Islamic political discourse in the Arabic emigrant press (*Al-Hayat* and *al-Quds al-Arabi*)

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IAMCR/AIECS/AIERI 23rd International Communication Conference
“Islamic Media Group”
24.7.2002
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Abstract:
The focus of this paper will be on the structures of themes and actors in headlines and attached photos in the Arabic Emigrant press based in London about the Islamic political movements in the Arab world. These movements have created the world attention since the launching of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979. Many concepts and adjectives have been used to describe these movements, such as “Islamic fundamentalism”, “Islamic Terrorism”, “Political Islam”, and so on. In this paper, several events will be analyzed; the cancellation of the second round in the general legislative election in Algeria in December 1991, the Islamic movements’ activities in Egypt 1993-1994, and Riyadh and Dhaharan bombs in Saudi Arabia (1995 and 1996). The Arabic emigrant newspapers have been always considered as an elite press in the Arab world, so the paper will put forth the following questions:

1. Who are the main actors in the focused news items in terms of headlines and attached photos and illustrations?
2. What are the major themes of the focused news items in terms of headlines and attached photos or illustrations?
3. How the newspapers structure the relationships between themes and actors?

The paper includes two main parts:
1. Theoretical part which will present a brief information about the Islamic political movements, Arab emigrant press, and methodology.
2. Analytical part which will present the results of the study.

1. Questions, Methodology, and Cases
There is a consensus among researchers saying that mass media playing an essential role in shaping our images and attitudes about the ‘real’ world. Accordingly, there is a massive work about ‘stereotypes’ and describing the ‘others’ in the media literatures, most of it concentrating on the images of the Third World, Arabs, Islam and Muslims. This media role, however, led the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) to debate for New World International and Communication Order (NWICO) since 1970s. Arabs and Muslims used to blame the Western media for propagating ‘negative’ images about their nations. But in this vein, one would argue here that some Arabic media played a cooperative role in reproducing these images between Arabs and Muslims. This paper will trace the Islamic
Political Discourse in two leading emigrant dailies (Al-Hayat and al-Quds al-Arabi). The focus will be on four specific events: the cancellation of the Algerian general election results (from late 1991 to early 1992); the Islamic movements’ activities in Egypt (1993-1994); and Riyadh and Dhahran bombs in Saudi Arabia (November 1995 and June 1996). The concepts related to the Islamic political movements are numerous, and the use of these concepts has been gradually developed throughout different historical periods and circumstances both inside and outside the Arab world. Selecting three different countries of the Arab world will help to compare between the newspapers’ positions toward each era.

The phenomena of Arabic emigrant press goes back to the 19th century when there was a need for press freedom during the Ottoman rule. The new emigration started in mid 1970s driven by new circumstances but same purposes: ‘freedom’, objected to publication law, and propaganda. In the Arab World, the quality emigrant newspapers considered as an elite’s newspapers, and are playing an important role in portraying Arabs and Muslims. Despite the existence of the Arabic emigrant press in Europe, USA, and other parts of the world, the London-based Arabic newspapers are described as most popular and effective.

At present there are five Arabic dailies in London, both emigrant and international newspapers. These are: al-Arab (established on 1-June- 1977), Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (established on 4-July-1978), Al-Hayat (restarted in London on 3-October-1988), al- Quds al-Arabi (in April 1989), and Azzaman (established on 10.4.1997). From these titles I have chosen two (Al-Hayat and Al-Quds al-Arabi) for three reasons. First, these two dailies are the most popular among the Arabic publications in London. Second, is related to the purpose of the study, which is to compare two different newspapers in their positions, attitudes, and professionalism. From my observation as a reader of these newspapers, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat seems to take the same positions as Al-Hayat’s but still there is a difference between them in the style of their work. Third,
these five Arabic dailies based in London could be divided into two parts according to their ownership, attitudes, and positions inside and outside the Arab world. The first part is represented by *Al-Hayat* and *Al-Sharq Al-Awast*; and the second is represented by *al Quds al-Arabi*, *al-Arab*, and *Azzaman*, so I have chosen one from each part.

The following are the main questions which this paper attempts to answer:

1. Who are the main actors in the focused news items in terms of headlines and attached photos and illustrations?
2. What are the major themes of the focused news items in terms of headlines and attached photos or illustrations?
3. How the newspapers structure the relationships between themes and actors?

