Mediatization of Politics

Analyzing Al-Jazeera Arabic Online News Articles during the Development of War in Yemen

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Pre-face:

“If liberty means anything at all, it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear”

George Orwell
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Abstract

This master thesis has five chapters. In the first chapter, I highlight the main motivation for this study which is to find out answers to if Al-Jazeera Arabic news through its website www.aljazeera.net has changed its media coverage of the war in Yemen with time. And if so, can this change be related to the theory of mediatization of politics (chapter one). In chapter two, I discuss how mediatization as a theory has been introduced in different aspects of life. Many would argue that we live in a mediatized world today where different institutions have become dependent on the media and their logic. I also elaborate on Al Jazeera's role as a media institution and its relation to mediatization, agenda setting theory and the Arab spring. Data collected for this study is 687 news articles that are analyzed quantitatively using content analysis. Internal consistency, reliability and validity tests have been measured and coded (chapter three). In chapter four, I discuss results that show similarities and differences in news coverage on Al-Jazeera over different periods from the quantitative data. I also analyze and discuss opinion polls obtained from Al Jazeera news channel and news articles. Further, I conclude with a summary and recommendations for future studies (chapter 5). My main findings is that the tone and angles of Al Jazeera's news articles about the war in Yemen have changed. The change is significant and coincides with the state of Qatar, the owner and financier of Al Jazeera, falling out with its former ally Saudi Arabia. The key findings are that negative coverage of the war increased from 4,5% percent in 2015, to 32,6% percent in 2019. In 2015, 43,55% percent of the news articles in Al Jazeera Arabic had a positive angle on the military operations in Yemen. In 2019, only 2,1 % percent of Al Jazeera's news articles had a positive angle regarding the Saudi-led coalition’s military activities in Yemen.
List of Abbreviations

GCC   Gulf Cooperation Council

AJ    Al Jazeera

BBC   The British Broadcasting Corporation

CNN   Cable News Network

UN    United Nations
Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

Over the last eight years, a wave of political protests took place in many Arab countries including Yemen. The protests became known in the media as the Arab spring. In Yemen, the uprisings took place at the end of January of 2011, where thousands of people protested corruption, unemployment, and unstable economic conditions. As the situation escalated, neighboring countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates became uneasy. The GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) and the UN (United Nations) facilitated a vast national dialogue in Yemen alongside different political groups to muffle the escalated situation in the country. However, by the end of the national dialogue, a series of events took place until eventually the military intervention led by Saudi Arabia and its allies on March 26, 2015 started\(^1\). The justification offered was that the Houthis are a dangerous destabilizing force, ideologically linked and backed by Iran. Saudi Arabia argues that the airstrikes are necessary to restore stability. One of the main allies of the war to the Saudi coalition is Qatar. In order to understand more about the relationship between media and politics, it is assumed that one need to look at the geopolitical relationship regionally. In chapter two, I analyze the background of the political relationship between some of the Arab countries including Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Yemen closely. This thesis will look at articles published online on Al-Jazeera Arabic news channel. This master thesis is unique because it analyzes aspects of the mediatization theory of politics and its relation to the role of media during the war on Yemen. One of the main questions is to study if Al-Jazeera's news coverage
has changed during war times and if so, what has changed. The Saudi-led coalition on Yemen has caught some media attention but not much. The news coverage of the war on Yemen may have been prone to inertia because of the huge extend of the ongoing Syrian conflict. Nevertheless, news coverage during and before war in Yemen is the main interest of this thesis. The thesis will look into the Yemeni conflict through the analysis of the Mediatization theory. Mediatization is according to Hjarvard (2013), “The process whereby culture and society to an increasing degree become dependent on the media and their logic” (p.7). He argues that the mediatization process is characterized by a duality, in that the media have become integrated into different aspects of life such as social and cultural atmosphere. On the other hand, Hjarvard argues that the media acquires the status of social institution in their own. The duality I refer to in this master thesis is concerned with Al-Jazeera as a media institution acquiring their social independence, though receiving funds from the Qatari state. The other part of the duality is looking at how Al-Jazeera has become integrated into the social and political atmosphere in Yemen through its digital news, reports and opinion polls. Having said that mediatization is characterized by a duality, Lundby (2009), argues that this brings the “phenomenon down to concrete processes that could be analyzed empirically” (p.6).

The thesis tests the hypothesis if digital news on Al-Jazeera channel in Arabic is mirroring or contradicting some features of the mediatization theory, particularly in politics. While Al-Jazeera as a news channel may have achieved the status of a semi-independent and social institution on their own, their news have become articulated into society, war and military conditions. The Saudi led coalition included ten Arabic countries with Qatar, which runs Al-Jazeera channel as a state channel. The claim is to test the hypothesis that media may or may not have changed their digital coverage on the war in Yemen, as Qatar’s political stands varied as a state. The thesis points out the mediatization theory of politics with its features to explore to what extent the political system and its major components can be expected to adjust to the logics of the news media from a non-western perspective. Coming from Yemen myself, I realize that the topic is fresh. Few researchers have done work related to mediatization in the Middle East. I believe that analyzing this war in different periods from a theoretical perspective can bring forward many questions but also some answers to the relationship between war and media in the Arab region. The thesis will answer questions such as if Al-Jazeera changed its coverage of the war in Yemen with time and if so what has changed. I will also study if any of this change in coverage can be explained by the theory of mediatization.
1.2 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to analyze online news articles covering the conflict in Yemen by the Saudi-led coalition in 2015. The periods I’m analyzing are February 2015, February 2017 and February 2019. The main claim is that Al Jazeera has changed its news coverage over time. The theory of Mediatization may or may not foregrounds observable changes in media coverage of the war in Yemen. Features of the mediatization theory that are analyzed are establishment of the media as an opinion industry, personalization, conversational of politics and development of political commentary. Within this context, I look closer at the main four stages concerning mediatization of politics which are mediation, the degree to which Al Jazeera is independent from political actors involved in the Yemeni conflict. A third stage is the degree to which Al Jazeera’s content is governed by a political logic or by media logic. Lastly, the degree to which political actors are governed by a political logic or by media logic.

1.3 Hypothesis and Research questions

My broad hypothesis is that Al Jazeera's coverage of the Yemeni war changed as Qatar's political standpoint varied and the theory of mediatization is relevant to Al Jazeera's changing coverage. The second hypothesis is that the conflict in Yemen may or may not reflect some features of the mediatization theory of politics in specific. Some of the questions we will be looking at are:

1. Has Al Jazeera changed its coverage of the war in Yemen with time? (Yes / no and how?)
2. Can any of this change in coverage be explained by the theory of mediatization?

