A Critical Analysis of the Representation of Yemen Crisis in Ideologically-Loaded Newspaper Headlines

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative research is a critical discourse analysis of the representation of Yemen crisis in ideologically-inclined newspaper headlines of Iran, Arab and the West. A total of 63 headlines were selected as the corpus of this study. The newspapers included Iran Daily, Tehran Times, Iran on-line and IRNA (Islamic republic news agency) from Iranian; Al-sharq Alwsat and Al-Jazeera from Arab; and finally Telegraph, USA Today, News Week, and New York Time from among the Western newspapers. The three dimensional model of Norman Fairclough was employed to explore the specific themes conveyed through the representation of participants and processes about Yemen crisis. The findings showed that the Houthis are introduced as rebels by both Arab and Western newspapers, and that Saudi Arabia plays a protective role against rebels. On the other end, Iran, along with representing Saudis and the westerns as intruders, chooses and promotes a diplomatic way by condemning the military measures and inviting the parties to come up with a diplomatic solution. Meanwhile, the West supports Saudi-led coalition and legitimates Saudi's attack by proving that the Houthis are Rebels. As for the source of such opposing discourses, it is argued that the opposing ideological views of Islam in the Middle East and the discourse of Secularism in the West lead to contradictory discourses in the region.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis; ideology; newspaper headlines; agency; events

INTRODUCTION

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is critically involved in analyzing ideological exploitation of language that results in social inequalities (Wodak, 2001, p. 2). Language is ideological (Habermas, 1977, p. 259 cited in Wodak, 2001, p. 2) and serves to legitimize the power of the ruling class. The ideological structure of texts, especially newspaper headlines as a prominent discursive genre, is concerned with the power relations that are intended to be legitimized. Studies on political ideologies, power and discursivity in discourse indicates that every word carries on an implicit connotation and a hidden power, by which 'the act of controlling and constraining the contributions of the non-powerful participants in society takes place' (Ramanathan & Bee Hoon, 2015, p. 62). Specifically, in news headlines, the framing of participants and processes may be ideologically significant (Fairclough, 1989, p. 122) and may be aimed to justify certain points of view. For instance, Yemen crisis, as a text, is represented from myriad of tendentious views and perspectives; each depending on specific ideology and power relations.

Given the ideological framing of participants and processes, reporters constantly frame the stories by interpreting the facts of an event or issue and thereby emphasizing or

neglecting certain aspects which results in unequal distribution of attention on element (Gill, et al. 2012).

Regarding the Yemen crisis, newspaper headlines are more prone to be ideologically loaded as compared to other types of genres. Ideological headlines do not provide readers with a full account reality; rather they are some biased and tendentious manifestations of reality. Ideologies, according to Ranciere (1974), do not necessarily represent true manifestations of reality, but on the contrary, give social subjects a mystified and blurred representation of the social system in order to control them in the system of class exploitation. Now it is generally accepted that ideology is not necessarily a true representation of reality; it is aligned and tendentious. It is a system of representations that makes our true relations to one another in a society by constructing imaginary relations among people in the social formation (Althuser, 1971). Van Dijk (1998, p. 138) believes that ideologies typically serve to legitimate power and social inequality. They are assumed to conceal, hide or otherwise mystify the truth, reality or indeed the objective, material condition of existence or the interests of social formation. He also maintains that in addition to more negative functions of ideology, we may add that ideologies positively serve to empower dominated groups, to create solidarity, to organize struggle and to sustain opposition.

The discourse of journalism defines, describes and limits what it is possible to say with respect to journalism, whether at its margins or at its institutional core (Conboy, 2010, p. 9). The power inborn with ideology constructs, (re)shapes and directs the understanding and perception of social subjects. Thus, it is now widely held that reality is constructed through ideology. The ideology which lives in the central part of a piece of discourse is the main reason that makes the domination of a discourse possible.

News controls, influences and reinforces people's perception of what is true and untrue, right or wrong (Alo & Orimogunje, 2013). Media does not always manifest the reality fully and honestly. The responsibility of a media is to pave the way for institutions to accomplish their objectives. They illuminate a part but drag the other part into an absolute darkness. Fowler (1991, p. 11) maintains that the world of press is not the real world rather it is a skewed and judged one.

Political and ideological interests are naturalized in newspaper reports through linguistic constructions as presupposed sensible accounts of social reality (Min, 1997). News analysis shows as *where* and *how* ideologies preferably manifest themselves in news report. News production activities are controlled by the specific, ongoing context, model of journalists about the relevant aspects of the social and political situation (Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 195).

Media operates in individual, national and global levels, and the ideologies presented in media portray sometimes objectivity and sometimes subjectivity (Nawaz et al., 2013). However, the headlines often subjectively expose the social, cultural and national representations, and are considered by the audience more than the full news articles. Therefore, their impact is likely to be more upon the readers due to certain linguistic features which make them memorable and effective (Develotee & Rechniewski, 2001).