In order to answer the above questions, the researcher will examine the **Thematic and Actors’ structures** of the leading stories and editorials’ headlines as well as their attached photos. This analytical category is borrowed from Teun Van Dijk in his book *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press (1988)*. Van Dijk used this analytical category as a qualitative analysis of news data, and he defines it as “the hierarchical organisation of themes or topics of a text theoretically accounted for in terms of semantic macrostructure. The thematic structure, thus, defines what is the most important information of a text” (Van Dijk, 1988: 72). The analysis of themes and actors structures will clarify how each newspaper attributed specific kind of actions to this actor or that.

The analysis of how the newspapers structured the themes and actors in its news items will cover two parts: headlines and attached photos. The method which any newspaper uses to structure the themes and actors of its news stories reflects mostly its position and attitudes about this theme or that actor. The main question here is what types of themes the newspaper attributed to each part: official regimes and Islamic political movements.

### 2. Discussions and Results
The analysis of political Islam in Algeria will focus on 50 news items published by *Al-Quds al-Arabi* and *Al-Hayat* (25 each) in the period from 24.12.1991 to 15.2.1992. This period, according to many commentators, is the turning point in the relationship between the Algerian government and the Islamic political movements. It is the period when the government decided to go for the first general election after 30 years of one-party rule since 1962 by the National Liberation Party (NLP). The election was the event, but the cancellation of the first round’s results and then the second round was the most important event which shaped and affected the whole situation in Algeria since that time until today. The general election was the first practical chance for all types of Algerian political parties, including the Islamic political parties, to be involved officially in the political operation. The participant in this parliamentary election was the second victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) as an independent political party after it swept the municipal election in 1990. However, before presenting the qualitative analysis of how the newspaper represented the Islamic political movement in Algeria, table (1) below presenting some statistical data and information about the news items under examination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th><em>Al-Quds al-Arabi</em></th>
<th><em>Al-Hayat</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>From a total of 25 items, there are 15 news, 4 editorials, 5 opinion articles, and 1 leading article.</td>
<td>From a total of 25 news items, there are 13 news, 3 interviews, 2 column articles, 3 opinion articles, 2 reports, 2 news analysis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: 14 news items attributed to the newspaper’s correspondents, while the rest attributed to international news agencies. From a total of 25 news items, there are 17 items were attributed to the newspaper’s sources, while the rest were attributed to international news agencies and writers.

Place or centre: Just 13 news items took place in Algeria, while the rest came from different areas. 13 news items were about events in Algeria, excluding articles and editorials and other news items that took places in Algeria and other international centres.

Location: 8 news items appeared in the front pages of the newspapers as a leading stories. 11 items appeared in the first pages of the newspaper, some of them as leading stories.

Attached photo: There were 14 attached photos particularly with items appeared in the front pages. There were 18 photos attached with 18 news items, photos were particularly likely to be attached to items which appeared in the first pages.

| Table 1: descriptions of news items under analysis (political Islam in Algeria) |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| **Source**                      | 14 news items attributed to the newspaper’s correspondents, while the rest attributed to international news agencies. From a total of 25 news items, there are 17 items were attributed to the newspaper’s sources, while the rest were attributed to international news agencies and writers. |
| **Place or centre**             | 13 news items were about events in Algeria, excluding articles and editorials and other news items that took places in Algeria and other international centres. |
| **Location**                    | 13 news items were about events in Algeria, excluding articles and editorials and other news items that took places in Algeria and other international centres. |
| **Attached photo**              | There were 14 attached photos particularly with items appeared in the front pages. There were 18 photos attached with 18 news items, photos were particularly likely to be attached to items which appeared in the first pages. |

2.1.1 Headlines

The focus here will be on 20 news items published by *al-Quds al-Arabi* (15 news, 4 editorials, and 1 leading article) and 13 news’ headlines published by *Al-Hayat* because the latest did not publish any editorial. Examining *al-Quds al-Arabi*’s structures of themes and actors in its headlines illustrates some significant observations. First, the FIS and the official political regime (NLF, the Greater Council of Security, and the army) were the main, mostly the only, actors the newspaper focused on. This is a reasonable and logic result because these actors were mobilising the events in the period under study. Second, in structuring the themes, the newspaper confirmed its positions and attitudes toward each party. The following examples from the newspaper’s headlines show who is doing what.

(Gloss) Example 1: Algeria ends its election campaign in peace … Thursday the Islamic state competes the pluralism (24.12.1991: front page).

(Gloss) Example 2: Aiet Ahmed considers the FIS “dangerous phenomena” … confrontations in Algerian election and three people killed. Iran supports the fundamentalists’ victory and its newspapers are happy (30.12.1991: 3).
(Gloss) Example 3: Aiet Ahmed: the FIS is not fate and it could be destroyed … thousands joining the protest “save Algeria” and attitude to boycott the second round … the NLF contests the legitimacy of 140 votes for the FIS and is accusing it of falsification. (3.1.1992: 3).

