

The Representation of Al-Megrahi's Release in Arabic and English Newspapers in 2009 and 2010: A Corpus-assisted Discourse Study

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ABSTRACT

This study combines two methodological strands, namely, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) to identify some discursive practices relating to the representation of Megrahi, the only man convicted of involvement in the Lockerbie bombing in 1988. This is based on a 3.5-million word corpus of four newspapers; two published in English (*The Guardian* and *The New York Times*), and two in Arabic (*Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*) in 2009 and 2010. Van Dijk's notions of manipulation and polarisation are employed to highlight some of the discursive strategies that the newspapers used to legitimize certain ideologies and delegitimize others. The analysis shows that the four newspapers appear to be different in their coverage of the event although the similarities were more in the Arabic newspapers than they are in their English counterparts. Such different perspectives may likely shape national and even global opinions on how to perceive certain ideologies.

Keywords: Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Lockerbie bombing, newspapers, ideologies.

Introduction

Libya is an Arab country located in the North Africa on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The country has huge proven oil reserves as it produced 1.5 m to 1.6 m barrels per day until the outbreak of the 2011 Arab uprisings when the production turned out to be below 100,000 barrels per day, which is less than a tenth capacity (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2013). From 1969 to 2011, Libya was ruled by Muammar Qaddafi who came to power after founding a revolutionary cell within the military in 1969 that took the power from King Idris in a bloodless coup dissolving the monarchy and announcing the Republic (Pargeter, 2012). Immediately after the coup, Qaddafi expelled the British forces and nationalized British Petroleum and rewrote the contracts with the existing oil companies (MacFarquhar, 2011). During his rule, there were many crucial issues that Libya was involved in due to the Qaddafi's policies such as the border conflicts with Egypt and Chad, his support for different militants, the Lockerbie bombing and many other issues that contributed to making Libya internationally pariah (Oakes, 2011). Qaddafi's hostility to the West in general and the U.S. in particular, in addition to his stance regarding different international issues led the United Nations to impose some economic sanctions on Libya (Lopez & Myers, 1997). In 2011, some uprisings spread over Libya and caused the fall of the Qaddafi regime and his death (Eyadat & Schaefer, 2013).

This paper uses a 3.5-million word corpus to investigate how Abdelbaset Ali al-Megrahi, the only man convicted of involvement in the Lockerbie bombing in 1988, was represented in the *Guardian* and the *New York Times* published in English and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* published in Arabic in 2009 and 2010. In order to connect the linguistic level with the social one (Van Dijk, 2004) and to consider wider contexts of discourse by investigating both the actual and immediate use of language/text, and the socio-political and historical contexts (Wodak, 2009), the researcher examined the timeline of the Lockerbie plane bombing as table 1 shows.

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Table 1. The timeline of the Lockerbie bombing

The TimeLine of the Lockerbie bombing	
Year	Description
1988	The Pan Am Flight 103 was blown up over the Scottish town of Lockerbie
1999	Qaddafi handed over the two suspects of the Lockerbie bombing to Netherlands for a trial by Scottish judges
2001	One of the two Libyan suspects on the Lockerbie bombing called Abdelbaset Ali al-Megrahi was sentenced to life imprisonment, while the other suspect was found not guilty and freed
2003	Libya signed a deal of almost \$2.7 billion as a compensation for the families of the Lockerbie victims
2008	Libya paid \$1.5 billion of the compensation
Aug-09	Megrahi was freed on compassionate grounds and returned to Libya
Jul-10	The British Petroleum (BP) confirmed that it won a license to work off the Libyan coast. The company was immediately accused of lobbying for Lockerbie bomber's release
Dec-10	WikiLeaks published that Qaddafi threatened to cut trade with Britain and warned of enormous repercussions if Megrahi died in the Scottish jail.
May-12	A private funeral was held in Tripoli after the death of Megrahi.

This study is organized as follows. Section 1 defines the theoretical and methodological framework of the study, and why the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) is used to examine the representation of *Megrahi* in different newspapers. Section 2 explores the newspapers investigated, and the justifications for their selection, and provides some statistics about the size of the collected data. Section 3 is divided into two broad parts; the first part contains a collocation analysis for *Megrahi* in the four newspapers, while part two discusses the representation of *Megrahi* in the newspapers' headlines. The analysis findings are explained in the discussion in Section (4).

2. Theoretical Background

This paper combines aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with some of the methodologies typical of Corpus Linguistics (CL). CDA grew rapidly during the last decade of the 20th century as a continuation of critical linguists' work in the 1970s. This paradigm has attracted many scholars, especially those who are interested in investigating the relationship between language, power, ideology and society. Often, CDA scholars undertake close qualitative analyses of single or small collections of texts, while also taking into account the social, political, and historical contexts most relevant to the texts' production and comprehension (Wodak, 2001). Corpus linguistics is "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 1). CL is traditionally concerned with the quantitative analysis of very large quantities of text, much of which is conducted computationally and (at least partially) automatically, and this has drawn criticism from some researchers who argue that CL is an unsuitable way to study texts if the social, political and/or historical context is to be taken into account (Mautner, 2007; Widdowson, 2000).

However, to show that the combined effect of the interaction between CL and CDA is greater than the sum of their individual effect, the combination between the two has been described as a natural match (Hardt-Mautner, 1995), and a useful methodological synergy (Baker et al., 2008). Different researchers have also supported the idea of combination; for example, O'Halloran and Coffin (2004) emphasize the role that CL can play in facing some of the criticisms of CDA, and Orpin (2005) highlights some of the advantages of this combination, such as investigating larger texts and enhancing reliability. CL is a quantitative approach that is being applied to process large collections of texts which are characterised to be representative. This approach helps in having a relatively greater distance between the researcher and the data. Conversely, CDA is a qualitative research approach that depends on making a close reading for some

fragments, which are related to the topic under investigation, and this might help the researchers achieve deep analysis and thick explanation. This means that using these two extremes in one study may make the findings of the study broader and more robust. In the same vein, Baker (2010) states that a corpus-based analysis of discourse or ideology is useful since it contributes to improve and boost small-scale qualitative analysis rather than neglect or replace it.

In corpus linguistics, common analytical techniques are dispersion, frequency, clusters, concordance, collocation, and keywords. Frequency analysis allows researchers to count how many times the element occurs in the corpus. Concordance investigates a particular linguistic item in its context by considering the surrounding words that might range from one word to the left or right of that item to the whole text if needed (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). Collocation is related to the words that are usually observed together in naturally occurring language as if there is an exclusive and frequent relationship between them. Keyword analysis has the same function as frequency which is identifying the focus of the corpus but in a more complex way (Baker, 2004). Keyness is the high frequency of words or cluster of words in one corpus when compared with another larger corpus.

This study mainly uses collocation to uncover some discourses about *Megrahi*. Collocation is useful for CDA because it provides researchers not only with the semantic definition of the word as it is used in the dictionary, but also with other implicit aspects of the same word within a particular discourse (Forest, 2007). When two words or phrases keep appearing next to each other in most contexts and different texts, it would be difficult for the text receivers to exclude any of them, and once one of these words is mentioned, they (receivers) will directly think of its collocates (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). This process may affect how issues are viewed and understood. It is argued that collocation patterns are “often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness, and they can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement” (Hunston, 2002, p. 109). Stubbs (1996, p. 195) argues that “if collocations and fixed phrases are repeatedly used as unanalysed units in media discussion and elsewhere, then it is very plausible that people will come to think about things in such terms”.

3. Methodology

In this study, four newspapers were selected for investigation, namely: *Asharq Al-Awsat* (mainly published in Saudi Arabia), and *Al-Khaleej* (the UAE) published in Arabic, and *The Guardian* (the UK), and *The New York Times* (the U.S) published in English.