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The humanitarian crisis in Yemen continues to deteriorate almost one and a half years after the escalation of conflict in March 2015. The escalation amplified an already existing protracted crisis, which was characterized by widespread poverty, conflict, poor governance and weak rule of law, including widely reported human rights violations. The conduct of the

conflict has been brutal on civilians with all parties failing to take adequate steps to protect civilians or fulfill their obligations under international humanitarian law. Air strikes hit marketplaces and residential areas and indiscriminate shelling was reported in several densely populated areas[1]. Due to these facts, sociopolitical events in Middle East – especially in Yemen and Syria – call for exclusive attention towards the possible roots. The major players involved in these incidents have confronted the sociopolitical considerations with many complexities. Therefore, studying different representations of participants and processes and themes carried out by influential states through newspaper headlines seems to be an effective and informative step in recognizing the causes and effects of changes in power relations. In this connection, the aim of the present research is to investigate 63 newspaper headlines concerning the Yemen crisis. This research attempts to answer the following question:

What specific themes are conveyed through the representation of participants and processes in connection with Yemen crisis?

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are a number of works with different theoretical frameworks that intended to study the representation of events and phenomena by media. Among the Iranian researchers, Hamedi Shirvan and Pahlavan-nezhad (2016), Omidi and Rahimi (2013) aimed to concentrate on how representations of the Middle East events have been reported in newspapers. Among non-Iranian researchers, there are numerous works concerning critical discourse analysis in practice. The works of researchers such as Tahir (2013), Bolte and Chee Keong (2014) and Taiwo (2007) are briefly introduced here.

Highlighting the tendentious representation of reality through media and newspapers, Taiwo (2007) studied language in connection with ideology and power relations. Based on CDA approach, 300 Nigerian newspaper headlines were examined for peculiarity in the vocabulary and rhetorical devices used in order to identify the ideologies that lie behind their constructions. Findings revealed that the headlines have hidden ideological meanings and reflect the views of those whose interest is being served and those whose interest is being undermined. He also concludes that headlines are used to initiate and sustain discourse, and shape the views of the readers.

Accordingly, Omidi and Rahimi (2013) made an attempt to find an answer to the question "What was Al-Jazeera's approach in representing events of Syria between the years 2011 and 2013". It was concluded that the approaches Al-Jazeera took in representing event of Syria were all biased and thoroughly compliant with Qatar's foreign policy. Similarly, Hamedi Shirvan and Pahlavan-nezhad (2016) studied the representation of Syria's events in western newspapers. They used Thompson's approach (1990) that describes five modes of ideological operation with associated strategies of symbolic construction. The main hypothesis of the research is that the discourse of the media is not free of bias. In addition, media organizations analyze the various political, societal, and cultural events according to their ideological inclinations. They concluded that the studied newspapers had tried to legitimize the activities of rebels in Syria by representing the Syrian government as an enemy of the people and seek to legitimize the intrusion of western states in Syria.

With respect to biased representation of Muslims as Others and Islamophobia ideology of news articles, Tahir (2013) shows that the writer regards the Muslims participating in the protests as others and uses various semantic devices such as hyperbole, implication, lexicalization, etc. to represent them and their inclination negatively. On the

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other hand, those social actors whose actions and opinions are close to, or at least not much different from the writers' ideology were represented positively through the ideological moves of evidentiality, consensus, authority, etc.

Bolte and Chee Keong (2014) attempted to examine the representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants (RASIM) in news reports from three selected English online newspapers in Malaysia. They aimed to reveal the representations of RASIM and made an attempt to unravel the ways in which ideology and context shape the discourse surrounding RASIM. This has found that in Malaysian media, the reporting on RASIM has been framed according to the political stance of newspapers. These reporting styles show differences in situational context and ideology that shaped the discourse of the newspapers, contributing significantly to the portrayal of RASIM in particular ways.

The previous studies mentioned here have mostly concentrated on analyzing representations, groupings and framings of events in the media of only one country or party. They did not consider what was published or written in the newspapers published in other countries, concerning the factors that lead media to express different representations of events and groups. In addition, in order to represent the participants and processes, the present research investigated the specific themes that are conveyed in newspaper headlines about the Yemen affairs and explored who is attributed to what actions. This research is not limited to study the newspapers of just one country for the study provided comparative views of 3 regions about the participants and events in the Yemen crisis.

METHODOLOGY

CORPUS

Yemen war, as one of the leading crises in the Middle East, has engendered complicated socio-political circumstances, and has given rise to multifarious inclinations in representing the complicatedness of the situation. Therefore, these considerations provide the impetus to the researchers to investigate a smaller part of this crisis.

The corpus of the present research consists of 63 headlines taken from 10 newspapers. Four of them were selected from Iranian newspapers: Iran daily, Tehran Times, Iran on-line newspapers and IRNA. The other two were chosen from Arabic newspapers which are: Al-Sharq Alwsat and Al-Jazeera. The last four ones were selected from western newspapers: Telegraph, USA Today, News Week, and New York Time. We cumulatively collected around 100 headlines from these 10 newspapers. Nevertheless, to avoid any repetition in headlines we did not consider 37 repetitive headlines and kept 63 unrepeated ones for analyses. We went through the newspapers of Iran, Arab nations and Western ones since these three agents are the three major players in Yemen crisis and play effective roles in the ongoing events of this country. The justification for selecting these 10 newspapers lies in the fact that they covered the majority of events concerning the Yemen crisis. Therefore, these newspapers are cited as the news sources for some other news agencies. The selection of the type of headlines was determined by the typology of sentences developed by Fairclough (1989), which will be described in detail in the data collection section. In order to find the topic and subjects of the headlines, we used the Archive Search Service of each newspaper. By typing the phrase 'Yemen crisis' in Archive Search Service, we were provided with a number of headlines concerning the Yemen war. Next, we checked the description of each headline to ensure their relevance to the main title.

