

**THE ROLE Of NEW MEDIA (BBC & AJE)
IN COVERING SUDANESE 2018-2019
REVOLUTION'S EVENTS
PhD thesis
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Eskisehir 2022**

**THE ROLE Of NEW MEDIA (BBC & AJE) IN COVERING SUDANESE 2018-2019
REVOLUTION'S EVENTS**

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PhD THESIS

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of the requirements for the degree of doctor of journalism**

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Sezen ÜNLÜ

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JURY AND INSTITUTE APPROVAL

Mohamed Basher Elemam Mohamed's thesis titled "The role of new media in covering Sudanese 2018-2019 revolution's events" was accepted by the following Jury in 2022 as a PhD thesis in the Department of Press and Broadcasting in accordance with the relevant articles of the Postgraduate Education and Examination Regulations.

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Thank you.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

My parents and All family

my wife, my daughter

my brothers, sisters and their kids ...

My all teachers and other colleagues in my profession who are sharing the truth with the world.

ABSTRACT

The role of new media (BBC and AJE) in covering Sudan 2018-2019 revolution's events

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The purpose of this study is to examine the influence of new media (BBC and AJE websites) In covering the Sudan 2018 -2019 revolution before, during and after the end of Albashir's regime which collapsed on 11 April 2019 after a popular revolution erupted since late 2018. Critical discourse analysis used to conduct this study. Data of this study were collected from 71 news. Consists of 45 news of BBC and 26 news of AJE published between 6 April 2019 to 30 June 2019 before, during and after the time of Sudanese revolution, these were chosen to assess the coverage of two websites BBC and AJE to the Sudan recent revolution and investigate agenda of new media. The study was following Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for CDA and employed Bell's 1991 model because it was designed especially for news analysing. The results revealed that goals of Sudanese revolution according to BBC and AJE are the removal of president Omer Albashir, and the rythm of revolution raised particularly after BBC described Albashir as an ousted president and AJE described him as a long-time ruler. Also-BBC avoid connecting violence directly with Sudanese specific military organizations but AJE mentioned ruling military, rapid support forces and Omer Albashir as violence actors.

Key words: new media, Sudan revolution, protesters, Demonstration.

ÖZET

Sudan 2018-2019 Devrimi'nin Olaylarını Ele Almada Yeni Medyanın (BBC ve AJE) Rolü

Mohamed Basher Elemam Mohamed

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Basın Yayın Anabilim Dalı, Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2022
Danışman: Prof. Dr. Sezen Ünlü

Bu çalışmanın amacı yeni medyanın (BBC ve AJE web siteleri) etkisini incelemektir. Çalışmada 2018'in sonlarında bir halk devrimi olarak başlayıp 11 Nisan 2019'da Albashir rejiminin çökmesiyle sonuçlanan devrim sürecinin öncesi, devrim sırasında ve sonrasında yaşanan gelişmeler ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmanın yürütülmesinde eleştirel söylem analizi kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın verileri, Sudan devrimi öncesi, sırası ve sonrasında 6 Nisan 2019 ile 30 Haziran 2019 tarihleri arasında yayınlanan 45 BBC haberinden ve 26 AJE haberinden oluşan 71 haber seçilmiştir. Çalışmada web sitelerinin BBC ve AJE Sudan'daki son devrim ve yeni gelişmelerde medyanın konumu araştırılmıştır. Çalışma, Fairclough CDA için üç boyutlu çerçevesini takip etmiş ve sadece haberler için tasarlandığı Bells 1991 modeli kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlar, BBC ve AJE'ye göre Sudan Devrimi'nin hedeflerinin Cumhurbaşkanı Ömer Albashir'i görevden almak ve BBC'nin Albashir'i devrik Başkan ve AJE'nin onu uzun süredir hükümdar olarak tanımlamasından sonra yükselen devrim ritmi olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca BBC, şiddeti doğrudan Sudan'daki belirli askeri örgütlerle ilişkilendirmekten kaçınmış ancak AJE, iktidardaki orduyu, hızlı destek güçlerini ve Ömer Albashir'i şiddet aktörleri olarak belirtmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yeni Medya, Sudan Devrimi, Protestocular, Gösteri.

14/06/2022

**DECLARATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH PRINCIPLES AND RULES OF
ETHICS**

This thesis is entirely my own effort.; preparation, data collection, Principles and guidelines of scientific ethics at all phases, including information analysis and presentation that I behaved appropriately; source for data and information gathered as part of this project that I have cited and These sources were incorporated into the bibliography; Anatolia of this study. It was scanned with the "scientific plagiarism detection program" used by the University and I declare that it is "free of plagiarism" used by the University and I declare that it is "free of plagiarism. In any way, Anytime, with my work In the event that a situation contrary to this statement I made regarding I declare that I accept the ethical and legal consequences.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

It is still asserted that the news agenda is set by the media in democratic countries. in an impartial, ideology-free manner, and that they have an independent power out of government and elite command (Graaf, 2005, p. 5). Outside of the hegemony of traditional institutions, new media can provide an inclusive and open place for a conversation regarding prevailing narratives such as the authorities or the mainstream media. This platform can foster mass engagement in the dialogue, allowing people to challenge prevailing narratives create more democratic discourses about individual, cultural, social, and political representation (DPI, 2012, p.11).

A growing number of citizens in the Middle East is currently consuming more worldwide news than ever before. There is some evidence that the primary information and news sources are AJE, the BBC, CNN, and other news organizations with a strong web presence. That is a significant shift because regimes who could previously play various local and international political games owned media are no longer able to do so to the similar level. For so many people, the lines between local and international news are blurred. (Howard & Hussain,2013, p.90).

The media and democracy are widely accepted as key guarantors of good governance in the developing world; yet, how can the media hold governments accountable for addressing citizens' social needs in both democratic and authoritarian states, regardless of political system? To answer this question, it's important to understand that the media plays a variety of functions in today's culture. (Nicoleta, 2008, p. 1).

The first is the press's function as a watchdog. A vigilant press can monitor political authorities and institutions that are supposed to be transparent and accountable. Similarly, the media acts as a watchdog in both the private and public spheres, keeping powerful parts of society, notably political leaders, in check. In a democratic society, information, investigation, analysis, social empathy, public forums, and mobilization are all critical functions (Nicoleta,2008 p.1).

The term "new media" encompasses a wide range of concepts, includes a number of technologies Blogs, podcasts, video games, virtual worlds, the Wikipedia and mobile devices, interactive televisions, and websites are all examples of this, E-mail are considered new media by some experts. As a result of new media technology, consumer behaviour and lifestyle habits have changed rapidly. New media has shaped modern society, influencing how people behave, interact, work, and view themselves and their surroundings. (Nicoleta, 2008, p. 1).

This characteristic of contemporary new media to a considerable part, technology is responsible for how people perceive the world. as being smaller than it was. Our online communities are democratic and welcoming. And they span the globe. In a nutshell, new media technologies help to level the playing field. (Johnson, 2007; & Friedman 2008 p. 12).

A popular explanation for the link between the ability of digitalization and political polarization to facilitate the creation of safe spaces where radical ideas are reinforced. Sunstein (2018), a key supporter of this viewpoint, argues that the most important benefit of social networking sites would be that they allow politically related people to connect with one another. People are only exposed to knowledge that is relevant to their political beliefs in this situation. (Persily & Tucker, 2020, p.34).

By linking all people worldwide, social media gives citizens the opportunity to express themselves and openly discuss their opinions, and points of view. As a result, knowledge may be promptly and shared widely. Citizens have a wealth of possibilities for gaining information that is meaningful to them (Zúñiga, 2018, p. 1137).

Furthermore, because the same types of social media are used in widely scattered societies around the world, their use has an impact on social behaviours and networks, sentiments and emotions, and cognitions and knowledge. While cultural practices may influence these to some extent, (Danowski&Park, 2014, p.19). Digital networks are enabling new organizational processes that are altering organized political dissent. because they are not dependent on traditional or external resources, they are instead supported through informal and grassroots networks. Such novel forms of

connective action have given rise to a customized digitally networked politics in which various individuals confront common concerns that can lead to collective behaviour (Victoria Carty, 2014, p.59). Farinosi and Treme 2010 argued that social networks have substantially facilitated the organizing of National Street protests, for example rallies, while also providing activists with a flashier transition According to Hara and Huang (2013), utilizing this strategy, anyone may quickly organize Protests both at home and abroad (Abdin & Costello, 2015, p.121).

On the relationship between social media and public involvement in AJE and BBC online news, both of these online news media interact with audiences to learn about their perspectives on the represented news via social media platforms such as Twitter, Messenger, Facebook Pinterest, E-mail, and Reddit. (Jahan & Abdullah,2020, p.1242). Despite their poverty, the Sudanese enjoy one of the highest rates of internet connectivity in Africa and the Arab world, with over 30% of the population being able to connect to the internet. 38 With nearly one out of every three Sudanese citizens having the ability to follow events as they unfolded. (Zunes, 2021, p. 22).

Sudan has a population of 43 million people, 14 million of whom (31 percent of the population) have Internet connection. Mobile phone penetration is 32.83 percent of the population. While these figures are undoubtedly low by global standards, there is no doubting that they have had a significant impact on how information is delivered and disseminated in Sudan. Technological advances sweeping the world, along with tech-savvy young Sudanese activists, have given birth to Sudan's active, transparent alternate media and information channels. (Bashri, 2020, p.473).

This research acquired more than important dimensions either for Sudanese or others because the social change that took place in Sudan although people witnessed it as a national achievement but came too late after a long time of waiting and struggling and there were a lot of reasons to support Sudanese Dynamics and change. According to Transparency International's Corruption Assessment Index for 2018, Sudan has one of the greatest corruption rates in the world, ranking 172nd out of 180 nations.) As previously reported by the Enough Project and The Sentry, the country's

political institutions have been hijacked by a crooked network seeking personal gain and a repressive security force geared at safeguarding the country's elite's interests. The Sentry is an investigative and policy team that tracks the dirty money that flows across Africa. Popular demonstrations erupted in Sudanese regions (Damazin, Atbara, and Dongola) in mid-December 2018. and quickly spread throughout the country, including the capital, Khartoum Although the authorities misjudged the situation and responded with the usual repression, the Western media gave little attention to what they dismissed as "food riots" "(Hali ID, 2020, p.7).

In the first five days of April 2019, this movement, which consistently maintained its nonviolent dimension and, aside from the central role of the Sudanese Professional Association, took a horizontal approach and rejected leadership from various parties, was able to depose both the regime and the first military (Hali Id, 2020, p. 7).

The researcher has observed from previous studies about the role of media in revolutions either Arab spring or Sudanese revolution the majority of the scholars about the social media but very lack studies or may absolutely no studies about new media. This encouraged the researcher to explore the role of new media in covering the Sudanese 2018-2019 revolution. The study shed lights on the new media concepts, impacts and backgrounds in addition to detailed information about BBC and AJE presents a history of Sudanese revolutions with more details about Sudan 2019 revolution and the role of new media in covering it, In addition to critical discourse analysis in theoretical and practical side as a methodology of the study.

1.1 The Problem of the study

New media plays an essential role in developing countries especially during the time of crisis, conflicts, and unrest; During the Sudanese recent 2018-2019 revolution's events the new media has clear influence," research focuses on objective measures of BBC and Aljazeera English agenda from covering Sudanese revolution because the studies about this issue either little or absolutely no. The main problem of this study the lack of information about the agenda of new media that was covering Sudanese revolution. The reason behind this study is to show follow and evaluate the

coverage of new media to Sudanese revolution and identify its agenda through this coverage. there is an urgent need to advance more concepts related to objectives of new media in Sudan to help Sudanese governmental and private media centres. this research aims to investigate the goals of BBC and AJE behind covering Sudanese revolution. critical discourse analysis has selected as a method for this study in order to determine BBC and AJE goals related to Sudanese revolution's coverage.

1.2. Research Questions

- 1 -What are the main goals of Sudanese revolution?
2. -How new media described a former president of Sudan Omer Albashir?
3. -How new media described the main actors of revolution.?
4. -What is the reaction of military and security forces towards revolution according to BBC and AJE?
5. -What is the reaction of Sudanese authority towards internet during revolution time?
6. -What are the clear aspects of external intervention in Sudan revolution?

1.3. The Significance of the study

Results of this study may help in understanding new media. messages and its deep goals while dealing with the Sudanese revolution. The study generally will help Sudanese gain knowledge about new media concerns of Sudanese revolution It will also provide journalists with better insights into how they could reread the contents of new media and use their own evaluation criteria for balanced coverage of news. The study contributes to developing and enriching the conceptual and informational framework for all readers following Sudan news through new media windows. The study assists decision-makers in senior managements represented by the ministry of information in Sudan in activating the national media performance to reach the highest levels of quality. The media corporations in general and BBC and Aljazeera in particular will benefit from this study to be concern about their correspondents in Sudan while covering news. The recent

Sudanese revolution is seen as peaceful unique quick fruitful so that and for other various reasons as a result of which it is attracting journalists from various media corporations for covering writing and analysing events beside politicians and other experts. This study may be the first of its kind conducts about the new media that covering the Sudanese revolution. This study would also shed a light on the hegemonic or ideological reasons behind any news publishing attempted by the new media centres towards the Sudanese revolution where it is hoped to add more benefits to the body of knowledge related to media field.

1.4. The assumptions of the study:

1. Portraying the main goals of revolution in Sudan as civilian government by new media provides the revolution with more supporters.
2. Describing former president of Sudan Omer Albashir negatively by new media increases the rhythm of revolution.
3. The editorial policy of new media websites is reflected in the naming of revolution makers.
4. The new media is attempting to find a direct correlation between security forces and violence associated with the Sudan revolution.
5. When revolution's wave arises in Sudan local authority cut the internet.
6. New media presents external intervention about Sudan revolution against AL Bashir's regime.

1.5. Objectives of the study:

1.5.1. General objectives

To explore the role of new media in the Sudanese revolution.

1.5.2. Specific objectives

1. To find out how new media framed the Sudanese revolution's goals.
2. To analyse the Sudanese revolution news and comparing it among new media electronic websites.
3. To add new observations of covering Sudanese revolution through interviewing related people.
4. To investigate dimensions of publishing violent and flaming news from Sudan worldwide.
5. To determine a tendency of selected new mainstream media in revealing an attitude of covering the Sudanese revolution
6. To identify the themes that appear in contents of new media regarding to Sudanese revolution.

1.6. operational definitions terms

1.6.1. New media

New Media is a word that is commonly used to describe a number of supposedly "digital" media that supplement and compete with old media. Democratic Progress Institute 2012 p12

1.6.2 Revolution

To understand social revolutions, in (1968) Huntington used modernization theory. "Revolution is a component of modernization," His main idea is that modernity, notably social mobilization as a result of technological advancements and economic growth, there is a rise in political awareness. According to Johnson's theory, gap among people's actual

political engagement and state systems' failure causes revolution. (Tiruneh, 2014).

1.6.3 Democracy

Webster New Encyclopaedic Dictionary in (1995), considered democracy as a form of governance in which supreme authority resides with the people and is either directly or indirectly expressed through representation. Lindell and Scott (1999), argued the term derives from the Greek word (demokratia) "rule of the people," the word formed since the fifth century B.C. from (demos) "people" and (kratos) "power" or "rule." (Nwogu, 2015).

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 New media

2.1.1 What is new media

New media is employed in a variety of situations. The communication (i.e., the message) and its practices), the technology (i.e., the medium), and the social context in which it is employed by Lie vrouw and Livingstone (2002). These three features of new media, as well as other more specialized technologies and behaviours such as cooperation, digitization, and telecommunication, appear frequently in the literature (Friedman, 2008, p.4). The word "new media" has been around since the 1960s, but it really took off in the mid-1990s¹¹, when the consumer Internet took off. Academics and cultural theorists began developing theories and articulations of new media in the late 1990s. New media in this project refers to 21st-century digital media that have evolved from those of the 1980s and 1990s, such as mobile communications and the Internet (Taylor, 2011, p.4).