Most Arab states have a tight censorship on newspapers and other media forms (Hdrami, 2012). The establishment of the three main pan-Arab newspapers, namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* (1978), *Al-Hayat* (1986), and *al-Quds al-Arabi* (1989) based in London made a quantum leap in the Arab press (Skovgaard-Petersen, 2006). Skovgaard-Petersen (2006, p. 84) also states that “scholars and journalists who work on the Middle East quickly took these newspapers to heart, as they were generally more outspoken than the local newspapers”. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is selected in this study because it has a higher circulation than the other two pan-Arab newspapers. Another reason is related to data retrieval; where the website of *Asharq Al-Awsat* has a feature that is not available in the other two newspapers having a free archive that allows users to look for the articles that contain particular word/s or phrase/s in a particular time period. The second Arabic newspaper used in this study is *Al-Khaleej*, a UAE Arabic daily newspaper, published by Dar Al-Khaleej since 1970, and is considered to be the first daily newspaper published in the UAE (Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013). The newspaper has a circulation of around 114,800 copies per day according to the Press Preference website. The UAE was selected due to its crucial role in the Arab relations being an increasingly visible global actor in the regional and international affairs (Ulrichsen, 2012). The two investigated English newspapers are *The NYT* and *The Guardian*. What distinguishes them from their rivals is their high coverage of international issues. For example, Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007, p. 148) point out that the *NYT* is a “leading newspaper with regard to the coverage of international news and views, drawing readers from every state and around the world”. Similarly, 78% of the *Guardian*’s online readers are from outside Britain (Kautsky & Widholm, 2008).

Based on the selection of these four newspapers, this study examines the following hypotheses:

1. The non-Arabic media, represented by the *Guardian* and the *NYT*, might cover the events more openly than

the other investigated Arabic newspapers because of the high level of censorship on media in the Arab world.

2. The Guardian and the NYT will cover the event more densely than their Arabic counterpart due to newsworthiness factors as the incident happened on a UK land, and the victims were mainly American.

The investigated data in this study are retrieved from a 27-million word corpus about Libya from 2009 to 2013 (see Haider, 2016a, 2016b, 2017a, 2017b). Investigating the context and examining the Lockerbie bombing timeline (table 1) show that the decision of releasing al-Megrahi and its subsequent events occurred in 2009 and 2010, and so the researcher only used a part of the Libyan corpus (articles published in 2009 and 2010). The search in the *NYT* and *The Guardian* resulted in 1020 articles with a total word count of 757,927. With regard to the Arabic newspapers, the search resulted in 5244 articles with a total word count of 2,765,989. Accordingly, this study uses 6264 articles, and 3,523,916 words (Table 2).

Table 2. The size of the English and Arabic corpora

The NYT			
Year	Number of Articles	Word count	Total words for periods
2009	258	202425	357,445
2010	166	155020	
The Guardian			
2009	329	210626	400,482
2010	267	189856	
The Guardian + The NYT= 757,927			
Asharq Al-Awsat			
2009	815	491211	1,035,058
2010	874	543847	
Al-Khaleej			
2009	1625	798964	1,730,931
2010	1930	931967	
Asharq Al-Awsat + Al-Khaleej= 2,765,989			
English newspapers+ Arabic newspapers=			3,523,916

The objectives of this study can be categorised into three types, namely: The investigated event related objectives, media related objectives, and methodology related objectives. The study contributes to uncovering discourses about the representation of the Megrahi release. This is achieved by carrying out quantitative and qualitative analyses of the four investigated newspapers. This study also investigates how newspapers use language to represent social events and form social practices. It examines the language of newspapers and their role in influencing people's attitudes and ideologies based on their agendas and ideologies. With regard to the methodology related objectives, this study contributes to the amount of research that combines both CL and CDA bearing in mind that it is rare to find corpus based/driven CDA studies on Arabic texts (see Kandil, 2009 as an example).

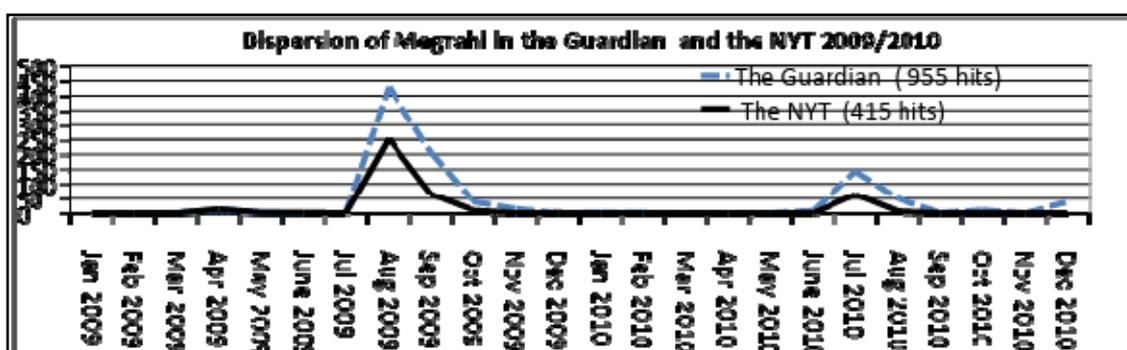
This study attempts to answer the following two research questions:

1. What does a collocation analysis of Megrahi reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published?
2. In what ways is the release of Megrahi defined and constructed in the investigated Arabic and English newspapers?

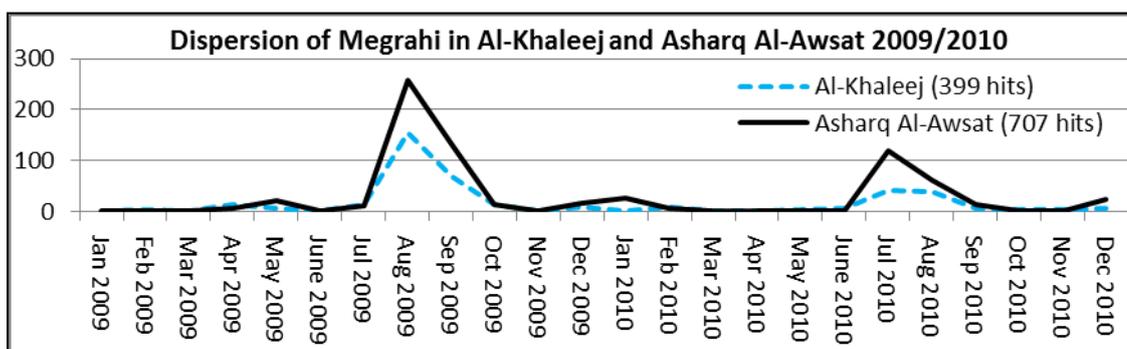
4. Data Analysis

To compare the two English newspapers against each other on the one hand, and the two Arabic newspapers on the other hand, the researcher used Wordsmith 6 (WS6), corpus analysis software package, to carry out a keyword analysis, and found that the decision of *Megrahi*'s release was more covered in the *Guardian* when compared to the *NYT* as some keywords suggest, mainly *Abdelbaset*, *Blair*, *IRA*, *Megrahi*, *SNP*, *Macaskill*, *Straw*, *Scottish*, *Tony* and *evidence*. Doing the same for the Arabic newspapers, the researcher found that *Megrahi* was a keyword in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and this implies the newspaper's interest in covering both national and international issues related to the Arab countries when compared to its Arabic counterpart.

The researcher also made dispersion graphs, which show where each word occurs in the corpus, for *Megrahi* in both newspapers (Graphs 1 and 2) to see whether *Megrahi* was mentioned consistently within the whole investigated period rather than specific texts or months, and found that the four newspapers have similar peaks. The main peaks were in August 2009, the month when *Megrahi* was freed on compassionate grounds, and July 2010 when the British Petroleum (BP) confirmed that it had won a license to work off the Libyan coast.



Graph 1. Dispersion of *Megrahi* in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*



Graph 2. Dispersion of *Megrahi* in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*

4.1. A collocation analysis for *Megrahi* in the English and Arabic corpora

In order to examine how *Megrahi* was represented in the four investigated newspapers, the researcher carried out a collocation analysis with a span of ± 5 words (that is, five words on either side of the node word). The minimum frequency is set as 5 because the words which only come once or twice are less likely to be informative. The researcher classified the statistically strongest collocates with the highest Dice score (an effect size statistic to measure the strength of association between two words) into 5 different thematic categories as shown in table 3. It is worth noting here that *Megrahi* might be represented in some ways other than the ones mentioned below; however, the researcher has used the corpus techniques of collocation and concordance to be directed to the most salient ones.