1.4 Importance of this study

Coming from Yemen myself, I recognize that the topic is fresh and relevant to media and conflict studies. As a matter of fact, one of the challenges I faced was the lack of information
and research of coverage of online news articles on the Yemeni conflict. Not many have studied the relationship between media and war through the lens of the mediatization theory in the Arab region. Therefore, I believe that this study is important because it contributes to understanding the role of media and politics in Yemen in specific and the Arab world in general. I would love to argue that the importance of this study comes from three angles in my opinion. The first one is that the topic of media is relevant and its relationship to conflicts has been of interest for many for a long time. In the case of the Yemeni conflict, I refer to media of journalism as in publishing articles online and broadcasting on the internet. According to Cottle (2006), “Nonetheless, historically and to this day, journalism remains the principal convenor and conveyor of conflict images and information, discourses and debates, and for this reason deservedly takes the lion's share of discussion” (p.3). The second reason is that the newness of the mediatization theory makes the approach to this master thesis contemporary. Lundby (2009) states “The concept of mediatization helps to grasp the influence of mediated communication in late modern complex societies” (p.9). The third reason is because Al Jazeera covers a huge geographical population and reaches many viewers with their news, videos and also recently podcasts. The Arab region is inhibited by over 400 million people who speak Arabic inside. Not to mention those who live abroad. Al jazeera as a regional media institution has positioned itself as an Arab pan channel. This attracts many viewers and I believe that it is interesting to study news published by Al Jazeera in order to understand more about the essence of the channel’s media logic within the scope of the Yemeni conflict. Zayani (2005) argues that “ Al Jazeera distinguished itself by its attempt to reach out to a large Arab audience, discussing issues that are pressing in the Arab and Muslim world, in general, and in the conflict-ridden Middle east in particular” (p.6). However, due to lack of research and information done on the role of media during war in Yemen, I believe that this research can contribute to understanding the relationship between journalism and politics better. I recognize that the conflict in Yemen is at its early stages and there are many other interesting aspects to look at rather than my study.

1.5 My Interest in the Topic as a Journalist

My interest in this topic as a journalist lies in both freedom of expression and freedom of press. In addition, it is also of interest to contribute to critical research and knowledge about
the information and news presented to millions of people in the Middle East. After the Arab spring in 2011, I was inspired to study journalism and acquire the knowledge that helps build a better society in Yemen locally and for the world globally. Press in Yemen has a multitude of media outlets that are governmentally based but also private. There are newspapers representing different political parties in the country from the communist party to the Salafist and Islamist party. However the ongoing war and conflict has severely affected the climate for the free press. It is also likely that the outcome of the war will have a significant impact on the conditions for freedom of speech and press in Yemen. The news presented to the Arab audience through Al Jazeera, might have an effect on the public opinion on the ongoing conflict. For me, it is of great interest to examine and research the information that is presented to the greater Arab audience. I want to acquire more information and articles that possibly can have an impact on the future of journalism in Yemen, and also the country and its people at large.

1.6 Structure of the study

The study introduces some of the history in Yemen during the Arab spring and the power relation between different political parties currently. In the first chapter, I introduce the background of the research and thesis. Sure enough, I mention the hypothesis with its research questions and I name why I believe this study is important. In the second chapter, naturally, the theory of mediatization is presented alongside its aspects, processes and dimensions. I go on with arguing the difference between mediation and mediatization. Agenda setting, media logic and political logic are defined in chapter two within Al Jazeera’s channel. Further, I write more about Al Jazeera’s role during the Arab spring and the current political landscape in the Arab region. The third chapter covers how data is collected and the main methodology used which is content data analysis, its reliability, validity and generalizability. I introduce data coded quantitatively. Further, Chapter four will contain the presentation and discussion of quantitative findings obtained by content analysis, while chapter five will provide discussions and findings acquired by qualitative text analysis to four main news articles. I conclude in chapter five and I recommend with future studies.
1.7 Data collection methods and analysis

Data is collected in three stages. The first one is collecting opinion polls published before and during the war to get a closer understanding of the concept of mediatization of politics within the theory. The second stage is collecting digital news articles published online before, during the war on Yemen and during diplomatic tensions between coalition partners. This will allow direct comparison, and through content analysis, I will be able to put numbers into the variables and figures which will allow the study of changes. This is however the primary data for this study is. Further, I collect seven news articles for qualitative text analysis and 16 opinion polls published on Aljazeera net.

1.8 Limitations and challenges

One of the challenges I faced while working on this masters is the lack of research on the role of media in the Arabic gulf and Yemen. There has not been much research done applying the mediatization theory of politics on the role of media during war in Yemen. The idea is to fill this gap by this work. The other limitation is my background as a journalist that may be challenging when becoming a researcher. There are some expectations associated with researchers when it comes to neutrality and it is hard for myself as a journalist to criticize my own branch or report about my home country Yemen. Indeed, the war on Yemen took place while I was studying abroad but this allowed me to look at the conflict from an external perspective. As a journalist, one needs to follow an ethical guideline where one needs to seek the truth, reports it while acting independently. I believe that this doesn't necessarily contradict directly with the role as a researcher but I have tried throughout this master thesis to use my knowledge and background while assuming the role as researcher. Having a background as a journalist has allowed me to understand how to find news and report it which can be an advantage while working as a researcher to analyze data and discuss it in prospect to theory. I have, however, most of my journalistic career worked as a freelance journalist and this might help me assert and balance the role as a researcher.
Chapter two
Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter locates the study within the current groundwork research on mediatization theory. I focus on four features of mediatization of politics discussed by Hjarvard (2013). I study opinion polls published on Al jazeera.net and connect its findings to the theory of mediatization of politics with its different features. Afterwards, I focus on the four main aspects of mediatization of politics offered by Strömbäck model (2008) and connect it to the thesis. I go on explaining the difference between mediation and mediatization, political logic and media logic. I conclude with Al Jazeera’s relation to agenda setting, political logic and media logic. This chapter finds the connectivity between the theory and existing research questions.