Technology has changed the way we communicate, and we now have a more personal relationship with new media than we did with old media. To answer the question what is new media? A basic explanation is that it is an infrastructure that connects computers to each other and to a variety of external devices, allowing users to communicate and exchange data. Networks, on the other hand, exist in a variety of shapes and sizes (Game & Beer, 2008, p.16). „The term new media is thrown about a lot, and it's used in a lot of different ways.

The message (i.e., communication and its practices), the technology (i.e., the medium), and the social context in which it is employed are all addressed by Livingstone (2002). These three features of new media Collaboration, digitization, and telecommunications, among other more particular technologies and activities, appear frequently in their literature. Archan argues New Media refers to associating terms with new media, fundamental elements of practice like "New territory," "Emerging areas," "Uncharted space," and "New frontiers" as a combination activity that covers a wide

range of activities of practical skills and cognitive resources. If we frequently travel through cyberspace, we should prefer the internet over any other material form of knowledge. This is what new media is all about (Mitra, 2011, p.2).

Because it is a thought coming from numerous other fields that when joined together form a monstrous domain, new media is difficult to be characterized in black and white or compartmentalized in a very tiny domain. New media is simply the fusion of various forms of media into a single new form, with all of the original understandings, ideas, and concepts in the media entrenched in the new form. Community, a crucial aspect of many new media, is cultivated in a variety of ways and using a range of new media technologies, such as social networking sites such as Myspace and Facebook; virtual universes such as Second Life and Webkinz; and social bookmarking systems such as del.icio.us. Even older technologies like listservs, discussion boards, Yahoo (or Google) groups – or even Usenet – contributed in the formation of a sense of community among people like-minded individuals who were geographically or chronologically separated (Friedman, 2008, p. 11).

The following are three separate features of the definition of new media: (Mitra, 2011, p.2).

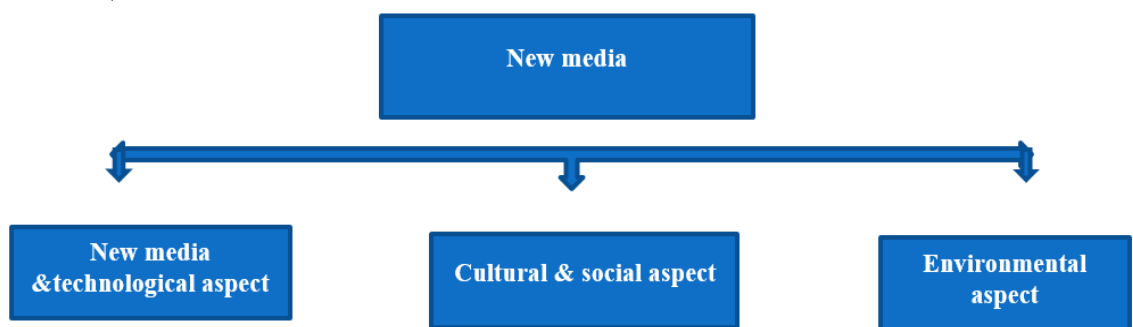


Figure 2.1. New media definition (Mitra, 2011, p.2)

2.1.1.1 Technological aspect:

New Media is indeed techno-based and techno-bias, it can be classified from a technological aspect because it is techno-based. as New Media is nothing more than a new technology that aids in the field of communication's long-term development (Mitra, 2011, p.2).

2.1.1.2 Cultural and Social aspect:

Because not everyone can use technology, only those who can do so have a competitive advantage over others. and as a result, they try to manage the growth process in developing countries by controlling new forms of media.

2.1.1.3 Environmental aspect:

We can define new media as a kind of communication that promotes not just technological, social, or cultural progress, but also long-term environmental sustainability (Mitra, 2011, p3).

Researchers has used terminology like "social media," "new media," "online media," "web media," "digital media," "alternative media," to define modern technologies that enhance the information process collecting and transmission. They are terms that used to characterize digital and computerized communication technology. "In the same way that other notions in mass communication, "Auwal 2015 argued "Online communication and computerized platforms such as blogs, podcasts, social networks, wikis, micro-blogs, and message boards that may be used by the general public for cross-distance engagement,". (Auwal, 2016, p.33).

New media is also accelerating the trend of globalization in human society. The globalization movement has a major impact on almost every aspect of human society. For example, globalization has changed how individuals' views of what a community, reshaped, what cultural identity and civic society represent, and called for a new type of international communication (island ,2012, p.1).

As a result of new media technology, consumer habits have changed rapidly. New media has influenced people's behaviour, communication, learning, and perceptions of themselves and their surroundings (Nicoleta,2008,p.2). Pavlik (2006) described new media as "...Information

technology and its convergence in a networked world..." "...items and services that give information or entertainment utilizing computers or the internet, rather than traditional ways such as television and newspapers," according to Cambridge online dictionaries (2010).

According to Lister and Dovey (2003), new media refers to technologies that have been conceived or developed during the last 20 years, are in widespread use, and allow for unprecedented social engagement in the media environment. (Meub, 2011, p.10).

2.2 Characteristics of New media

New media is a wide range phrase that refers to a variety of mediated modes of communication that have progressed as a consequence of the Internet and online capabilities. Individuals can build online relationships and use public or semi-public internet spaces to promote themselves. Social networking websites are the most popular platforms for modern social media. These websites are intended to help people start, grow, and sustain online and real connections (Stewart, 2013, p.11).

The difference between traditional mass media and new media, such as the Internet, is disappearing as a result of the media integration period in which we live. Despite these differences, traditional and new media still work best together. They'll continue to coexist and support one another (Ali Salman ,2011 p.9). One of most significant elements of modern media is that it allows people to express themselves. Regular people to create and co-create media content. As Jenkins argued, media consumers seem to be no longer at the receiving end of the information stream, but are instead consuming it. Rather, they are actively engaged. participating in and collaborating with other media users to change the information flow (CHEN, 2011, p. 85).

A low-cost and suitable device such as a smartphone or a computer Because of its technical foundation, it also allows users to create a new universe that integrates reality. Under internet protocols and when technical prerequisites are completed, the user is permitted to enter the limitless world that is the Internet. While exploring the internet, information from all over the world can be instantly accessible by only a few keywords. Furthermore, social networks built by social groups allow members to talk with one

another and share a range of items, including personal information (Çöteli, 2019, p.5).

Apart from interactiveness, another feature of new media, according to Pradepp (2014), is immediacy. With 3G and 4G technology, people may easily communicate information from all over the world. Universality means The story of the current situation can be taken to any other level in a short period of time, regardless of space or time constraints. Hypertext is a type of text that contains a web of connections to other materials 'above, and beyond' itself Multimedia Refer to the latest news. that is accompanied by cartoons, music, and sound. Multimedia systems can transfer and communicate information, graphics, sound, and data (Hamid &Ismail, 2020, p. 29)

When using new media, public relations professionals can perform more effectively and efficiently. This is because new media has been shown to boost job efficiency and speed while also lowering costs. Furthermore, Media relations practitioners can use new media to communicate with the media in new and innovative ways. which helps to build confidence in not only the media but also their audiences (Raj,2010, p.63). New media technology has provided unprecedented opportunities for human communication, with more implications for message formats and ways of communication. We propose that new media can be generally defined by their technical and socio-cultural qualities, based on our review of the literature (Chen, &Wang, 2011, p. 84)

People who have been receivers from one way mass communication for a long time are now more likely to become providers and transmitters. From Local news sites to the future BBC, distinguishing between information producers and consumers will become increasingly difficult. The empowerment given by decentralized, networked digital communication may become more widely shared as global citizenship experiments continue. This necessitates a significant revision to media hegemony theories (Salman ,2011, p. 3).

The Internet has revolutionized how people communicate and share information. The Internet has been hailed as the most rapidly disseminating

technology in modern history, and its popularity is growing in part due to the speed with which data can be exchanged (Barker, 2011, p. 18).

Today, the internet and its social networks meet the need for public media that is not centralized. The internet, on the other hand, has altered traditional modes of communication and created its own language and culture. One of the Internet's contributions to traditional media is citizen journalism, which typically incorporates images, audio, and video. The press frequently uses photo and video content from an event that a citizen has placed on the internet. Traditional media, on the other hand, follows and attempts to adapt the most watched materials on internet platforms. (Çöteli, 2019, p. 9).

2.3 The impact of new media on the society

According to Esimokha (2011), technological innovation has revolutionized the practice of journalism in a way that has never been seen before. Computers and their usage in responsible journalism, editing, design, publishing, and distribution have changed formerly traditional processes. The Internet and information system have a significant effect on the publishing industry. (Auwal ,2016, P. 32).

Although new media is establishing information societies, the types of information societies that are being established through it must also be investigated. It's important to think about who is providing information to whom. Content proliferation is also notable, as is the drop in media production and distribution costs. According to Dyson the ability to use media content attracts users' attention more than the content itself (Ashraf, 2013, p.116).

The new media is undergoing substantial transformations, and the internet's rapid spread across civilizations is a defining element of its performance. In compared to print and broadcast media under tighter government control, digital media and technology boost transparency and increase the visibility of oppressed communities. Social media has permitted an increasing number of so-called online mass events (Chen,2013, p.1). The fluidity with which each individual can observe the content is something new about new media. The message, according to McLuhan, is the mode of

delivery. In the twenty-first century, new media is developing as it deconstructs the linear approach to information delivery (Mills, 2014, p.22).

Today, new media, particularly social media, has become a significant tool in human life, serving as a source of information, communication, and mobilization of people. People can do whatever they want by using social media any time anywhere (Hamid, & Ismail, 2020, p.26).

One of the most fundamental conclusions drawn from McLuhan's research is that "technology mediation is a cultural condition." He spoke about the effects of technology (including media technologies) on social practices. Each technical invention, particularly media technologies, changes and shapes the level of everyday life, creating a cultural ripple effect as individuals employ technology's potential to act differently, according to McLuhan (Alikılıç, 2008,p.1349). The quick advancement of new media has been the main engine driving the globalization wave in human society over the last few years. Because of its different and unique characteristics, new media has raised human interaction and society toward a highly interconnected and complicated level. The mutual enhancement of new media and globalization has resulted in the modification of practically every area of human society as a result of this confluence (Chen, 2012, p. 2).

As a result of new media technology, consumer behaviours have changed dramatically. New media has an impact on people's behaviour, communication, learning, and self- and environment-perceptions (Nicoleta,2008, p.2). However, in order to conceptualize the space occupied by New Media, we will adopt the notion of online space as a '21st century coffee-house,'¹³ which has specific historical resonance and resonance with the political history of most of the Middle East and the Northern Africa (Democratic Progress Institute, 2012, p.16).

New media has radically altered how and with whom we communicate, allowing for global exchanges to become more commonplace. It has also transformed formal information organizations into interactive societies, resulting in the creation of platforms such as blogs and wiki (Ludlow, 2007, p.6). New Media disrupts the political and cultural elite's traditional "monopoly of communication," enabling for greater engagement in political

and cultural life , for example, providing alternative forums for artistic expression. As we've seen, participation is critical in avoiding a hierarchical and limiting political and cultural life, which can lead to stagnation: with the advancement of the internet, "politics and people can meet again and finally start talking." (Democratic progress institute, 2012, p. 21).

The way we do business, manage our personal lives, learn, and anticipate as a civic society has all changed as a result of new media. It has expedited globalization and brought the world's people closer together. (Ludlow, 2007, p.6).

Recent outbreaks of social unrest have been catalysed by the rapid development and near-universal utility of social media in a wide range of countries and locations around the world. These conflicts include a wide range of specifics, domestic changes, and consequences (Wenker, 2012, p. 2).

Communication is an essential part of new media., When technological advances were discovered, they created a relationship with society. Technical advancements in communication technology and media have a significant impact on social change. They create new wants while also providing good solutions for a lot of problems (Arulchelvan, 2014, p. 126).

The power of new media forms to impact the news cycle of traditional mainstream media has been demonstrated. They've established a new information channel that's more direct, less constrained by news cycles' temporal character, and mostly free of financial conflicts of interest. The net effect of various media formats has been to create a new level in the information cycle, which has an impact on mainstream media news reporting (Welch, 2006, p. 31).

In contrast to old media, Alternative communication places in which knowledge can form are provided by new media. When information arrives on the Internet, the traditional press's gate-keeping capacity is undermined, offering new material that may prove irresistible to competitors in the realm of 24-hour cable news networks, which currently hold major niches in the press (Welch, 2006, p. 31).

Digital media has expanded increasingly in daily habits and routines as the number of Internet users in today's culture grows. The communication process in all of these online sites encourages active arguments that help people understand one other's points of view. "With new social media, everyone is both a publisher and a critic." Through a common virtual medium, new media users may share their opinions with the world and take part in discussions and dialogues (Sawyer, 2011, p.2). New forms of social networking are rapidly getting popular in today's culture and expanding over the world. Offering a common way of bringing individuals together through information, behaviours, and attitudes effectively produces a sense of belonging to a bigger social network outside of one's own local group. The Internet is a strong tool for connecting people, places, ideas, and cultures from all over the world. (Sawyer, 2011, p. 6).

In today's societies, new media has a huge influence on our society, People use social media to talk about ideas, ask guidance, and offer a helping hand. Digital networks have broken communication barriers, created decentralized channels of communication, and allowed everybody to participate and contribute. (Harchekar, 2017, p. 382).

2.4 The history of new media

The idea that information technology is hostile to history is prevalent in late twentieth and early twenty-first century around media and cultural theories, but it is only today that this association is sustained as a coherent and densely articulated viewpoint. The concept is sometimes presented as a connection between the end of history and the rise of digital technologies. (HODGE, 2011, p.36). The advent of the internet was sparked by a phenomenon known as 'Phreaking' in the 1950s. Phreaking is a slang name for the operations carried out by hackers during the telecommunications era. These individuals began manipulating the communications system, modifying and experimenting with it (Yolmo,2014, p. 1921).

During the twentieth century's second half, the phrase "new media" was coined. Marshall McLuhan, a skilled writer, showman, and communication expert, is credited with coining the phrase in the Economic Journal in 1960, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. However, in a Queen's

Quarterly piece on Harold Innis (McLuhan, 1953), McLuhan used the term at least as early as 1953, putting the beginnings of the theory of new media in Canada. McLuhan first used it to describe technical features like "electronic information collection" and "global reach." (PETERS, 2009, p.16).

New media has advanced at an unparalleled rate in the twenty-first century. New media has grown so widespread in our culture that it has infiltrated every part of our lives. New media literacy is necessary for all people to fully engage in 21st-century society. Literacy has evolved in stages over time, according to researchers: classic literacy reading, writing, and comprehension, related to electronic media and digital literacy information mostly related to computer and new media related to the internet and the phenomenon of media convergence (CHEN, 2012, p. 84).

Ward Christensen created the first electronic bulletin board system, in 1979, it was available to the public. These bulletin board systems were mini servers based on personal computers and connected to a modem, allowing one person to dial in and gain access at a time. To conduct services such as uploading posting or chatting with others via email or public message boards, the user had to log in. These were also used as a medium for social debates on message boards, community-contributed file downloads, and online games (Taprial & Kanwar, 2012, p. 10).

The world wide web (www) was only becoming accessible to the general public on August 6, 1991, despite the internet has been a network since 1960. In 1990 internet usage was restricted to those with official connections to a universities, the governments, or the military departments. However, a wave of private internet service providers (ISPs) began to appear in US metro regions in the mid - 1990s, providing millions of home computer users with access to limitless and uncensored online services (Taprial & Kanwar, 2012, p. 13).