Table 3. Thematic categories of Megrahi's collocates in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*

Thematic Category	Newspaper	Collocates
The main Event	<i>The Guardian</i>	case, Lockerbie, affair
	<i>The NYT</i>	Lockerbie, case
	<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	بتفجير، طائرة، قضية، لوكيربي bombing, plane, case, Lockerbie
	<i>Al-Khaleej</i>	بتفجير، تفجير، طائرة، قضية، لوكيربي (in) bombing, plane, case, Lockerbie
Description of Megrahi	<i>The Guardian</i>	convicted, Tripoli, hero, welcome, man, home, sent
	<i>The NYT</i>	Basset, Abdel, Ali, convicted, agent, bomber, person, only, man, intelligence, former, Libyan
	<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	الباسط، الليبي، المدان، المصاب، ليبيا، المواطن، أدين، لعبد، أسرة Basset, Libyan, the convicted, suffering from, Libya, citizen, convicted, Abdul, family
	<i>Al-Khaleej</i>	الباسط، المدان، الوحيد، أدين، عيد، عبدالباسط، يعاني Basit, the convicted, the only, convicted, Abdul, AbdulBaset, suffers from
Involved countries and people	<i>The Guardian</i>	Macaskill, Scotland, justice, lawyer, Kenny, Scottish, Gauci, clothes, lawyers, secretary
	<i>The NYT</i>	British, Scottish, families
	<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	الاسكوتلندية، السلطات، بريطانيا Scottish, authorities, Britain
	<i>Al-Khaleej</i>	اسكوتلندا، الاسكوتلندي، الاسكوتلندية، البريطانية، بريطانيا Scotland, Scottish (male/female), British, Britain
The decision and how it was described	<i>The Guardian</i>	released, prison, alive, freed, appeal, release, evidence, releasing, prosecution, conviction, jail, return
	<i>The NYT</i>	release, grounds, innocence, serve, received, served, decision, term, return, prison, released, permitted, admitted, abandoned, conviction, home, freed, august, eight, freedom, sentence
	<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	الإفراج، إطلاق، بالسجن، حكم، سراح، للإفراج، السجن release, release, prison, sentenced, released, to release, prison
	<i>Al-Khaleej</i>	الإفراج، السجن، إخلاء، إدانة، إطلاق، سجنه، سراح، عقوبة release, prison, release, conviction, release, imprisonment, release, penalty
Justifications for the release	<i>The Guardian</i>	medical, compassionate, grounds, prostate, die, cancer, live, terminal, death
	<i>The NYT</i>	die, prostate, compassionate, cancer, life, application, doctors, fate, terminal, commercial, won, medical, transfer, prisoner
	<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	البروستاتا، إنسانية، حالة، بسرطان، لأسباب prostate, humanitarian, state, cancer, reasons
	<i>Al-Khaleej</i>	البروستاتا، إنسانية، سرطان، لأسباب prostate, humanitarian, cancer, reasons

The main event. In the four newspapers, the collocates in this category relate to the main event that *Megrahi* was involved in known as the Lockerbie bombing because the airplane fell out of the skies over the Scottish city of Lockerbie. The controversy of Lockerbie came to the surface in 2009 after about 25 years on the event. This was not to highlight the deadly attack on civilian airlines that claimed hundreds of lives nor to remember the victims who lost their lives on that night, but to cover the event of the release of the only suspect in the case. In the *Guardian*, *Lockerbie* was mainly used with some clusters such as *Lockerbie atrocity*, and *the worst act of terrorism in British history* to highlight the cruelty of the event. In the *NYT*, *Lockerbie* was accompanied with some other information about its location, time of event, the destination of the plane, and the airplane's type. In a good number of incidents, the focus was on the exact number of the American victims who died in the bombing (189 people), perhaps to show the United States as the mainly affected country of the event. The bombing was described as *heinous crime*, *disaster* and *tragedy* in which the innocent victims were *cruelly murdered*.

To check how the main event was described in the two Arabic newspapers, the researcher generated concordance lines for *Lockerbie*, and sorted them two words to the left and came with different expressions. These include *ازمة* *Lockerbie crisis*, *اعتداء* *Lockerbie assault*, *مأساة* *Lockerbie tragedy*, *تفجير* *Lockerbie bombing*, and *ضحايا* *Lockerbie victims*. Some information about the number of victims, number of flight, and the name of the airplane was also mentioned. Therefore, it appears that both newspapers referred to the event in a similar way, providing the readers with some background information (orientation) about the event itself, where it happened, and its consequences.

Description of Megrahi. In the *Guardian*, *Megrahi* was referred to in different ways based on the discussed event. For example, to put pressure on and criticize the Libyan government for giving *Megrahi* a hero's welcome after the release, and blame the Scottish government for taking such a decision, the *Guardian* described him on a few occasions as a *mass murderer*, and *terrorist* (the *Guardian*, line 1, concordance 1). However, in the majority of cases, *Megrahi* is called by his name without any description.

Unlike the *Guardian*, some information about *Megrahi* was frequently provided in the *NYT* such as his nationality (Libyan), his age (57 years old), his position in the Libyan regime (an intelligence agent), his crime (bombing Pan Am Flight 103), the number of victims killed because of the bombing (270 people), how long his sentence was (27 years) and how many years he has served before his release (8 years) (the *NYT*, lines 1, 2, and 3 concordance 1). By frequently mentioning such details especially the ones related to *Megrahi*'s nationality and position in the Libyan regime, the *NYT* indirectly criticizes Libya and Qaddafi accusing them of committing terrorist crimes. Generally speaking, "the West has accused the Arab "State" of being the cause of terrorism in the word due to its political slipping and distancing from democracy" (Hdrami, 2013, p. 546).

The Guardian	
1	Although it seems almost impossible, a painfully similar scenario is playing out in Scotland . Abdelbaset al-Megrahi, the terrorist convicted in the Lockerbie bombing, may soon be released by the Scottish government and handed over to Libya , the very government that plotted this cowardly mass murder .
The NYT	
1	Mr. Megrahi, 57, a former Libyan intelligence agent , had served 8 years of a 27-year minimum sentence
2	Mr. Megrahi, 57, a former Libyan intelligence agent who worked undercover at Libya's national airline
3	Mr. Megrahi, a former Libyan intelligence agent , is the only person convicted of the murder of 270

Concordance 1. Description of *Megrahi* in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*

Megrahi in a good number of incidents in the two Arabic newspapers was described as *the Libyan citizen Megrahi whose age is 57* without having any negative descriptions. However, he was sometimes described as the one *accused of bombing airplane over Lockerbie in 1988*. Unlike the English newspapers, *Asharq Al-Awsat* heavily reported the

opinions of *Megrahi's* family; his wife, father, brothers, and cousins. Investigating how *Megrahi's* wife saw the whole event, the researcher found that she frequently talked about her husband's *poor* health conditions saying that he is *in his last days*, and claiming that her husband *sacrificed* himself for the entire Libyan people. A nephew of *Megrahi* said that his uncle's absence had a *bad impact* on his family, and stated that he could observe how *Megrahi's* children longed to say the word *dad*. *Megrahi's* father said that his son was supposed to be released from the beginning, but the United States intervened using its influence to keep him in custody. He further claimed that the main reason behind this is to blackmail Libya because it has oil. Regarding the hero's welcome of *Megrahi*, a cousin of *Megrahi* said that his reception in Tripoli was *spontaneous* claiming that all Libyans believed that the Lockerbie case is a battle that *the wise Libyan leadership* won.

In its coverage, *Al-Khaleej* reported some Libyan officials who described *Megrahi* as one of the mujahideen (holy fighters) who deserves appreciation as he made a great *sacrifice* for his country considering his release as a victory of Libya. It is also reported that *Megrahi* is working on a book about his life in prison and will reveal all of what he knows about the plane's bombing without any help or interference from the Libyan government to show that he was the *scapegoat* in an international conspiracy set by the West. Accordingly, the two Arabic newspapers seem to take the side of *Megrahi* reporting some members of his family in an emotional way. This might affect how the readers receive the whole issue where the *bomber* is portrayed as the oppressed, while those who put them in prison for 8½ years as oppressors caring mainly about their interests. This underlying discourse of an oppressed Arab against the dominant West is referred to in other studies (see Alterman, 1998; Galal, Galander, & Auter, 2008; Said, 1978, 1981; Zogby & Zogby, 2004).