2.1 What is Mediatization?

Mediatization has been introduced in different aspects of life. Many would argue that we live in a mediatized world today where different institutions have become dependent on the media and their logic. (Hjarvard 2013) defines mediatization as: “The process whereby culture and society to an increasing degree become dependent on the media and their logic” (p.17). He argues that the mediatization process is characterized by a duality, in that the media have become integrated into different aspects of life like social and cultural atmosphere. On the other hand, the media acquires the status of social institution in their own. This brings the phenomenon down to concrete processes that could be “analyzed “empirically” (Lundby,
Mediatization refers to a social change process in which media have become increasingly influential in and deeply integrated into different spheres of society (Strömbäck, Esser, 2014, p.246). Coming back to Hjarvard (2013), he distinguishes between a direct (strong) and an indirect (weak) form of mediatization in order to differentiate between their way of communication. In direct mediatization, formerly non-mediated activity converts to a mediated form, for example, online banking and online shopping. Indirect mediatization is when the media and their symbolic world in terms of form, content, context by media or organization increasingly influence an existing activity (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 20). An example of that can be online news platforms as in Al Jazeera news website. Indirect mediatization is the focus of this thesis where the media influences an existing activity along with the direct form of mediatization where online news becomes the way to access information. Many scholars note that the mediatization theory mainly is interested in changes to the different fields of everyday life, culture, and society. Empirical questions and results thus can be classified according to whether these changes take place on a micro, meso, or macro level (Lundby, 2009, p.32). Moreover, Krotz (2017) explains that the term “mediatisation” has actually come into the public sphere back in the 1990s. He further notes that towards the end of the twentieth century, scholars tried to develop this concept systematically in order to analyse the actual transformation of everyday life, culture and society in the context of media change and to make it a central concept of an empirically and theoretically directed approach. Krotz continues to argue that scholars were interested in a common goal: the simultaneous analysis of media transformation and the related social transformation of everyday life, culture and society. (p.105). Within this context, some researchers believe that empirical data through mediatization can be confusing. According to Deacon and Stanyer (2014) there are major concerns when it comes to the validity of the methodology. In their article (Mediatization: key concept or conceptual bandwagon?) they argue that the term implies a process of historical change, but how is this conceptualized and analyzed and is there any agreement as to when mediatization started and where things currently stand? What the researchers did is that they surveyed for references made to ‘mediatization’ in articles published in 14 leading media and communication journals over a 10-year period from 2002 to 2012. Searching for the word ‘mediatization’, they found 93 articles mentioning the word at least once and they found that ‘in the vast majority of cases (81 percent), the word was just : “mentioned in passing, more casually invoked than defined and operationalized with no clear reference as to which type of mediatization was being referred to”. (Deacon and Stanyer, 2014, p.1034). The results revealed that the term was rarely defined and infrequently rooted in
empirical work. The authors further argue that mediatization is media-centered. Deacon and Stanyer (2014) claim that it is necessary to consider a wide set of possible interactions between the factors involved at the contextually relevant macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of mediatization. Researchers such as Hepp 2015, Hjarvard 2013 and Lundby 2009 agree on that criticism as they also point out an important thought: “Mediatization is not a one-way street and nor are the outcomes similar across different domains” (Hepp et al. p.317). However, they further explain that there is a distinction between media-centric and media centered: “Being media-centric is a one sided approach to understanding the interplay between media, communications, culture, and society, whereas being media-centered involves a holistic understanding of the various intersecting social forces at work at the same time as we allow ourselves to have a particular perspective and emphasis on the role of the media in these processes” (Hepp et al., 2015, p3). Put simply, mediatization is the process where different aspects of culture and society become dependent on the media and their logic. Scholars have been interested in analyzing media transformations and its relation to many other aspects such as culture, society and politics.

2.2 Mediatization of politics features and dimensions

Mediatization of politics can be defined as the: “process by which the political institution is gradually becoming dependent on the media and their logic” (Hjarvard, 2013, P. 43). Taking this explanation into consideration, the fact that the political institutions become dependent on the media logic could be of interest when analyzing Al-Jazeera Arabic website www.Aljazeera.net. Mediatization is, in fact, argued that it is a phenomenon that is common to the political systems of many free and democratic countries, where it has taken different shapes and developed at different speeds. However, it has in most cases proved impossible to contain because the media have assumed the character of “necessity” in the political domain (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999, p.249). This might lead the reader to think that this definition is concerned directly with democratic countries, or countries that have an established role where the media holds some kind of a citizenry point of view. However, this definition may not necessarily apply to other media institutions that also play an important political role. Political institutions can include other kinds of political organizations and systems such as absolute monarchy. Mediatization is not necessary concerned with democratic societies but it can be seen in other types of political systems that could drive a systemic way to approaching the
media production of news. Therefore, this thesis is important because it studies political systems that are not necessarily democratic or parliamentary based. This could cover many existing systems in the world that does not only include Europe in the north for example but other countries in the south such as in the Middle East. Having said that, a citizenry point of view has developed with the rise of technology and the production of news itself. Citizen journalism has been a rising concept where ordinary citizens with the use of everyday tools such as mobile phones produce news from their surroundings. Duffy, Thorson and Jahng (2010) have defined a "citizen journalist" as an individual, who is not a trained professional within journalism and have not necessarily went to school with an academic background, but who nonetheless may report on his or her neighborhood, surroundings and community. This is not the main focus of the thesis but it is important to have in mind that the public itself as citizen journalists can be a part of the production of today’s news and that the landscape is changing. Researchers have been interested in studying how media has an effect on public opinions and politics and now how politics for example has become dependent on the media logic. Some argue that the process of mediatization of political actors, political events, and political discourse is a major trend in political systems of the 1990s (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999, p.248). It is a phenomenon that dates back at least to the introduction of television, but it has certainly gained speed with the expansion and commercialization of media systems and the modernization of politics (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999, p.248). Nevertheless, many would agree that some of the first social scientific works on mediatization were in the field of politics. That why I focus on mediatization of politics in the Arab region. Hjarvard (2013) mentions clearly that the process of mediatization of politics is a two sided coin as a double edged sword. He says:

“The media become integrated into the daily practices of political organizations. By using press meetings, websites, blogs, etc. the media come to serve political ends at the same time as political organizations and individual political actors in the process of “internalizing” these media must accommodate the media’s logic. (p.43)

One cannot help but think that there must be some features that can differentiate mediatization of politics more than others. Indeed, “A key outcome of the mediatization of politics is the establishment of the media as an opinion industry” (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 51). Once opinion industry is established, three other features are argued show some features of mediatization. The first one is restructuring of the political communication process, the personalization and conversational of politics and finally the emergence of a new class of political commentators.
in the media. (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 52). In an attempt to breaking down the concept of mediatization of politics, Strömbäck (2008) puts forward a model that contains four stages to explain in depth more about the process of mediatization of politics. This model assumes that the mediatization of politics is a dynamic process where changes are allowed and possible during the assessment. The first aspect of the mediatization of politics is the degree to which the media constitute the most important or dominant source of information on politics and society. A second aspect is the degree to which the media are independent from political institutions in terms of how the media are governed. A third aspect is the degree to which the media content is governed by a political logic or by media logic. A fourth aspect, finally, is the degree to which political actors are governed by a political logic or by media logic (Strömbäck, 2008, p.234). Figure (1) sums the dimensions.