DATA COLLECTION

In the data collection process, we selected the headlines based on their particular representation of processes and participants. We followed Fairclough's (1989) order on three main types of sentences. According to Fairclough's (1989, pp. 121-122), "there are three main types of sentences that most typically (but not always) express respectively the three main types of processes: actions (SVO), events (SV), and attributions (SVC). An action involves two participants, an agent and a patient, and the agent acts upon the patient in some way. An event involves just one participant, which may be animate or inanimate. However, SV sentences are not always events; if they have animate participants, they may be a special sort of patient-less action, or non-directed action. An attribution also involves just one participant, but there is also some sort of attribute after the verb, either a possessive attribute if the verb is a form of have, or a non-possessive attribute with other verbs. Non-possessive attributes show up sometimes as adjectives, sometimes as nouns". From among the three types, two main types, that is actions (SVO) and events (SV), were selected for the purpose of this study.

INSTRUMENTATION

Data were analyzed according to Fairclough's (1989) three dimensional approaches to CDA. According to this approach, the data were analyzed at three levels; Description, Interpretation and Explanation. The three-dimensional conception of discourse is an attempt to bring together three analytical traditions, each of which is indispensable for discourse analysis. These are the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macro-sociological tradition of analyzing social practice in relation to social structures, and the interpretivist or micro-sociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73). Fairclough's three-dimensional model is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society. All three dimensions should be applied in a specific discourse analysis of a text. The analysis should focus on (1) the linguistic features of the text, (2) processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice); and (3) the wider social practice to which the text belongs (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p. 68).

Description is the first stage of CDA, which includes the analysis on the texture of texts. Close analysis of texts is a significant part of social scientific analysis of a whole range of social and cultural practices and processes. It is the examination of the linguistic analysis of the text at morphological and grammatical levels (Fairclough 1989, p. 111). Interpretation, on the other hand, deals with the understanding of the meaning embedded in texts. It is concerned with participant's text production and text interpretation (understanding). Texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions. The interpretations are constructed through the combination of what is in the text and what knowledge and beliefs the interpreter holds (ibid. 151). The explanatory stage, however, sees discourse as a part of processes of social struggle and power relations. It shows how discourses are determined by social structures and what reproductive effects discourses have on those structures, e.g. by sustaining them or changing them. Explanation has two dimensions depending on whether the emphasis is upon processes of struggle or relations of power. First, discourses may be seen as parts of social struggle and the emphasis is on the effect of the discourse. Second, it is possible to show which power relationships determine discourses. These relationships are the outcome of struggles, and are established by those with power (Fairclough, 1989, p. 163).

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this section the data will be examined according to Fairclough's (1989) approach to CDA, that is, Description, Interpretation and Explanation. Each of these levels will be studied in separate sections.

FIRST LEVEL OF ANALYSIS: DESCRIPTION

Based on the headlines from Iranian newspapers, it appears that they mostly focus on Saudi Arabia's military operations in Yemen. The main burden of focus is laid upon the inclemency caused by foreign military interventions. In the headline -*Saudi airstrikes on Yemeni violate self-declared truce*), Saudis committed violation of self-declared truce. In this headline the compound "self-declared" is of high value. This implies that the truce or cease-fire is declared as one-sided from the Saudi's and the Saudis violated the truce that they longed to establish on the other side.

In almost every headline of Iranian newspapers in which the agent of an action is attributed to Saudi Arabia, the disadvantages of foreign military intervention are being highlighted as shown in the extracts in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1. Iranian Newspapers Headlines Highlighting Saudis Military Intervention

No.	Headlines
1	New Saudi aerial attack **kill 16** in crisis-hit Yemen
2	Saudi *aggression* against Yemen **kill 279 children**
3	Saudi warplanes **target areas in Yemen**
4	**180 injured** in latest Saudi airstrikes on Yemen
5	*Saudi-led strikes* on Yemen continue despite UN called for peace
6	Saudi pilot killed himself for **massacring children**
7	Saudi crimes in Yemen **threat to mid east**

It is clear in Table 1 that Saudi is the subject of brutal actions such as *killing 16 civilians*, *killing 279 children*, *targeting areas in Yemen, 180 injured*, *massacring children, and threat to mid east*.

The number of casualties is pre-posed at the beginning of the headline – *44 killed, 180 injured in latest Saudi airstrikes on Yemen*- Pre-posing the number of victims is clearly inclined to magnify and highlight the rate of atrocity and violence that exists in Yemen.

