December 13	Syrian humanitarian disaster looms as internal refugees face bread shortages	Luke Harding
100	December 17	War is raging in Aleppo but in a classroom 40km away, there are grounds for hope	Luke Harding
101	December 18	Palestinians flee to Lebanon after jet bombs Syria's largest refugee camp	Martin Chulov
102	December 27	Syria's health system crumbles while UN humanitarian appeal runs dry	IRIN, part of the Guardian development network

News texts published in 2013 (n=58)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
103	January 2	60,000 killed in Syrian war, says UN	Peter Beaumont and agencies
104	January 27	Even in Assad's coastal retreat, the war has come and the bombs are dropping	Martin Chulov
105	January 29	Syrian rebels recover scores of bodies from Aleppo river as floodwaters recede	Martin Chulov and Mona Mahmood
106	February 7	Life in a Syrian refugee camp: 'You have to walk over an hour to get bread'	Nicole Itano of Save the Children
107	February 10	Homs' displaced residents begin to return after year of sustained bombing	Jonathan Steele
108	February 19	Syria in ruins: civilians suffer as military stalemate drags on	Jonathan Steele
109	February 26	Syrian missile strikes killed at least 141 people in Aleppo, says rights group	Associated Press in Beirut
110	March 5	Syrian jets bomb northern city overrun by rebels	Associated Press
111	March 13	Syrian war has caused 'collapse in childhood', Save the Children warns	Luke Harding
112	April 30	Syrian refugees flee to relative safety of Gaza	Harriet Sherwood
113	May 4	Syria: massacres of Sunni families reported in Assad's heartland	Peter Beaumont
114	May 4	Syrians flee after second 'massacre'	Staff and agencies
115	June 20	Syrian refugee children left to die at roadside, charity told	Mark Tran
116	July 24	Syrian refugee crisis escalates as 25% of country driven out of homes	Mark Rice-Oxley, Constanze Letsch, Mona Mahmood and Martin Chulov
117	July 25	Syrian refugees serve up flavours of home in Cairo satellite city	Patrick kingsley and Mowaffaq Safadi
118	July 25	Syria's refugees: Mahmoud Saber 'Fighting broke out between the soldiers and the rebels. We were stuck between them and the children were so frightened'	Mona Mahmood
119	July 25	Rape and domestic violence follow	Phoebe Greenwood

		Syrian women into refugee camps	
120	July 25	Syrians fleeing civil war find refuge in Germany – but yearn to return home	Louise Osborne
121	July 25	Syrian refugees suffer backlash in Egypt after Mohamed Morsi's removal	Patrick Kingsley and Mowaffaq Safadi
122	July 25	Syrian refugees find little to cheer in Greece	Helena Smith
123	July 25	Zaatari camp: makeshift city in the desert that may be here to stay	Martin Chulov
124	July 25	Syrian refugee crisis raises tensions in Turkish border towns	Constanze Letsch
125	July 25	Syria's refugees: Dima Jamal 'The revolution has divided Syrian people in two: pro- and anti-rebel'	Mona Mahmood
126	July 25	Syria's refugees: Hussan Bakar 'Our house was shelled many times and death was so close'	Mona Mahmood
127	July 25	Syria's refugees: Abu Anass 'Every day I would be taken to an interrogator and the beating would start with cables'	Mona Mahmood
128	July 25	Syria's refugees: Um Muhammad 'Soldiers shot my husband at the front door. When my son came to find out what was going on, he was killed too'	Mona Mahmood
129	July 25	Syria's refugees: Hamza 'I was wounded fighting in Syria. I am here to rest'	Constanze Letsch
130	July 25	Syria's refugees: Basil Yousif 'Syria today is like a piece of meat in the hands of many butchers who are mincing it with sharp knives'	Mona Mahmood
131	July 25	Syria's refugees: Munaf Obeidi 'My wife and children decided to go back to Syria'	Mona Mahmood
132	July 25	Syria's refugees: Um Hamza 'I prefer to die in my country rather than fleeing to a refugee camp'	Mona Mahmood
133	July 25	Syria's refugees: Iman Hassan 'We want to see an end to all this killing and chaos'	Mona Mahmood
134	July 25	Syria's refugees: Murhaf 'Many Turks started to attack Syrians after the bombs went off. But now I	Constanze Letsch