(Gloss) Example 4: Islamic extremism (leading article, 18/19.1.1992: front page).


In example 1 above, the newspaper’s headline compared the political parties which participated in the general election. The competition was between the FIS which represents, according to the newspaper, the “Islamic State” and other political parties which symbolised the notion of “multiplicity.” It is clear that the newspaper, from its headline, described the FIS or the coming “Islamic State” as opposed or against government of the majority. Such pre-judgement is a common one about the “Islamic State.” The newspaper, even before the election, presented two options to the Algerians: the Islamic State (singleness) and any other political party (multiplicity). In examples 2 and 3 above, the newspaper summarised and quoted from the leader of the Socialist Powers Front (SPF) refusing and criticising the FIS. The FIS, according to SPF, was a “dangerous phenomena.” To confirm this situation the newspaper from its side indicated (example 2) that Iran supported the victory of the FIS “fundamentalists.” Again the newspaper made a ‘negative’ connection between the FIS and Iran to show how dangerous would be the situation in Algeria if the FIS took over power there. The newspaper concentrated on the FIS’s actions and positions, mainly from the negative perspective, during its coverage of the Algerian issue. The newspaper after all events which related to both sides, made another judgement on 18/19.1.1992 in a leading article (front page) by Abdel Barri Atwan entitled “The Islamic Extremism.” This article mentioned that the victory of the FIS, which represents Islamic fundamentalism, was just a reaction to the Western policies and activities in the Arab and Islamic world.
In contrast to these images and attitudes propagated about the FIS in *al-Quds al-Arabi’s* headlines, there were a few (just four) headlines which criticised the official political regime, also from a negative perspective. The newspaper concentrated its criticism on the army and military institutions. The following are examples of headlines by *Al-Quds al-Arabi* criticising the army’s activities:

(Gloss) Example 5: The FIS considered it as a scenario to repress the public and America and Britain advise their citizens not to travel to Algeria. The army prepared to formulate a government and impose martial law and cancel the election (13.1.1992).


All of the above examples shed light upon the army activities after the resignation of Benjedid, the cancellation of the general election, and the take over of power by the Greater Council of Security.

From reading the focused headlines in *Al-Hayat* about political Islam in Algeria, I found the newspaper concentrated on three main actors doing different activities, as the following:

**The government:**
- The President commends the Prime Minister
- The army calls for the arrest of the leader of the FIS
- The losers look forward to the second round of elections
- The Prime Minister says that the election was not clean
- The NLF condemns the FIS
- The Military and Civilian Council will lead the country
- The new President (Bu Dhiaf) warns the FIS
- The authorities took back the FIS’s position; they arrest 42 imams

**-The FIS:**
-The Front achieved a big victory

-Asks for early presidential election

-Confirms its respect for the constitution

-Puts conditions to co-operate with Shadili

-Advises avoiding killing; warns against cancelling the election; asks to confront the ruling group; and the FIS steps up its campaigns.

-Others:

-USA supports the Algerians’ election of their government

-labour unions call for national mobilisation against the FIS

- USA worried about the situation and advises calm and a peaceful solution

It is clear, from the themes attributed to each participant above, that Al-Hayat tried to be balanced in its presentations of each of part. The above underlined descriptions and themes for both the official regime and the FIS are the only ‘negative’ images attributed to both sides, while the rest are ‘positive’. Even the themes which were attributed to ‘other’ participants were balanced between the main parties.

2.1.2 Photos

In 25 news items under focus, al-Quds al-Arabi published 14 photos attached with news, which mainly appeared on front pages. I will divide these photos according to their themes and actors into four main categories. First, there were four attached photos about the FIS’s figures and their supporters. The main themes which these photos emphasised were leaderships’ claims and press conferences as on 24.12.1991 and 30.12.1991: front pages. The other two photos about the FIS focused on the Front’s supporters in their daily activities as on 14.1.1992: front page and 15.1.1992: 3. Second, the newspaper published six photos about the official political regime including the NLF, the Greater Council of Security, and the army. From this total, there were two photos about deployment of the army’s tanks
and troops in the capital after the resignation of President Benjedid (9.1.1992 and 13.1.1992: front pages). The other four photos were personal in which the actor is considered as the theme of the photo (27.12.1991: front page, 13.1.1992: 3, 14.1.1992: 3, and 18/19.1.1992: 3). I could say here that the first and second categories of the photos published in *Al-Quds al-Arabi* were just official types of photos that focused on persons or figures as a theme, not on a topic. From my point of view, this type of photo occupied space much more than presenting ideas or messages.