![Figure 1: Dimensions of Mediatization of politics put by Strömbäck.](image)

### 2.3 Mediation vs. Mediatization

To study the mediatization of politics, we need to clarify the difference between mediation and mediatization. Mediatization seeks to capture the nature of the interrelationship between historical changes in media and communication and other transformational processes. Hence mediatization presumes mediation through media communication (Hepp, 2013, P.38). Mediated politics does not necessary equal mediatized politics. Mediatized politics is politics that has lost its autonomy, has become dependent in its central functions on mass media, and
is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999, p.249). This is a process not unique to politics; rather, all experiences from the micro level of identity formation to the macro level of politics and society are purportedly increasingly mediated and mediatized (Strömbäck, 2008, p.229). On the most general level, mediated politics refers to a situation in which the media have become the most important source of information and vehicle of communication between the governors and the governed (Strömbäck, 2008, p.230). In mediatized politics, people depend on the media for information about politics and society in a broad sense of the words, just as politicians and other powerful elites depend on the media for information about people’s opinions and trends in society, and for reaching out to people. Stated differently, the media mediate between the citizenry, on one hand, and the institutions involved in government, electoral processes, or, more generally, opinion formation, on the other (Strömbäck, 2008, P.230). We can see this feature of mediatization clearly through the conduct of opinion polls on Al-Jazeera.net about the Saudi led coalition war on Yemen. An example of mediatized politics in this thesis is that the public depends on Al-Jazeera for information about the war in Yemen. Just as the military institution leading Decisive Storm counts on the media for information about people’s opinions and attitudes.

2.4 Why Al-Jazeera Arabic Channel?

There are three reasons why I choose Al-Jazeera Arabic news channel. The first one is because Al Jazeera as a channel has managed to position itself to gain an edge over other Arab channels regardless the competition that started in 1990s with the establishment of satellite TV channels in the Arab region. El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2002) claim that: “Al-Jazeera has successfully identified characteristics of the Arab audience that show similarities, as well as difference. By detecting and highlighting the links that connect Arabs worldwide, Al-Jazeera has become part and parcel of the Arab world. It speaks to and for it”. (p.20). Accordingly, Al-Jazeera launched its online website in 2001. During its 18 years young history, Al Jazeera.net has established itself as a popular and main source of news for Arab-speaking audiences regionally and globally. The second reason is because Al Jazeera as a channel has a “notable tendency to align itself with public opinion”. (Zayani, 2005, p.74). This is relevant when analyzing opinion polls from the network. Since Al Jazeera is one of the biggest media channels in the Arab region, it does seem as it understands the importance of formulating public opinion. Zayani (2005) notes that: “Al-Jazeera seems to understand the
power of public opinion and the role it plays in formulating public policy” (p.202). The last reason is that despite its funding from the state, Al Jazeera has established itself from other Arabic networks as autonomous and somehow independent from the Qatari states funding. Zayani (2005) explains that:

“Of course, autonomy and independence are relative concepts for, after all, Al Jazeera is governed by a board of directors that is chaired by Sheikh Hamad Bin Thamer Al Thani, a member of Qatar's ruling family. Still, the idea of a T.V channel that is government financed and yet independence is all together new to the region. This independence and autonomy led Al Jazeera a great deal of credibility and creativity. At least in the Arab world, it is perceived by many viewers as a credible source of news” p.17

Put differently, there are three reasons why I mainly choose Al Jazeera news channel as the main source for this master thesis study. The first one is because it is the largest and biggest media institution in the Arab region, the second is because of its tendency to align with public opinion and lastly because Al Jazeera has established itself as somehow autonomous from the Qatari state.

### 2.5 Al Jazeera and Agenda Setting

Many researchers have been interested in studying media effects and its relation to public influence. One of the most known scholars is Walter Lippmann, where in his book, Public Opinion 1922, argues that the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind.” (p.29). Some argue that because of Al Jazeera news channel, Arab viewers were actually somehow exposed to a better understanding to their surrounding and issues surrounding them. Zayani (2005) notes:

“Up until the emergence of Al Jazeera, Arab leaders thought they could consolidate their power by controlling the media. Upon coming to power, Sheikh Hamad did exactly the opposite, and, at least so far, he has not lost his bet. Al Jazeera has in fact made it possible for Qatar to impose itself on the regional scene. It has helped reduce Saudi influence, giving Qatar the opportunity to emerge, and in fact, to become the privileged ally of the Americans in the Gulf, before even Saudi Arabia and Kuwait” (P. 63).
Zayani (2005) further explains that Al Jazeera has exercised influence without power through Al Jazeera referring to it as soft power with a soft hand. He says that Al Jazeera has become a power at the tiny gulf emirate and thus positioning itself as an important international player. “The soft power Al Jazeera puts in the hands of Qatar inescapably makes the later part of the Arab political game” (p.76). However, in order to understand more about agenda setting, one needs to define media logic. Asp (2014) argues that in order to understand media logic or what he calls” news media logic”, we need to look at the two forces driving it: the emergence of independent and powerful media institutions and the increased media dependency of social actors. Media’s effect on the public and power relations has been studied since the first political communication studies (Asp, 2014, p. 257). Here, I look closer at media logic and political logic within Al Jazeera news channel to understand its relation to the Saudi led coalition war in Yemen.

2.6 Media logic vs. Political logic in Al Jazeera

By looking at mediatization of politics, Hjarvard (2013) speaks of a holistic view of the media and politics that also considers the duality of structure and agency. Hjarvard defines media logic by referring to the institutional, aesthetic and technological modus operandi of the media, including the ways in which media distribute material and symbolic resources and operate with the help of formal and informal rules (Hjarvard, 2013, P. 43). Other researchers might refer to media logic as the assumptions and processes for constructing messages within a particular medium (Altheide, 2004, p.4). Altheide and snow (1979) introduced the term media logic and described it as a specific “format”. Format defines how material is organized, the style of presentation, the focus or emphasis, and the “grammar” of the mediated communication ( Altheide and snow, 1979, p.10). Format is referred to as the selection and presentation of information. Format in this thesis is referred to the presentation of the news articles and what their body contains from the focus of the message, grammar and structural organization such as headline, text, pictures, and sources. Mazzoleni regards media logic as the combination of a commercial logic, a technological logic and a cultural logic, the process that shape the nature of the changes brought by mediatization (Lundby, 2009, p.8). One of the main questions in the mediatization of politics is media logic and political logic as discussed.
above and they come out different as the relationship between media and politics varies. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), there are three main media system models: Liberal Model, Democratic Corporatist Model and Polarized Pluralist Model.