		get along very well with all of my Turkish neighbours'	
135	July 25	Syria's refugees: Sena 'What mother could sleep easy when her sons are fighting a war?'	Constanze Letsch
136	July 25	Syria refugee crisis: 'We should be accepted because we are humans'	Undefined
137	August 14	Syria: life in the rebel strongholds	Robin Yassin-kassab
138	August 17	Syrian gunmen shoot dead 11 people	Agencies
139	August 22	Syria conflict: chemical weapons blamed as hundreds reported killed	Martin Chulov, Mona Mahmood, Ian Sample
140	August 22	Syrian eyewitness accounts of alleged chemical weapons attack in Damascus	Mona Mahmood and Martin Chulov
141	August 23	Syria records its millionth child refugee	Mark Tran
142	August 23	Syrian victims of alleged gas attack smuggled to Jordan for blood tests	Martin Chulov and Mona Mahmood
143	August 24	Syrian hospitals treated thousands for poison gas symptoms, says charity	Staff and agencies
144	August 29	Syrian rebels plan wave of attacks during western strikes	Mona Mahmood and Robert Booth
145	August 30	Syria: 'napalm' bomb dropped on school playground, BBC claims	Press Association
146	September 1	Syrian refugee: 'Obama lied to us'	Peter Beaumont
147	September 24	Syria crisis: starving children forced to survive on fruit, leaves and nuts	Mark Tran
148	September 26	Syria crisis: the volunteers caught in the cruelty and crossfire	Jonathan Steele
149	October 2	Syria: massacre reports emerge from Assad's Alawite heartland	Jonathan Steele
150	October 8	Syria's Martyrs' Wall reveals 'unknown truth' of bloody civil war	Jonathan Steele
151	October 19	Syria: dozens killed in clashes after suicide attack in Damascus	Staff and agencies
152	November 1	Syrian crisis fuelling public health emergency, doctors warn	Constanze Letsch
153	November 6	Deadly bomb blast hits Syrian capital	Associated Press in Damascus
154	November 28	Syrian women share their stories in new version of ancient anti-war play	Mark Tran
155	November 29	Syrian refugee children face 'catastrophic' life in exile, UN says	Harriet Grant and Lee Harper
156	December 2	Syrian refugees put strain on Jordan schools amid fears for 'lost generation'	Mark Tran

157	December 3	Football becomes mother to Syria's traumatised child refugees	The Guardian
158	December 12	Syrian refugees facing extreme hardship as blizzards hit region	Harriet Sherwood
159	December 22	My first year as a refugee from Syria 'I was devastated by the impact of suddenly, in the blink of an eye, losing everything' – mother-of-four Um Fouad on her family's new life at the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan	Paula Coccozza
160	December 27	Syria's gas attack: 'The children's faces have not left me. I'm not the same man'	Mona Mahmood

News texts published in 2014 (n=17)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
161	January 1	Syria: deadly attack on Aleppo bus	Associated Press in Beirut
162	January 12	Syrian refugees no longer know who is fighting let alone who is winning	Martin Chulov
163	January 14	A Syrian-Palestinian refugee in Egypt: 'If I go back to Syria I will die'	Patrick Kingsley
164	January 14	Syria conflict: dozens die of starvation in besieged Damascus refugee camp	Associated Press in Beirut
165	January 21	Syrian refugees on Geneva II: 'I have learnt that politics has no principles'	Mona Mahmood and Constanze Letsch
166	January 21	Systematic killing evidence in Syria just tip of iceberg - aid agencies	Martin Chulov
167	January 23	Children on the Frontline: Syria – TV review	Lucy Mangan
168	January 24	Syrian women in Jordan at risk of sexual exploitation at refugee camps	Lee Harper
169	January 27	Syria peace talks: impasse thwarts hopes of humanitarian relief for Homs	Ian Black, Mona Mahmood and Martin Chulov
170	February 5	Syrians hurt in conflict cross the border to be given new	John Beck

		limbs	
171	February 9	Inside the hellhole of Yarmouk, the refugee camp that shames the world	Christopher Guinness
172	February 14	Car bomb kills dozens outside mosque in southern Syria	Associated Press in Beirut
173	February 16	Haunted survivors of Homs emerge from hiding as fragile truce holds	Lyse Doucet
174	February 17	'I saw terrible things in Syria, but the first time I cried was in Lewes prison'	Diane Taylor
175	February 18	'There's no hope left': the Syrian refugee camp that is becoming a township	Robin Yassin-Kassab
176	February 20	Female refugees from Syria 'blighted by gynaecological illness and stress'	Sarah Boseley
177	February 22	Syrian child refugees find light relief skiing in Kurdish mountains of Iraq	Jewan Abdi for IPS, part of the Guardian development network