Third, the newspaper published two photos about the Socialist Powers Front (SPF); these were totally opposite to the first and second categories. The first one appeared on the front page on 3.1.1992 and illustrated Algerian women in a protest against the FIS and confirmed the need to continue the democratic process. In the same issue the newspaper published on page 3 another photo about the same protest, but this time from another perspective. The photo showed the SPF’s leader waving to the crowd in a demonstration organised by his party to “save Algeria.” Both photos confirm the importance of this Front in defending and protecting democracy in Algeria from the aggression of the FIS. One can argue, that at that the FIS was the party which should have protested against cancelling the results of the first round of the general election. *Al-Quds al-Arabi* was propagating photos about protests and demonstrations against the FIS and its ‘democratic’ victory.

Fourth, the newspaper published two photos about Algerian public daily life. The first one (30.12.1991: 3) showed veiled women near a mosque in the capital. The caption of the photo indicates that the officials intensified the police presence in the area to protect against any violence or attacks. The second photo on 15.1.1992 showed four women in Islamic and Western clothes in one of the capital’s roads. The only message in this photo could be the ‘cultural multiplicity’ which could be considered as an important aspect of the Algerian problem.
Al-Hayat published 18 attached photos attributed to: AP (10), Reuters (5), AFP (2), and the newspaper (1). According to their themes and actors, these attached photos could be divided into three main categories; official regimes (9 photos), the FIS (5 photos), and others (4 photos). Most of the photos which are about the regime concentrate on the security and police forces, while the rest are just personal photos of President Shadili, Ahmed Ghuzali, Khalid Nizar, and Bu Dhiaf. In contrast to the security forces, are 3 photos from the total of 5 about the FIS presenting its members in a group at prayers, protesting, and shaping support.

2.2 Political Islam in Egypt

The analysis in this section focuses on news items about ‘confrontations’ between the Islamic political movements and the Egyptian government. The military confrontations between the two sides started from Sadat’s assassination in 1981, and from then on the confrontation continued on different levels. In mid-1992 the confrontation between the two sides increased and included assassinations and attacks on tourists. The analysis will examine 22 news items published by Al-Quds al-Arabi (excluding 3 opinion articles) and 22 news items published by Al-Hayat (excluding 2 interviews and 1 report) about the confrontation between the government and the Islamic political movements in 1993. The reason behind this concentration is that there were two main events about the relationship between the two sides: the military confrontation, and the trial of the ‘spiritual’ leader Umar Abd al-Rahman. Table (2) below presents some data about the items under study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Al-Quds al-Arabi</th>
<th>Al-Hayat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>From 25 items under examination there are 22 news and 3 opinion articles. The newspaper did not indicate the events in Egypt during the focused period in its editorials or column articles.</td>
<td>From 25 items under study there are 22 news, 2 interviews, and 1 report.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or column-articles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>There were 13 news items attributed to the newspaper’s correspondents, 6 of them attributed to more than one source (agencies), 3 of them attributed to Reuters, while 3 items were opinion articles attributed to independent writers.</th>
<th>Except one item attributed to AP, the newspaper depended on its own sources in covering the events in Egypt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place or centre</td>
<td>There were 19 news items which took place in Egypt, 3 in both Egypt and United States of America, and 3 of them are opinion articles.</td>
<td>All the news items under study took place in Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>There were just 9 news items from the total which appeared in the first pages.</td>
<td>There are only 7 items from the total under study appeared on the front pages; the rest were located in inside pages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attached photo</td>
<td>The newspaper published 15 attached photos.</td>
<td>There were only 7 attached photos attributed to AP (1), Reuters (2), AFP (3), and Al-Hayat (1).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: descriptions of news items under analysis (political Islam in Egypt)