The last ten years have seen the introduction of some significant new media technologies. The first functional portable computers were created in 1991. At around the same time, mobile phones began to appear. In 1994, the internet became available. "All people heard of the internet within two years.

and within another two years, the number of available web pages had increased by ninefold to more than 20 million. The Internet has evolved from a tool for the American military and educational institutions to a commodity service that is available to anyone who wants to use it (ROSETTE, 2014, p.11).

The growth of social-networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr, and others has encouraged their users to communicate and interact in novel ways that have the potential to disrupt traditional media and even social structures. Jenkins (2006) refers to this as the advent of "participatory culture," in which ordinary people can create and share their own content through social networks. According to Castells (2007), such shifts may signify the birth of "mass self-communication," which can be a new tool for social movements and activists to exercise and establish new forms of power (Abdelhay, 2012, p.529).

since the beginning of the web the end of old media such as television the print book and the newspaper has been forecasted numberless times by scholars' journalists and commentators, as media history shows media rarely die, radio for instance did not disappear after the invention of television and print books have survived numerous technical and social innovations throughout time. Yet the recurrence of the idea that a new technology kills an old one tells us much about the way in which people understand media change through biography. Birth, deaths beginning and ending are in fact key ways through which people make sense of their own lives (Lesage, 2019, p. 582).

On social media sites, images, videos, comments, emotions, and textual language are all available, making them more multimodal. Furthermore, social networking sites allow users to frame, filter, and modify visual images before sharing them. As a result, not only do online graphics supplement a message and expound on "who we are," They, enable very strategic and dynamic connection. in order to convey a certain impression of the sender, an object, or a location, among other things (Russmann & Svenson, 2017, p. 2).

2.5 Online news

The Wall Street Journal was one of the first newspapers to offer its services on CompuServe, and the financial information was the first to demonstrate that there was potential for commercial news on the Internet. In the 1990s, numerous major North American newspapers adopted this system, which was clearly a forerunner to the journalism of the World Wide Web, which was still in its infancy at the time (Noci, 2013, p .258).

The Palo Alto Weekly was the first newspaper to be published on the World Wide Web in 1994. The University of Florida had developed the first website on journalism a few months prior, near the end of 1993. In 1995, there were already 150 newspapers on the World Wide Web, and the journal Editor & Publisher published a special issue on the new phenomenon. In March of that year, Time magazine published another special issue on internet (Noci,2013, p. 258).

The launch of Google in 1998 revolutionized the world of search and online content navigation. In reality, it made subject-based "search" the primary way for people to find information on the internet. This approach triumphed over other approaches to content and subject categorization based on library sciences. People are increasingly turning to search engines and internet portals to locate the websites they require. With the passage of time (Nalkur, 2013, p. 34).

2.6 The web

The World Wide Web WWW is a network of interconnected hypertext pages accessible over the Internet. Although many people use the terms "Internet" and "web" interchangeably, the Internet is the mechanism that allows data to be sent, whereas the web is the data itself (Jackson, 2009, P.7).

The Web, on the other hand, underwent a dramatic transformation at the close of the twentieth century. In addition to the popularization of personal computers and mobile technologies, advancements in networking technologies allowed for broader access to the web, allowing society to connect with each other in unprecedented ways, publish to a larger audience,

and distribute knowledge in non-traditional formats (Adeline ED, 2014, p. 25).

Individual photos, (links to a collection of photographs of an event captured by a photographer), movies, audio recordings, maps, charts, and interactive features are all included on the website (links to a converged page where the user could interact with maps, timelines, historical, geographical, political, and economic data), Links for commenting on a story, accessing related articles, learning more about the people in the story, visiting the participants' personal websites, and finding other news sources that are covering the story are all accessible. (Loomis, 2009, p.148).

2.7 Al Jazeera strategy

Al Jazeera Arabic began broadcasting in 1996 in Qatar's capital Doha, whereas Al Jazeera English (AJE) launched ten years later in 2006, under different administrations. In 1995 Elsheikh Hamad bin Khalifa assumed the throne, the goal of founding the channel was to provide Qatar a significant position in the Middle East and beyond the world. The Qatari government supported Al Jazeera for the first five years, with the aim that Aljazeera would then be self-sufficient However the Qatari government still funding the channel (AlSamrin, 2018, p.3).

A royal edict established Al Jazeera. While nominally a continuation of Qatar's dedication to a free and independent press, Al Jazeera was also founded as "a response to regime weaknesses on the Islamic front as well as a means of legitimizing Qatar's military and economic alliance with the US in the [eyes] of angry Arab viewers. As a result, "the new regime was weak (Powers, 2009, p.101).

AJE has 4 broadcasting canters in Doha, Kuala Lumpur, London, and Washington, DC, as well as 70 bureaus around the world. It employs over 1,000 people from over 50 different nations. The AJE website, on the other hand, claims three centres: Doha, London, and Washington, D.C. AJE was the first non-Arabic news channel to launch and broadcast from the Middle East in English (AlSamrin, 2018, p.6).

AJE was founded in response to massive business prospects and geopolitical imperatives. Following the September 11th attacks and the US-

led invasion of Afghanistan, there's an increased need for rising, timely news from the Middle East and other non-Western countries that had previously gone unreported. (Seib, 2012, p.7).

The birth of AJE followed the cancellation of a contract in 1996 between the Rome-based, Saudi Arabia-owned Orbit Radio and Television Service and the BBC News Service's Arabic TV branch. The contract was terminated due to a severe disagreement between the Saudi government and the BBC over editorial practices. According to reports, the Saudi financiers decided to withdraw their financial backing for the project following a disagreement over the broadcast of a documentary about Saudi executions (El-Nawawy, 2008, p.27).

Up until the beginning of AJE all media, in particular the broadcast media, were state controlled. Newspapers and TV news stations featured information that helped maintain the political status quo governments only allowed stories that were critical of political enemies and regional rivals, The majority of Arab depended on international channels like the BBC, Radio Monte Carlo, and the Voice of America. Thus, when Al Jazeera hit the airwaves, viewers flocked to it (Powers, 2009, p.103).

The talk shows on Al-Jazeera "frequently set the agenda for local disagreements and debates, as well as reflecting the themes considered significant within the Arab intellectual elite." Additionally, compared to most of its counterparts, its talk shows have been significantly more direct, provocative, live, and uncensored. For Arab television viewers who have been wishing for such dialogue shows where they may hear different viewpoints and freely express their own, Al-Jazeera has become a breath of fresh air in a highly restricted environment. (El-Nawawy, 2008, p.28).

AJE describes itself as "the world's first global English language news station headquartered in the Middle East." is already available in over 110 million households worldwide, and has also consented to give distribution (often for free) via several video sharing services, making it available to

anybody with a connection to the Internet. AJE bills itself as "the voice of the South," with over 25 bureaus globally (El-Nawawy, 2008, p.31).

The nature of Al Jazeera's newscasts and programs changed the policy and landscape of media in Arab region. It quickly became the most important regional media source, which influenced Arab national discourse. after its founding in 1996. Al Jazeera introduced a new form of programming to the Arab media scene, aimed at building a dynamic and active public. Aside from the continuous news flow that occurs During the day, one newscast is broadcast every hour. and two two-hour extended bulletins (Abdelmoula, 2012, p.183).

In 1998, when the United States and Britain shelled Iraq, Al Jazeera was attended there, and in 2000, during the Palestinian uprising, Al Jazeera's strong coverage attracted a wide audience. The American invasion of Afghanistan was the major shift that made Al Jazeera jump to the top among all Arab and non-Arab channels. Al-Jazeera got an opportunity that no one else had, Taliban's allowing Aljazeera to move freely and to cover the news of the fighting in its fields and to broadcast a lot of statements by field commanders and political leaders. Al-Jazeera took advantage of this opportunity and dealt with it with a high degree of distinguished professional performance (Elkasasba, 2015, p.26).

Despite receiving government funding, Al Jazeera maintains independence from the Qatari government, and Qatari royals routinely declare that they do not meddle with the channel's editorial decisions. This independence provided Al Jazeera with a high level of credibility among its audiences. Critics, on the other hand, frequently view such assertions of independence with skepticism. This is due to the fact that, aside from its reliance on Qatari funds (Kasmani, 2014, p.597).

Aljazeera's axes of coverage include international news. through a huge network of correspondents spread all over the world, whose number exceeds

700, in addition to its cooperation with all international news media. Debates and discussions in which experts are hosted in Al Jazeera studio in Qatar directly, and dialogues are conducted with them through its studios spread all over the world by linking them with the center by satellite. Arab and international sports news. Educational and cultural programs, which include, for example, variety, technology, zoology, medicine, documentaries, in addition to economic, financial and business news (Elkassaba, 2015, p.31).

AJE is an alternative network to the mainstream media and a credible source for English-speaking viewers, particularly in the Middle East. Former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated that the US mainstream media was losing "the information battle" to another channels, naming three prominent networks: Al Jazeera, Russia Today, and CCTV. (AlSamrin, 2018, p.6)

Despite the progress of social media and broadcast media, it is Al Jazeera English (AJE) that has played a significant role in promoting the distributed and diverse voices of the Arab Spring. Al Jazeera English's influence in mediating both transregional and worldwide politics has expanded considerably in recent years. Al Jazeera English has actively learnt from previous obstacles and tested techniques for covering risky places over the course of various political crises (Howard & Hussain, 2013, p.99).

AJE began as an Arabic-language television news station. Al Jazeera's approach was ground breaking. It also insured that it received a lot of criticism and made a lot of enemies in the region. It became usual for Arab states to protest to Qatar's Emir over Al Jazeera's unfavourable reporting. Sudanese authorities for example shut down the network's offices and evacuated its workers from Khartoum in May 2019 following complaints that its coverage was biased (Satti ,2019, p.8).

2.8.BBC strategy

In November 1922, the British Broadcasting Company was established. On the advice of the Crawford Committee the BBC was renamed the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1927 becoming a publicly-funded and quasi-autonomous entity formed by a Royal Charter. Since its foundation the BBC has expanded its services in response to technological advancements (Owen, 2019,P.33).

The BBC operates eight television channels, an online television channel (BBC Three), 10 national radio stations, national TV and radio stations for Northern Ireland Scotland, and Wales. 40 local radio stations, and BBC Online. These BBC services are utilized on a weekly basis by 97 % of people, who spend an average of 18 hours a week using them. According to data from the communications regulator, Ofcom, the BBC now has the biggest audience reach among adults of all UK news source, at 81% (Owen ,2019, p.33).

The BBC was a pioneer in Accepting internet technology, satellite and cable television network supply to 'convert traditional to digital broadcasting' in the UK news sector.' Since 1990, the BBC has been modifying them with the help of 'digital elements' to digitalize their broadcasted contents (Jahan & Abdullah, p.1232). The development of social media has resulted in a new media logic at the BBC, with tech-savvy journalists taking on a new pivotal role in the newsroom. These shifts altered both the political-economic and socio-cultural logic, resulting in a more linked newsroom with a new breed of reporters and audience. The BBC's journalistic practice and standards have improved as a result of this transition, including news sourcing, gathering, distribution, and impartiality (Zhang & Oloo, 2021, p.3).

According to the BBC Administration team, it is critical to communicate with website readers, users and listeners. They follow regular communication with the audience via the BBC Information website to learn

what they enjoy, why they like it, and what they expect from the BBC. There are various websites where the people can make comments and such as the BBC messages. (Medina & Ojer, 2011, p.89). BBC online News is one of the most popular news websites in the world. having considerable trust in the United Kingdom and overseas particularly in the United States. It is central to the BBC's broader efforts to adapt to the problems of commercialization, digitization, and convergence while maintaining its commitment to public service principles (Wright, 2015, p.2).

It should come as no surprise that, according to a 2016 Reynolds Journalism Institute survey 4 of the 10 most trusted news sources for USA audiences are from outside the US, and all are from UK, the Guardian, the Economist, Reuters, and, of course, the BBC. This supported Pew Research Center, which found that the BBC was one of the few institutions that American audiences trusted (Freedman, 2019, p.204).

The BBC's supremacy is clear in the sheer volume of available supporting information it offered. It was the only website that provided links to other news services' coverage about specific occurrences. While AJE had the second-most links to supplementary information, practically all of them were to similar pieces in the Al Jazeera English database (Loomis, 2009, p.153).

Because of the BBC's operations, civic involvement is dispersed across competing players inside the Corporation, each with their own set of routines and perceptions of its importance. This friction has a profound impact not just on the relation between dialectic, but also on what forms a 'public space. The Corporation is able to build and, as a result, citizens' ability to engage in 'healthy democratic discourse' (Scullion R.e.t Al ,2013, p.1).

After World War II, the BBC started a serious presence in Africa in 1948, at the time of the first movement of African independence, amid growing

concern about the spread of communism, broadcasting was considered not just as a way of stopping negative political events, but also as a tool of influencing public opinion. Broadcasting was even thought to be capable of giving everyone political power and preventing civil unrest (Andersson,2019, p.138).

The BBC Africa Facebook page found on January 18, 2010, and changed to BBC News Africa on May 2018. BBC News Africa barely posts only average of 8 posts per day, it's also worth noting that BBC News Africa's postings receive 3161 interactions every day. Also, BBC News Africa posts have an average of 1643 likes, 273 comments, and 712 shares. The number of reactions, comments, and shares on the BBC News Africa Facebook pages is proportional to the number of followers who receive page updates in their feed (Zhang & Oloo, 2021, p.10). The BBC's coverage of the Sudanese crisis revealed a striking, if not contradictory, discrepancy between words and images. the world condemned tyrant al-Bashir, the self-appointed ruler of Sudan. The International Criminal Court of Human Rights in The Hague officially indicted him as a war criminal, and he was served with an international arrest warrant. Surprisingly, camera footage primarily captured images sympathetic to Sudan's President, focused on Northern Sudanese demonstrations in support of his usurped power and even portraying him as a hero carrying a sword (Elssawi & Baumann, 2010, p.147).

CHAPTER THREE

3.METHODOLOGY

This chapter considers the notion of Critical Discourse Analysis, with a focus on Fairclough's model. Text analysis, discourse practice, and social practice are all part of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for Critical discourse analysis. (Singh, 2008, p. 96).

The aim of this chapter is to detail the technique and data used by the researcher to carry out this study. The description includes the study's method and procedure, data collecting, materials, samples, and analysis tools, in addition to the backgrounds causes of the Sudan revolution and the performance of media during revolution time, and the literature review which discussed the similar issue.

This study uses Critical discourse analysis because it is a widely used research method in framing research to gather and analyse data on media contents. The goal is to answer the study's questions and addresses the identified research problems. It is also important to compare how various media present the same issues in different ways and to measure how much of the events of the Sudanese revolution were covered by BBC and Aljazeera English after evaluating their selected news.

This research is based on media texts created during a time of revolution in Sudan, which was primarily affected by uprisings and whose regime's head was ousted. CDA is appropriate for this study because the researcher is primarily concerned in examining the relation between media language and power, as well as demonstrating how media language, power, ideology, and society are all connected. During the Sudan 2018-2019 revolution, most people are exposed to a massive amount of information through various media sources, and as a result, they may have difficulty judging whether the information they receive is correct or not, bearing in mind that meanings are multidimensional and slippery rather than monolithic. As a result, CDA is significant for this study because it helps to discover some of the hidden

meanings and ideological loads of discourses by taking into account the many ways that text producers may use to send their message dependent on the overall context of the event. In this thesis, the researcher demonstrated how the linguistic selections of BBC and AJE websites might provide a specific ideology that may be hidden from readers. For example, Omer Albashir can be referred to as the leader, president, Mr however, what description websites selected was important. Using linguistic techniques, the researcher will investigate which of these descriptions are used, and whether the websites will refer to Albashir with some other (negative) descriptions such as dictator or long-time ruler. In addition, construction which interpreted by new media (websites of BBC and AJE) This construction occurred in language and several other forms of social and physiological behaviour. such as what are the main goals of revolution who are the Sudanese revolutions actors What are their descriptions and other additional parts of judgments related to the questions of the study.