Appendix E: 149 news texts from *The New York Times*

News texts published in 2011 (n=28)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
1	March 18	In Syria, Crackdown After Protests	THE NEW YORK TIMES
2	March 23	Six Protesters Killed in Syria	THE NEW YORK TIMES
3	March 23	Protesters Are Killed in Syrian Crackdown	THE NEW YORK TIMES
4	March 24	Thousands March to Protest Syria Killings	THE NEW YORK TIMES
5	March 25	Thousands in Syria Protest Deaths in Crackdown; Leader Offers Concessions	THE NEW YORK TIMES, Scott Shane and Thom Shanker
6	March 26	Tension and Grief in Syria After Protests and Deadly Reprisals	MICHAEL SLACKMAN and LIAM STACK
7	March 26	WITH THOUSANDS IN STREETS, SYRIA KILLS PROTESTERS	MICHAEL SLACKMAN; Nadim Audi and Robert F. Worth
8	March 27	In Syria, Tension and Grief After Protests and Government Retaliation	MICHAEL SLACKMAN and LIAM STACK
9	April 4	Tense Calm Prevails in Syria as Latest Crackdown Victims Are Buried	NEIL MacFARQUHAR; Liam Stack
10	April 6	Dissidents From Syria Seek Haven in Lebanon	JOSH WOOD
11	April 8	Syrian Protests Are Said to Be Largest and Bloodiest to Date	LIAM STACK and KATHERINE ZOEPF
12	April 10	Four Killed as Syria Cuts Off City	THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
13	April 18	Security Forces Fire on Protesters in Restive Syrian City	LIAM STACK and KATHERINE ZOEPF
14	April 22	Security Forces Kill Dozens in Uprisings Around Syria	ANTHONY SHADID and Hwaida Saad
15	April 24	More Syrians Are Missing, Hinting at a Wider Crackdown	ANTHONY SHADID
16	April 29	Syrian Forces Shoot at Protesters in Dara'a Siege	ANTHONY SHADID

17	May 2	In Syria, Reports of Arrests Proliferate	ANTHONY SHADID
18	June 3	Mourning a Boy, Crowds in Syria Defy Crackdown	LIAM STACK, KATHERINE ZOEPF and Hwaida Saad
19	June 25	Forces Make Arrests Across Syria; 5 Dead	LIAM STACK
20	August 5	Broadcasting Hama Ruins, Syria Says It Has Ended Revolt	NADA BAKRI, ANTHONY SHADID, Nada Bakri and Hwaida Saad
21	August 7	Syrian Military Mounts Assault on Another City	ANTHONY SHADID and Hwaida Saad
22	August 12	Security Forces Kill at Least 15 People in Cities Around Syria	NADA BAKRI, Hwaida Saad and Anthony Shadid
23	September 16	Syria's Protesters, Long Mostly Peaceful, Starting to Resort to Violence	ANTHONY SHADID
24	September 30	Clashes Continue as Thousands Protest in Syria	NADA BAKRI
25	November 4	At Least 15 Are Killed, Activists Say, as Syria's Stance on Talks Is Tested	ANTHONY SHADID and Hwaida Saad
26	December 3	25 Reported Dead in Syria as Violent Clashes Continue	NADA BAKRI
27	December 7	Syria, Under Siege Inside and Out, Does Not Budge	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and Hwaida Saad
28	December 23	Syria Blames Al Qaeda After Bombs Kill Dozens in Damascus	KAREEM FAHIM and Hwaida Saad

News texts published in 2012 (n=28)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
29	January 3	Syria Killings Continue; Group to Add Observers	KAREEM FAHIM
30	January 5	Hundreds Tortured in Syria, Human Rights Group Says	KAREEM FAHIM
31	February 14	Syria Resumes Heavy Shelling of Homs	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and Hwaida Saad
32	February 24	U.N. Panel Accuses Syrian Government of Crimes Against Humanity	ALAN COWELL, STEVEN LEE MYERS and Hwaida Saad
33	March 12	Massacre Is Reported in Homs, Raising Pressure for	ANNE BARNARD, Hala Droubi, Hwaida Saad and

		Intervention in Syria	Kareem Fahim
34	May 26	Dozens of Children Die in Brutal Attack on Syrian Town	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and HWAIDA SAAD
35	May 27	U.N. Security Council Issues Condemnation of Syria Attack	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and Hwaida Saad
36	June 10	17 Are Killed In Clashes In Syria	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and Ellen Barry
37	June 29	Syrian Groups Say Violent Day Left High Civilian Toll	ROD NORDLAND, RICK GLADSTONE and Hwaida Saad
38	July 12	Massacre Reported in Syria as Security Council Meets	RICK GLADSTONE, NEIL MacFARQUHAR, Dalal Mawad and Hwaida Saad
39	July 20	Syrians Fleeing Capital Leave Bodies and Bombs Behind	NEIL MacFARQUHAR
40	July 25	Jordan Worries Turmoil Will Follow as Syria's Refugees Flood In	KAREEM FAHIM
41	July 29	Syrian Refugees Are Stung by a Hostile Reception in Iraq	DURaid ADNAN and ROD NORDLAND
42	August 3	Deadly Attack on Refugee Camp in Syria Could Shift Palestinian Allegiances to Rebels	DAMIEN CAVE, DALAL MAWAD and Hwaida Saad
43	August 24	Torrent of Syrian Refugees Strains Aid Effort and Region	RICK GLADSTONE and DAMIEN CAVE
44	August 28	Syrian Refugees Flood Into Jordan and Turkey in a Sharp Rise	KAREEM FAHIM and Hwaida Saad
45	September 3	Syrian Children Offer Glimpse of a Future of Reprisals	DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK and Ranya Kadri
46	September 20	Syrian Planes Said to Strike Gas Station	KAREEM FAHIM, Hania Mourtada and Hwaida Saad
47	October 18	Seized by Rebels, Town Is Crushed by Syrian Forces	ANNE BARNARD, HWAIDA SAAD and Hania Mourtada
48	October 23	Massacre at Syrian Bakery Dims Hopes for a Holiday Truce	RICK GLADSTONE and Hania Mourtada
49	October 26	Syrian Protesters Emerge	NEIL MacFARQUHAR,