By using the word "aggression" in the headline -*Saudi aggression against Yemen kill 279 children*- Saudi's intervention and their atrocity is magnified. Expressions like "Saudi-led strikes" or "Saudi-led coalition" are used in other headlines, but in this case "aggression" is used in connection with the casualties of Saudi's attack. According to this headline, Saudis are introduced as being responsible for the death of 279 children. In other words, by using the word "aggression" and the number of dead children, it is mostly intended to indicate the negative side of Saudi's military intervention.

As seen in the headline *Saudi warplanes target wedding party in Yemen, kill seven including bride* (table 2), the intensity of violence is highlighted. In the mentioned headline, "wedding party" is located in the position of direct object and the whole clause implies that Saudi warplanes deliberately target the wedding party. Another important point in this headline is the result of the attack, *kill seven including bride*, which is mentioned at the end of the clause and separated by comma to attract more attention. The headline *Saudi Arabia using banned arms in war on Yemen* indicates Saudi Arabia as an agent of using banned weapons against Yemeni people.

In most of the Iranian newspapers it is suggested that Saudis have imposed the war on Yemen. This idea can be inferred from the headlines in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2. Iranian Newspapers Headlines Introducing Saudis as a Warlike State

No.	The Headlines
1	Saudi airstrikes on Yemeni violate self-declared truce
2	New Saudi aerial attack kill 16 in crisis-hit Yemen
3	Saudi aggression against Yemen **kill 279 children**
4	Saudi warplanes **target areas in Yemen**
5	Saudi warplanes target **wedding party** in Yemen, kill seven including bride
6	Saudi Arabia **using banned arms** in war on Yemen
7	Saudi war on Yemen part of US plot to dominate Muslim world
8	44 killed, 180 injured in latest Saudi airstrikes on Yemen
9	Saudi-led strikes on Yemen continue despite UN called for peace
10	Saudi attacks on Yemen's Saada claims seven lives

In all these headlines Saudi Arabia is directly represented as responsible for starting the war. This point is underlined in the headlines by which Saudi Arabia is introduced as an agent of the actions such as *attacking people*, *killing children*, *using banned arms*, *bombing a wedding party*, *targeting areas in Yemen*. Two other headlines -*Yemeni forces kill dozens of Saudi forces;* and *Yemen downs Saudi Apache copter* (table 3), indicating Saudi Arabia's intervention in Yemen's unrests suggest the fact that the war is between Yemen's and Saudi's States.

TABLE 3. Iranian Newspapers Headlines Showing Yemeni's battle with Saudis

No.	The Headlines
1	*Yemeni* forces kill dozens of Saudi forces
2	*Yemen* **downs Saudi Apache copter**
3	Ansarullah foils terrorists' plot to bomb Sana's General Mosque
4	Ansarullah fires tens of rockets on Saudi Arabia's Jizan
5	*Yemen* forces take control of Saudi bases in Jizan

The headlines in Table 3 above indicate that Yemen is the agent of some military actions against Saudis in return.

TABLE 4: Iranian Newspapers Headlines Showing Iran's agency in Yemen Crisis

No.	The Headlines
1	**Iran urges Islamic states** to take moves resolve Yemen crisis
2	**Iran says ready to resolve Yemen crisis**
3	**No choice other than dialogue to solve Yemen crisis**
4	**Iran sends officials to Riyadh for Yemen talks**
5	Diplomacy key to solving Yemen, Syria crisis
6	**Iran supports fair settlement of Yemen crisis** in Masqat talks
7	Former diplomat: **Iran supports political settlement of Yemen dispute**
8	Senior MP: diplomacy only solution to crisis in Yemen
9	**Iran sends ship carrying humanitarian aid to crisis-hit Yemen**

Furthermore, Iranian newspapers did not only focus on Saudi Arabia as the only participant involved in Yemen's crisis. They also highlight the role of Iran in the Yemen's crisis in other ways. Iran's involvement in the Yemen crisis has a totally different nature. Based on the headlines in Table 4, Iran is introduced as the agent for *peace talks* and a party that instigates Islamic states to come up with a solution to Yemen crisis.

The headlines in Table 4 represent Iran's intention to solve the crisis diplomatically. In other words, as these headlines show, Iran plays a mediator role. In the headline- *No choice other than dialogue to solve Yemen crisis: Iran*- any strategy other than diplomacy is rejected from the Iranian side.

The headlines as displayed in Table 4 show Iran as the agency for doing certain actions such as *resolving Yemen crisis diplomatically, readiness to solve the crisis, sending officials for peace talks*, *supporting fair settlement in Yemen*, *supporting political settlement of the crisis*, and *sending humanitarian aid*.

When compared with Saudi's action as the agency, it is clear that the actions of the Iranian government and the Saudi government are of different nature. Iran is considered as an agency trying to resolve the critical circumstances of Yemen peacefully and diplomatically (Table 4). Saudi, on the other hand, is shown as the agency for invading a foreign country (Tables 1 and 2).

However**,** what seems important in Arab newspapers is the agency of two parts which act against each other: Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis.

The important point which is worth mentioning and seems ideologically significant is the collocation of the Houthis with the term *rebel*. In the headlines as indicated in Table 5, the Houthis are represented as *rebels* in Yemen.