Involved people and countries. In the two Arabic newspapers in addition to the *NYT*, *Scotland* and *Britain* in different forms were salient in this thematic group, while different characters and countries were mentioned in the *Guardian's* list. In the *Guardian*, the decision of the release is described as a Scottish one, made by the Scottish authorities under the Scottish law and has nothing to do with the British officials. Some voices in the newspaper highlighted the importance of *Megrahi's* case to Scotland, and how it affected the position of Salmond's Scottish National party (SNP) cabinet. *MacAskill*, the former Scottish Cabinet Secretary for Justice was a collocate with *Megrahi* as he authorised *Megrahi's* release on compassionate ground after he had served 8½ years of a life sentence. *Megrahi's* release was seen as the toughest decision in *MacAskill's* life accusing him of making the *wrong decision*. *MacAskill* was criticized for taking and announcing the decision without consulting the Crown Office, being described as *a single-minded reformer with the hide of a rhinoceros*. Although *MacAskill* said that he consulted all relevant parties before the release, his justification was seen as a *smokescreen* for a political decision already taken elsewhere. Describing *MacAskill* this way in the *Guardian* suggests that the decision of the release was Scottish taken by Scottish officials, and has nothing to do with Britain.

In the *NYT*, two countries collocated saliently with *Megrahi*, namely Britain and Scotland. Britain's involvement in *Megrahi's* release was mentioned frequently (concordance 2). For example, it was mentioned that the U.K. wanted to have a better relation with Libya and so there was a great deal of talks about conspiracies and backdoor deals between the two countries (lines 1 and 2). The *NYT* also reported that the least harmful option for Britain to release *Megrahi* was the compassionate grounds to avoid others' criticism. Some sentences were frequent in this co-text such as *Britain's desire for multibillion-dollar Libyan oil contracts*, and *Mr. Megrahi's release had opened the way for Britain's leading oil companies to pursue multibillion-dollar oil contracts with Libya* (line 4). In the *NYT*, the tone of talking about Scotland was a bit moderate. For example, *MacAskill* was reported frequently to justify the compassionate grounds of the release saying that the Scottish justice system allows this (line 5). For the Libyan side, Qaddafi praised Brown and described him as his friend, the Queen of Britain, and Prince Andrew for encouraging Scotland to take a *historic and courageous* decision in spite of all *illogical objections* (line 6). Repeating these points frequently in the *NYT* implies that it was mainly Britain that played an important role in taking the decision to save its relations with the regime of Qaddafi.

1 There has been a great deal of talk about conspiracies and backdoor deals between **Britain** and Libya over Mr. Megrahi's case.
2 **London** has been accused of pushing behind the scenes for Mr. Megrahi's release to advance **Britain's** hopes of securing billions of dollars in oil
3 letting Mr. Megrahi go would benefit **British** commercial interests.
4 In fact, releasing terminally ill prisoners is fairly standard practice in Scotland. Since 1997, 31 prisoners, including Mr. Megrahi, have applied for compassionate release.
5 The **Scottish** government has said that it was acting compassionately, under **Scottish** law. Mr. Megrahi has terminal prostate cancer.
6 Colonel Qaddafi promised, when greeting Mr. Megrahi, that **Britain** would be rewarded for letting him go.

Concordance 2. Involved people and countries in the co-text of Megrahi's release in the NYT

In the two Arabic newspapers, اسكوتلندا *Scotland* was referred to as the place where the event happened, the place where *Megrahi* was jailed, and the place from which he was released. It is reported that the *Scottish* authorities are the ones that released *Megrahi* on humanitarian grounds not on the basis of medical reports funded by Tripoli. The *Scottish* government also denied making any contacts with the British oil company, BP, before taking the decision. Regarding the collocate *Britain*; *Asharq Al-Awsat* mentioned that many Libyans think that there was a link between the release of *Megrahi* and the future of the British companies' investment in Libya. In *Al-Khaleej*, *Britain* was referred to, in some incidents, as the place where *Megrahi* is jailed, and some Libyan officials thanked the British not the Scottish government for releasing *Megrahi* claiming that such decision will be useful for all. As in the *NYT*, the two Arabic newspapers linked the release of *Megrahi* with the British oil contracts, and London is said to be afraid of sabotaging its commercial interests with Tripoli if *Megrahi* died in the prison in *Scotland*. By doing so, the newspapers negatively represent some European countries, and highlight how hungry they are for the Libyan oil. Based on the analysis above, it appears that the British role in influencing the decision was more highlighted in the *NYT*, *Al-Khaleej*, and *Asharq Al-Awsat* than the *Guardian* which frequently attributed the whole event to the Scottish authorities.

The decision and how it was described. This category includes some collocates that are related to the decision of the release and whether *Megrahi* is innocent and should be released or not, those responsible of taking and influencing the decision, reasons for the release, its aftermath and how it was described, and *Megrahi's* return to Libya.

In the *Guardian*, it was said that the reaction on the decision was severe and harsh especially from the official American point of view condemning the decision and describing it as *disturbing* and *wrong* (line 1 in concordance 3). In an opinion piece, a columnist in the *Guardian* criticized the British government and described the event as a *mistake* and a *sorry, cooked up conspiracy*, but the *revolution recalled* after the *extravagant celebrations* at *Megrahi's* reception in Tripoli (line 2). However, going through Comment & Debate section, it seems that some readers criticized the US officials for their reaction on the release. The criticism was extended to reach Cameron, the leader of the British Conservative Party, who blamed the *the lawful and probably just decision* of the Scottish authorities (line 3).

1 The mayor of Englewood, Michael Wildes, said the idea of a Gaddafi visit had caused much **anger** in the area. We've seen him in recent days offer a hero's welcome to a convicted terrorist. This is a community that will never forget **acts of terrorism**.
2 Furthermore, the televised welcome for Megrahi on his return to Tripoli and his audience with Gaddafi has heaped **further humiliation on Britain** as a whole. This has all been suffered merely in the hope that **trade with Libya will benefit British companies**. The disadvantages so **outweigh** the potential **benefits** that the government's strategy appears almost risible.
3 **David Cameron** has no business trying to curry favour with the US administration by **criticising the lawful and probably just decision** of the Scottish justice secretary Kenny MacAskill to release Megrahi on compassionate grounds. He should instead have lectured Obama on the subject of motes and beams; there was plenty of material for him to draw on - he could have started with the comfortable retirement in Miami of Luis Posada Carriles, an ex-CIA stringer responsible for the bombing of Cubana Flight 455 in 1976, despite his conviction in absentia in Venezuela and their related extradition requests

Concordance 3. The decision of the release and how it was described in the Guardian

The second part of the decision, after the release, was sending *Megrahi* back home (concordance 4). This part of the decision was covered heavily in the *Guardian* blaming and criticizing Scotland for returning *Megrahi* to the adored Libyan lands (lines 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 11), and the Libyan government for giving *Megrahi* a rapturous welcome (line 13). Libya was described to be delighted by the decision, and the event is described as a victory of Libyan people (line 12). The dense coverage of *Megrahi's* hero welcome in Tripoli suggests that the newspaper is more interested in covering news about the way *Megrahi* was received than the event of the release itself. This is perhaps to shift the criticism from Britain and Scotland towards Qaddafi and Libya.

1	Scotland's release of the convicted Lockerbie bomber
2	release of terminally-ill Lockerbie bomber
3	criticised the early release of the Lockerbie bomber
4	condemned the release of the Lockerbie bomber
5	controversy over the release of the Lockerbie bomber
6	The row over the release of the Lockerbie bomber
7	resentment in the State over the release of the convicted bomber
8	"disturbing" decision to release
9	a full throated condemnation of the Scottish decision to release
10	decision to release him was wrong
11	freeing Megrahi was a bad decision
12	Libya's achievements is likely to include footage of Megrahi's triumphant return
13	hero's welcome" given to Megrahi on his return to Libya: what on earth did anyone expect?

Concordance 4. The decision and how it was described in the *Guardian*

In the *NYT*, the Scottish government was referred to, in the majority of occasions, as the one responsible for the release though it is accused of being influenced by some British officials and companies. In very few occasions, Britain was not only said to influence the decision, but also to take it (line 1). Reacting to the decision, some voices in the *NYT* discussed how *terrorists* should be treated, and described the event as *absolutely wrong, a disgrace, completely and utterly wrong* and *vile* (lines 3, 4, and 5). The *NYT* reported some British officials who criticized and condemned the decision and saw it as the most damaging event in the UK's relation with the U.S. in a decade (line 2). *Megrahi's* warm homecoming and hero's reception at Tripoli airport was also covered densely in the *NYT* since it caused the anger of many people. The *jubilant* welcome of *Megrahi* was described as *deeply distressing* denying the families of the victims, and being *outrageous* and *disgusting* (line 6). To show that the decision was wrong, some voices in the *NYT* kept linking the release and the hero's welcome with the reactions of the families of the 189 American victims who *were stunned* by that (line 7) (concordance 5).