		Amid Clashes and Bombing During a Holiday Cease-Fire	HANIA MOURTADA and Hwaida Saad
50	November 5	Dozens Are Killed in a Fierce Outburst of Syrian Violence	NEIL MacFARQUHAR, Hania Mourtada and Hala Droubi
51	November 9	In One Day, 11,000 Flee Syria as War and Hardship Worsen	RICK GLADSTONE, NEIL MacFARQUHAR and Hania Mourtada
52	November 24	Cold Ravages Syria Refugees as Aid Falters	NEIL MacFARQUHAR, Hwaida Saad and Hania Mourtada
53	November 28	As Opposition Coalition Meets in Cairo, More Violence Kills Dozens in Syria	CHRISTINE HAUSER, HALA DROUBI and Hania Mourtada
54	December 4	Amid Syrian Violence, School Is Hit and U.N. Says Food Shortages Worsen	ANNE BARNARD and Hania Mourtada
55	December 20	Syria Unleashes Cluster Bombs on Town, Punishing Civilians	C. J. CHIVERS
56	December 23	Syrian Airstrike Is Said to Kill Dozens in a Bread Line	KAREEM FAHIM, HWAIDA SAAD and Hala Droubi

News texts published in 2013 (n=74)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
57	January 8	Aid Groups for Syrians See Needs Growing More Dire	RICK GLADSTONE, NICK CUMMING-BRUCE, Hwaida Saad and Rania Kadri
58	January 14	Dozens of Civilians Are Said to Be Killed by Syrian Airstrikes	ANNE BARNARD and Hania Mourtada
59	January 15	Dozens Killed as Explosions Hit Syrian University	HWAIDA SAAD, RICK GLADSTONE and Hania Mourtada
60	January 29	Adversaries in Syria Trade Blame for Scores of Killings in Aleppo	HANIA MOURTADA, ALAN COWELL, Hwaida Saad and Hala Droubi
61	February 8	A Faceless Teenage Refugee Who Helped Ignite Syria's War	KAREEM FAHIM, HWAIDA SAAD and Ranya Kadri
62	February 23	Swollen With Syrian Refugees, Lebanon Feels Its	ANNE BARNARD, Hwaida Saad and Hania Mourtada

		Stitching Fray	
63	March 14	In Syrian Clash Over 'Death Highway,' a Bitterly Personal War	C. J. CHIVERS
64	March 23	Jammed in Roman Caves, Ducking Syria's War	C. J. CHIVERS
65	March 23	In Syria's Civil War, Doctors Find Themselves in Cross Hairs	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and HALA DROUBI
66	April 8	Wider Use of Car Bombs Angers Both Sides in Syrian Conflict	ANNE BARNARD, Hala Droubi and Hwaida Saad
67	April 9	A Very Busy Man Behind the Syrian Civil War's Casualty Count	NEIL MacFARQUHAR and Hala Droubi
68	April 11	Military in Syria Is Accused of Massacre	RICK GLADSTONE, ALAN COWELL and Hwaida Saad
69	April 21	Slaughter Reported Near Damascus	HANIA MOURTADA, HALA DROUBI and Hwaida Saad
70	April 26	Syrians Report Broad Fighting and Suspicious Airstrike	HWAIDA SAAD and RICK GLADSTONE
71	May 8	A Lost Generation: Young Syrian Refugees Struggle to Survive	JODI RUDOREN and Ranya Kadri
72	May 14	An Atrocity in Syria, With No Victim Too Small	ANNE BARNARD, HANIA MOURTADA and Hwaida Saad
73	May 16	Syria Begins to Break Apart Under Pressure From War	BEN HUBBARD and Hwaida Saad
74	May 29	Palestinian Refugees Flee Syria to Find Poor Conditions in Lebanese Camps	JOSH WOOD
75	June 3	Rushing to Aid in Syrian War, but Claiming No Side	ANNE BARNARD
76	June 5	In Besieged Area of Syria, Bitterness of Sunnis Points to Rending of Sects	ANNE BARNARD, Hwaida Saad and Hania Mourtada
77	June 6	As Syrians Flee Conflict, Their Way of Life Follows	RANA F. SWEIS
78	June 10	Still More Questions Than Answers on Nerve Gas in Syria	KAREEM FAHIM and Karam Shoumali
79	June 10	Syrian Teenager's Public Death Reveals Growing	KAREEM FAHIM, HANIA MOURTADA and Karam