“the Liberal Model is characterized by a relative dominance of market mechanisms and of commercial media: the Democratic Corporatist Model by a historic coexistence of commercial media and media tied to organized social and political groups, and by a relatively active but legally limited role of the state; and the Polarized Pluralist model by integration of the media into party politics, weaker historical developments of commercial media, and a strong role of the state” (p.11).

One could argue that Al Jazeera news channel falls under the definition of polarized pluralist model. Since its launch in 1996, Al Jazeera has been owned by the government of Qatar and even though Al Jazeera Media Network continually states that they are editorially independent form the the state of Qatar, they have been criticized for being a propaganda tool for the Qatari state as a foreign affairs tool. There is a tendency to criticizing Al Jazeera for its patterns in the use of its media coverage as a tool to intervene in political affairs in the Arab world. However, some argue that Al Jazeera has not only filled a media gap but a political gap. Zayani (2005) notes that: “In the absence of political will and political pluralism in the Arab world, Al Jazeera serves as a de facto pan-Arab opposition and a forum for resistance. It provides a voice for Arab opposing views and a high-profile pattern platforms for political dissidents many of whom live abroad” (p.2). I must explain that the interest does not lay on whether Al Jazeera plays a major role in political systems regionally or internationally but I'm interested in finding out how the political logic is defined where political organizations or politicians may be more or less dependent on the media. There may also be considerable variation among news articles published on Al Jazeera net regarding the degree of mediatization along each the political logic and media logic while covering the war on Yemen led by the Saudi led coalition with time. What I will be studying closely is the definition of media logic ancered by Frank Esser (2013). Esser explains that media logic consists of three main aspects. They are professional, commercial, and technological aspects. (Esser, 2013, p.168). The three constitutes of news media logic. He argues that being professional means that journalism is differentiated as an occupation and institution from other social institutions particularly politics. There is a distinct set of professional norms like protecting sources and separating news from advertisements and thirdly the media institution is recognized by
society as a “public trust”. When it comes to professionalism in Al Jazeera network, one can find that Al Jazeera has its own logo in its website and you can see a clear distinct between advertisements and news production. Al Jazeera has something that is called “Mithaq Al-Sharaf Al-Mehani” which means codes of ethics to regulate their profession within journalism ethically. The institution also has something they call “Dalil Al-Soulok Al-Mehanie” which gives a guide to the professional conduct manual for journalists working in the channel. As a media network, Al Jazeera offers courses and studies in professional journalism. Al Jazeera has reached Arab audience and gained their trust because of not only language favoritism which is modern standard Arabic but also because of the notion of Arabism. Zayani (2005) explains that the new notion of Arabism manifests itself to a certain degree in the very image of the network projects itself-its staff, its language, its name, and its location. Al Jazeera employs people from various Arab nations. Its staff, some of whom came out of the BBC Arabic service, are Arabs from almost every corner of the Arab world, with no apparent domination of any single group (p.7).

In the second aspect, commercialization where newsrooms are separated from business departments such as advertising and marketing. Media logic adapted to these new market realities by deploying many of these proven strategies and tactics to reaffirm boundaries that had long started to erode: boundaries between news and advertisements, facts and opinion, public service and commerce (Van Dijck and Poell, 2013,P.4). As a result, so-called public values were transported outside its institutional sphere to enhance corporate or state legitimacy. Al-Jazeera as a media institution drives its media logic through the standardized procedures that seem neutral. Neutral presentation by the anchors, coverage of events by the reporters, commentaries by authoritative voices- formats that are widely adopted and imitated outside media proper (VanDijck and Poell, 2013, P.4) In the third aspect, Esser refers to how applied communication technologies shape content in production and reproduction process. One can find this aspect in Al Jazeera's website where social networks links are visible for example and in some news articles there is the possibility to writing comments from the audience. Esser sums media logic in the following table:

<table>
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<th>News Media Logic</th>
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21
The catchwords of the debate about media power triggered especially in European political communication scholarship by such cases—“videocracy,” “démocratie médiatique,” and even “coup d’état médiatique”—all are symbolic depictions of the feared consummation of improper developments in the relationship of media and politics (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999, p.248). On that note, some scholars argue that the rise of non-government media in the Arab world has been accompanied by the rise of a corporate feudalism, in which members of royal families would be politicos and cronies of national leaders have come to dominate the media landscape (Pintak, 2010 p.294). In a recent study published researchers Wolfsfeld, Segev and Sheafer (2013) argue that when studying the role of social media in collective actions, such as in the case of the Arab Spring, politics comes first both analytically and chronologically. Politics comes first analytically, because it is a mistake to attempt to understand the role of any media in any political process without thinking about the surrounding political environment. Just as importantly, politics comes first chronologically, in that a rise in the number of extensive protests is more likely to precede changes in the use of social media than to follow it. International Journal of press and politics. Some might ask the question if Al-Jazeera can be an agent of political change or if it is just as news channel. According to Ibish and Abunimah, 2001:“ Al Jazeera presents the best trends of openness and democratization in the Arab world”. However, some argue that the Arab public seems to be content with satellite democracy.“ The margin of freedom that some media networks enjoy gives the illusion of democracy and in doing so goes a long way toward postponing real political reform”. (Zayani, 2005, p.33). Zayani argues that this increases marginalization of the role of the media in development and modernization. Nevertheless, this research is not interested in looking at the improper development for the media power neither at the power holders but at changes occurring at Al Jazeera as a media institution as forms to understating