TABLE 5. Arab Newspapers Headlines Introducing Houthis as Rebels

No.	The Headlines
1	Yemen in crisis: **Houthi rebels** advance towards Aden
2	**Houthi rebels** pounds Yemen's Aden with rocket artillery

The Houthis are also introduced as the agents of causing unrest in Yemen. As displayed in the headlines shown in Table 6, the Houthis commit actions such as *killing dozens in south Yemen*, *advancing towards Aden*, *attacking protestors*, *attacking oil refinery* and *attacking with rocket artillery*.

TABLE 6. Arab Newspapers Headlines Representing Houthis' Agency in the War

No.	The Headlines
1	**Houthi rockets kill dozens** in South Yemen
2	Yemen in crisis: **Houthi rebels advance towards Aden**
3	Yemen: around 100 killed in Houthi shelling of Aden district, says NGO
4	**Houthi rebels pounds Yemen's Aden** with rocket artillery
5	**Yemenis Houthis attack protestors** in Sanaa
6	**Yemen Houthis attack oil refinery** in Aden
7	Houthis partially withdraw from Aden as Hadi loyalists set up
8	*Houthis were not serious about Geneva peace talks*
9	*Houthis make a list of demands for Geneva talks*

The headline- *Houthis partially withdraw from Aden as Hadi loyalists set up*- represents the Houthis as being defeated and partially withdrawing from Aden. In this passivized headline, the event is the focus rather than the agency because the event seemed more important. Arab newspapers represent the agency of the Houthis for different actions. These actions are not military ones. The headlines- *Houthis were not serious about Geneva peace talks* and *Houthis make list of demands for Geneva talks- being not serious about peace talks, making a list of demands for Geneva talks* are examples of the Houthis' non-military actions that lead to the postponement of the peace talks (table 6).

As Table 7 below shows Saudi Arabia represents Saudi forces and Saudi-led coalition as the agent of protective plans.

TABLE 7. Arab Newspapers Headlines Highlighting Saudis and Yemeni Tribes Agency in the War

No.	The Headlines
1	**Saudi launches airstrikes** on Yemen Houthis
2	Arab coalition jets renew strikes on Houthis in Yemen
3	**Saudi Arabia assembles "massive force"** on Yemen borders
4	Coalition raids pound Houthi target in Sanaa and Saada
5	**Saudi-led strikes on Yemen convoy kill 31 civilians**
6	*Yemen tribes set up to attack key Houthi stronghold*

These headlines indicate that Saudi-led coalition is the agent of attacking the Houthis who are known as rebels. Saudi-led coalition is responsible for *launching airstrikes on Houthis, assembling massive force on Yemen forces and pounding Houthis targets*. The Headline- *Saudi-led strikes on Yemen convoy kill 31 civilians*- sheds light on the consequences of Arabs collation strikes on Yemen convoy in which 31 civilians were killed.

It is clear that not only does Saudi-led coalition attack the Houthis, but the Yemen tribes also plan to attack the Houthis' stronghold. In Table 7, the headline- *Yemen tribes set up to attack key Houthi stronghold*- introduces the Yemeni tribes as agents for taking action against the Houthis. Therefore, the Houthis are not only raided by Saudis, but also by the Yemeni tribes who try to attack the Houthis.

TABLE 8. Arab Newspapers Headlines Highlighting the Matter of Cease-Fire

No.	The Headlines
1	Saudi-led coalition considers Yemen humanitarian truce
2	Houthis continuously welcome plan for Yemen cease-dire

Arab newspapers do not merely represent Saudi-led coalition as a military force whose main goal is to draw the Houthis back and destroy them. In Table 8, the Headline- *Saudi-led coalition considers Yemen humanitarian truce*- also represents Saudi-led coalition for humanitarian measures or humanitarian truce. This peace-loving agency is attributed to the Houthis too. The headline- *Houthis continuously welcome plan for Yemen cease-fire*- indicates that the Houthis take the agency of welcoming ceasefire; however, what is worth paying attention in the later headline is the use of adverb 'continuously'. The use of 'continuously' implies that the Houthis need cease-fire more than the other parties.

TABLE 9. Arab Newspapers Headlines Focusing on Events

No.	The Headlines
1	Yemen-bound Iranian ship diverted to Djibouti
2	62 children killed in week-old Yemen conflict, UNICF confirms

As Table 9 shows the headline- *Yemen-bound Iranian ship diverted to Djibouti*- is an agent-less headline. This headline focuses on event and hides the agent and it is not clear which group diverted Yemen-bound Iranian ship. Arab newspapers do not make this issue clear that which group or force did commit the act upon the Iranian ship. Similar to this headline is the headline- *62 children killed in week-old Yemen conflict, UNICF confirms*- in which the agent/s of killing 62 children in weak-old conflicts is kept hidden. Regarding these two headlines, the events are shown to be more important than their agents.

In the meantime, like Arab newspapers, the western newspapers view Yemen's crisis virtually from the same perspective as Arabs do.