		Anger as Civil War Continues	Shoumali
80	June 11	Suicide Bombers Attack in Central Damascus	KAREEM FAHIM and HWAIDA SAAD
81	June 12	Dozens of Shiites Reported Killed in Raid by Syria Rebels	HANIA MOURTADA, ANNE BARNARD and Hwaida Saad
82	June 17	Large Truck Bomb Reported to Kill 60 Syrian Troops	RICK GLADSTONE, Hwaida Saad and Faris Akram
83	June 26	War Deaths in Syria Said to Top 100,000	ALAN COWELL
84	June 27	Christian Quarter of Old City in Damascus Hit by Attacks	HWAIDA SAAD and RICK GLADSTONE
85	June 29	Syria Attacks Rebel-Held Area in New Push to Retake City	ANNE BARNARD and Hala Droubi
86	July 5	State of Siege in Syrian City Is Blocking Humanitarian Aid, Health Officials Say	HANIA MOURTADA, NICK CUMMING-BRUCE and Hwaida Saad
87	July 6	Activist Who Documented Syrian War's Toll Became Its Victim	ANNE BARNARD, HWAIDA SAAD and HANIA MOURTADA
88	July 10	Tightening Siege by Syrian Rebels Stirs Anger	HANIA MOURTADA and HWAIDA SAAD
89	July 13	A Two-Doctor Family's Prosperity and Routine Are Shaken by War	THE NEW YORK TIMES
90	July 16	Ruins in a Center of Syria's Uprising	ANNE BARNARD, Hwaida Saad and Hania Mourtada
91	July 18	Touring Refugee Camp, Kerry Sees Mounting Syrian Suffering	MICHAEL R. GORDON
92	July 18	A School for Syrian Refugees, 'Shouting for Help'	MAC WILLIAM BISHOP
93	July 22	Across Syria, Violent Day of Attacks and Ambush	BEN HUBBARD and HWAIDA SAAD
94	July 26	Soldiers' Mass Execution Reported by Syria Group	HANIA MOURTADA, RICK GLADSTONE and Hwaida Saad
95	August 1	Sour on Syrian Refugees	SARAH BIRKE
96	August 5	Across Forbidden Border, Doctors in Israel Quietly Tend to Syria's Wounded	ISABEL KERSHNER
97	August 7	Syrian Army Kills Scores of Rebels in Ambush	HWAIDA SAAD and ALAN COWELL

98	August 21	Images of Death in Syria, but No Proof of Chemical Attack	BEN HUBBARD and HWAIDA SAAD
99	August 23	Syrian Kurds Find More Than a Refuge in Northern Iraq	TIM ARANGO and Yasir Ghazi
100	August 24	Accounts of Syrian Prisons Describe a Volatile Mix of Chaos and Control	ANNE BARNARD and HWAIDA SAAD
101	August 26	Blasts in the Night, a Smell, and a Flood of Syrian Victims	BEN HUBBARD, MARK MAZZETTI, MARK LANDLER and Hwaida Saad
102	September 5	Brutality of Syrian Rebels Posing Dilemma in West	C. J. CHIVERS and Karam Shoumali
103	September 6	Crossing Deadly Landscapes, Syrians Reach Havens in Lebanon	ANNE BARNARD and Hwaida Saad
104	September 7	In Egypt, a Welcome for Syrian Refugees Turns Bitter	SARAH MOUSA and KAREEM FAHIM
105	September 8	On Both Sides, Syrians Make Pleas to U.S.	ANNE BARNARD
106	September 10	Assault on Christian Town in Syria Adds to Fears Over Rebels	ANNE BARNARD and HWAIDA SAAD
107	September 21	A Nun Lends a Voice of Skepticism on the Use of Poison Gas by Syria	BEN HUBBARD
108	September 22	Rebels View Coalition Leadership Outside Syria as Detached From the Suffering	KAREEM FAHIM and Karam Shoumali
109	October 3	Fighting Between Rebels Intensifies Over a Strategic Town in Syria	BEN HUBBARD and Karam Shoumali
110	October 5	As Syrian Refugees Develop Roots, Jordan Grows Wary	NORIMITSU ONISHI
111	October 6	Jordan's Schools Buckle Under Weight of Syrian Refugees	RANA F. SWEIS
112	October 11	Syrian Civilians Bore Brunt of Rebels' Fury, Report Says	ANNE BARNARD and Hwaida Saad
113	October 13	In Rare Cease-Fire, Hundreds Evacuate Rebel-Held Syrian Town	ANNE BARNARD
114	October 16	Effort to Evacuate Syrian Civilians Is Thwarted by Shelling	Anne Barnard, Mohammad Ghannam and Hwaida Saad
115	October 16	Scattered by War, Syrian	NORIMITSU ONISHI