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Professional aspects</th>
<th>Commercial aspects News-production according to economically motivated rationales</th>
<th>Technological aspects Medium-specific technological conditions of news-production</th>
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<tr>
<td>News-production according to distinctively journalistic norms and criteria</td>
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**Table 1:** The three constituents of news-media logic
mediatization. Having said that, it is important to take a look at the political logic that might be driving the media logic in the media institution. According to Meyer (2002), political logic consists of both a policy dimension and a process dimension where they are the effort to find solutions for politically defined problems and to gain official acceptance for the choice of the action. (p.12). Variances might occur across time and may also be dependent on the current political situation. For example, in times of war, there is a strong tendency for the media to “rally around the flag” and accept the precedence of politics over the media. There might also be differences across countries, depending partly on whether they belong to the liberal, the democratic corporatist, or the polarized pluralist model of media and politics (Strömbäck, 2008, p.235). Coming back to the definition of political logic by Esser (2013). He explains that there are three major aspects of political logic: Policy aspects, Politics aspects and Polity aspects. He sums political logic in the following table:

Table 7.1 The three constituents of political logic

<table>
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<th>Political logic</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Policy aspects</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy- and decision based 'production' of politics</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Politics aspects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power- and publicity-gaining 'self-presentational' politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polity aspects</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Institutional framework conditions of politics</td>
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While analyzing empirical data from news articles in Al Jazeera net, I will look closely at the political logic throughout different periods of news production. I conclude my discussion of media logic and political logic by reiterating that media logic consists of professional aspects, commercial aspects and technological aspects. While political logic consists of policy aspects, politics aspects and polity aspects. This is useful because it highlights aspects of mediatization through its media logic or political logic in Al Jazeera channel and its news related to the coverage on the war in Yemen. However, when studying and comparing empirical processes of mediatization of the Yemeni conflict, results vary. It appears to be its limitation as well
because models can very much vary from country to country depending on their political environment.

2.7 Al Jazeera and the coverage of the Arab Spring

As the shift in the twentieth century in the news has been transformed from print paper media into digital media, numerous changes have tagged along. One of which is the use of internet. Internet has made accessibility faster and easier to information. The rise of the use of electronic devices means that journalists, politicians and military personnel have to develop digital skills to communicate effectively with the audience. The relationship between social media, politics and conflict has been of interest for many researchers especially after the events of the Arab spring in late 2010. One cannot help but ask the question how Al-Jazeera Arabic channel covered the Arab spring. Not much research has been done on this topic but some articles were found. An article written by Khalid Al Haroub (2011), director of the media program at the Gulf research Center in the university of Cambridge, describes this. Al Haroub started his article with a modern joke in the Arab region. Three previous Egyption presidents met in hell and asked each other how their regimes fell. The first one being Nasser says that it was poison, Sadat says that he was assassinated, finally Mubarak says (Al-Jazeera). Al Haaroub argues that Al Jazeera was not neutral when covering the Arab Spring though they have been professional. He states that Al Jazeera became an important channel in Arab countries because it engaged with Arabic politics and supported some political and religious opposition that other mass media didn’t cover. Plus, it followed Qatar’s foreign policy that was supportive for Arab Spring in Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia but not in Bahrain. So, Aljazeera intended to cover Arab Spring except Bahrain because of Qatar’s policy as a state (Al Haroub 2011). Another interesting research to look at is done by Heidi A. Campbell and Diana Hawk in 2012. Their study investigates how Al Jazeera framed social media in relation to the revolutions and protests of the “Arab Spring” within its broadcast media coverage. A content analysis of Arabic language broadcasts appearing from January 25th through February 18th 2011, covering the protests in Tahrir Square, was conducted using the Broadcast Monitoring System (BMS) and Arab Spring Archive. Through this analysis, Campbell and Hawk see a number of common narratives being used by Al Jazeera to frame
social media and make claims about the influence they had on the protests and related social movements. By noting the frequency of social communications technologies referenced, ways in which these technologies were characterized and interpreting supporting themes with which they were identified helps illuminate the assumptions promoted by Al Jazeera regarding the role and impact of social communications technology on these events. Campbell and Hawk (2012) found out that while Al Jazeera was covering the Egypt revolution, it focused on social communication that was being used by the crowd who demonstrated and the political revolutions through sharing photos, videos, ideas on its social media pages. For instance, Al Jazeera viewed how Egyptians posted videos and photos about demonstrations on Facebook pages. Al Jazeera played an important role in shaping public views because it took videos from the events and repeating these clips and events shapes what the people think about the event. (Campbell and Hawk 2012). In conclusion, Al-Jazeera might have shaped social change during Arab spring that serves interests for Qatar's foreign policy. In regards to the news coverage of the Arab spring in Yemen by Al Jazeera, there has not been many research done on this topic. But Al Jazeera has covered the Arab uprisings in Yemen and its political process. From negotiations ending Saleh’s presidency to his deathii. Al Jazeera has also covered protests calling for the downfall of the regime. As a result of the uprisings, Tawakkol Karman known as “The Mother of the Revolution in Yemen” was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 in recognition of her work in nonviolent mobilization. However, she also lived in Qatar for a whileiii.

2.8 Geopolitical relations in the Arabian Gulf and Al Jazeera

Qatar is a prominent member in the council but yet have been approached many times by the Saudi foreign government with complains about particular programs or reports on the channel. One of the recent incidents has been the reporting of Al Jazeera on the Arab spring in Egypt. Some would argue that Al Jazeera as a channel played an important role in shaping public views because it took videos from the events and repeating these clips and events shapes what the people think about the event (N. Khasib, M. Ersoy, Campbell and Hawk 2012). One would argue that the news channel serves Qatar's policy in Arab region. Nevertheless, the same scenario seems to recur in the case of Qatar and Al Jazeera: each time
a government complains about a particular program on Al Jazeera, Qatar consistently maintains that it cannot interfere because of the editorial independence of the channel. (Zayani, 2005, p.49). The war on Yemen is led by the Arab Saudi coalition since 2015. Qatar was one of the countries that joined in the war until 2017. As we look closely at the articles published on Al-Jazeera net in chapter three, one cannot help but notice that news has taken different directions before and after the diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar deteriorated in the last three years. The diplomatic tensions started in 2014 between Qatar on the one side and Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Bahrain on the other. The later countries pulled out their diplomats, claiming that Qatar supported armed groups. Tensions with Qatar have generally revolved around its alleged support for political Islamic movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, as well as complaints about the Al Jazeera Media Network, which is based in Doha. The tension between the different parties involved continues today. The boycott of Qatar by four Arab countries since June 2017 will continue in 2019, UAE State Minister for cabinet Affairs has said in an online article published on gulf news at the beginning of the year. According to Hassan in an article published in Foreign policy in June 2018, the anti-Qatar quartet failed in its mission of forcing Qatar to accept its 13 demands, which included shutting down Al Jazeera and other media outlets said to be funded by Doha, and to cease support for various regional Islamist groups, ostensibly both Sunni and Shiite. The Qataris were also accused of what its critics labeled as treacherous support for the Houthis, a party of the Yemen war against which Doha was fighting according to Hassan (2018) in Foreign Policy. The Yemeni appointed government by the Saudi led coalition has been involved in the boycott and they stand as one of the four main Arabic countries boycotting the Qatari government. This is related to our current study because as we look closely at mediatization, we find that the political atmosphere has to some extent become dependent on the media and its logic. As the Yemeni government political stand views vary, so does the coverage of the media by Al-Jazeera. In addition, as the conflict between Qatar and Saudi Arabia shifts, so does the coverage of the news on the Yemeni conflict. The point is by addressing the strategic importance of Qatar and its media channel; we can study how Al-Jazeera may play a major role into its news coverage during the war on Yemen on a regional level. According to Zayani (2005), Qatar as a country projects an image of itself as modern. He says that when Sheikh Hamad bin Thamer Al Thani asked about the correlation between Al Jazeera and the state of Qatar he commented that:
“Al Jazeera is going in the same direction as the state of Qatar in its recent development…