3.1 Critical discourse analysis

CDA interested in why people use language to exploit power. It is focused on the concept that as language users, we select lexical words or grammatical constructs that represent our ideas and try to position our addressee (Abu Hatab, 2013, p.3).

Critical discourse analysis is a kind of discourse analytical approach that focuses on how text and talk in the social and political content resist social power abuse, and inequality. Critical discourse analysts take a clear position in dissident research studies in order to examine, expose, and finally confront social injustice (Schifrin, ET AL 2001, p.353).

CDA is a linguistics-based analytical tool, that is increasingly frequently utilized in social research as a means of portraying and engaging the discourse that surrounds complicated socio-political issues. Theoretically, CDA has been heavily influenced by social theory, particularly the Frankfurt School's critical theory and the concepts of French theorists Bourdieu and Foucault, who have linked politics, language, and culture. The diverse roots

of critical discourse studies can be found in rhetoric and text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, psychology of social interaction, Literary studies, cognitive science, and sociolinguistics. (Meyer, 2015).

Written and spoken language are both seen as forms of social practice in the discourse-historical approach. A discourse is a technique of representing a certain area of social activity from a specific point of view. Specific discursive practices and specific domains of action, such as contexts, organizational framing, and social structures, have a dialectical relationship. (Meyer, 2015, p. 27). Janks (1997) defined CDA as a type of social activity. CDA employs Critical theories that study language in relation to power, revealing oppressors' identities. According to Van Dijk (2003), CDA focuses on how social structures influence a social group's mental representation (Ramanathan, 2015, p. 58).

Caroline Coffin (2001) argued CDA is "an approach to language analysis that is concerned with issues of language, power, and ideology." It's an interdisciplinary approach to discourse that dismisses language as a discipline in its own right, separate from social studies. Rather, it focuses on language as a type of "social practice" and tries to investigate both the ways in which discourse is formed by power and ideology relations, as well as the ways in which discourse actively shapes these relations. (Lawson, without date, p.3).

The researcher focused in this study on linguistic analysis of news that covered Sudanese revolution as a text, also will emphasize discursive practice by involving reviews by consumers of texts of BBC and Al-Jazeera English. Then will speak with Fairclough, and argue that: In a variety of social processes, language has gained importance and influence. At the same time, major aspects of social life are starting to focus more and more on new media, particularly websites. Politics is a great example of this. Politicians now often have access to massive number of readers that provide both improved potential for them to influence public opinion and attract support and more risks of media attention. When taking this into account, the

researcher truly believes that CDA can contribute in making society a better one. This is one of the main reasons why CDA has been selected as a method for analysis.

This study used CDA to determine how two different news corporations (BBC and AJE) present the same story with differing perspectives depends on Fairclough's model for its capacity to analyse texts through the three dimensions of text, discourse practice, and social practice. Text analysis focused on the function of the text itself, discourse practice considers the text's production, distribution, and consumption, and social practice relates the text to a wider social context. Analysis may used in any order, but Richardson (2007) suggests moving from text to discourse practice and then social practice (from a micro to a macro level). At the level of text analysis, this study will examine the lexical choices, narrative structure, and representation of social actors in the articles. At the level of discourse practice, news values, intertextuality, hypertext, and multimedia will be addressed. Finally, the underlying ideologies of the journalists will be discussed at the level of social practice.

3.2 Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Before delving into Fairclough's approach, it's worth noting the main concepts of CDA as summarized by Norman Fairclough and Wodak: CDA works to solve social issues. Society and culture are built on discourse, discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated and discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, discourse also is a type of social interaction. (Youssefi, et,Al 2013, p. 1344).

According to Fairclough, Wodak, and Meyer, critical discourse analysis refers to a diverse collection of socio-theoretical perspectives on discourse in society, spanning a wide range of applications and methodologies in discourse analysis. (O'Regan ,2011, p.1).

One of the main aspects of critical discourse analysis is the role of power relations and inequality in the production of social wrongs. Furthermore, focuses on discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities on

dialectical links between discourse and power and their impacts on other relations within the social process and their factors This involves issues of ideology and the interpretation of ideologies in the service of power (Norman Fairclough, 2013, P.8).

Fairclough has developed a three-dimensional CDA model in 1992 that includes text, discursive practice, and social practice. These features are linked to semiotics because interpretations are developed to describe the occurrence of specific events and to highlight the discursivity of speech. In general, the three-dimensional framework tries to introduce challenging principles, because when the text is related to the social situation, these principles are better understood (Ramanathan, 2015, p. 59).

Fairclough's proposed discourse analytic method, according to Fischer (2003), integrates numerous approaches to discourse analysis. Fairclough's three-dimensional vision of discourse, encapsulated in his concept of a discursive event, aims to bring the many concepts of discourse together. He believes that a "discursive event" can be viewed in three ways at the same time: (1) as a text, (2) as discursive practice, and (3) as social practice (Grewal ,2008, p. 100).

The researcher wishes to justify the method of analysis chosen. One of the keys focuses of CDA is the role of power relations and inequality in the production of social wrongs. And, in particular, on discursive aspects of power relations and inequities on dialectical links between discourse and power, as well as their impact on other relationships within the social process and their elements. This covers issues of ideology, with ideologies understood to have meaning in the service of power (Fairclough, 2013, p.8).

One of the study properties indicating the relevance of analysis as social theory, as well as ideological state and hegemonic concepts have a vital role in the research issue. CDA is highly beneficial for analysing theoretical assumptions because of its integration of language and social theory. The researcher selected Fairclough's three-dimensional framework because it pays much attention concretely to textual characteristics, it also taking into

account discourse-as-discursive-practice. The researcher focus is mainly on the textual analysis, considered the discursive practice as equally important.

To analyze social notions (such as 'hegemony' and 'ideology') that have a positive impact on society; for example, "empowering the powerless, giving voice to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs." As a result, CDA is concerned with power and inequality in language. Critical discourse analysis in other words, creates a link between social theory (in this case, power and ideology) and language.

According to Fairclough, who strongly uses sociological theory, language is considered to be a social practice rather than a basic linguistic fact that exists independently of society. As a result, Fairclough asserts that language should be studied as discourse, in both spoken and written forms. Furthermore, he discusses "text," which is viewed as a component of people's communication processes. According to Fairclough, the ultimate goal of analysing language, from the standpoint of CDA, is to raise people's consciousness toward exploitative social interactions. (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 1077).

In his 1989 book "Language and Power," Fairclough presented a three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. This model is intended to be an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse since it considered the language as a form of social practice' and focused on the ways 'text' exercises social and political dominance in discourse.

Furthermore, the three-dimensional model emphasizes processes of generation and receives 'discourse fragment' in a specific context (Baig, 2013, p. 129)

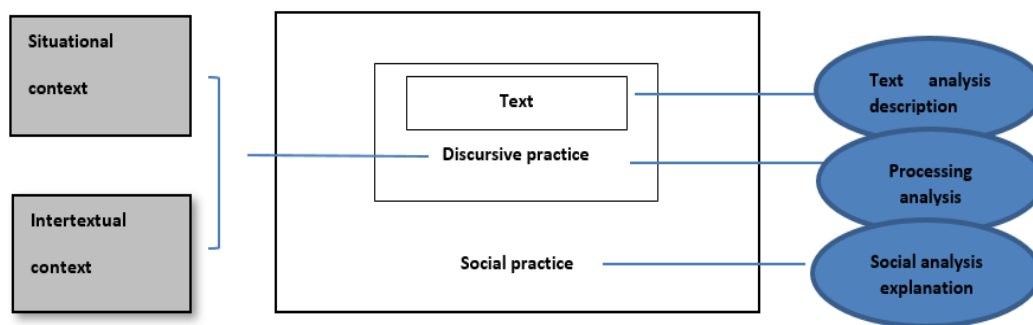


Figure 3.1: Fairclough's three dimensions to discourse (Baig 2013 p 129)

According to his three-dimensional model Fairclough first proposed a "Text" that included Texts that are spoken, visual, or both verbal and visual. The production of 'discursive practices' is the second dimension and reception of a 'text' in a certain 'context.' Situational and intertextual elements make up the context. Situational context is concerned with the time and place where the text was produced, however intertextual context is concerned with the discourse's producers and recipients. The third dimension of discourse could be defined as 'power behind discourse' or 'social practices' that operate behind the scenes and manage power relations in discourse. (Baig, 2013, p.129).

The argument of the connection between social and discursive processes is involved the analysis of social practice. It seeks to study the discourse within the context of a wider social practice or to identify the discourse's social determination and social effects. According to Fairclough (1989), explanation of social practice involves analysis whose "objective is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can have on those structures, sustaining or changing them" (Fujioka, 2013, p. 1880).

3.2.1 Textual Analysis

Texts, according to Fairclough, should be evaluated at many levels. These levels are concerned with the examination of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, and so on, but more importantly, they "must not be regarded profound and of direct significance in themselves; rather, it is the function

that such elements fulfil in the moment of their usage that is of interest." As a result, language study in connection to its direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting ideologic and social power structures (Graaf, 2005, p. 20).

3.2.2 Discursive Practices

Fairclough believes "the discourse practice dimension of the communicative event involves multiple aspects of text generation and text consuming processes. In a limited sense, one can consider "text decoding by the reader/viewer." As a result, rather than textual analysis. Analysis becomes discourse analysis throughout this phase. Text is incorporated within and pertains to social situations. This can be illustrated schematically (Graaf, 2005, p. 20).

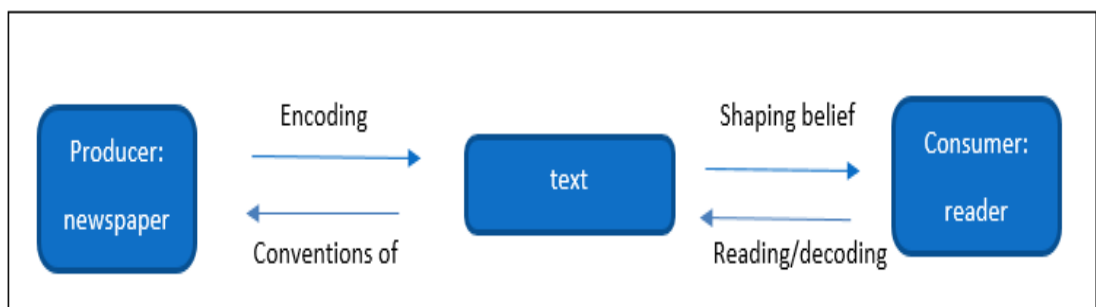


Figure 3.2 Text and social situations (Graaf, 2005, p. 20).

3.2.3 Social practices

Ideologies can be understood in terms of their relationship to power structures. Ideologies according to Fairclough are "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) that are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices and contribute to the production, reproduction, or transformation of relations of domination." (Pemberton, 2018, p.16) Practice aspects that are never totally separable. A social order is formed by social behaviours that are linked in a specific way, and the order of discourse is its semiotic element. Thus, the social organizing of a

linguistic difference is the arrangement of discourse- a particular social structuring of relationships between different ways of delivering meaning, or discourses and forms (Dremel, 2014, p.158).

Richardson shows CDA in a figure below:



Figure 3.3 *social ordering and discourse* (Graaf, 2005, p. 21).

3.3 literature review

The goal of this study is to shed light on the role of new media in covering the events of Sudan's 2018-2019 revolution, based on particular hypotheses that the researcher has previously expressed. Therefore it is important to show and elaborate the literature review on the same field, such an elaboration is significant so as to gain a full knowledge of new media's potential implications or social media on Sudanese revolution or Arab spring countries.

The Studies about the Sudanese 2018-2019 Revolution are still few. To explain the scarcity of researches relevant to this revolution, one could say that it stems from the event's recentness, or that it is still unfolding and ongoing, on the one hand, and that most of the studies conducted in this field were centred on assessing the potential role for communication technologies specifically social networks like Facebook and Twitter.

This chapter examines the existing literature linked to this topic in order to offer a cohesive framework to the critical discourse analysis examination, putting the research within a larger, established tradition of academic background. This chapter begins with a discussion of an outlines of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Based on critical discourse analysis, MUHAMMAD MARWAN BIN ISMAIL 2018 investigated BBC Arabic and AJE Arabic online news coverage of the 2011 Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt. The study was submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of doctor of philosophy. The primary goals of this research to reveal how Aljazeera and the BBC used discourse to form power relations during the two versions of the so-called Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt. To look into how the two media outlets portray the protests and how the concepts of 'antagonist' and 'protagonist' are formed. The study's questions sought to answer how the two news agencies, AJE and BBA, reported the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolution by studying how they characterized the protests and portrayed the antagonists and protagonists. These representations are studied textually, by examining lexicalization and predication, verbal processes and presupposition, and discursively, by studying intertextuality, using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. The chosen web news stories are primarily concerned with political, economic, and social topics. The analysis discovers textual and discursive discrepancies between Aljazeera and BBC coverage. The study found differences between Aljazeera and BBC's coverage on both the textual and discursive level.

Majid Alhumaidi 2013 presented his study to the University of Florida for the degree of doctor of philosophy. The study aimed to compare and contrast how the Egyptian Revolution was portrayed by online news articles of two leading media outlets representing official and semi-independent media in the Arab world: Al-Ahram and Aljazeera.

The study's questions attempted to investigate how the two news agencies, Al-Ahram and Aljazeera, covered the Egyptian Revolution by portraying the protesters and antagonists. These representations are studied textually, by evaluating lexicalization and predication, verbal processes and presupposition, and discursively, by studying intertextuality and themes, using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. Because the study's data was in Arabic, relevant excerpts were first translated into English and then evaluated. The current study uses Fairclough's three-dimensional framework

to evaluate how two Egyptian media outlets representing official and semi-independent media interpreted the Egyptian Revolution and represented the conflict's two sides. One of the key findings of this study's textual and discursive practice analysis was that the two outlets tended to change their reporting strategies at a certain point in the uprising, and that the researcher investigated the immediate situational context and the developments that occurred in order to provide a socio-political explanation for the textual and discursive practice shift. According to Al-Ahram, the protesters violated norms and values by violating laws and causing disruption. Aljazeera offered through coverage of the protests and protestors from the beginning of the Revolution; it emphasized the huge number of protesters and their demands, and it constantly reported their slogans and chants, particularly those demanding for the resignation of President Mubarak.

Sabah A. Harahsheh 2013 examined Analysis of Al Jazeera Channel's Discourse on "Arab Spring" in Syria: The "Opposite Direction" as a Model this study presented to graduate study of the middle east university for the degree of master in media. This study is a qualitative analytical study, so it depends on the discourse analysis method in general and the rhetorical text analysis in particular. The study under examination covered all the episodes of the program "Opposite Direction" that dealt with the Syrian crisis during the period between 18/03/2011 and 30/9/2012.

Sabah's research tried to answer the questions: What are the frameworks used by the Opposite Direction program to cover the political events in Syria? Do these frameworks indicate a desire to influence the audience's attitudes towards the political events in Syria? Based on the answers to the previous two questions, how can the discourse of opposite direction program can be described? The analysis findings can be stated as follows: First, the program addresses the Syrian crisis within the background of the program's inability to reform and the absence of any political solution to the problem. Second, the Opposite Direction discourse might be described as a rising speech toward a Syrian problem that supports a military solution above everything else. Third, as he argues, Al-Qassim (program presenter) does

not offer two opposing perspectives in his argument; rather, his discourse is targeted towards one direction exclusively, allowing Al-Qassim to achieve particular goals.