		Family Struggles to Start Over	
116	October 20	Bomber Tied to Al Qaeda Kills Dozens in Syrian City	BEN HUBBARD
117	October 24	Hardships Mounting for Refugees Inside Syria	ANNE BARNARD
118	November 2	Stick Figures and Stunted Growth as Warring Syria Goes Hungry	ANNE BARNARD and Mohammad Ghannam
119	November 16	New Syrian Refugees Descend on Lebanon	HWAIDA SAAD and ANNE BARNARD
120	November 21	As Syrian War Grinds On, a New Flock of Refugees Takes Flight	NORIMITSU ONISHI
121	November 23	Syria Seen as Most Dire Refugee Crisis in a Generation	NORIMITSU ONISHI
122	November 28	Disillusionment Grows Among Syrian Opposition as Fighting Drags On	ANNE BARNARD, MOHAMMAD GHANNAM and HWAIDA SAAD
123	December 13	For Syrian Refugees Short of Food and Clean Water, Snow Is an Added Challenge	ANNE BARNARD, MOHAMMAD GHANNAM and HWAIDA SAAD
124	December 16	Syria Activists Say Dozens Killed in Aleppo Air Assault	MOHAMMAD GHANNAM and RICK GLADSTONE
125	December 21	For Most Young Refugees From Syria, School Is as Distant as Home	NORIMITSU ONISHI
126	December 22	Dozens Are Killed in Syrian Violence, Even Amid Preparations for Peace Talks	ANNE BARNARD and MOHAMMAD GHANNAM
127	December 26	No Aid Seen in Syrian Town Despite a Deal to Lift Barriers	ANNE BARNARD and MOHAMMAD GHANNAM
128	December 28	Deadly Syrian Bomb Strikes Crowded Aleppo Market	ANNE BARNARD and MOHAMMAD GHANNAM
129	December 30	Beyond Camps, Aiding Syrians Is Even Harder	NORIMITSU ONISHI
130	December 31	Shelling of Bus in Northern Syria Caps a Merciless Year	ANNE BARNARD and HWAIDA SAAD

News texts published in 2014 (n=19)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
131	January 3	Fleeing the Bombs in Aleppo, Syria, and Ending Up in New Jersey	KIRK SEMPLE and Ali Adeeb
132	January 3	Qaeda-Linked Insurgents Clash With Other Rebels in Syria, as Schism Grows	HWAIDA SAAD, RICK GLADSTONE, Mohammad Ghannam and Karam Shoumali
133	January 6	Rebel Infighting Spreads to an Eastern Syrian City	ANNE BARNARD, RICK GLADSTONE, Hwaida Saad, Mohammad Ghannam and Karam Shoumali
134	January 27	At Neutral Site, Syrians Feel Free to Confront the Other Side	ANNE BARNARD, HWAIDA SAAD and Hala Droubi
135	January 27	Syria Talks Fail to Yield Pact to Lift Aid Blockade	ANNE BARNARD, Hwaida Saad, Hala Droubi and Mohammad Ghannam
136	January 29	Despite Decades of Enmity, Israel Quietly Aids Syrian Civilians	ISABEL KERSHNER
137	January 30	Human Rights Watch Shares Images of Razed Neighborhoods in Syria	HRISTINE HAUSER
138	February 1	Syrian Helicopters Drop Barrel Bombs on Aleppo	THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
139	February 2	Syria Hits Areas Held by Rebels in Aleppo	BEN HUBBARD
140	February 4	U.N. Report Details Abuse of Children in Syrian War	SOMINI SENGUPTA
141	February 6	Syrian City to Receive Aid, Officials Say	MICHAEL R. GORDON and SOMINI SENGUPTA
142	February 7	Syria Says It Will Stay in Peace Talks as Homs Evacuation Begins	BEN HUBBARD, RICK GLADSTONE, Hwaida Saad and Mohammad Ghannam
143	February 9	Break in Siege Is Little Relief to Syrian City	BEN HUBBARD
144	February 13	How to Build a Perfect Refugee Camp	MAC McCLELLAND
145	February 13	Videos of Besieged Areas in Syria Highlight Need for Aid Access	CHRISTINE HAUSER
146	February 17	Bombings in Syria Force Wave of Civilians to Flee	BEN HUBBARD and Karam Shoumali

147	February 22	Nearly 30 Die as Kurds Take a Syrian Town	REUTERS
148	February 22	U.N. Orders Both Sides in Syria to Allow Humanitarian Aid	SOMINI SENGUPTA
149	February 23	Jihadist Mediator Killed in Suicide Attack by Rival Extremists	BEN HUBBARD, Hwaida Saad and Karam Shoumali