This direction corresponds with the direction of the media, be it Al Jazeera or lifting censorship on local Qatari newspapers. The two go together in this state… The direction of Al Jazeera is a natural one that corresponds with the strategy Qatar is taking in this phase.”

(P.11-12)

However, the emir of Qatar did not launch Aljazeera to solve the Arab psyche or because he wanted a membership card at the local press club. He did it for the same reason he invited the US military to move its Gulf Central Command to Qatar- to make himself a player in the region (Pintak, 2010 p.294). According to Peterson (2004), there are two factors that have shaped Qatar’s integration and place in the international system. The first encompasses the constraint and problems of small states and the second is Qatar’s response to these constraints with a strategy of branding the state for survival. In Yemen for example in 2007, Qatar managed to mediate between the government of Saleh at that time and the Houthis to stop what is known as the fourth Saada war, named after the governorate where Houthis come from. By June 2007, the Qatari peace plan was in place where it included exile of Houthi leaders to Qatar. But this has failed and the war was back on while blaming Qatar for being Iran friendly and giving the Houthis an equal standing to the Yemeni government’. In a recent statement given by Qatar's ministry of defense to the Middle East monitor newspaper, he explains that Qatar maintains that it was “obligated” to join the conflict in Yemen, and despite allegations by the quartet over the Gulf rift after Qatar's dismissal from the Saudi coalition, Doha maintains that it was loyal to its Gulf neighbors.

In conclusion of chapter two, I define mediatization in general and mediatization of politics in specific. I study in details features of mediatization of politics defined by Hjarvard (2013) as a key outcome of the mediatization of politics about the coverage of Al Jazeera news on the Yemeni conflict. There are four main features: the establishment of the media as an opinion industry, restructuring of the political communication features, personalization and conversationalization of politics and development and dissemination of various forms of political commentary in the media. In addition, I explain the process of mediatization of politics using Strömbäck (2008) model that has four stages. The first aspect of the mediatization of politics is the degree to which Al Jazeera constitutes the most important or dominant source of information on politics and society. A second aspect is the degree to which Al Jazeera is independent from political institutions in terms of how the media are
governed. A third aspect is the degree to which the media content in Al Jazeera's news is
governed by a political logic or by media logic. A fourth aspect, finally, is the degree to which
political actors are governed by a political logic or by media logic. Within this context, I
define media logic and political logic and its relation to Al Jazeera media institution. I also
mention studies and researches done on the role of Al Jazeera during the Arab spring and its
relation to social media and I end with explaining the current geopolitical relationships to Al
Jazeera with other Arab countries including Yemen\textsuperscript{vi}. 
Chapter Three
Methodology

Since Al Jazeera channel launched its Arabic news website www.aljazeera.net in 2001, empirical studies have been few. To address this gap, a quantitative comparative approach study is selected. This chapter analyzes online news articles published on www.aljazeera.net about the war on Yemen. Overall, around 687 news articles are analyzed in the periods of February 2015, February 2017 and February 2019. This is to find answers to how Al Jazeera has covered the war in Yemen during this time and if there have been changes in its news coverage. To answer the second part of the question in which if there has been a degree of mediatization, I look closer at 16 opinion polls and six news articles with different tones. I use qualitative text analysis. Further, a brief discussion of sample, data collection and sampling procedures with reliability and validity tests follows. In addition, I explain how quantitative data is coded and present its findings.

3.1 Meditization as a Framework for Quantitative Data

When looking at the mediatization as a “Meta” process then we generalize the definition similarly to concepts as globalization, individualization, and commercialization (Krotz, 2009). The reason I look at the mediatization as a meta process is to establish “theoretical constructs resting in part upon empirical evidence, but which are not empirically verifiable in their entirety” (Hepp, 2013, p.49). This allows me to study if Al Jazeera has changed its media coverage on the war on Yemen and if so, how. A Meta process means having a theoretical approach to describing long term processes of change. In this case, we refer to the theory of mediatization as the main theoretical approach. Within this context, I have studied online news articles published on www.Aljazeera.net for almost four years. The period I looked at is from February 2015-February 2017 and February 2019. This allows me to study
change in a relatively intervalled time process. One can argue that it is not necessarily a long term process historically but a period of four years, allows for comparison to study changes in media coverage quantitatively. According to Hepp: “A meta process is not an empirical process in the sense that we can investigate it, like – for example – a certain discourse or a person crossing the street. Meta processes are superior theoretical approaches to describing long-term processes of change”. (Hepp, 2013, p. 38). As a result, a ‘meta process’ cannot be researched empirically as a single news article over a period of one day on Al-Jazeera.net. Only the accumulation of many articles over many years can give us an idea about the transformation process and the change of tone, if there is any. As a consequence, Krotz (2008) defines mediatisation as follows: “By mediatization we mean the historical developments that took and take place as a result of change in (communication) media and the consequences of those changes. If we consider the history of communication through music, or the art of writing, we can describe the history of human beings as a history of newly emerging media and at the same time changing forms of communication. The new media do not, in general, substitute for one another [...]” (P.23). Put simply, in using mediatization as the main theory, I would be able to analyze online news articles on www.Al jazeera.net quantitatively. This is because mediatization as a theory covers historical developments taking place as a result of change in media. I use content analysis as the main method to document quantitative results from online news articles in order to explore the ways in which Al-Jazeera Arabic news website has covered its daily news coverage on the Yemeni war.