2.2.1 Headlines

Table (3) below shows some examples of the themes and actions which were attributed to the government and the ‘wings’ of the Islamic movements in Egypt in *al-Quds al-Arabi*’s headlines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Government</th>
<th>The Islamic Movements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Announcing the war, arresting and attacking the fundamentalists</td>
<td>Fundamentalists and extremists (11.3.1993:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalating its operations against the Islamic groups, attacking and arresting</td>
<td>Affecting the tourism and threatening to transfer its operation to Cairo (11.3.1993:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political parties are united in confronting terrorism</td>
<td>Warning tourists and investors to leave the country (18.3.1993:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has a strategy to destroy the</td>
<td>Attacking coach (1.4.1993:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fundamentalists (9.6.1993:1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: The Themes and Actors of Al-Quds al-Arabi’s Headlines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trailing them</td>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arresting and trailing them</td>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will not negotiate with the fundamentalists</td>
<td>Fundamentalists assassinating a policeman officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executing the killer and taking hold of a bomb</td>
<td>Killers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arresting extremists and executing fundamentalists</td>
<td>Fundamentalists assassinating a policeman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Minister of Interior escaped from assassination attempt</td>
<td>Tried to assassinate the minister but they killed his bodyguards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalating the policies of attacks</td>
<td>Extremist Abd al-Rahman rejecting the violence against civilians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arresting fundamentalists and exerting security in the archaeological places</td>
<td>Fundamentalists asking tourists and investors to leave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the above examples what kind of themes or actions were attributed to each party. From my point of view, there are two major observations one might record about the themes and actors’ structures in the above examples. First, the ‘wings’ of the Islamic movements in the newspaper’s headlines are named as ‘enemy,’ ‘extremists,’ ‘fundamentalists,’ ‘killers,’ and so on. This ‘type’ of people, according to the newspaper’s headlines, are ‘killing’, ‘assassinating’, ‘attacking’, affecting and threatening the tourists and tourism in the country. In brief, these representations of the Islamic movements reflect the newspaper’s positions and attitudes about their activities and confrontations with the governments. Second, the government’s ‘attacks’, ‘wars’, and ‘escalation’ against these groups were normal and legitimate because they were ‘threatening’ the security of people and the state’s economy. This strategy by the newspaper of comparing the activities of each side in its headlines illustrates the newspaper’s understanding of the confrontation between them. These comparisons were made by the newspaper to prove its rejection of the Islamic movements’ actions and the government’s rightness to announce the war against them and even destroy them totally. The view behind this argument could be because headlines normally reflect the newspaper’s
position much more than any other part of the news item (headline, introduction, and body text). The headline is kind of a summary of the most important parts of the news items and reflects the editor’s understanding and attitude toward each item.

*Al-Hayat* from its side, concentrated on two main actors in its headlines; the Islamic groups and the Egyptian regime. In term of themes and images of these actors in the headlines. Table (4) illustrates some examples of themes attributed to the main actors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Egyptian Regime</th>
<th>The Islamic Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-announcing one person killed and 14 injured; announcing two officers killed; announcing execution of the first suspect; announcing execution of 6 members from ‘Jihad’ organisation; announcing arrest of members from the Islamic group; the former Interior Minister is responsible of violence; announcing one officer and policeman killed and arrest of 18 members from the Islamic groups; announcing arrest of a leader from the Islamic group; and confirm its confrontations of the ‘terrorists’.</td>
<td>-terrorists attacking tourism; adopting attack operation; carrying out suicidal operation; attacking tourism coach; involved in a conspiracy to kill President Mubarak; the violence affects the nation’s stability; accused of killing; attacking commercial shops; terrorists; Islamic group; Jihad; armed terrorists; and Islamists.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 4: Themes of the Participants in *Al-Hayat’s* Headlines |

I would argue that *Al-Hayat* presented unbalanced presentation between the Egyptian regime and the Islamic groups. Such presentation proves the newspaper’s attitudes toward each party not just within news texts (information and data) but in headlines (attitudes and evaluations). The Islamic groups, as presented in the headlines, were responsible for violence, attacking tourism, killing, and so on. In contrast to this, the newspaper presented the Egyptian regime as a source of information and news. The newspaper quoted in most of its headlines the regime’s statements and announcements and put them in this frame: (Egypt or Cairo: saying, announcing, confirming, and so on). This structure of news actors and
themes, illustrates the official reference the newspaper confirmed in its headlines.

2.2.2 Photos

_al-Quds al-Arabi_ published 15 attached photos about the issue under study. These photos came from three different sources: Reuters (10), Associated Press (1), and without sources (4). The list below presents the contents (themes and actors) of these attached photos.

-A group of **policemen** in Cairo where **they attacked** the **Islamists** (11.3.1993:3).

-A destroyed car near the accident area where **one person was killed** (9.6.1993:1).

-One of President Mubarak’s photos in Cairo during the general election campaign (30.9.1993:3).

-**Egyptian experts** examining the corpse of a policeman officer **who had been killed** in his house (29.10.1993:1).

-The **Islamists suspected** of killing one of the writers **waiting for the sentencing** (2.12.1993:1).

-A **policemen officer** observing the area where another officer **had been attacked** and in the view **two corpses of Islamists** (21.12.1993:1).