Raiya Sulaiman in 2016 studied Arabic media and political ideologies through a critical discourse analysis of Al Jazeera debates on the Yemeni revolution. This study was submitted to the University of Hertfordshire for the degree of PhD. The study asked Was language employed to promote hegemonic ideology in Al Jazeera's political debates during the Yemen revolution of 2011-2012? If so, how so? And how may CDA assist in identifying and unpacking ideology in discourse? Is it necessary to supplement CDA with another method? The study employed CDA, which was influenced by the quantity and quality of accessible data.

AJE used a variety of media to cover Yemen's revolution, including news, live documentaries, chat shows, talks, and conversation programs. Debates were chosen as the study genre because they provide a compact picture of the media and political discourse, both of which are important in this study. So, in this study, debates relate to the talks conducted by the Al Jazeera network's Arabic channel, in which participants argued their views on the 2011 Yemen revolution. All of the arguments were shown live on four different shows: Opposite Direction, In Depth, Behind the News, and The Revolution Talk. Fourteen of the debates were held at the AJ channel's studios in Doha, Qatar.

In Yemen, only one discussion was place in an open-air studio. The debates took place over the course of a year, from 22 May 2011 to 21 May 2012. There are fifteen arguments in the corpus, with three to five episodes from each of the four programs. The debates focused on significant and developing events relating to the Yemen revolution. The study found that AJE and the demonstrators had same ideological intents, even using the same linguistic elements at times. However, the ideological intentions of AJE were shown to bear little similar to those of the government.

Ahmad S Haider 2016 examined A Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of Evidence from the Arab Uprisings in the Libyan Case, presented the study for PhD in Linguistics from Canterbury university. The study included some questions for example Are there any constant/frequent discourses with Qaddafi in The Guardian, The NYT, Asharq Al-Awsat, and Al-Khaleej from 2009 to 2013? What are the most frequent and discussed topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to Libya and Qaddafi in A: the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)? B: during the uprisings (2011)? C: post-uprisings period (2012/2013)? What does a keyword analysis indicate about The Guardian's most important themes? and The NYT on the one hand, and Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej on the other one in articles that contain at least one mention of either Libya*, Qaddafi, Tripoli, Benghazi, and Sirt in A: the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)? B: during the uprisings (2011)? C: post-uprisings period (2012/2013)? The author views corpus linguistics as a methodology in this thesis. It is a method rather than a theory. first approached the corpus by making frequency lists for the three time periods in the four newspapers. Then the most common were considered.

25 lexical words in the English corpus, and the most frequent 35 lexical words in its Arabic counterpart. Through this study CDA examines the relationship between language and power, and focuses on the critical role that context plays in discourse. The study found a diverse variety of discursive constructions for the 300-events based on the agendas of the investigated newspapers and their impact on their interests. Such differences in viewpoints are likely to impact national and perhaps global views about specific issues.

Hamida Ibrahim Mohammed Osman (2018) explored the role of discursive strategies of political discourse as represented in media discourse. Hamida's thesis was submitted to Sudan University as part of the PhD requirement in English language (applied linguistics) Hamida developed racism and ethnic prejudice using discourse tactics. The study chose a historical discourse approach, and topic-oriented questions were asked.: What were the most

influential events in Sudan's contemporary history in terms of replicating racial prejudice? What role does media discourse have in the development, legitimization, and thus repetition of racial prejudice in Sudan? What are the media discourse tactics that demonstrate the overwhelming expansion of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice?

In the first hypothesis, the researcher of this study evaluated the influence of the media by evaluating political discourse in Sudanese daily newspapers (Akhbaralyoum) which indicates "the day's news" in English. The study employed a discourse historical approach, specifically the strategies of a positive self-presentation and a negative other-presentation in which the discourse is studied in terms of self and other representation. This strategy was used to examine the media discourse of the Akhbar Alyoom daily. This study's data analysis well so outcomes. Through the proverbs, ethnic prejudice appears to be cross-sectional, with different layers of prejudice occurring amongst tribes and ethnicities. Proverbs, like cultural folklore, also have a serious influence on establishing and entrenching the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice among Sudanese.

Abd El Hamid BENDERBAL explored A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Local Election Posters in Algeria in 2018 for master degree in language sciences at Abd-Elhamid Ibn Badis University of Mostaganem Faculty of Languages, English department. The goal of this research is to examine Algerian electoral posters during the national campaign on November 23, 2017. The study focused on four posters of candidates in these elections, exploring the techniques employed for effectively portraying the candidate, which took place on November 23, 2017.

Two electoral posters are tied to Labour Party President Louiza Hanoune, while one is related to FLN leader Djamel Ouled Abbas. The last one is about Naima Salhi. In order to obtain visual data, this research was carried out within the framework of critical discourse analysis. The analysis has two objectives: 8. To critique the key tactics utilized in political representation. 9. To exercise participant hegemonic norms by the manner they are depicted

in electoral posters. The results reveal that the basic parts of pictures in electoral posters appeal to and influence voters.

Sawsan Atallah Bidart studied How global News is Constructed in 2019. The Case of the Arab Spring for the PhD in "information communication sciences" from Bordeaux Montaigne University.

By investigating how news is produced in the context of the Arab Spring events, the study focused on how international events are represented as news stories to global audiences. This study used a grounded theory method to explain three questions by constructing a corpus of 252 news videos on Arab Spring events broadcast by AJE English, Press TV English, Euro news English, and France 24 English. How did the leading information institutions influence worldwide news flow during the Arab Spring? How were the events of the Arab Spring portrayed in news stories? And how was the material supplied used to create international news stories? The news videos in the corpus are analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis, which is supplemented by literature and empirical research in the form of interviews on the dominant information institutions of the Arab Spring, including the aforementioned news channels as well as the news agency AFP and the UGC agency Crowd spark. event site, with few international representation and frames of peaceful demonstrations during the Egyptian, Syrian, and Yemeni upheavals, as well as frames of violent riots during the Bahraini and Tunisian uprisings. Frames showing damage or explosions were found in areas experiencing unrest, including Libya and Syria.

Fatima Shaaban Muhammad Hassan studied Analysis of the last speech of Sudan former President Al-Bashir in the face of the Sudanese popular revolution 2019 on the scientific research magazine of Alazhar university faculty of media Issue 55 part 3 in 2020. Her study employed an integrative approach in the study of discourse analysis, employing Fairclough and van Dijk's discourse analysis approach to combine textual analysis of the discourse with social, cultural, and ideological analysis, as well as rhetorical argument analysis that focused on the emotional and mental approach and persuasion strategies and techniques.

By applying this to Al-Bashir's last speech which delivered on Friday, February 22, 2019, to study the speech production's conditions, context, and formal structure as a social act. The study sought to provide answers to questions: What is the background and formal structure of former Sudanese President Omar Albashir's speech? What persuasive methods used in the discourse? What are the arguments used for? Does Persuasive enough to persuade recipients? What linguistic techniques and manipulations did Al-Bashir employ in his speech? The following are the findings of an analysis of Al- Bashir's speech:

we examine the text of Al- Bashir's speech we discover that it has met the essential parameters for communication to appear strong in the ears of the recipients. Because it is an integrated text, the speech's shape is distinguished by strength and persuasion. However, within the context, we find ourselves confronted with a president who is no longer in control and who is in a weak political position, threatened by the protests that have swept many regions and revealed his words meaningless to the protesters who have been demanding his resignation and departing exclusively.

Mohammed 2020 investigated BBC Coverage of the Sudanese December Revolution from CDA Perspective, this study submitted to the Sudan University of Science and Technology, Graduate Studies College of Languages in 2020 for the degree of Master. This study assumed that BBC has not fully covered the political and economic dimensions in its media coverage of the Sudanese revolution, and There are ideological expressions used by both BBC and Sudanese social media coverages.

This study focused on BBC and Sudanese social media coverages of the Sudanese revolution, analysing just videos produced by BBC correspondents posted to Sudan to cover the December revolution. The study uses a range of CDA methodologies to evaluate samples from the BBC World Service and Sudanese social media, as well as a tool created specifically for video analysis. The tool is divided into two parts: a political dimension with subdimensions and an economic dimension with subdimensions.

The van Dijk conceptual square was employed in the study to analyze the ideologies of BBC and local social media discourses. The study revealed several key findings, for example social media coverage was informative, providing detailed information about the regime's crimes and corruption, whereas BBC coverage provided minor facts, BBC coverage was limited in depth due to underqualified correspondents dispatched to Sudan. The usage of pronouns and sloganeering in social media coverage established a clear ideological divide between the authorities and the protestors.

The researcher has benefited so much from all previous studies which added more knowledge and backgrounds to the thesis, some of these studies are different and some of them are similar to the current study. In general, the majority of the studies discussed the issue of media which covered Arab spring events depending on Critical discourse Analysis however the study of Hamida Ibrahim Mohammed Osman, Fatima Shaaban Muhammad Hassan and Mohammed Mustafa Omer Mohammed are the closest to the current study because all of them used the same methodology CDA and focused on the role of media in covering Sudan revolution or nearest issues.

The difference aspects of Hamida's study that she studied the influence of media in entrenching the racial prejudice by analysing the sample of news from Sudanese daily newspaper (Akhbar Alyom) which means the Day news. Hamida used a historical discourse approach in her study. Fatima Shaaban Muhammad Hassan analysed the speech of former president of Sudan Omer Albashir socially culturally and ideologically depending on Fairclough and van Dijk's visions. Mohammed Mustafa Omer Mohammed on his study focused on analysing some videos from BBC content covered Sudan revolution by using critical discourse analysis to study the political and economic dimensions.

The current study attempted to fill gaps in contemporary media performance related to Sudan's recent revolution that occurred in 2018. The researcher has chosen new media, specifically the websites of BBC and AJE networks, as an example because he did not find a similar study, and as a result, the

study may be unique and distinguished to add different experience and contribution to the journalism field.

Samples of news from two sources, BBC and AJE, were contrasted using critical discourse analysis at varied time and situation to examine the facts from multiple angles.

3.4 Context of the study

3.4.1 Sudanese 2018-2019 revolution

3.4.2 Sudanese revolution background

To study the 2018-2019 revolution of Sudan it is very important to know the first general information about Sudanese political history. Sudan is a country in North Eastern Africa with a population of 45 million as of July 2020. Sudan governed by a number of governments since 1956, when it gained independence from British rule (Daffalla,2021, p.6). Sudan gained independence from British rule in 1956, since its independence from Britain in 1956 Sudan has seen many periods of dictatorship by rulers that have opposed democracy and worked hard to prevent the development of democratic parties. Sudan's shaky democracy has resulted in three military coups, followed by military dictatorships (Himmat, 2019, p. 1).

Throughout the country's history, the military has been at the center of the country's politics. It interfered under General Abboud in 1958, then again in 1969, in a Communist-backed military revolution headed by Nimeri, and finally in an Islamist-backed coup led by al-Bashier in 1989. (A. Abdelwahid 2008 p 131). Sudan's political history since the independence in 1956 can be divided into two different periods, each with its own distinct features and dynamics: the first period lasted from 1956 to the military coup of 1989, and the second period lasted from the start of Omar al Bashir's rule in June 1989 until the popular uprisings that deposed him in April 2019. The first phase had alternating periods of civilian and military control, with a clear military dictatorship predominating the two public uprisings that brought down military administrations in October 1964 and April 1985 resulted in short-lived civilian governments that fell quickly due to

paralyzing political disputes and catastrophic incompetence. (Hamoud, 2020 p3).

The method in which the 1964 and 1985 revolutions have been represented in Sudan itself has continually shifted in accordance with changes in the character of the regime, the standing of the media and the dominant ideology. Given that one of the first outcomes of the October Revolution was press liberalization, it is somewhat unsurprising that Sudanese political elites produced a wide range of diverse depictions of the uprisings (Berridge, 2015, p.9). Sudan's military coup of 1958 was led by General Ibrahim Abboud. Opposition to Abboud began with coup attempts by his own military men, all of which were foiled. Abboud inherited With the Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement, the First Sudanese Civil War when he gained office (ROWSE 2017 p 117). The October 1964 Revolution, which is still remembered and celebrated today, began as a student movement and swiftly grew into a wave of protests and strikes. The events were precipitated by opposition to then-President Ibrahim Abboud's policies, which exacerbated political upheaval and civil war in the south. The October 1964 rebellion is sometimes described as a short-term triumph but a long-term failure (Ibrahim, 2019, p. 10).

A relatively peaceful revolution in October 1964, and the subsequent establishment of democratic government, did not bring an end to state violence or the civil war. Southerners were massacred in Khartoum in December 1964 and in southern towns in 1965. From then until 1971, the civil conflict grew steadily worse. Even after 1972, when a second military dictator, Jaffar Nimeiri, signed a peace agreement with the Anya-Nya insurgents, violence and insecurity persisted. By the early 1980s, a second, more serious revolt in the south had turned this into Africa's longest and bloodiest civil war (Anderson & Rolandsen, 2014, p. 542).

Following Abboud's departure, several weak coalition regimes have been created. the last of which was deposed in a military coup led by Field Marshal Jaafar Nimeiri in 1969. Nimeiri disbanded parliament and outlawed political parties, ruthlessly suppressed coup attempts, and resorted to fanaticism and escalated repression (ROWSE, 2017, p. 119). Jaafar Nimeiri

took control in a coup in 1969, deposing sitting President Ismail al-Azhari and bringing the country's first hard-won and short-lived democracy to an end. Nimeiri had already implemented Sharia rule and had banned all political parties, including the Sudan Communist Party, by that point (Ibrahim, 2019, p. 12).

President Nimeiri pledged loyalty to the Soviet Union in 1969. Sudan's relations with the West deteriorated as a result. British firms in Sudan, for example, were nationalized. Sudan's diplomatic connections with the United States had already been cut as a result of Sudan's backing for Egypt during the 1967 conflict with Israel (Israel was also dissatisfied with Sudan's support for Egypt). As a result, pro-Western countries in the region intervened in the fight by offering material support to the Anya-nya rebels (Ahmed, 2018, p. 65).

Jaafar Muhammed Nimeiri violated the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, which pledged regional autonomy and a democratic parliamentary system for the south. Nimeiri completely broke the agreement in June 1983 by declaring Sharia as the law of the entire country, dissolving the constitutional guarantee of the south, establishing Arabic as the national language, and dividing the south into three regions, as well as ordering the southern troops to the north. This gave rise to Sudan People's Liberation Movement in addition to the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/A) led by John Garang De Mabior (Lee, 2009, p.3).

On March 1985, the railway workers in Atbara, Sudan's north-eastern town, marched to the streets to protest President Jafa'ar Nimeiri's government's decision to hike the price of basic necessities. The major Intifada broke out in Khartoum two and a half weeks later, overthrowing Jafar Nimeiri, his ruling party, and his security service. (BERRIDGE, 2019, p. 164).

The memories of the October revolution, among other things, drove the April 1985 intifada against Nimeiri. However, Nimeiri's fall was entirely self-inflicted., but the repercussions were dictated by Political parties, organizations, and student groups and unions The April 1985 revolution,

like the October 1964 revolution, began with protests by students in Khartoum, which led to battles with security forces. Professional organizations have once again joined forces with political parties to seek the restoration of democracy (Harell, 2016, P. 875).

According to several non-governmental organizations, 2 million people have died as a result of the war. and four million more have been displaced within Sudan since the civil war began in 1983. 18 To add gasoline to the fire, the breakout of violence in the western area of Darfur in 2003 marked yet another setback in Sudan's ongoing troubles. The province has very basic and inadequate infrastructure and six million residents who are among the poorest in Africa; they rely primarily on subsistence farming or nomadic herding. (Lee, 2009, p. 6).