1	Governments of Scotland and Britain to review the decision to release Mr. Megrahi .
2	Megrahi's release , dominated the joint news conference after the White House meetings.
3	Megrahi's release would be "a disgrace."
4	The decision to release al- Megrahi was completely and utterly wrong
5	any suggestion that Mr. Megrahi should be freed on compassionate grounds was "vile"
6	Megrahi's release would have caused "real distress" to some of the victims' families
7	The Scottish government stunned victims' families by its decision

Concordance 5. The decision and how it was described in the *NYT*

In the Arabic corpus, the words افرج/ افرج *release* and their derivatives were mainly used with *Scotland*, the country that took the decision, *Britain*, the country that was accused of being involved in taking the decision, *America*, the country that strongly criticized the decision, and *Libya*, the country that was accused of committing the bombing. The two newspapers tended in almost all cases in their coverage to quote others on the decision of the release and very

rarely commented on the event itself, for example by including opinion pieces. The Scottish, British, American, and Libyan different opinions were densely covered. For example, Scotland claimed that the decision was not based on political, economic or diplomatic considerations, and that the country took the right decision for the right reasons. The US government and families expressed their wrath and severe criticism, and discussed whether there were some motivations other than *Megrahi's* health conditions behind the decision or not. The Libyan government claimed that the release will significantly enhance the relations between Britain and the Arab world as a whole. The two newspapers also highlighted the scene of *Megrahi's* reception and some of its consequences. To criticize the reactions of the British and American governments on the release, *Al-Khaleej* quoted some news agencies which said that Washington and London's anger on the reception of *Megrahi* is artificial and went in line with the anger that was created by the US and Western media which re-excited the public opinion in the West against the release of a *murderer who committed one of the worst terrorist operations in modern history*.

Based on the analysis above, it seems that the four newspapers, to a great extent, are influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working. For example, the *Guardian* condemned the decision and linked it with Scotland; the *NYT* described the event as wrong and vile connecting it with the American victims, *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* kept reporting what others say about the decision with some emphasis on the Libyan points of view.

Justifications for the release. This category includes some justifications for releasing *Megrahi* and sending **him** back to Libya. In the *Guardian*, there were two main reasons for that, namely *Megrahi's* health conditions, and preventing his death in prison. Examining the collocates *compassionate, cancer, ill, prostate, terminal, and medical*, the researcher found that there was a focus in the *Guardian* on *Megrahi's* poor health conditions. The newspaper also frequently reported some Scottish officials who emphasized that the release was politically neutral and done under the Scottish law and after the doctors said that he has less than three months to live because he had cancer. Examining the collocate *cancer*, the researcher found that not only the general reason for the release, i.e. on compassionate ground, was mentioned but also the specific illness that led to this decision. Mentioning some clauses such as *his body riven by cancer, the spreading prostate cancer is killing him, and his body failed to respond to hormone* suggests that *Megrahi* was suffering from a severe disease. However, in Comment & Debate section, some readers do not seem to be happy even with this reason, and mentioned some examples of criminals who suffered from severe health conditions while in prisons and still spent most of their lives in prison. The other reason is related to the previous one, where some British officials warned that *Megrahi's* death in prison will damage the relation with Libya. Accordingly, the focus in the *Guardian* was on the humanitarian aspect of the release with a very little connection to Britain's interest in the Libyan oil. It is worth mentioning here that when the researcher went through the concordance lines of *Megrahi*, he found that the *Guardian* included some other justifications such as economic motivations (British Petroleum (BP)/ Libya-Britain bilateral relations), and prisoners transfer agreement (PTA). However, as the researcher mentioned above, only the most salient collocates with *Megrahi* are discussed, and in the context of the release justifications, the two above-mentioned reasons were the most salient. This suggests that there was space in the *Guardian* for the different voices and points of view on the matter.

In the *NYT*, the main apparent reason for *Megrahi's* release was on compassionate grounds as he was dying of cancer. Despite so, the US government and presidency kept questioning, all the time, his medical condition, and the validity of the medical evidence released by some British specialists. *Megrahi's* release and its relation to the Prisoner Transfer Agreement (PTA) were also covered by the *NYT*. Some voices in the newspaper kept reiterating that both Blair and Brown intervened in the negotiation of the prisoner transfer agreement with Libya with *Megrahi* as the most obvious beneficiary for it. Some also linked the British Petroleum (BP) plans to drill its first Libyan well in the second half of 2010 and the controversy that oil and trade's considerations could have played a role in the early release of *Megrahi*. This suggests that some institutions and elite powers in Britain have put pressure on Scotland to release *Megrahi* to improve their relations with Libya. The *NYT* also reported the Libyan officials who confirmed that *Megrahi's* case was on the table in all negotiations with Britain, and that the primary factor in *Megrahi's* release was

Britain's eagerness for hydrocarbon deals. Accordingly, it appears that Britain is criticized in a direct way by highlighting that it is the main responsible of the decision to achieve its personal interests regardless the cruelty of the event and its effect on the families of the victims.

In the Arabic corpus, *Megrahi's* release was mainly connected with his poor health conditions. Some phrases such as *مصاب بسرطان البروستاتا في مراحل متقدمة* *suffering from cancer in its final stages*, *يعاني من السرطان في مراحل الاخيرة* *suffering from prostate cancer in advanced stages* and *لاسباب انسانية محضة* *was released on purely humanitarian reasons* were frequent in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. The newspaper also quoted *The Independent* to show how the British government was surprised by the negative response of the US administration after the release of *Megrahi* on compassionate grounds. *Al-Khaleej* repeatedly reported that Scotland freed the Libyan *Megrahi* for health reasons as he was suffering from advanced stages of prostate cancer, and his doctors announced that his health deteriorated. *Al-Khaleej* also kept repeating that *Megrahi* was suffering from *سرطان خبيث جدا* *very malignant cancer*, *اكتئاب* *depression* and *الم حاد* *acute pain* and wanted to spend some time with his family and die in his own country. By emotionalizing the event, the two Arabic newspapers contribute to reducing the criticism against the decision of the release, and highlight that it was the most suitable decision to be taken.

Based on the analysis of the collocates in this category, it appears that the four newspapers took the humanitarian aspect as the main justification for the release though some voices in the *NYT* drew some attentions to the Prisoner Transfer Agreement (PTA) between Britain and Libya and the trade relations between the two countries.

4.2. Megrahi in the corpus of headlines

The corpus of this study is marked-up based on the sections where the articles are published, the dates when they are published, and their headlines. Therefore, the researcher applied a triangulation of methods to check whether the qualitative analysis of the headlines will produce complementary, convergent, or dissonant findings with the corpus quantitative analysis results or not. Since the sub-corpus of headlines is also large in size as table 4 shows, the researcher only examined the headlines of the articles published in August, the month when *Megrahi* was released and returned to Libya. The researcher downsized the number again by only examining the headlines that contain the name of *Megrahi*. In the *NYT*, the researcher could not find any, so he searched for some other relevant terms such as *Lockerbie* and *bombing*.

Table 4. The Number of headlines in the four investigated newspapers

Number of titles in the four investigated newspapers					
Period	Year	The Guardian	The NYT	Asharq Al-Awsat	Al-Khaleej
Period 1	2009	329	258	815	1625
	2010	267	166	874	1930

Using the "Tagstring_only tags" function in WS6 enabled the researcher to generate concordance lines for the node words (*Megrahi/Lockerbie*) within the boundaries of the headline in which that word occurred (concordance 6).

Concordance	File
..... <title>Lockerbie figure's legal move arouses suspicions</title>	August.txt
..... <title>Lockerbie Convict Drops Appeal, Seeking Early Transfer</title>	August.txt
... <title>Britain: Lockerbie Bomber Seeks To Drop Appeal</title>	August.txt

Concordance 6. a screenshot of WS6 applying the function of Tagstring only

The next four sub-sections examine how *Megrahi* was represented in August in the four investigated newspapers.