-**Policemen** around in the car of the Minister of Interior after he **had been attacked** (19.8.1993:1).

-**Policemen** in area where the minister **had been attacked** (19.8.1993:3).

-**Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman** in the USA (20/21.3.1993:3).

-**Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman** (2.4.1993:3).

-**Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman** talking to one of his followers (30.8.1993:3).

-**Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman - Sayyed Nussier** (27.8.1993:3).

-**Policemen guarding** a court in Cairo (6.7.1993:1).
One might notice that the above published photos by the newspaper reflect the conflict between the two parties: the government and the activist Islamic political movements. The photos gave more attention to illustrating the density of the government’s security and policemen. The photos of policemen did not portray their actions against the Islamic movements but they were acting as a reaction against what these movements were doing. Among the selected photos, the newspaper also published about six personal photos of some of the Islamic movement’s leaders, mainly Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman. These personal photos achieve more than one goal. First, they might have worked for the interests of the Islamic movements by presenting their leaders as important figures. Second, and opposite to the previous one, these photos might have caused a negative reaction. This is because the media around the world, including those in the Arab and Islamic world, used to use the image of ‘bearded’ man and ‘veiled’ woman to describe the Islamic ‘terrorism’, and ‘fundamentalism’. To argue why the newspaper used this photo or that, it is important to identify its positions and attitudes toward this party or that. In keeping with the previous analysis about Al-Quds al-Arabi’s position toward the government/Islamic movements relationship in Egypt, I should say that the newspaper’s using of the personal photos of these movements’ figures reflects a negative image.

In contrast Al-Hayat used just 7 attached photos with the news items under study. According to the subjects of these photos and their captions, they are talking about:

1. Tourism coach after the terrorist attack (AP on 9.6.1993: front page).
4. The car of Interior Minister after the explosion surrounded by policemen (AFP on 19.8.1993: front page).
6. President Mubarak voting for his third period of rule (Reuters on 1.1.1994: 7).


Most of the attached photos represented the newspaper’s positions toward each of the involved parties. For example, the newspaper described the attack in photo no. 1 as a ‘terrorist attack’ while the caption of photo no. 3 did not mention who killed the two ‘extremists’.

2.3.2 Political Islam in Saudi Arabia

Despite the fact that the Islamic political movements in Saudi Arabia are not recognised political groups, as the cases in Algeria or Egypt, these unofficial movements have been considered as opposition groups. The focus of analysis in this section will be on two events that have been attributed to the “Islamists extremists” in Saudi Arabia: the Riyadh explosion (13.11.1995) and the Dhahran explosion (26.6.1996). These events are important from two perspectives. First, both of them took place after the Gulf War of 1990, the event which led the commentators and analysts to connect the two issues. Second, both explosions were against the American ‘military’ complexes, which confirm the link again between the consequences of the Gulf War and the actions and explosions by the ‘Islamists’. Table (5) presents some information about the news items under study in both newspapers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Al-Quds al-Arabi</th>
<th>Al-Hayat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type</strong></td>
<td>There were 50 selected news items under analysis, 25 items about each explosion. These items, according to their types, could be divided into: news (32), editorials (3), leading articles (2), opinion articles (5), news analysis (4), interviews (2), caricatures (2).</td>
<td>The 49 items divided into 32 news, 7 photos, 4 column-articles, 4 leading articles, 1 news analysis, and 1 letter to the editor (reader’s opinion).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source</strong></td>
<td>From the total of 50 news items,</td>
<td>News items attributed to different</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
there were 16 items attributed to the newspaper, 12 to Reuters, 2 to AFP, 13 to Agencies (more than one agency), and 7 to writers and translated items. news sources: 36 items attributed to the newspaper itself, 6 (agencies), 3 (newspaper and international news agencies), 1 (Reuters), 1 (AFP), 1 (AP), 1 (independent writer).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place or centre</th>
<th>There were just 6 items took place in Saudi Arabia, 4 in USA, 11 in London. 14 in more than one capital, and 15 from other places and centres.</th>
<th>The items published in the newspaper about the explosions came from different areas or centres as follows: 14, Saudi Arabia; 12, London; 7, other capital cities; 7, United States; 4, both Saudi Arabia and America; and 5, from other places.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>There are 19 items from the total which appeared on the first page as the main news items, while there are 31 items located in inside pages. 6. There are just 6 items that took place in Saudi Arabia, 4 in the United States, 11 from London, 14 in more than one capital, and 15 from other places and centres.</td>
<td>There are 20 items from the total of 49 located on the front pages, while the rest were located in the inside pages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attached photo</td>
<td>The newspaper published 24 attached photos, 16 of them attributed to Reuters, 7 to the newspaper (mainly personal photos), and 1 photo was without indication of the sources.</td>
<td>The newspaper published 5 attached photos and 1 map. These photos were attributed to AP (3), AFP (1), and without identified sources (2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: descriptions of news items under analysis (Political Islam in Saudi Arabia)