Omar Al-Bashir ruled Sudan for over thirty years following a coup against the democratically elected administration of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi and Ahmed al-Mirghani). Sudan lost its partnership with the United States (US) when Osama Bin Laden was a guest in Al- Bashir's regime from 1991 to 1996, which resulted in Sudan being designated as a terrorist state (Abdallah, 2020, p.22).

The southern war ended in a peace deal in 2005, with a provision for a referendum on secession in 2011. South Sudan announced independence from Sudan on July 9, 2011. Sudan's economic woes were exacerbated by the loss of the south and its valuable oilfields. These economic issues fuelled the 2013 uprisings, which occurred in the immediate aftermath of South Sudan's secession. uprisings erupted in Wad Madani on September 23rd, 2013, in response to an announcement that cut subsidies – particularly those for fuel (Shendi, 2020, p.12).

Until the revolution in 2019 and the collapse of Omar AlBashir, the American administration withdrew Sudan from the blacklist of state-sponsored terrorism in 2020. It is believed that diplomatic normalization between Sudan and Israel was a major factor in the removal from the blacklist. However, we can observe the high diplomatic cost of Osama bin Laden's permission to stay in Sudan (Leung, 2021, p.61).

3.4.3 Main causes of Sudan 2018-2019 revolution

Sudan lost three-quarters of its oil fields after South Sudan's secession, resulting in a fast economic slump. The drop in oil prices in 2014 also had a major influence on the country, where more than 40% of the population lives in poverty, inflation reached 73% by the end of 2018. Long queues formed in front of banks and gas stations due to a lack of fuel and liquidity. Furthermore, widespread corruption and the diversion of up to 70% of public spending to the military and security sector exacerbated an already fragile position (El Mquirmi, 2021, p.7).

Protests over bread and wheat flour grew in late 2018 and early 2019. Despite the fact that the protests were initially motivated by the growing expense of living. They evolved into a broader range of complaints against government corruption and tyranny (Resnick, p.9).

Albashir responded by passing four emergency decrees banning any meetings, gatherings, marches, or strikes. However, as the protests expanded in size, a coalition of unions known as the Sudanese Professionals Association gained charge of the demonstrations, and eventually, with the backing of civil society organizations and opposition parties., the forces of freedom and change (FFC) emerged. In April 2019, when the FFC launched a sit-in at Sudan's military headquarters, in the capital Khartoum, younger officers decided to safeguard the protesters (Resnick, p.9).

Beginning with the Atbara Protest on December 19, 2018, Omar albashir's regime faced escalating popular anger and the most major revolt in his thirty-year reign. To put an end to the uprisings, Al-Bashir implemented a number of punitive tactics and strategies, beginning with the suspension of access to social media and instant messaging by Sudan's major service provider. He enforced a curfew, and the closure of schools across Sudan (Nte, 2020, p.4).

During his three-decades leadership, Albashir has been accused of genocide, crimes against humanity, and being the first sitting head of state to be issued an arrest warrant by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for war crimes. His policies and corrupt rule exacerbated racial and religious strife in Sudan by maintaining ethnic hierarchies and widening the gap between the

center and the margin. The extent to which ethnic, regional, and racial divides were exacerbated under Bashir offers light on the backdrop that contributed to the revolution as well as the decision to adopt peaceful option (Silmiya) in Arabic (Awad, 2022, p.7).

The Sudanese Revolution, which began in 2018, was the catalyst for the most recent military takeover in 2019. It was spurred by the government's declaration that the price of bread and gasoline would be tripled. Despite originating in the small communities of Eldamazin and Atbara, anti-government protests quickly expanded across the country. On April 6, 2019, a sit-in was held to commemorate the 1985 protest that deposed President Jaafar Nimeiri. This sit-in would "become the focal point of the protest movement's democratic struggle. (Branco, 2021, p.24).

In the years between the 2013 Uprising and the 2018–2019 Revolution, Sudan's economic problems worsened. The black-market value of the US dollar (USD) decreased from 5 Sudanese pounds to 90 Sudanese pounds to one USD between 2011 and 2018, while inflation increased. The government kept enforcing austerity measures, which made life worse for individuals, especially those living outside of Khartoum. (shendi, 2020, p.14).

Protests erupted first by the rising cost of bread and fuel prices, but quickly evolved into a call for Bashir to step down. The SPA was in charge of leadership during the revolution. This is a federation of 17 trade unions that began forming in October 2016 and formally announced its creation in June 2018. (Sudanese Professionals Association). The SPA was the major opposition group organizing the protests of Sudan's 2018-2019 Revolution (shendi, 2020, p.14).

Inflation and endemic corruption—two of the many features of a failed state—caused economic suffering for everyone and drew thousands to the streets in nonviolent demonstrations throughout numerous cities, towns, and even small villages. Despite the known and unknown aspects of the security apparatus's heavy-handedness, which culminated in an April 2019 massacre of protesters in front of the army headquarters, the revolution affected people across the country (Kadoda & Hale, 2020, p.75).

The citizens were barred from withdrawing their own money from banks and ATMs. The latter are virtually always cash-strapped, and banks only allow customers to withdraw 500 Sudanese pounds, which is very less even to one day. The price of a loaf of bread jumped to three Sudanese pounds, resulting in one of the greatest riots in the country's history. (NIAS, 2020,p.4)

It took time for the revolution to expand and for many oppressed groups to demand representation. like "justice for the margin" became one of the revolution's fundamental slogans. This emphasis on inclusivity established a bigger aim around which people might rally. Through tribal, divide-and-rule methods, the Bashir dictatorship imposed an identity hierarchy, which the revolution attacked with its inclusive approach (Elgizouli et. Al, 2021, p.161).

The slogan of revolution "Freedom, peace, justice, and revolution is the people's option" became popular, and it explicitly addressed how the previous government had failed the people. This sense of shared loss (i.e., shared stressor) is reflected by an emphasis on common stress-relieving activities (Elgizouli et, Al, p .162).

3.4.4 Violence during Sudan 2018-2019 revolution

Despite the regime's brutality against protestors, the Sudanese revolution is fully peaceful, the armed opposition has declared a three-month unilateral cessation of hostilities in support of the nonviolent revolution. Furthermore, they have promised a comprehensive ceasefire after the victory of the revolution. The goal is to prevent the regime any opportunity to defend its brutality (Elnaiem, 2019, p.19).

The SPA had planned a big demonstration on December 24, 2018, seeking an increase in the minimum wage to face hyperinflation, but instead took advantage of the mass demonstrations caused in Atbara to demand Albashir step down. This march to the Presidential Palace was met by heavy opposition from security authorities, who dispersed them with tear gas, rubber bullets, and live ammunition. The action reached a climax on April 6, when demonstrators took the square in front of the military headquarters, demanding that the army remove the president from office (Nte, 2020, p.5).

The Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) called for what turned out to be an extremely successful march in Khartoum on December 25, 2018. The SPA released nationwide schedules for resistance actions (marches, civil disobedience days, street cleaning, strikes, and so on) via social media and eventually called for a major sit-in in front of the central military headquarters on April 6, 2019, which drew international attention (Kadoda & Hale, 2020, p.77).

Attempts by the government suppressing the demonstrations simply added to the indignation, pushing more and more people to the streets. By the middle of January 2019, amid fatal conflicts between the government and angry protestors, the revolt had evolved into a nationwide revolution against Bashir's regime. While the revolution was still going on, the National Congress Party (NCP) announced its intention to leave the power (Bassil & Zhang, 2021, p.254).

Security forces have reportedly deployed tear gas in hospitals, universities, and neighbourhoods, as well as live bullets against demonstrators and doctors treating injured protesters. Although reporting from within Sudan is limited, the BBC has documented images of so-called "kill squads," paramilitary troops allegedly organized by Security Service to repress protesters. According to BBC reporting, activists are tortured in secret prison facilities; some people have died in detention (Blanchard, 2019, p.2).

Security forces Attacked those gathered in the sit-in location in an attempt to disperse the protests, killing 120 people and injuring over 700 more, At the same moment, the regime turned off the internet in the entire country., internet (data) from mobile carriers was totally switched off, leaving most without data connectivity. The blackout lasted more than a month until the military and a coalition of political parties negotiated an agreement to form a civilian transitional government (Daffalla, 2021, p.8). The "Ramadan Massacre" on June 3, 2019, in front of army headquarters in Khartoum, changed the course of Sudanese politics and dashed the chance of reconciliation. Since it began on December 18, 2018, the incident has been a critical turning point in Sudan's revolution (MOTUMA, 2021, p.37).

Civilians and international human rights organizations commonly felt that the Rapid Support Force (RSF), also known as Janjaweed militiamen, was to blame for the crimes committed in Sudan. Different social media platforms, news sites, and government authorities reported wildly disparate figures for the number of individuals killed on June 3, 2019. However, according to an Amnesty International (2020) investigation, 127 people were killed and 700 demonstrators and others who were present at the sit-in that day were injured (MOTUMA,2021,p.38). However, a hundred protestors were killed in the interim between the coup and the settlement. by security forces at a camp in the city on 3 June (Robinson, 2020, p.2).

Protests in cities around the country continued in January, with nearly daily demonstrations and shouts of "just fall, that's all," as protestors demanded Al- Bashir's ouster, Security forces used violence again, beating demonstrators and bystanders, dispersing protests with live shot, tear gas, and rubber bullets, driving over protesters with vehicles, and destroying medical institutions. On January 9, at least three individuals were killed and several others were injured in Omdurman (Human rights watch, 2019, p.13).

Several demonstrators claimed to have witnessed the military forces firing live bullets directly at them, killing and wounding them on the spot. "The shooting was definitely targeted and planned," one witness stated, "they directed their rifles at us...they were chanting 'kill them! kill them!' all the time." While I was running, I witnessed numerous people injured by gunshots." 60 The violence quickly extended throughout the sit-in area and lasted many hours as soldiers shot at, beat, rounded up, and forced demonstrators to leave (Human rights watch, 2019, p.23).

Different security organs clashed because some were still loyal to Al-Bashir while others wanted to back the demonstrators. During the sit-in in front of the military headquarters, security personnel loyal to Al-Bashir opened fire on the protesters, while troops from the regular army opened the gates to welcome and protect the protesters. As more low-ranking soldiers joined the protests and high-ranking officers indicated that they would not take measures to disperse the protesters, the military's schism grew more obvious (Chen, 2021, p.31).

During the revolt, over sixty people were killed and others were injured. Protesters were repeatedly shot with live bullets and tear gas canisters by police. Thousands of People were detained without cause. 9 Videos of security forces brutally beating protesters in the streets and even inside their own homes were widely shared on social media. On January 9, riot police and supporters attacked the Omdurman Teaching Hospital and started beating patients receiving treatment. (Mohammed, p.8).

3.4.5 Sudan 2018-2019 revolution and media

Similar to what happened during the so-called Arab Spring, social media was critical to the revolution's success since it allowed people to organize and protest against their government. President Al-Bashir attempted to enforce strict information controls and limited access to Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp, and Facebook, but word spread and Sudanese began utilizing Virtual Private Networks (VPN) to circumvent the government's ban. In an attempt to suppress coverage of the protests, the Sudanese government also suspended work permits for some channels like AJE and Al Arabiya (El Mquirmi, 2021, p.9).

New media provides previously unattainable potential for the formation of networks and collective action. This is especially important in restrictive political situations because it enables people and organizations to avoid government inspection. As a result, this provides areas for knowledge to be freely disseminated and shared within networks. Newly created discourse spaces have the potential to change the balance of power between states and citizens. Traditionally, there is a vertical flow of information in state-controlled legacy media, and the voices of a few are disseminated as a result (Bashri, 2020, p.470).

Despite the fact that freedom of expression is a part of the democratic rights, Article 19 of Human Rights states United Nations, 1948 indicated everyone has the right to freedom of expression and opinion; this right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to actively

seek out, receive, and share knowledge and ideas across boundaries and through any media." (Abdelhay, 2011, p.531).

Sudan's political history has been marked by numerous military coups. The country's unpredictable political environment has also been mirrored in its media system. Sudan endured a 30-year gloomy media history following a military coup led by Al-Bashir in 1989. Bashir's long years in power have been distinguished by a changeful political condition and an inefficient, flaccid press, which put Sudan among the top ten worst countries in Reporters Without Borders' annual study in 2018 (Zere, 2020, p.27).

whereas one of the key foundations of a democratic society is a free, independent, and impartial media; whereas the Sudanese government has banned access to social media sites, and several newspapers have refused working after the Sudanese National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) issued restrictions on publishing information related to the protests; whereas widespread use of virtual private networks (VPNs) has enabled people to share pictures and videos of protesters who have been wounded or killed (E U Journal, 2020, p.2).

The Sudanese professional's association (SPA) appealed to a wide range of Sudanese and it was agreed that this group would be the face of the revolution. The forces of freedom and change FFC called for individuals to join neighbourhood committees to coordinate small demonstrations around the country. Coordinated resistance were announced on Facebook, Twitter, and traditional posters. This was a strategy employed to deplete the resources of the security forces as they attempted to suppress protests around the country (Bashri, 2020, p. 472).

In an incredibly tense environment, social media aided in communication and the formation of networks, which were later rekindled during the revolution. Social media served two functions: communication and deliberation. According to El-Gizouli, a German-based professor and blogger, social media platforms transformed the communication structure and added an element of democracy. They bypassed the usual power structure, allowing residents to freely express their concerns without fear of being intimidated (Zere, 2020, p. 209).

Former Sudanese President Bashir made censorship and military violence an essential part of his administration, which was carried out through the Sudanese Security Services that accused of blocking unpleasant messages and articles, slowing down websites, and hacking into private accounts (Branco, 2021, p.25).

Albshir's regime blocked access to social media networks the day after the revolution. But it didn't take long for activists to find a way around the banning by using a VPN. According to Al Jazeera's "Listening Post," in a context of near total media blackout, WhatsApp and Twitter ended up playing crucial roles in the revolution (Zere, 2020, p.11).

By February, the government had severely limited media coverage of the protests, blocking major newspapers. As events accelerated, President Bashir declared a year-long state of emergency on February 22nd, 2019, and dissolved both the national and provincial governments. The following day, Bashir announced the formation of a new cabinet led by Mohamed Tahir Ayala as Prime Minister, Awad Mohamed Ahmed Ibn Auf as First Vice President and Defence Minister, and Ahmed Haroun as National Congress Party head . (Awolich, 2019, p.4).

As a result, they frequently exerted control over the framing of government acts as good and useful to the local and worldwide audiences. Through its use of social media, the regime of Omar Al-Bashir was able to instil fear, weaken beliefs, modify the meanings of symbols, and establish a powerful status quo. The Sudanese government imposes digital restrictions and monitors all digital activities (Branco, 2021, p.25).

Sudanese internet users, on the other hand, were able to keep these alternate networks running. As a result, a broad and powerful, yet fragmented parallel media landscape has sprung to life. The Internet and SNSs have created a thriving arena for civil society organizations, activists, and citizen journalists to disseminate their messages via parallel information networks (Bashri, 2020, p.474).

The Western media painted "images of suffering and weakness" while describing the rallies in Sudan as "spontaneous bread protests." A similar tactic was used to frame the uprising in Tunisia in 1984. In their book Africa

Uprising: Popular Protest and Political Change, political scientists Adam Branch and Zacharia Mampilly (2015) provide a series of movements, political acts, and collective action that preceded and succeeded these tales. (Serekberhan, 2021, p.28).