Appendix F: 78 news texts from *National Post*

News texts published in 2011 (n=23)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
1	June 1	Dead Syrian boy emerges as powerful symbol for protesters	Reuters By Yara Bayoumy
2	June 3	Syrian forces kill 63 pro-democracy protesters, human rights group says	Reuters By Mariam Karouny
3	June 10	Helicopter gunships fire at Syria protest: witnesses	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
4	July 17	Activists claim 30 killed in Syrian clashes	AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
5	July 31	Syria moves to crush uprising in Hama; Dozens killed	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
6	August 3	Syrian tanks in main square to 'finish off' Hama: residents	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
7	August 5	Syrian protesters killed during Ramadan	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
8	August 10	Syrian forces kill 15 amid international calls for end to crackdown	AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by Khaled Yacoub Oweis
9	August 12	Syrian forces kill 13 amid mass protests	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
10	August 26	Assad loyalists kill three in Syria after Friday prayers	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
11	September 5	Red Cross given access to some of thousands detained in Syrian jail	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
12	September 16	Syrian forces kill 20 as anti-Assad protests continue	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
13	November 3	Syrian tanks kill at least five after regime agrees to Arab peace deal: activists	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis
14	November 10	Nearly 50 die over 48 hours in Syrian clashes	Reuters
15	November 25	Syria defies Arab League deadline as bloody crackdown continues	Reuters By Dominic Evans
16	December 7	Mystery death squads appear in Syria, kill more than 60 in Homs	Reuters By Douglas Hamilton and Erika Solomon
17	December 13	Syrian death toll climbs past	Reuters By Khaled

		5,000 as protests give way to insurgency	Yacoub Oweis
18	December 20	The Arab Awakening: How young boy's torture inspired Syria's revolution	PETER GOODSPEED
19	December 24	'Death to America': Funerals for Syrian bombing victims turn into pro-Assad rallies	Reuters By Mariam Karouny
20	December 26	Arab League monitors head to besieged Syrian city of Homs as 'slaughter' continues	Reuters By Erika Solomon
21	December 28	'Assad forces are shooting us:' Syrian protesters wounded by security forces	Reuters By Mariam Karouny
22	December 29	Peace mission fails to curb Syrian violence as pro-Assad forces kill 25 more protesters	Reuters By Mariam Karouny and Erika Solomon
23	December 30	At least 12 killed in Syria protests	Reuters

News texts published in 2012 (n=28)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
24	January 6	Deadly suicide bombing kills 25 in Damascus: Syrian state TV	AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
25	January 7	Syria buries victims of Damascus suicide bombing	Reuters By Alistair Lyon
26	January 13	Syria tank attack on border town leaves at least 15 dead, add to civil-war fears	Reuters
27	February 3	Children particular target of 'rampant' use of torture in Syria: Human Rights Watch	AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
28	February 4	Syria's 'bloodiest day' as forces kill more than 200 in Homs, UN to push Bashar al-Assad to step down	Reuters By Mariam Karouny and Stephen Brown
29	February 9	Besieged areas of Syrian rebel city Homs overflowing with dead: Human Rights Watch	Reuters
30	February 21	Syria army bombardment of Homs leaves 21 dead as Red Cross begs for ceasefire to treat wounded	Reuters By Khaled Yacoub Oweis and Erika Solomon
31	February 26	31 killed as Syrian referendum goes ahead	Reuters By Alistair Lyon

32	March 4	Red Cross blocked from Baba Amro amid reports of Syrian ‘massacres’	Reuters By Oliver Holmes and Mohammed Abbas
33	March 6	Assad faces growing Western anger as Syrian forces block aid from entering defeated rebel city of Homs	Reuters By Dominic Evans
34	March 18	Aleppo car bomb kills at least three; Syrian government, activists trade blame for blast	Reuters By Erika Solomon and Laila Bassam
35	March 28	West wary of Assad peace deal as blasts continue, children face abuse in Syria	Reuters By Erika Solomon and Douglas Hamilton
36	April 14	Syria killing continues as UN Security Council agrees to monitor ceasefire	Reuters by Louis Charbonneau and Oliver Holmes
37	May 30	Syria violence: Families herded ‘like sheep’ to die in Houla massacre	Reuters by Khaled Yacoub Oweis
38	June 27	Three killed in raid on TV station after Assad speaks of ‘state of war’ in Syria	Reuters
39	June 29	Young children, entire families among almost 200 ‘massacred’ in besieged Syrian city of Douma	Reuters by Erika Solomon
40	July 4	New pictures show destruction on massive scale in Syrian rebel stronghold of Homs	AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
41	July 12	Syrian troops reportedly massacre more than 220 in attack on Sunni village	Reuters by Khaled Yacoub Oweis and Erika Solomon
42	July 27	‘He is a martyr who is now in a better place’: Syrian troops kill 6-year-old fleeing into Jordan	Associated Press by Jamal Halaby
43	July 31	As military siege of Syria’s largest city stretches on, food is in short supply	Associated Press by Elizabeth A. Kennedy
44	August 3	‘I saw death before my eyes’: Buildings replaced by rubble in Aleppo as Syrian army, rebels dig in	Reuters by Hadeel Al Shalchi
45	August 22	Syrian army hammers southern Damascus, killing 47 people	Reuters by Khaled Yacoub Oweis and Oliver Holmes
46	August 23	Military hits town near Damascus, 60 killed in Syria	Reuters
47	August 26	Syrian forces allegedly kill more than 300 near Damascus in ‘execution-style’ massacre	Reuters by Oliver Holmes and Khaled Yacoub Oweis