The most prominent word in the headlines of the western newspapers is the use of the word 'rebel', which is assigned to the Houthi's forces. Introducing a group as 'rebel' will result in multi-dimensional issues. Recognizing the Houthis as Shia rebels would cause ideological contrasts. Some of the headlines of western newspapers in Table 10 below represent one of the main participants of Yemen's war, the Houthis as: *rebels, Shia rebels, Yemen rebels*.

TABLE 10. The Western Newspapers Headlines Showing Houthis as Shia Rebels

No.	The Headlines
1	Several Americans hold in Yemen by **Shia rebels**, US state department says
2	**Houthi rebels** who toppled Yemen's US backed government-holding Americans in Sanaa
3	Saudi-led coalition airstrikes targeting Shia rebels
4	Saudi launched airstrikes on Yemen rebels advance
5	Saudi halt bombing of Houthi rebels in Yemen
6	**Yemen Houthis rebels** using child solders
7	Yemen's rebels ambush pro-government forces, kill scores
8	Rebel rocket fire 18 civilians in Yemen's Aden
9	Houthi rebels abduct aide to Yemen's president
10	Air strikes target Yemen's rebels as fighting rages in east

There are two main agents undertaking war actions in the western newspapers; the Houthis and Saudi-led coalition. Like Arab newspapers, the western media also represent the Houthis for inhuman deeds. The headlines in Table 11 represent the Houthis as rebels on the one hand and as agents for *using child solders, killing scores of pro-government forces, firing 18 civilian in Aden, abducting aid to Yemen president* and *holding several Americans* on the other.

TABLE 11. The Western Newspapers Headlines Highlighting Houthis Particular Actions in the War

No.	The Headlines
1	Yemen Houthi rebels **using child soldiers**
2	**Yemen's rebels ambush pro-government forces, kill scores**
3	**Rebel rocket fire 18 civilians in Yemen's Aden**
4	**Houthi rebels abduct aide to Yemen's president**

On the other end of the extreme, similar to Arab newspapers, there is the agency of Saudi-led coalition in the Western newspapers that is shown undertaking protective actions against the Houthis. Moreover, Iran's involvement in war actions is also represented.

TABLE 12. The Western Newspapers Headlines Showing Saudi's and Iranian Protective Actions

No.	The Headlines
1	*Saudi-led coalition resumes airstrikes in Yemen*
2	*Saudi-led coalition airstrikes targeting Shia rebels*
3	Saudi Arabia launches airstrikes in Yemen against Houthi fighters
4	Saudi halt bombing of Houthi rebels in Yemen
5	*Saudi-led airstrikes target Houthi bastions in Yemen's Saada province*
6	Saudi Arabia's airstrikes on Yemen are "a war of necessity", says ambassador to US.
7	Iran sends navy vessels near Yemen amid airstrikes

As it is shown in Table 12, Saudi-led coalition is represented for undertaking actions such as: *resuming airstrikes, targeting Shia rebels, launching airstrikes on Houthi fighters,*

halting bombing Houthis, targeting Houthis bastions and *introducing Saudi's war as ' war of necessity'.*

In Table 12, the headline- *Iran sends navy vessels near Yemen amid airstrikes*- introduces Iran as the agent for sending navy vessel. This headline suggests that in spite of the fact that Iranian newspapers represent Iran's agency for diplomatic affairs, they have a hand in military actions too.

INTERPRETATION

In examining the headlines, the task of recognizing the participants who are involved in news production is somewhat a tricky task. Those who are involved in the process of news production are news agencies on the one side and, the readers of newspapers or more generally the public on the other side. Assuming these two participants as the only participant present in the news production and consumption processes is likely to be a simplistic assumption, especially the one that produces and distributes news. News agencies play the role of dummy agents in producing or distributing news. It can be said that news agencies only follow the enacted rules of the ruling class. Mass media is in the service of politics. This means that it is power that enacts specific frameworks and limitations for mass media. In such a case, hidden power is exercised over the how-ness of representation. According to Fairclough (1989, p. 49), the main participant in news production is power. Power relations which is enacted in mass media discourse is not often clear, hence, there are reasons for seeing it as involving hidden relations of power.

The dominant discursive practice in Iranian newspaper headlines that contribute to meaning construction is through centralizing the theme that Saudi Arabia and the west collaboratively have commenced and imposed a war against Yemeni people. Within the scope of this theme, the number of casualties and the agency of Saudi and the west in destructive actions are not only centralized, but are also negatively magnified.

This can be assumed from Iran's headlines in that Yemen is the front line in which the West and Saudi Arabia are on one side, and the Shias are on the other side. Saudis and U.S. are indicated as allied participants that wish to dominate their discourse as a hegemonic one in Islamic world and that is the reason why these two agents drastically attack Yemen. According to the headline- *Saudi war on Yemen part of US plot to dominate Muslim World*- Iran maintains that the war in Yemen is Saudi Arabia's and US's pre-set plan to achieve two main objectives; to eliminate terrorism and religious fundamentalism and to extend their dominance over the vessels of oil and gas. This headline indicates that by establishing a coalition against Yemen, Saudi's objective is not about resolving the Yemen crisis, but aims to dominate the discourse of western states in order to extend the borders of their interventions. In order to prove this idea, Iranian newspapers mostly focus upon the casualties of the war and the agency of Saudi-led coalition's destructive acts. By taking the number of casualties and destructions caused by the Saudi's part under focused observation, Iran's newspapers try to inject this idea that there may be some covert intentions and planned programs between Saudi Arabia and the West, especially U.S.A. In addition to representing Saudis and the western's collaborative agency in the war, Iran newspapers have indicated Iran's agency too. But, Iran's agency in Yemen is not the same as Saudis'. Apparently, Iran is not involved in military actions and tries to manifest a peace-loving appearance, and offers diplomatic solutions to both Yemen and Syria's cases. In pursuit of this goal, Iran sends officials to settle this crisis down by virtue of diplomatic resolution.