2.3.1 Headlines

The focus here will be on 32 news’ headlines from *al-Quds al-Arabi* and 32 news’ headlines from *Al-Hayat*. From my reading, *al-Quds al-Arabi* ’s headlines could be divided into four groups: Saudi officials, American officials, the Islamic opposition, and others. Table 6 below illustrates some descriptions and images that appeared in the headlines about each of these parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saudi Officials</th>
<th>American Officials</th>
<th>Islamic Opposition</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- secretive about the investigation results, emphasise the the</td>
<td>- they will keep the troops, accused Saudi Arabia of</td>
<td>- intimidation by more explosions, internal</td>
<td>- Israel accused Iran and offered its services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Iraq asks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
security procedures, King Fahad promised that he 'completely co-operates with the investigators, promised to punish the involved people inside and outside the Kingdom, rejects any involvement of the opposition, arrests some suspects.

| Security procedures, King Fahad promised that he 'completely co-operates with the investigators, promised to punish the involved people inside and outside the Kingdom, rejects any involvement of the opposition, arrests some suspects. | Neglect in security co-operation, their policy against Iraq led to violence, put responsibility on Saudi Arabia, they underestimate the power of the Saudi opposition, they interrogate Saudi officials, emphasise the security procedures in the military bases in the Gulf. | Fundamentalist terrorism, professionals, they insists on bringing out the American troops, suspects |

| Riyadh to giving up the foreigners existence | -Husni Mubarek criticises granting any sanctuary for the Islamists | -Iran and Iraq deny any involvement |

**Table 6: Al-Quds al-Arabi 's Headlines' Themes about Saudis and Americans**

The 32 news headlines concentrated on four major themes: first, headlines about Saudi/American relationships during the explosions; second, headlines about the Islamic opposition; third, headlines explaining and justifying the reasons behind the actions; and fourth, headlines about other parties. In these headlines the newspaper gave more attention to the Saudi/American relationship and their security co-operation during the events. The newspaper tried many times to indicate that there was disagreement between the two sides about security procedures, investigation co-operation, and so on. The newspaper repeated in its headlines that United States was accusing Saudi Arabia of: default in security co-operation; responsibility for the explosions; monopolising the information; and refusing the American demand to intensify the security around the American base. The newspaper also criticised both Saudi and American policies, mainly those which were related to 'challenging the Islamic and Arab values, and policies and practices against Iraq'. All of these aspects were used by the newspaper to support its argument that the Saudi external and internal policies and the American presence in the holy lands were the reasons...
behind the two explosions. In contrast, the newspaper gave very little attention to the Islamic opposition or those who had been accused of explosions. Among the 32 headlines under examination, the newspaper referred to the explosions as ‘terrorism’ just twice; while the rest of the time it referred to them as ‘explosion, Islamic opposition action, and attack’.

In *Al-Hayat*’s headlines there are three major participants in the explosions of the two American resident complexes in Saudi Arabia: suspected people (Islamic opposition), Americans, and Saudis. Table 7 below presents some examples of what these actors (participants) were doing (themes).
Table 7: Themes and Actors in Al-Hayat’s Headlines about Political Islam in Saudi Arabia

One can present three readings and observations from the above table. First, the newspaper concentrated on the three major actors: Saudis, Americans, and the suspects progressively. Second, the newspaper’s structuring of the themes and actors in its headlines was totally in conformity with its images of each of these participants as detailed earlier. The Saudi regime was well presented in these headlines in completely ‘positive’ images, while there were some criticisms and ‘negative’ images of the American officials. In contrast, the headlines presented completely ‘negative’ descriptions of the suspects (or the Islamic opposition). Third, the newspaper used more than five times the theme of the international and Arab condemnations of the explosions. These indications seem to be an attempt by the newspaper to support and confirm the Saudi government’s ‘rightness’ in confronting these groups and the international rejection of such actions.