48	September 25	'They took me there to torture me, in the same place I used to go to school to learn': U.K. charity delves into Syria's child atrocities	Associated Press by Dale Gavlak
49	October 19	Nearly 30,000 Syrians missing after being snatched by Assad troops: report	Reuters by Oliver Holmes and Suleiman Al-Khalidi
50	October 29	Ten killed near Damascus as massive car bomb caps failed Syrian cease-fire	Reuters by Khaled Yacoub Oweis
51	November 1	Pictures show destruction across Syria as rebels kill 28 soldiers in attacks on military checkpoints	Associated Press by Jennifer Peltz, Peter Svensson

News texts published in 2013 (n=24)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
52	January 8	Syrian refugees attack aid workers in Jordanian camp as riot breaks out over terrible conditions	Associated Press by Dale Gavlak
53	January 16	Syrian Americans care for refugee camp when the UN can't	Media Line by Michel Stors
54	January 28	'What are they doing to our children?' Civilians angered by Syrian rebels who reportedly seize goods, recruit teens	Media Line by Michel Stors
55	February 4	'I will not forget my children's blood': Aleppo's female sniper vows to take her revenge	RUTH SHERLOCK, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, NATIONAL POST WIRE SERVICES
56	February 20	'Their agendas have ruined us': Religious tolerance the latest casualty of Syrian conflict	Media Line by Michel Stors
57	February 28	Syrian family takes refuge in an ancient Roman tomb	ASSOCIATED PRESS
58	May 14	'I swear to God we will eat your hearts': Gruesome video of Syrian rebel cutting out heart of regime soldier emerges	PETER DOMINICZAK, RICHARD SPENCER, THE TELEGRAPH
59	May 15	'Eye for an eye': Eating Syrian soldier's heart was legitimate act of vengeance, says rebel in gruesome video	RUTH SHERLOCK AND RICHARD SPENCER, THE TELEGRAPH

60	May 17	Syrians grappling with persistent crime problem in refugee camp in Jordan after fleeing vicious civil war	TOM BLACKWELL
61	May 30	'We have nothing to feed the babies': Syrians struggle to survive as food, fuel prices skyrocket in war-torn nation	Media Line by Michel Stors
62	June 24	James Harkin: Fight to the death in Syria	James Harkin
63	July 11	'Worse than death': Starving Syrian refugees in Jordan have a hard time finding spirit of Ramadan	Media Line by Adam Nicky
64	July 18	'We are begging you for a no-fly zone': Angry Syrian refugees confront John Kerry with demands	Associated Press by Matthew Lee
65	August 2	Syria's ancient Christian community forced to flee by sectarian violence, targeted kidnappings	RUTH SHERLOCK, THE TELEGRAPH
66	August 7	Satellite images show neighbourhoods flattened in Syrian civil war as government troops kill 60 rebels in latest attack	Associated Press by Bassem Mroue and Zeina Karam
67	August 21	Syrians retrieve 'sleeping' dead after alleged chemical attack kills more than 500 people, including scores of children	Reuters by Erika Solomon and Stephen Kalin
68	August 22	Syria attack that killed hundreds would be worst use of nerve gas since Saddam Hussein	DAVID BLAIR, THE TELEGRAPH
69	August 24	U.S. naval units move toward Syria as regime blames rebels for chemical attack that killed 355	Associated Press by Bassem Mroue and Albert Aji
70	August 24	Aid group tallies 355 deaths in Syria chemical attack	Associated Press
71	September 26	Matthew Fisher: Syrian refugees rattled by 'extreme' rebels who want to impose strict Islamic law	MATTHEW FISHER
72	September 30	Syria claims al-Qaeda-linked rebels are eating human hearts,	Associated Press

		dismembering people alive	
73	October 16	Syrian government accused of targeting schools, attendance drops after 'vacuum bomb' attack	Media Line by Emma Beals
74	October 22	Kelly McParland: Assad demonstrates his versatility in killing Syrians	KELLY MCPARLAND
75	November 15	Rich refugees pay thousands to flee war torn Syria in luxury	RUTH SHERLOCK AND CAROL MALOUF IN BEIRUT, THE TELEGRAPH

News texts published in 2014 (n=3)

Number	Publication Date	Headline	Author/News Agency
76	February 3	Priest warns starving Syrians could turn on each other as people lose their minds from extreme hunger	MAGDY SAMAAAN, RUTH SHERLOCK, THE TELEGRAPH
77	February 4	Shocking video shows 'barrel bomb' attack on Syria which killed at least 11, including children	Associated Press
78	February 26	UN urges warring Syrians to let aid workers deliver food to thousands of starving people trapped in besieged cities	Reuters