3.4.6 The fall of Albashir

SPA effectively drew a big number of audiences during the 2018-2019 movement. This wave of protest was recognized as the greatest and most long-lasting since 1985. It has published a formal declaration outlining the goals it wishes to attain. The group issued a formal statement, the Freedom and Change Declaration, on January 2019. The SPA's three goals were explicitly stated in the formal resolution with the first and greatest goal being "the immediate and unconditional end of General Omar Al Bashir's presidency and the removal of his administration." (Chen, 2021, p.41).

The Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA), a network of groups comprising doctors, journalists, attorneys, teachers, engineers, and other professions, organized the protest movement. On January 12 they signed the Declaration of Freedom and Change (DFC) alongside opposition parties, rebel groups, and civil organizations. The signatories pledged to engage in a peaceful struggle to achieve several broad objectives: the end of Bashir's presidency and the rule of his administration; the formation of a transitional government; an end to violence against protesters and restrictions on freedom of speech and expression; and justice and accountability for "crimes against the Sudanese people." (Blanchard, 2019, p.2).

The military deposed Bashir on April 2019. the sixth day of the sit-in, placing him under house arrest and declaring the formation of a Transitional Military Council (TMC). They also stated that all political prisoners, including those arrested during the protests will be released. Unlike in Egypt, where the opposition mistakenly believed that the military would oversee a peaceful transition to democracy, Sudanese citizens demanded that the TMC step down and pave the way for civilian leadership Contentious (Zunes, 2021, p.7).

Former defence minister Awad Ibn Ouf claimed to have detained the regime's senior officials but completely rejected the resistance's demands,

including its plan and declaration of freedom and change. Ibn Ouf pledged a two-year democratic transition, but few believed him. The people desired a civil state rather than a military regime. Thousands of people chanted, "What's wrong with Ouf?" with the SPA's blessing. "He's filthy," and "Who brought him here?" The following day, Ibn Ouf abdicated and handed over authority to a lesser-known general named Abdel Fattah Burhan. Two heads of state had been deposed in less than 48 hours (Elnaiem, 2019, p.6).

Bashir was put under house arrest with heavy military protection after the coup. Albashir was moved from the presidential palace to the Kobar maximum security prison in Khartoum six days after the coup, where he was accused of carrying out a political assassination. In this very prison, Bashir held political prisoners while he was the president of Sudan. Due to an arrest warrant for crimes against humanity and war crimes, the Transitional Military Council initially declared that al-Bashir would not be extradited to the Criminal Court but would be tried in Sudan. (Nte, 2020, p.4).

Finally, on July 17, the TMC and the Freedom and Change Forces signed a political transition agreement that was supported by Ethiopia, the African Union, the United Nations, the European Union, the Arab League, and the United States. In the subsequent Constitutional Declaration, which was negotiated until August, Sudan was granted a 39-month transition period. (Bartu, 2020, p.4).

A constitutional statement that the FFC and TMC agreed upon allowed for the creation of an 11-member sovereign council, with five military members chosen by the TMC and five civilian members chosen by the FFC. A citizen chosen by cooperation of the two parties serves as the 11th member. The agreement also stated that the FFC would choose the prime minister and 67 percent of the legislative council members, with the remaining representatives to be chosen by other political parties unrelated to Bashir. Abdallah Hamdok, a former UN ambassador and economist, was appointed prime minister in August 2019 by the FFC. (HANNA, 2020, p.28).

Initially, cautious hope greeted Bashir's ouster, as the TMC released hundreds of political prisoners. In Khartoum, political space opened up, and authorities permitted the press to function more freely. Visas were given to

17 foreign correspondents. However, hopes for a rapid transfer of power to a civilian transitional government were dashed when talks between the TMC and the Forces for Freedom and Change (FFC), the pro-democracy coalition that signed the DFC, halted (Blanchard ,2019, p.3).

The current transition has so far followed the same path. The transition has already faced considerable challenges. The agreement achieved between the TMC and the FFC was fragile, with many of the elements that sparked the 2018-2019 protests continuing in play. The military retains tremendous control, the fact that the civilian coalition that spearheaded the protest movement is split and weak so the peace process with armed groups has not been able to completely halt the conflicts in many places. Many people are also concerned that the deep state systems that characterized Al-Bashir's regime have survived his administration (Woldemichael, 2020, p.3).

since the transitional administration gained office in September 2019 The economic situation has deteriorated. Inflation is expected to reach 61.5 percent in 2020, the Sudanese Pound's value declining, as well as a shortage of foreign currency reserves, power problems, and a lack of foodstuff and fuel. Queues have raised criticism of the transitional government's performance in dealing with the current economic problems (Woldemichael, 2020, p.12).

3.5 Data collecting process

All data of this research 71 news consist of 45 news of BBC and 26 news of AJE published on the time from 6 April 2019 to 30 June 2019 before, during and after the time of Sudanese revolution, the particular date was chosen in order to capture immediate reactions of the media reflected through journalistic practices towards Sudanese revolution and investigate agenda of new media (BBC and AJE).

3.5.1 Headlines of BBC news

April:

- 1.Huge protests in Sudan aim to topple Bashir (6April)

- 2.Sudan: protests converge on army headquarters in Khartoum (7 April)
- 3.More protests in Sudan (8 April)
4. Sudan protests continues despite heavy calm down (8April)
- 5.Sudan protest: police orders not to intervene (9 April)
- 6.Sudan protesters: we are here for the night shift (9 April)
- 7.Sudan protests inside the sit-in at military HQ (9 April)
- 8.What next? Sudan and its master manipulator Albashir (10 April)
- 9.Sudan protesters: Demonstrators wait for army statement(11April)
- 10.Omer Albashir ousted (11 April)
- 11.Sudan coup: military reaches out to protesters (12 April)
- 12.Sudan crisis: cash hoard found at Albashir's home (12 April)
- 13.protesters defy curfew (12 April)
- 14.Sudan protesters block army's attempt to break up sit-in (15 April)
- 15.protests continue in Sudan (15 April)
- 16.Women and protests in the Sudan (16 April)
- 17.Sudan crisis: EX president Omer Albashir moved to prison (17 April)
- 18.Sudan: protesters demand civilian rule (19 April)
- 19.Sudan protesters to name transitional government (19 April)
- 20.Sudan crisis: military issue protest warning (22 April)
- 21.Sudan crisis: million strong march for civilian rule (25 April)

May:

- 22. Is Sudan a new regional battle ground (2 may)
- 23. Sudan protesters reject army's position on civilian rule (3 may)
- 24. Sudan army rejects civilian majority in ruling council (3 may)
- 25. in pictures the art fuelling Sudan's revolution (4 may)
- 26. Sudan army chief: sharia law must be legislation source (8 may)
- 27. Omer Albashir charged over dead Sudan protesters (13 may)
- 28. Omer Albashir came to power in military coup (13 may)
- 29. Six protesters killed in Sudan (14 may)
- 30. Ramadan keeps protesters hungry for change (14 may)
- 31. Death reported in Sudan protests (15 may)
- 32. Sudanese rebel leader returns to Khartoum (28 may)
- 33. Sudan's white coated uprising (30 may)

June:

- 34. Sudan: protesters accuse the military forces of attacking their sit-in (3 June)
- 35. Sudan: security forces attack protesters (3 June)
- 36. Sudan's army scraps agreement with protesters (4 June)
- 37. Sudan crisis: protest organizers call for more rallies (5 June)
- 38. Sudan crisis: African union membership suspended (6 June)

39.Sudan crisis: official admits to 46 protest deaths. (6 June)

40.Sudan security forces teargas protesters (9 June)

41.what is happening in Sudan? (13 June)

42.Rape and Sudan revolution (14 June)

43.letter from Africa: Sudan's revolutionaries offline (16 June)

44.Sudan crisis: internet restored but only for lawyer (24 June)

45.Thousands join Sudan protest (30 June).

3.5.2 Headlines of AJE news

April:

1.Sudan army not against protesters (8 April)

2.Guard your revolution (12 April)

3. Sudan transition: will protesters and military reach agreement? (12 April)

4.Sudan protesters warn remnants of Albashir. (15 April)

5.Sudan probes Albashir after large sums of cash found at home. (20 April)

6Sudan's military removes Albashir. (20 April)

7.Sudan's military leader vows to hand power to people. (21 April)

8.Sudan female protesters leading the prodemocracy movement (23 April)

9.Huge rally in Sudan (25 April)

10.Sudan protesters defiant as army warns no more chaos (30 April)

May:

11. AU gives Sudanese military 60 days to cede power. (1 may)
12. In Sudan neighbourhoods mobilized against Albashir (7 may)
13. Sudan's Omer Albashir charged over killing of protesters. (13 may)
14. Sudan's military rulers suspend talks with protesters. (16 may)
15. N expert slams excessive use of force against protesters. (17 may)
16. Sudan's military: Talks to resume as barricades removed (18 may)
17. Pregnant woman killed in Sudan after security forces clash. (29 may)
18. Sudan: defiant demonstrators vow to continue Khartoum sit-in. (31 may)

June:

19. Military forces break up Sudan protesters (3 June)
20. What is happening in Sudan (3 June)
21. I am the Sudan revolution: support for the Sudan (7 June)
22. Blue for Sudan (13 June)
23. Sudan military admits it ordered brutal crackdown on protesters (14 June)
24. Sudan protesters accept Ethiopia plan. (22 June)
25. Back at square one: Sudan opposition plans new mass protests. (25 June)
26. Sudan braces for millions march as defiant protesters regroup. (29 June)

3.5.3 The sample of Text Analysis

3.5.4 Narrative Structure

The sample of news for analysis was chosen from BBC and AJE online news websites. Considering that it was created particularly for news stories, this study uses Bell's (1991) model. It includes the following: The abstract includes the headline and the lead. Attribution includes agency credit, the journalist's by-line, the location, and the time. A story is made up of one or more episodes, each of which is made up of one or more events. Attribution, actors, scene, action, follow-up, commentary, and background are all examples of events. The lead steers a tale in a specific way (Pemberton, 2018, p.4).

Text, as defined by Bell (1991), is the formal result of subject system option selections from the grammar. A unit that transmits the semantic sense of the proposition (the propositional content and locutionary power of the speech act) through sentences linked by cohesion (Bell, 1993, p.163). He also saw discourse as a communicative event that uses language's (and other communication systems') meaning potential to convey communicative worth (the illocutionary power) of speech and utterances linked by coherence. (Bell, 1993, p.163).

Bell's 1991 model based on linguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, and it is based on an information processing paradigm. The model begins with visual recognition of the words of the source text, which is processed by a lexical search mechanism, and is followed by semantic and pragmatic processing to generate a semantic representation, which is supported by an idea organizer and planer. (Doorslaer, 2013, p. 29).

The lead focuses a story in a particular direction according to Bell, 1991 model which represents the abstract of the story of each news are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 *Abstract of the story*

BBC	AJE
Described events in Sudan sometimes as a crisis and a lot of times as protests and people who are doing it as protesters.	In addition to the word protest AJE Used the word demonstration to reflect events in Sudan.

After reading the news articles about the political situation in Sudan that were published by the BBC and the AJE, the researcher noticed that the BBC referred to the situation as a crisis and called the protests that happened in Sudan "protests," then focused on the violence that occurred there without mentioning the actual actors, only presenting generalized sources like the government, military, or officials said. According to a Sudanese official, the number of deaths by paramilitary forces during protests was at most 46 and was not at least 100. Also stated According to Sudanese opposition-affiliated doctors, 60 persons are now known to have passed away in the past few days as a result of security forces' attempts to put an end to pro-democracy protests. BBC also published Doctors in Sudan now say at least 30 people were killed in the worst violence since president Albashir was overthrown in April.

AJE sometimes considers events in Sudan as a revolution, and frequently views them as demonstrations as well. It was called a protest by the BBC. AJE has edited the news Sudan's ruling military council has, for the first time, admitted it ordered the dispersal of a sit-in in the capital Khartoum, which left scores dead. AJE said about violence in Sudan military forces broke up Sudan protests in Khartoum and said protest was a threat to the safety and security of Sudanese people. AJE further stated that the government military violently dispersed a protest camp in Khartoum on Monday, resulting in dozens of fatalities.

Table 3.2 *Elements of the story appeared in the news of both BBC and AJE*

Elements of the Story	
Background	Goals of Sudanese revolution
Background	descriptions of former president of Sudan
Event 1	Action: participants in general scene and their activities.
Event 2	Action: reactions of military and security forces
Event 3	Action: reaction of Sudanese authority towards the internet
Event 4	External reaction about Sudan's revolution

Both BBC and AJE explained the goals of Sudanese revolution in Sudan mentioning it began on 2018, focusing on high food costs and quickly extended to neighbouring Sudanese urban areas. grew into anti-government

rallies demanding the removal of the President Albashir whose BBC described him as ousted president but AJE described him as long-time ruler, long-time leader. Regarding event 1 BBC named people trying change as protesters when AJE named them demonstrators both channels used the same word (demand) but in different cases, BBC used it in present simple for example said the protesters demand a civilian government, protesters demand the resignation of president Omer Albashir while AJE used the word in present continues and said protest demanding the removal of president, protesters are demanding power to be handed over to a civilian. through event 2 BBC avoid condemning military and security forces at any crimes but Aljazeera directly accused Sudanese security forces and said they attacked a protest camp in the country's capital, Khartoum, killing dozens of people. regarding event 3 BBC try to put Sudanese authority in safe side when said The Transitional Military Council (TMC), which is in power, shut down the internet, stating that it was necessary for "national security." While AJE ignored this issue. in event 4 BBC said the African union has suspended Sudan's membership with immediate effect amid an upsurge of violence in the capital that has been dozens killed, from other side AJE said the African union has given Sudan's military rulers an additional 60 days to hand over power to a civilian authority or face suspension.

3.5.5 Lexical Choices

Regarding the goals of revolution both BBC and AJE used the same word **demand** to introduce the protesters visions, but BBC avoid using the word in strong expressions and satisfied to present it only in present simple tense to neglect the revolution's echo while AJE used the word in present simple to add more importance for protesters movement. About description of former president Omer Albashir BBC and AJE used similar tough words such like ousted and long-time ruler resident Omer Albashir BBC and AJE used similar tough words such like ousted and long-time ruler.

Table 3.3 shows how contrasting lexical choices from the news can be.

Topic	BBC	AJE
Goals of Sudanese revolution	Protesters demand an end to military rule. (30June) Protesters demand civilian rule. (19April) Protesters demand the resignation of President Omer Albashir. (6April)	Sudanese protesters chant slogans demanding a civilian government. (18May) Protesters demanding the removal of president Omer Albashir. (29June) The protesters are demanding power be transferred to a civilian government. (29June)
Descriptions of former president of Sudan	Sudan's president Omer Albashir has been ousted and arrested. (11April) Sudan's military ousted long time ruler Omer Albashir. (17April) the army ousted long-standing leader Omar al-Bashir last week. (19 April 2019)	The country's transitional military council, which has been in authority since long-time leader Omar AlBashir was deposed, is determined to handing power over to a civilian government. (21April2019) Sudan's military assumed power after overthrowing long-time ruler Omar al-Bashir on April 11.(25April2019) weeks after the removal of long-time leader Omar al-Bashir.3june2019

3.5.6 Social Actors

There are a variety of ways to analyze how social actors, or those who act and are acted upon, are represented in news stories. Most relevant to these particular news reports are predication, transitivity, and modality.

3.5.7 predication

representing how both websites BBC and AJE predicate social actors, while trying to reflect makers of revolution in Sudan shows that the BBC mentions protesters generally 83 times but AJE rather focuses on the word demonstrators and mentioned it 25 times. BBC avoid focusing more on the

reaction of military and security forces as causing violence but AJE in addition to that concentrated on protesters movements and statements.