Unlike Iran, the western and Arab newspapers do not represent the participants and processes differently. Both ideological and political purposes can be followed in the representations of both sides. The apparent discursive practices of these two, embed

centralizing and emphasizing upon the participation of the Houthis, as the major agents in the war. The westerns and Arabs also negatively concentrate on the Houthis, and they intend to introduce them as the existing source of problems and difficulties en route the establishment of peace in Yemen. The Arab and western headlines represent somewhat the same idea regarding the other engaged-in-war participant: the Houthis. In fact, the over-emphasized theme in the headlines of these two parts is to foreground the agency of the Houthis and the actions they have committed. In order to ignite a war against the Houthis, Saudis need to convince the public opinion and legitimize what they have planned for. The same also happened when U.S attacked Iraq. At that time, Iraq was committed for storing nuclear and mass killing weapons, hence, Iraq was portrayed as a great danger to the world and U.S's interests. Mendelsohn (2009, p. 187) states that in the case of Iraq, the United States sought to expand the concept of self-defense to include anticipatory attacks. Mendelsohn also asserts that American officials tried to legitimize both interventions as acts of self-defense.

These persuasive news production procedures, at least, may persuade the public opinion and let the power holders accomplish public consent in two stages. At the level of the first stage, the headlines in the west and Arab newspapers introduce the Houthis and the Shias as *rebels*, condemn them to *attack fundamental facilities* of the state, *attacking people*, *recruiting children as soldiers* and, of course, *fundamentalism*. All these actions attributed to the Houthis are intended to induce the other neighboring states to take protective position and join the Saudi-led coalition in order to protect their own states against the danger of terrorism and fundamentalism. As a matter of fact, trying to introduce the Houthis as a semi-military group who fuels fundamentalism in the region, automatically legitimates and blesses military interventions of the adjoining states. At the second stage of the mission, having all the circumstances ready, Saudi Arabia undertakes military actions against the Houthis and in general, fundamentalism. Following this aim, U.S. plays the supportive role against anti-Houthi movements. Advertising for Saudis and against the Houthis induce public opinion to support their policies and strategies in the region.

Through considering the foreign interventions of any kind such as military, supportive or diplomatic, on the one hand, and the status of the current relationship of this triangle on the other, some hidden cues of power relations come into surface. In all these headlines, it is clear that the status of the relationship between Iran, the West and the Arab nations has been presupposed by news agencies. The newspaper headlines display that the presupposed relationships of the three angles of this triangle have played a crucial role. In fact, the ideological basis of each state as well as their political objectives has critically determined the discursive processes through which the participants and processes ought to be represented in the headlines.

EXPLANATION

In answering to the question put forward in this study, it is clear that discourse is a part of sociopolitical process and a sociopolitical practice. Answering to this question will show how discursive orders and structures are determined by ideology and, in turn, what effect ideologically-loaded discursive orders and structures will have on sociopolitical orders. According to Fairclough (1989, p. 192) discourse can cumulatively have productive effects on social structures, and it is able to sustain or change them. The question is as follows:
What institutional process does this discourse belong to, and how is it ideologically determined and determinative?
Before elaborating on the main question, the discourses which the two shadow players of the Yemen crisis, Iran and the West, belong to will be discussed in cases like Yemen or

even Syria. It can be said that the discourses which Iran has constructed as an identity of Islamic republic is anti-Americanism and propagation of the revolution discourses.

Ideological Islam may give rise to the aforementioned main determining discourses of Iran which belong to political and religious institutions. It can be put that religion is the main institution that even determines political priorities of the state. According to Iran's political system, religion and politics must be compliant with each other; therefore, in Iran, religion is not isolated from politics, and discourses of anti-Americanism and revolution propagation, indeed, were the main objectives of Islamic revolution. Thus, ideological Islam constructs discourses such as anti-Americanism and the propagation of revolution. This discourse produces power relations and by having the power of ideological Islam at one hand and the discourses of anti-Americanism and propagation of revolution on another end, the state starts exercising its desired policies in the region.