4.2.1. The Guardian

The *Guardian* in some of its headlines reported the point of view of some families of the UK victims who believed that *Megrahi* is innocent (headline 1 in concordance 7). By quoting them, the *Guardian* highlights the differences

between the UK and the US families, maybe to refute the American view that all families felt annoyed of the release. The *Guardian* also in its headlines tended to emphasize that the decision of the release is Scottish and has nothing to do with Britain. For example, Jack Straw, the former British minister justice secretary, raised questions about the decision of the release and criticized his Scottish counterpart, MacAskill, and accused him of misleading not only the parliament but also the public (headline 2) in addition to taking the decision without consulting the Crown Office (headline 3). Similarly, the Scottish National Party (SNP) and its leader were also criticized in the context of making the decision of the release which left SNP facing censure from the opposition (headline 4) especially that they had the power to free Megrahi or could have refused to do so. Therefore, and as shown in the corpus quantitative analysis, the *Guardian* tended, in many occasions, to emphasize the Scottish full responsibility for taking the decision without being influenced by others.

The *Guardian* in its headlines also referred to the effect of the decision of the release on boosting the bilateral economic relations between Britain and Libya (headlines 5 and 6) although the newspaper quoted some British officials such as the British foreign secretary who rejected claims of commercial interest (headline 7). This suggests that there was space in the *Guardian* for the different voices and points of view on the matter. Cushion (2012) argues that in the newsrooms of the UK, there is a built-in requirement to provide space for secondary voices (oppositional reading) although the elite source will be given the final words. In the *Guardian*, the event was reported as a British national matter, and the British former PM, Brown, has been criticized on two Levels; first, his poor relations with the SNP made it difficult for him to discuss the decision of the release with it, and second, his inability to defend his silence as he regularly tends to speak out on populist issues (headline 8). It seems that Brown did not want to upset the different involved groups which include the American allies, the Libyan leadership and the oil companies, the SNP government in Edinburgh, the British opposition or all of them.

The UK-US relations were also present in the headlines, and although Brown said that this decision is unlikely to affect the relations with the US as the British government was not responsible for it, the U.S. put pressure on Britain, not Scotland, for taking the decision (headline 9). When referring to Britain and the U.S. in the context of Megrahi, the focus in the *Guardian*'s headlines was on Megrahi's hero's reception at Tripoli airport which caused the anger of many people rather than the decision itself (headline 10). After receiving a huge criticism, Brown broke his silence after Megrahi's hero welcome in Libya, but has not talked whether he supports the Scottish decision or not, but commented on that scene saying that he was angry because of the welcome of Megrahi in Tripoli (headline 11) (concordance 7).

1	<title>National: Lockerbie decision: The families: 'Even if he was responsible, he was a very small cog in the whole chain'</title>
2	<title>National: Straw questions release of Lockerbie accused: Justice secretary may have chosen different approach: MacAskill misled public, says Scottish Labour leader</title>
3	<title>National: Megrahi release: Profile: Kenny MacAskill: A singleminded reformer with the 'hide of a rhinoceros'</title>
4	<title>National: SNP accused of creating media circus over Lockerbie decision</title>
5	<title>National: Lockerbie decision: World briefing: From confrontation to business deals</title>
6	<title>National: Megrahi release: Business links: Libya pours millions into City investments</title>
7	<title>National: Megrahi release: Whitehall reaction: Miliband rejects claims of commercial interest</title>
8	<title>Front: Megrahi Release: UK politics: PM accused of double standards</title>
9	<title>National: US piles pressure on Britain over Megrahi </title>
10	<title>National: Megrahi release: Bomber's welcome sparks warning from UK and US: Celebrations cut short after Gaddafi told they could set back Libya's rehabilitation</title>
11	<title>Front: PM 'repulsed' by Megrahi 's reception in Libya</title>

Concordance 7. Megrahi in the Guardian's headlines

4.2.2. The NYT

The number of headlines that discussed Megrahi's release in the *NYT* was much less than it is in the *Guardian*. As mentioned above, the researcher could not find any headline in the *NYT* that has the name *Megrahi*, so he looked for *Lockerbie* and *bombing* instead. The *NYT*, as shown in concordance 8, tends to refer to Megrahi as the *Lockerbie*

convict and *Lockerbie bomber* in most cases (headlines 1, 4, 6, and 7 in concordance 8). This might be because the whole matter is not fully American, and people might not be familiar with the name *Megrahi*. Therefore, by frequently and metonymically referring to Megrahi as bomber, the newspapers draws the readers' attention that the whole matter is related to a terrorist who deserves no mercy. Similarly, throughout its headlines, the newspapers sent different messages to the readers to highlight some aspects about the event; for example the nationality of the bomber is Libyan and he was convicted of *1988 Pan Am bombing* or *bombing Jetliner* (headline 2 and 3). As in the corpus analysis, the tone of talking about Scotland was a bit moderate where the release is said to be on compassionate base which is fairly standard practice in Scotland if the prisoner meets the medical criteria (headline 4). In its headlines, the *NYT* highlighted the US point of view regarding the release where the decision is said to be bad, and this is why the U.S opposed it from the beginning (headline 5). The *NYT* also emphasized that the event stirred an intense and bitter debate and controversy all over the world. Britain's involvement in Megrahi's release was also referred to in the *NYT*'s headlines claiming that the UK wanted to have a better relation (trade and oil) with Libya (headlines 6 and 7) (concordance 8).

1	<title> Lockerbie Convict Drops Appeal, Seeking Early Transfer</title>
2	<title>Scotland Appears Poised to Return Libyan Convicted of 1988 Pan Am Bombing </title>
3	<title>Libyan Jailed In Bombing Of Jetliner Arrives Home</title>
4	<title>Scotland releases Lockerbie bomber Justice minister says he 'followed due process' to let prisoner go to Libya</title>
5	<title>U.S. Opposes Possible Lockerbie Release</title>
6	<title>Fueling Anger, Qaddafi Praises Britain Over Lockerbie Convict's Release</title>
7	<title>Official's Message on Lockerbie Bomber Cited British 'Interests'</title>

Concordance 8. Megrahi in the NYT's headlines

4.2.3. Asharq Al-Awsat

In the headlines of *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the quoted people were Qaddafi, Megrahi, his doctor, and father (headlines 1, 2, 3, and 4 in concordance 9). Qaddafi is said to be *resented* because of Washington's reaction on the release, and criticized the double-standards of the West (headline 1). Before the release, *Asharq Al-Awsat* reported a doctor who said that the decision regarding Megrahi's case should be taken *quickly* as his health conditions deteriorated (headline 2). Megrahi himself was quoted and promised to disclose some evidence that proves his innocence, leaving the final word for the British and Scottish people (headline 3). Megrahi's father is also quoted saying that he is sure that his son is innocent, and if there had been evidence that his son was the person who blew up the plane, he would have killed him himself (headline 4). This suggests that *Asharq Al-Awsat* portrays Megrahi as the oppressed that has nothing to do with the case, and represents those who objected the decision as oppressors and merciless.

Asharq Al-Awsat also highlighted the Libyan and the Arabic efforts in the process of releasing Megrahi. For example, the Arab League's role in general and the Qatari role in particular were also referred to especially after the Qatari minister for international cooperation visited Scotland to discuss the issue of Megrahi, and met with him during that visit (headline 5). This suggests that Arabs are one hand at the time of conflicts and problems. Commenting on Megrahi's hero welcome, it is mentioned in the headlines that Britain, not Scotland, is concerned, and Washington feels sorry for the decision and seeks house arrest for Megrahi (headline 6). Scotland was the most frequent country in *Asharq Al-Awsat*'s headlines 7 and 8). For example, Scotland addressed the American criticism and stressed out that it took the decision under the Scottish law on compassionate grounds as Megrahi was suffering from cancer (headline 7). As shown in headlines 6 and 7, *Asharq Al-Awsat* focused on the US severe reaction on the release of Megrahi, and at the same time highlighted that he was released on compassionate grounds. In headline 8, it is mentioned that the Scottish authorities considered two ways to release Megrahi, namely in application of the Prisoners Transfer Agreement (PTA) signed between Tripoli and London, or in accordance with a special Scottish law that allows the Minister of Justice to release a prisoner on humanitarian grounds, which is favoured by the Libyan side due to its ease when compared with the former way (concordance 9).