3.5.8 Transitivity

Transitivity relates to Halliday’s ideational function and concerns the way actions are represented share similarities and differences in terms of active and passive sentence construction. Both BBC and AJE use passive sentences with no agent to explain the goals of revolution and description of former president of Sudan .Halliday’s Discourse is a multimodal process, and the text it produces not only includes the same structure found in grammar, (in the structure of the clause, as message, exchanges and representation), but Discourse analysis is concerned with lexicon-grammatical analysis of the language in the social, physical, cognitive, cultural, interpersonal and situational context(Haratyan, 2011, p. 260).

Table 3.4 *Contrasting transitivity*

example	BBC	AJE
1	The protesters demand the resignation of President Omar al-Bashir. (April)	Huge crowds of protesters have rallied in the streets of the Sudanese capital stepping up pressure on the country’s ruling military council to transfer power to an interim civilian body(25April)
2	Sudan’s president Omer Albashir has been ousted and arrested (11April)	The overthrow of longtime leader Omar AlBashir – has encouraged people to use the hashtag “as widely as possible”.
3	Protestors have called for further civil disobedience starting on Sunday to make the military's rule in Sudan as difficult as possible.9June	Protesters said despite the violence they would remain on the streets until those who had supported al-Bashir gave up power as well. (3June)
4	security forces have fired tear gas and live ammunition to disperse protesters setting up	On Monday the country’s capital Khartoum was the scene of violent dispersal of a protest

	barricades in the capital Khartoum. (9June)	camp by the ruling military in which dozens of people were killed . (7June)
5	The internet was cut off after security forces violently dispersed protesters camping in central Khartoum. (24June)	Sudan's military rulers ordering the office of the Aljazeera media network in Khartoum to be shut down without any reasons (31May)
6	The African Union has suspended Sudan's membership "with immediate effect", amid an escalation of violence in the capital that has seen dozens killed. (6June)	The African Union has given Sudan's military rulers additional 60 days to hand over power to a civilian authority or face suspension. (1May).

In example 1 Regarding the goals of Sudanese revolution, the BBC used the word— “demand” only while AJE uses much stronger expressions by adding adjectives “huge protesters have rallied.” Then used stepping up to convince reader with continues action. The BBC in example 2 used the word ousted to describe Albashir while AJE used long-time leader in the same situation. In example 3 BBC avoid using strong expressions. used sentence “campaigners called” while AJE used “protesters said’ ’to describe reaction of Sudanese authority in example 4 BBC used word fired but attempted to find a justification for security forces in its violence against protesters, when AJE used, the verb was killed putting the ruling military in the status of subject. The same comment happened again in example 5 while BBC illustrating the reaction of Sudanese officials about new media saying internet was cut off. AJE ignored internet issue but indicated that military rulers ordering office of Aljazeera to be shut down. In the last example BBC mentioned African union has suspended Sudan membership also AJE with the same meaning said African union has given Sudan’s military 60 days to hand over power or faces suspension.

3.5.9 Modality

Modalities are understood as structures that evaluate the state of affairs in both logic and language. This is why it is important in discourse analysis. Halliday's approach to language has had an impact on the range of discourse analytic approaches to modality. Modality, as it relates to Halliday's interpersonal function, refers to the author's attitude or judgments. Indebted to Halliday, Fairclough 1992 developed a critical discourse analysis that focuses on the relational and identity roles of discourse (Gruyter, 2012, P. 48).

AJE avoid modality from other resources but BBC used quotations from outside resources regarding the goals of revolution and reaction of Sudanese authority. The quotations from journalists used by the BBC express disapproval of the action, by selecting these particular quotations, BBC indirectly assert opinions about the event while AJE try to depend on its editorial team and be more objective.

3.6 Discourse Practice

3.6.1 News Values

New events are not intrinsically newsworthy but are selected as news based on socially constructed categories which reflect the ideology of news organizations (Hall et al., 1978: 53). These categories, called news values, were classically defined by Galtung and Ruge (1965), were added to by Bell (1991), and were revised by Harcup and O'Neill (2001). The three sets of criteria overlap as illustrated in Table below. Values that apply, or do not apply, to each report are labelled "yes", or "no", respectively Term definitions

Some differences are present. First, the BBC despite the supporting coverage of former president of Sudan and his regime but focuses on magnitude of events by mentioning details of a large numbers of protesters for example BBC said hundreds of thousands of protesters have returned to streets to

demand an end to military rule. This is not contradiction BBC may try to send a message that protesters were strong but the regime stronger than them.

Another difference is in relation to predictability here BBC expected somethings but happened out of expectations for example BBC expected the resignation of president Omer Albashir and wasn't happened and also expected from the army to stand beside the people against government but didn't. The final difference is with negative news that BBC published may be to support authority from side and ignore revolution's efforts from other side for example BBC said the authorities in Sudan have denied that more than a hundred people have been killed in an attempt by the security forces to crush pro-democracy protests. BBC also mentioned So far, the army has not intervened in the protests.

Table 3.5 *News values*

Galtung and Ruge		Bell	Harcup and O'Neill	BBC	AJE
frequency				Yes	Yes
Threshold	Absolute intensity	superlativeness	Magnitude	Yes	No
	Intensity increase			Yes	Yes
unambiguity		unambiguity		Yes	Yes
		facticity		Yes	Yes
meaningfulness		proximity		Yes	Yes
		relevance	relevance	Yes	Yes
		recency			
consonance	predictability	predictability		No	Yes
	demand	consonance	entertainment	No	No
unexpectedness	unpredictability	unexpectedness	surprise	No	No
	scarcity			Yes	Yes
continuity		continuity	Follow ups	Yes	Yes
composition		composition	Media agenda	Yes	Yes
reference to elite nations		Eliteness		Yes	Yes

reference to elite people		The power elite	No	No
	Attribution		Yes	Yes
		Celebrity	No	No
personification	Personalization		Yes	Yes
reference to something negative	Negativity	Bad news	yes	No
		Good news	Yes	Yes
	Competition		Yes	Yes
	Co-option		Yes	Yes
	Prefabrication		No	No

Since the revolution began in Sudan, BBC based its news either on oral speech from local people or general statements from government without illustrating exactly who was saying. Regarding above issues AJE looked completely different from BBC. related to magnitude of news AJE avoid mentioning numbers of demonstrators, AJE's expectations proved that it was deeper than BBC. For example, AJE expected from military to reject calls to hand over power and that was happened also expected protesters acceptance to Ethiopian mediation and also happened.in the last AJE didn't publish negative news.

3.6.2 Intertextuality

Bakhtin (1986) asserts that each utterance relates to, is shaped by, and is pervaded by other utterances. Fairclough's (1992) model of CDA uses this intertextual approach to understand how one text relates to and incorporates other texts on internal and external axes. In journalism, the external axis relates to the running story, which here in BBC and AJE focus on all news in general. The internal axis relates to quotations and reported speech, which may be classified as direct quotations, indirect quotations, narrative reports of speech acts (NRSA) or integrated quotations, which mix direct and indirect forms (Pemberton, 2018, p. 13).

Table 3.6 Indicate quotation types and sources used in both BBC news

BBC		Quotation source					
		Officially	popularly	Agencies	S media	Total	proportion
Quotation Type	Direct quotation	1	3	2	0	6	60%
	Indirect quotation	1	1	0	0	2	20%
	integrated	0	0	1	0	1	10%
	NRSA	1	4	0	1	6	60%
	Total	3	8	3	1	15	
	proportion	30%	80%	30%	10%	30	
NRSA: narrative report of speech act							

Table 3.7 Indicate quotation types and sources used in both AJE news

AJE		Quotation Source					
		officially	popularly	agencies	S media	Total	proportion
Quotation type	Direct quote	4	5	0	0	9	90%
	Indirect quote	2	1	1	0	4	40%
	integrated	0	0	0	0	0	0%
	NRSA	0	3	0	0	3	30%
	Total	6	8	1	0	So16	
	proportion	60%	80%	10%	0%	Ty15	
NRSA: narrative report of speech act							

Regarding Similarities and differences Both websites registered highest proportion in direct quotation. AJE has given direct quotation 90%, BBC put it 60% but BBC reported the same proportion in NRSA. Both put integrated the lowest proportion BBC 10%, AJE 0% Regarding the quotation sources

both focused on popular option as first option with the same proportion 80% AJE put official source 60% but BBC put it only 30%.

3.6.3 Multimedia

The interaction between photos and texts has been examined primarily in the context of discourse analysis using both Critical Discourse Analysis and Image Analysis. (Fairclough, 1995a; Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 2015) Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) introduced Visual Grammar Analysis. Fairclough's CDA model can be utilized for discursive analysis of visual contents since it allows for linguistic description of visuals—the properties of visual and context intertextuality—to reveal interpretation and explanation of discourse mechanisms. (Wang, 2014)

It's important to explain how relationships between people are shown in images by both channels BBC and AJE (Represented participants) and the people showing or viewing the image (interactive participants). Images may be analysed in terms of the gaze of represented participants, frame size, and angle. Samples of images which used in the BBC and AJE news are shown below.



Figure 3.4 *People gathering in front of armed forces headquarters(BBC)*



Figure 3.5 connections between army and locals BBC



Figure 3.6 Rallies against Albashir AJE



Figure 3.7 *Injured protester AJE*

BBC in image 3.4 introduced huge number of people gathering in front of the headquarters of Sudanese armed forces through the image and the authority allow them to stay without intervention. The image appears directly following the headline, reflecting the movement of revolution. The represented participants' gaze is turned away from the camera, the frame is at a great social distance from them, and the angle is far above them. These factors place the reader into the position to make judgments about revolution.

In image 3.5 BBC try to send a message to the world asserting good connections between army and locals in Sudan while showing people carrying one of soldiers in the crowd as apart of them with his official uniform supporting revolution.

In image 3.6 AJE focused on huge rallies of people against former president of Sudan Albashir although image captured after removal of Albashir but

AJE looked satisfied that military regime has collapsed and Albashir missed his followers.

The AJE image 3.7 has a closer focus on the one of the demonstrators who injured remind readers with military and security forces violence against peaceful protesters as negative reaction, The AJE image has a lower angle, and has worse image quality it may has taken by one of the protesters because BBC depends on them in editing a lot of news.

3.7 Social practices

Fairclough uses CDA as both a theory and a practice in a transdisciplinary discussion with other ideas and approaches. In terms of semiosis as an aspect or 'moment' of actual social interactions, Fairclough uses three dimensions to implement Foucault's informed statement about the socially functional features of speech. Because speech is conceptualized in terms of hegemonic processes and changes in hegemony, such conceptualization of discourse emphasizes the mutual determination and connection of the part and the whole, the micro and macro levels, which helps frame this model within the theory of ideological processes. (Matić, 2014, p. 158)

Ideological considerations for the news deal with actions of protesters and reactions of security forces in Sudan witnessed different kind of judgements and views. BBC avoid being biased so using flexible words such like security forces rather than Sudanese armed forces thus used passive voice to hide actors, BBC often describes the situation in Sudan as a crisis for example the channel said Sudan has been in political unrest since President Al-Bashir was deposed in April 2019. The security forces have used extreme force to enhance the generals' position, according to the report. Hundreds of people were killed - and some of their bodies were thrown into the Nile - in an attack on protesters in Khartoum on 3 June, but thousands of protesters gathered to the streets a few weeks later to organize the country's largest demonstration since the collapse of Mr. Bashir' regime (August BBC news) 2019).

From other side AJE in explicit accusation said A global rights group stated on that Sudanese security forces killed dozens of people, potentially, in a crackdown on a pro-democracy demonstration last June 2020.

Chapter Four

4. Results and Discussion

This study may be helpful example of how BBC and AJE covered the Sudanese revolution. in general, the results of this study indicated that correlation between the performance of new media (BBC &AJE) and the Sudanese 2018-2019 revolution which has reflected the lack of information about this issue that represented the main problem of the study. Due to the significant impact of new media in the events of the revolution the researcher tried to specify the goals of the revolution, the descriptions of president Omer Albashir and revolution's makers, the reaction of Sudanese authority toward the revolutionists and the internet in addition to the evaluation of external intervention in revolution according to BBC and AJE channels.

According to Norman Fairclough critical discourse analysis's primary objective is to expose hidden ideologies that are expressed and suggested in institutional and daily discourse. (Mohammed 2020 p 10) because one of the central goals of this study to explore unseen agenda of BBC and AJE The collected data tried strongly to compare between both of them in covering the mentioned issues as a basic part of revolution, the researcher discovered that BBC and AJE followed different editorial policies while covering the same events and this vary from time to time, for example BBC seemed more contradicted when praised president Albashir sometimes and criticized him roughly in another times, also BBC tried to support president Albashir from Side and ignore the efforts of revolution from other Side by using weak words as lexical choices to exclude readers away from real scene of events but AJE presents protesters as strong people with clear goals (removal of president Albashir) used the word demanding in more than one place to confirm that they will remove president. The current study is unique because the sample of news which selected was so big, 71 news reflected both

positions of power and protesters analyzed by using model designed specially for news (Bell's 1991 model).

After analyzing the news of BBC and AJE which covered the Sudanese revolution at April May and June before during and after the revolution time the study realised these results:

1. The goals of Sudanese revolution According to BBC and AJE are the removal of president Omer Albashir and creating civilian government these were attracted more supporters to revolution.
2. The rythm of revolution raised up specially after BBC described AlBashir as ousted president and AJE described him as long time ruler.
3. BBC avoid connecting violence directly with Sudanese specific military organizations but AJE mentioned ruling military, rapid support forces and Omer Al Bashir as violence actors.
4. BBC has used the word protesters for revolution makers while AJE used the word demonstrators.
5. BBC confirmed the Sudanese authority cut the internet to hide revolution's facts but AJE ignored this issue.
6. Both BBC and AJE portraying external intervention in revolution for the benefits of all Sudanese and not against Albashir's regime.

4.1 Recommendations

The responsibility of the media nowadays is not just to broadcast news or information, but also to protect individuals from violent attacks and to maintain peace and dignity for humanity. Sudanese researchers must perform more studies on critical national topics that media scholars can discuss and communicate through their tribunes and platforms. The Sudanese government has not paid attention to the impact of media as an active weapon that may change events and expectations. The Sudanese government has to offer greater horizons for freedom of expression, both for local and international media that exist in Sudan. Society is also responsible for promoting freedom of expression. This study used CDA as a way to investigate the role of new media in reporting the Sudan revolution. In the same subject, future research could benefit from the CDA framework and evaluating additional news from worldwide network channels or conducting

interviews with Sudanese stakeholders and elites who can add more to the knowledge in media and journalism in particular.

4.2 Conclusion

The new media significantly impacted the Sudan 2018-2019 revolution, It caused many policy makers in Sudan during Albashir's regime time to grow accustomed to having a defined enemy, This resulted in a really confused editorial policy for new media platforms like BBC and AJE Since the earliest protests began in December 2018 and continued till Albashir's downfall in April 2019, both stations have been covering the events by releasing news, reports, investigations, dialogues, debates, and other multiprogram content. This study has particular significance since it examined the objectives and hidden ideologies behind the news published by two of Sudan's most well-known channels, BBC and AJE.

President Albashir, his cabinet members and all regime followers are well aware of the role that new media plays in promoting freedom and democracy. This is why, while reporting the events of the revolution, the authority shut down the internet and the offices of BBC and AJE in the capital Khartoum. There is a critical need to recognize how new media portrays the truth to the public in the midst of all these complex situations and the lack of understanding of political process and media performance. The websites of BBC and AJE are both seen as an example of new media whose news reports show a bias in favour of one side or the other. More research on large sets of data is needed, which could include looking at more news about this event from other domestic and foreign news sources, or focusing on other events connected to the Sudanese revolution example. The BBC and AJE's coverage of the revolution may contain misleading and inaccurate information that affects public opinion. The language characteristics, social setting, and ideological choices of news can be revealed in order to truly understand how reality is portrayed.

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