2.3.2 Photos
*al-Quds al-Arabi* published 24 attached photos about the two explosions. I could say that these photos were divided into four themes: the explosions’ effects (5), some personal photos (10), the American troops in Saudi Arabia (4), and the American reaction to the explosions (5). If the first and second types of photos seems normal within the context of reporting both events, the other two categories do not. From one perspective, the newspaper confirmed by some photos the American troops’ presence in Saudi Arabia practising their security duties. By using these photos, however, the newspaper attempted to excite Arab public opinion about this presence which was described as anti- ‘Islamic values, Arab nationalism, Arab unity and interests’. The newspaper also showed through five photos the ‘sadness’ of the reactions of the American soldiers affected by these explosions. These five photos might present two contradictory messages. First, they showed the ‘negative’ effects of the American presence in the Saudi Arabia, so they should leave if that is the situation. Second, they illustrate the damage caused by the Islamists in the explosions, which might lead to more rejection of the Islamic groups and their activities. However, because the newspaper mainly targeted the Arab readers, the second message will be clearer and more effective.

The newspaper published five attached photos and one map in its coverage of the two explosions. These attached illustrations are talking about:

1. The damage to the residential complex the explosion caused (14.11.1995: front page).
4. The resident complex in Riyadh before the explosion (27.6.1996: 5).
*Al-Hayat* published a very small number of attached photos comparing the events’ importance. I would argue that there is nothing distinctive about these photos in terms of themes or actors. It seems that the newspaper insisted on not using the visual presentation in its coverage and followed the journalism school which considers photos as an excitement element. It is worth mentioning here that the newspaper published seven photos as news (not i.e., attached to news items). These photos were published on 27.6.1996: 4, under one title, “Weak-Minded Weapon …”. The photos show the effects of the explosion, and it was the only time the newspaper used that many photos about both events.

3. Conclusions

Regarding to the above analysis about the *Al-Quds al-Arabi* and *Al-Hayat’s* positions toward the Islamic political movements in Algeria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, the following are the overall assessments.

**First:** in the case of Algeria *al-Quds al-Arabi* propagated a lot of negative images and descriptions about the FIS. The newspaper considered the victory of the FIS in the first round of the general election as a reaction to the collapse of the Arab nationalism after the Gulf War of 1990, not because of the FIS’s political programmes. Generally, the FIS received intensive criticisms in the newspaper’s editorials and opinion articles. *Al-Hayat*, criticised the Algerian official regime in two column articles published on 29.12.1991: P.9, by H. Saghia and Kheir Allah. That does not mean the newspaper was supporting or favouring the FIS but, as the newspaper claimed, it was defending the democratic path. Statistically, the newspaper presents more ‘negative’ images about the FIS, but it tried to be balanced in its presentations of the main two participants; the regime and the FIS.

**Second:** regarding the case in Egypt, the analysis focused on the confrontations between the Egyptian regime and the ‘military wings’ of the Islamic group. Again *al-Quds al-Arabi* rejected the actions attributed to the Islamic groups, and their images were almost completely negative. The newspaper used terms referring to these groups and their members such as
Islamic extremism, extremists, Islamic violence, terrorism, and terrorists. These terms reflected the official views and positions about these groups and their activities. In its headlines also, the newspaper called the Islamic groups ‘enemy’, ‘extremists’, ‘killers’. In contrast the government’s ‘attacks’, ‘wars’, and ‘aggression’ against these groups were described as normal and legitimate. 

\textit{Al-Hayat} clarified its position toward the ‘military wings’ of the Islamic group in Egypt when it propagated many ‘negative’ images about these wings. The newspaper, by propagating these images about the Islamic groups in Egypt, justified the ‘rightness’ of regime’s war against these groups. By these images also, the newspaper confirmed its rejection positions and attitudes against these groups, their activities, and the ‘terrorists’ who belonged to these group.

\textbf{Third:} in the case of Saudi Arabia, the study covered two events: Riyadh’s explosion on 13.11.1995 and Dhahran’s explosion on 26.6.1996. \textit{al-Quds al-Arabi} gave more attention to these events in the Saudi Arabia than to those in the other countries. The newspaper put responsibility on Saudi and American officials for the two events. Moreover, the newspaper evaluated these events as legal and legitimate because these were a kind of self defence. According to the newspaper’s evaluations, the American troops’ presence in the Gulf and the Saudis’ internal practices were the reasons behind the explosions. 

\textit{Al-Hayat}, concentrated on the ‘negative’ images of the Islamic opposition or the ‘suspects’ behind the explosions. The newspaper, from my examination, gave much of its attention and space to criticise and portray ‘negatively’ the actions and attitudes of these ‘suspects’ rather than discuss their ideologies.

\textbf{Forth:} both newspapers did not that much of photos about the events in the three countries, and much of the used photos were personal. But in term of structuring themes and actors of these attached photos, both newspapers selected and published photos which suport their attitudes toward each part in the focused events.
Notes and references