On the other end of the extreme, there are western newspapers whose discourses are rather different. The discourse which the west invests upon may be anti-fundamentalism or an early suppressing of potential new powers. This discourse belongs to the political institutions of the west. The source in which this discourse sprung from may be very fascinating. In line with this issue is the point that discourse not only constitutes social structures but is also constituted by it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258, in Wodak; 2001). Wodak (2001) also maintains that discourse constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of, and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Wodak (2001) also asserts that discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

In our opinion, the anti-fundamentalism discourse was born from the spark of the clash between the two opposing ideologies. The political systems of the western states are based on the ideology of secularizing religion from politics. Therefore, this ideology constructs the discourse of secularism in the political system of the west. When the discourse of secularism is confronted with an empowering discourse based on the ideology of ideological Islam in a part of the world where the greatest amount of gas and oil is stored, anti-fundamentalism discourse gets sensible. As a result, when the more Islamic countries get involved in war, the more powerful would the anti-fundamentalism discourse be. By demonstrating the atrocity and violence of the world of Islam, the western policy makers portray war on middles-east as an urgent and necessary action in order to wipe out the danger of religious fundamentalism which is, as argued, threatens the whole world. The consensus among public is against a phenomenon which produces power and legitimizes the actions of the agents. It can then be clarified that anti-fundamentalism discourse of the west acquires its real power from fundamentalism itself. According to Fairclough (1989, p. 33), there are two ways in which those who have power can exercise and keep it: through coercing others to go along with them or through winning others' consent to the exercise of power. In practice, coercion and consent occur in all sorts of combinations.

In order to get involved in a war beyond the national borders, power speaks first. This power can be political, economic, and may be ideological. Ideology is the main source of power and, on the other hand, power employs ideology to its service. But more important than political and economic power for starting a war, the persuasive power for convincing public opinion in order for achieving "consent" is crucially needed. This consent can be accomplished through ideology. The state propagates a discourse according to a fundamental and mostly agreed-upon ideology. This discourse, then, distributes the desired ideology of the state to achieve consent. By achieving the public consensus in any form, the government and

power holder institutions become capable of shaping public opinion in any form required. After the mentioned stages (as discussed in the interpretation section) were exercised by participants of the war, it is time to witness power struggles. Each part tries to promulgate its own ideologies, but the opponent side halts the desired processes of ossifying specific ideology. In such a case, each part resorts to the second way of exercising power: coercion. This is the phase that can be witnessed in Yemen, but none of the main participants have overtly involved themselves in the war. They have engaged their agents in the war that practices their discourse in that country.

In this respect, as for the findings, 'ideological antagonisms' and ' antagonistic polarizations' are portrayed and manifested through thematizing and centralizing the major participants involved in the Yemen war. In fact, thematizing the actions of the other engaged-in- war participants and magnifying the consequences of their participation are contributed to depict ideological antagonism between the states seeking to attain to the greater share of the power cake. As indicated in the literature above, media represents biased and tendentious facts about issues; therefore, in the Yemen's case, the one-sided and ideological exploitation of newspaper headlines make the power relations influential. The influenced power relations in the world would bring forth changes and consequences that in fact are not win-to-win equation. Phenomena like ISIS, Al- Qaeda and others can be assumed as the result of one-sided power relations that take no notice of others to have a share in world's power relations.

The specific concentrations on a region as a terrorist rising region would make terrorist fighters harsher in order to be dominant in that region. This domination will open the gates of any kind of misdeeds under the pretext of fighting with terrorism and for human rights.

In conclusion, in our opinion, 'ideological antagonism' and 'antagonistic polarizations' that are partly established by media are not merely and thoroughly intended for fighting against terrorism, but are a series of attempts to accomplish a greater 'advantage', that is, to obtain a larger hegemony in the increasingly complicated world.

CONCLUSION

The literature has predominantly made it clear that mass media is an instrument in the hands of dominant class that distribute, shape and re-shape public beliefs, ideas and outlooks in order for being hegemonic articulation in discursive atmosphere of a society (Conboy, 2010; Min, 1997; Taiwo, 2007; Bolte and Chee Keong, 2014)). It is the task of mess media to make a focused polarization i.e. mass media focuses on the negative side of Others action on one hand, and illuminates positive part of Ours on the other hand. This fact can be witnessed in the headlines of Iranian newspapers in which the focus is on the Arabs and Westerns' military operations in Yemen which is referred to as an intrusive actions; however, the same newspaper headlines mostly magnify Iranians insistence on resolving the Yemen crisis by diplomatic practices. On the other end, the Arab and western newspapers represent such polarizations and put the Houthis on the opposite side and introduced them as terrorists and rebels, in justifying their military presence in Yemen. The Iranian newspapers do attempt to highlight the theme that Saudi Arabia and the West have started an imposing war against Yemen, while, at the same time, representing a peace lover manifestation of its actions regarding the Yemen crisis. On the other side, the Arab and western newspaper headlines have thematized the Houthis as rebels who have opened the way for terrorism in Yemen.

The findings of the present research suggest that antagonistic and polarized interactions between the states of a region in general and middle-east in particular may not contribute to resolve the critical problems which has given rise to political and humanitarian

crises. The antagonistic power relations between the policies of role-playing states not only do not sooth the intensity of Yemen and Syria's circumstances, but also aggravate its inclemency. These states of affairs result in the state – in- war to become as a playing ground upon which some states practice their advantages. Therefore, it seems that in order to come up with a solution to establish peace in Yemen and Syria, it is necessary to define and practice a common advantage.

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