1	<title>القذافي منتقدا الغرب لدى استقباله المقرحي: هل نحن حمير وهم أودم؟</title>
2	<title>طبيب متخصص يدعو للإسراع بالبث في مصير المقرحي</title>
3	<title>المقرحي: سأكشف وثائق وأدلة لبراءتي وأترك الحكم للشعبين الإنجليزي والاسكتلندي</title>
4	<title>والد المقرحي ل«الشرق الأوسط»: لو كان يوجد دليل واحد على قيامه بتفجير الطائرة لقتلته بيدي</title>
5	<title>اسكتلندا ستطلق المقرحي الأسبوع المقبل بعد جهود ليبية وعربية</title>
6	<title>المقرحي يلقى استقبال الأبطال في ليبيا وسط استياء بريطاني وواشنطن تطالب بالإقامة الجبرية له</title>
7	<title>اسكتلندا ترد على الانتقادات الأميركية: أطلقنا المقرحي بما يتفق مع قانوننا</title>
8	<title>اسكتلندا تقبل سحب استئناف المقرحي وتبحث طريقتين لإطلاقه</title>

Concordance 9. Megrahi in Asharq Al-Awsat's headlines

4.2.4. Al-Khaleej

As in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, *Al-Khaleej* also frequently quoted Megrahi in its headlines. For example, Megrahi is said to support having further investigation into the Lockerbie bombing, and states that the whole matter was a terrifying ordeal that may not end before his death (headline 1 in concordance 10). He also promised to show evidence of his innocence (headline 2). Megrahi is said to be working on a book about his life in prison and will reveal all of what he knows about the plane's bombing over the town of Lockerbie to show his innocence (headline 3). By doing so, *Al-Khaleej* indirectly states that Megrahi was a scapegoat and a victim of a miscarriage of justice in an international conspiracy set by the West. The U.S was reported to put pressure on Scotland before the release (headline 4); however in headline 5, it is mentioned that Megrahi is free despite attempts to keep him in his cell in reference to the U.S. Headline 6 which is translated as *Megrahi and Libya's oil* implies that business deals played a critical role in the decision of the release despite the denial of the involved countries. This suggests that some institutions in the West are driven by their interest in most cases; the US opposes the decision not because of the Libyan oil, but under the pretext of fighting terrorism, while the UK supports it to win oil contracts in Libya.

1	<title>المقرحي يؤيد إجراء تحقيق جديد بشأن لوكربي</title>
2	<title>المقرحي يعد بالكشف عن دليل على براءته والقذافي يستقبله ويشيد باسكتلندا</title>
3	<title>المقرحي يخطط لنشر كتاب حول لوكربي يثبت فيه براءته</title>
4	<title>ضغوط أمريكية على اسكتلندا للتخلي عن إطلاق المقرحي</title>
5	<title>المقرحي يتنفس الحرية رغم المحاولات لإبقائه قيد زنزانه</title>
6	<title>المقرحي ونفط ليبيا</title>
7	<title>اتهام براون بالتوقيع على اتفاقية تمهد للإفراج عن المقرحي</title>

Concordance 10. Megrahi in Al-Khaleej's headlines

5. Discussion

The analysis above (collocation, concordance and headlines) shows that the *Guardian* was more interested in covering news about Megrahi than the *NYT*. The *Guardian*, being a British newspaper, tends to give more priorities to international news stories related to the United Kingdom, and Megrahi's release was a 'critical' event to be covered since it is considered as the worst terrorist attack in Britain's history, as the corpus analysis showed. In terms of newsworthiness, Phillips (2015) argues that a disaster at home will attract more detailed and longer coverage than a bigger one far away. Bednarek and Caple (2012) also note that what is newsworthy usually concerns the country, region or city in which the news is published. In the *Guardian*, the event was categorized as 'national' in the headlines of the articles that discuss the decision of Megrahi's release as concordance 11 shows.

National: Megrahi release: A question of compassion? How did Libya try to secure	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Business links: Libya pours millions into City	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Lockerbie bomber decision leaves SNP facing censure	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Downing Street: Brown accused of cowardice and	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Trade: British firms hope release will boost business	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Whitehall reaction: Miliband rejects claims of	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Analysis: Confusion as old and new Libya collide Libya's	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Bomber's welcome sparks warning from UK and US:	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi puts Lockerbie appeal papers on website The man convicted of	September 200
National: Megrahi case: Brown finally admits support for Lockerbie bomber release	September 200
National: Megrahi case: Exclusive interview: Britain has nothing to hide, says	September 200
National: The new Libya: Ideology: Country's jihadis reject violence as leader bids	September 200
National: Reports of Megrahi's death in Tripoli denied Abdelbaset al-Megrahi, the	October 2009.b
National: Megrahi release: Profile: Kenny MacAskill: A singleminded reformer with	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi case: Anglo-American relations: Rise of the new powers puts	September 200
National: Megrahi case: Political briefing: Brown's costly lack of courage Whatever	September 200

Concordance 11. Categorizing the news about Megrahi as 'National' in the Guardian

In spite of describing the decision of releasing Megrahi as Scottish, Britain was involved and frequently mentioned in this context. Wilkinson (2011) argues that the decision of the release, despite being taken on compassionate grounds, appears to be extraordinary due to the seriousness of the terrorist crime involved pointing out that the UK government was able to exercise a veto over the release because of the UK major foreign policy and its wider security implications. However, the whole matter seems to be linked with oil, and how some institutions and elites in the West change their principles to win oil contracts; “ultimately, Megrahi’s release is such an affront to common sense that one can be forgiven for thinking that the Scots released him for the same reason many believe the Americans invaded Iraq: oil” (Hall, 2010, p. 268). In the *Guardian*, those who agree and disagree with the decision of the release were reported, providing some balance in the story by introducing the opposing voices. This is according to Phillips (2015) an important way of broadening the number of voices in a story. For example, in the *Guardian*’s coverage of the release, the newspaper tended to cover the event by focusing not only on the British point of view, but also highlighting the American, Scottish and even Libyan reaction on the decision of the release. However, the Libyan points of view were mentioned less than the other voices. Cushion (2012) argues that in the newsrooms of the UK, there is a built-in requirement to provide space for secondary voices. This means that there will be a space for oppositional reading although the elite source will be given more space and given the final words.

The four newspapers described the plane bombing as *Lockerbie crisis*, *Lockerbie disaster*, and *Lockerbie atrocity*; however they differed in their description to the decision of the release. The issue of framing; how to frame and contextualize the voice of others in terms of other parts of the text is important in CDA (Fairclough, 1995). The choice of words and the relations between reporting and authorial account were clear in the four newspapers’ coverage of the case, especially the *Guardian*. For example, in the contexts of putting pressure on the Libyan government for giving *Megrahi* a hero’s welcome, blaming Scotland for taking the decision, soothing the US anger, and sometimes criticising the British government, the newspaper described *Megrahi* as a *bomber*, *mass murderer*, and *terrorist*. In the two Arabic newspapers in addition to the *NYT*, although Scotland was referred to as the place where the event happened and the place from which Megrahi was released, Britain was frequently accused of pushing behind the scenes for the release to win and secure billions of dollars in oil trade with Libya. The four newspapers tended in their coverage to report others’ opinions on the decision of the release, with the Libyan government and officials as the most frequently quoted in the Arabic newspapers, the US officials, the families of the victims, and the British officials who severely criticized the event in the *NYT*, and British and Scottish officials in the *Guardian*.

Unlike the English newspapers, the two Arabic newspapers heavily reported the opinions of the *Megrahi* family; his wife, father, brothers, and cousins who expressed their sympathy with their son due to his poor health conditions emotionally emphasizing how *Megrahi*’s children longed to say the word *dad*. The Arabic newspapers also gave much

space for the Libyan officials who described *Megrahi* as one of the holy fighters who deserves appreciation, and claimed that he made a great sacrifice for his country. In the *NYT*, the families of the US victims were densely quoted and reported to criticize Scotland and Britain for putting the compassion for *Megrahi* before the compassion for the 270 victims and their relatives.

Fairclough (1995) stated that the difference between different voices reported in a text may include the fact that different voices draw upon different discourses and can be represented more or less concretely or abstractly. Fairclough (1995) analysed the BBC radio coverage to Libya's release to two of its citizens, including *Megrahi*, to stand trial in Scotland for their alleged involvement in the Lockerbie bombing. Fairclough found that the main voices represented in the BBC coverage were the Libyan government, the West, the UN secretary-general, and the bomb victims' relatives claiming that a superficial measure of balance might appear quite positive where the voice of the Libyan government is as prominent as the voice of western governments. However, Fairclough stated that looking at the text in terms of re-contextualization and how the different voices are textured together in the text, the report seems more problematic, and less favourable to the Libyan government. Toolan (1997) commented on Fairclough's discussion saying that he does not mention the fact that the two accused Libyans' personal perspective is nowhere represented with the other cited participants. In this study, *Megrahi* and his family's voices only appeared in the Arabic newspapers, when compared to the voice of the families of the victims that appeared a lot in the English newspapers' coverage, especially the *NYT*.

Megrahi's homecoming and hero's reception was covered densely by the English newspapers; in the *NYT*, perhaps to show that that the decision was wrong and highlight Qaddafi's arrogance and manipulation with some leading countries in exchange with oil contracts and trade deals, while in the *Guardian* maybe to shift the criticism from against Britain and Scotland towards Qaddafi and Libya. Based on the corpus analysis, it seems that the *NYT* coverage of the release discursively attempted to promote a sense of US national identity (Hutcheson, Domke, Garland, & Billeaudeau, 2004) by highlighting the US victims as innocent and inherently good, and "Others" as evil. The British government, as shown by the *Guardian*, was between the devil and the deep blue sea struggling to keep good relations with all parties including the U.S., Scotland, Libya, British opposition, and the families of victims.

The English newspapers, when compared to their Arabic counterparts, tended more to construct identities based on the ideological square of "us" vs "them", especially at the hero's welcome scene. In the *NYT*, the construction of self-group and Other-group identity was frequent. For example, in the headline *U.S. Looking to 'Move On' With Britain After Bomber's Release*, the U.S. was given the agent position who is willing to forgive and *move on* with 'Others' represented by Britain (not Scotland). *Megrahi* was described as a *bomber* perhaps to show that the US reaction is justified and logical, and the release was a mistake. In the *NYT*, the objection on the release is usually linked with the victims' families as if those who took the decision have no sympathy or care for other's emotions. The same strategy was applied in the *Guardian* not only against Libya, but sometimes Scotland. For example, in an article entitled *Britain warns Libya over celebrating anniversary*, *Megrahi* is said to have a *rapturous welcome by friends, family and fellow tribesmen waving Scottish flags* though he *remains a convicted terrorist responsible for the worst act of terrorism in British history*. The headline of the article implies that Britain is the dominating 'superior' party in the event as the verb *warns* indicates, though it frequently denied having any role in the whole issue, and claimed that it did not intervene at the beginning and will not intervene after the decision is taken. However, its objection is driven by its care on the feeling of the families of the victims. Scotland is criticized indirectly, and accused of gaining at least the praise of the Libyan people as its flags were waved by almost everyone at *Megrahi's* reception in Tripoli. Scotland turned out to be part of the British "in-group" when the "out-group" represented by the terrorist and his country backing him committed the worst act of terrorism in British (not Scottish) history. In the same vein, the release is read as giving mercy for the merciless suggesting that the compassionate release of the Lockerbie bomber discursively identifies the Scottish people as thoughtful, merciful, moral, and civilized in contradistinction to the terrorists' devoid of such civilized traits being thoughtless, and merciless. Accordingly, the justification for the release in the *Guardian* was mainly connected with *Megrahi's* health conditions.

Since neither of the investigated Arabic newspapers is Libyan, the ideological square, i.e. people's tendency to present themselves as having positive attitudes while concentrating on the other group negative attributes (Van Dijk, 1991), was not as clear as their English counterparts. In addition to this, both newspapers very rarely commented on the events and kept reporting others in most cases. In *Asharq Al-Awsa*, most headlines were quoted by others especially Libyans. For example, the newspaper quoted Qaddafi saying *are we donkeys, and they humans?* equating the anger of the West with the Libyans' indignation at *Megrahi's* conviction and claiming that his supporters viewed the events as a gross miscarriage of justice, and wondered if the Libyans are emotionless. In another article, the newspaper had the headline *Libyan official told the Middle East: Megrahi feel disgusted that some had hoped for his death*. Including such headlines suggests that the Western countries, represented by those who *artificially* opposed the release, are emotionless looking down at others. Some headlines in *Al-Khaleej* contained some positive lexical words with *Megrahi* such as *innocence* as in *Megrahi is planning to publish a book about Lockerbie to prove his innocence* and *Megrahi promises to reveal evidence of his innocence*. Therefore, *Al-Khaleej*, by frequently repeating this word, portrays *Megrahi* as a victim who spent many years of his life in a prison for a case he has nothing to do with. Based on the previous analysis, it can be observed that the four newspapers do not operate within a vacuum. They are influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working.

6. Conclusion

This study was influenced by Baker et al.'s DHA oriented model (2008) which includes the cyclic nature of the combination between CDA and CL. It also followed another form of triangulation represented by down-sampling the corpus, and qualitatively analysing the headlines of the articles. This is because the corpus techniques are more effective at identifying pattern uses of language and repeated lexical pairings, while CDA is more effective at identifying non-patterned uses of language in addition to enabling the researcher to carry out a more detailed examination of the texts structural properties which lead to and serve particular discursive ends. In this study, the analysis of the headlines does not only confirm the results obtained from the collocation analysis, but also uncovered some new discourses, especially in the *Guardian* where the release appears to cause some criticism not only to some Scottish political parties, but also to British officials who are accused of influencing the decision claiming that there was a great deal of talks about conspiracies and backdoor deals between Libya and Britain. Accordingly, in huge newspaper articles' corpora, examining headlines might be a good way of down-sampling the data bearing in mind that neither approaches (quantitative and qualitative) yielded any contradictory findings.

Based on the quantitative and qualitative analyses, it can be observed that the four newspapers do not operate within a vacuum. They are sometimes influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working. The Arabic newspapers constructed the character of *Megrahi* as an Arab citizen who was oppressed by others, while their English counterpart differed in their coverage based on their interests in the Libyan oil. For future work, some detailed corpus/CDA analysis for the representation of *Megrahi* in comments' sections would convey how readers see the event bearing on mind that "there has been little scholarly attention toward the nature of these conversations [readers' comments, authors' note and their implications of democracy]" (Ruiz et al., 2011, p. 464).

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تغطية قرار الإفراج عن عبدالباسط المقرحي في الصحف العربية والإنجليزية في عامي 2009 و 2010: تحليل خطاب نقدي باستخدام تقنيات لغويات المدونة الحاسوبية

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ملخص

تجمع هذه الدراسة بين منهجين بحثيين هما: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، وعلم لغويات المدونة الحاسوبية؛ لدراسة بعض الممارسات الخطابية المتعلقة بتمثيل المقرحي، الشخص الوحيد المدان في تفجير لوكيربي عام 1988 في الصحف العربية والعالمية. وتستخدم هذه الدراسة حوالي 3.5 مليون كلمة جمعت من أربع صحف؛ اثنتين تصدران في اللغة الانجليزية (الغارديان ونيويورك تايمز)، واثنتين في العربية (الشرق الأوسط والخليج) في عامي 2009 و2010. وتستخدم الدراسة في التحليل منهجية فان ديجك المرتبطة بالأيدولوجية؛ لتسليط الضوء على بعض الاستراتيجيات الخطابية التي تستخدمها الصحف لإضفاء الشرعية على بعض الأيدولوجيات ونزع الشرعية من أخرى. ويظهر التحليل اختلاف الصحف الأربع في تغطيتها للحدث على الرغم من أن أوجه التشابه في الصحف العربية كانت أكثر مما هي عليه في الصحف الإنجليزية. هذه الاختلافات تلعب دورا مهما في تشكيل وجهات النظر المختلفة سواء الوطنية منها و العالمية حول التعامل مع الأيدولوجيات المختلفة.

الكلمات الدالة: علم لغويات المدونة الحاسوبية، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، تفجير لوكيربي، صحف، ايدولوجيات.

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