3.2 Content Analysis

In order to answer the first question if Al Jazeera has changed its media coverage with time, yes, no and how, I use quantitative content Analysis to study news representations. The focus is typically on identifying key features of a body of news items, such as sources, positive or negative orientation, settings and ideologies (Kipperendorff and Bock, 2008, p.3). In this study, I look at the positive, neutral, negative, other and none orientations. Content analysis is a method which is used systematically to analyze written, verbal or visual documentation. Content analysis can be applicable to news articles published on Al Jazeera online covering the war on Yemen. (Robert Philip Weber, 1990) suggests that content analysis can be a useful technique for allowing us to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention. As such a wide variety of books, manuscripts, opinion polls
and news websites. I believe that content analysis is appropriate to use in this research because content analysis enables me as a researcher to describe article tones, attitudes, and content. On the other hand, content analysis allows inferences to be made, which can then be corroborated using other methods of data collection. Krippendorff (1980) notes that: “Content analysis research is motivated by the search for techniques to infer from symbolic data what would be too costly, no longer possible, or too obtrusive by the use of other techniques” (p.51) Allowing inferences makes analysis of thousands of online news articles possible and relevant. In statistics, one of the most common conceptualization of inference is population inference. It can be defined as the act of creating a statistical and numerical statement about a collection of objects. An example can be if 75% of the substance of the article is positive to the war, then one can assume that the tone of the article is positive. This could be referred to as population inference and content analysis allows for such an inference.

3.3 Limitations to Content Analysis in the Study

While analyzing online texts published on www.Al jazeera.net, a question of how traditional content analysis could embrace the analysis of the web content information emerged. According to Susan C Herring (2004), the term “web content analysis” in fact is ambiguous. She argues that two kinds of interpretations exist. The first one is the application of traditional content analysis techniques, narrowly construed, to the web. The second is the analysis of web content, broadly construed, using various traditional and non-traditional techniques. The second of which subsumes the first. (P47-66). I choose to apply the traditional way of content analysis because I would preserve some of its strong features such as classification and interrater reliability assessment. But most importantly, traditional content analysis involves a set of procedures that can be summarized in five steps that starts with formulating research questions or hypothesis and ends in the analysis of data collected. This is how the master thesis is built. In between the traditional process, the process of selection of samples, coding and the training of the coders alongside checking reliability of the coding is included. However, since I'm one person that is analyzing this thesis and no other coders are
involved, I test for intercoder reliability using Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ISS), with SPSS as I will explain later in detail in this chapter. Findings were the result of method triangulation. I used an inductive design on latent content which is content requiring judgment to assign coding values to news items, such as politics in Yemen before the war, political processes, dimensions, Saudi led coalition, diplomacy, humanitarian aid, famine, education, conflict and war. And a deductive design on manifest content - content that is observable and countable-, such as hyperlinks, pictures, publication date, videos, resources and structure (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 20; Neuendorf, 2002, p. 23). News articles analyzed online on Al Jazeera.net were limited to the text-based news articles and did not include audio or visual content from broadcasting to the Internet. As I was looking to analyze the news published on Al Jazeera, I found it easy to navigate in the website and most of the news articles I was looking for were accessed. To make sure that news articles have not been altered or changed, I printed the news articles in paper to have access to them when needed and to compare them together with the website content to see if there has been a change of content over the time. Which appears to be not. However, while working on gathering news in the last period of 2019, many articles were repeated and overlapped. Al Jazeera uses “iHorizons Knowledge Server” which is a powerful Arabic web content management system that powers some of the world’s largest Arabic news portals. It provides a combination of advanced web content management features with news-specific workflow management functionality suitable for large online news operations. Yet, problems with overlapping appeared. After understanding that many news articles were repeated in the period of 2019 in the website and this would have an impact on the results of the study, I decided to use a pragmatic method to secure that news articles analyzed were not repeated. I first printed out an overview of news articles published on Al Jazeera.net for the periods I analyze closer, which are February 2015, February 2017 and February 2019 in paper. I then counted each news articles manually for each period and wrote it down on paper. Later on, I compared the results from the obtained paper counting manually with the results from the website. I found out that 19 articles were repeated in the last period of 2019 that initially had a sample of 163. I reduced the sample to 144 for coding in 2019. Excluded stories comprised less than 3% of the material. Despite the margin of error introduced by this issue, the sample size of 687 items published in February 2015, February 2017 and February 2019 overcomes this problem. As I was coding news articles, another issue surfaced. Many news articles were not related to the research question about Al Jazeera’s coverage of the war in Yemen. As I assigned the category (None) for them, it seemed that they have topped most results in the period of
2017, 2019. I therefore decided to keep them in the analysis because they might give me an indication to finding better answers to my research questions. Even though assigning news orientations and tones was not an easy task but it was possible with content analysis, I still could not get a deeper understanding or a clear answer to how mediatization of politics may have changed media coverage about the Yemeni war and thus causing a limitation to my research to finding answer to the second question which is to which degree can the mediatization theory explain this change. That is why I decided to use a qualitative method in order to reach a better understanding of the meaning of the news articles and maybe the impact of certain features of mediatization of politics.

3.4 Qualitative Text Analysis and its limitation

The other method I use is qualitative text analysis. Because news items do not only hold a single set of meanings but many, I use qualitative text analysis to describe and interpret news articles structures, angels and sources. I use qualitative text analysis to find out what lies beyond the text in Al Jazeera news articles in connection to the time the article was published. Within this context, I use the theory from the second chapter in my text analysis. Text analysis is not only concerned with what the text says but studies the meaning of the text, (Østbye, 2013, p63). Qualitative text analysis is based on the results obtained by quantitative data in content analysis. The reason I choose this method is because it will help me find better answers to the second question which is if this change in media coverage can be explained by the mediatization theory. Tjora (2017) says that “Gathering of the data will give us increased insight about the topic” (p.28). Even though I discuss research questions with results obtained from content analysis, I still find it necessary to get a deeper explanation to how Al Jazeera changed its media coverage in light of the mediatization theory and gather information from within. This is a subjective review of the news articles and they are not as objective as in quantitative research. However, qualitative text analysis enables you to anchor the empirical results of your research and develop and test your theories based on the data” (Kuckartz, 2014, p.159). I also choose some opinion polls published on Al Jazeera net and analyze them to study their relation to the mediatization theory.
3.5 Data Collection

Data collected in this study was obtained in what I call primary resources and secondary resources. Primary data for this study is news collected from the Arabic news channel of AlJazeera: (https://www.aljazeera.net/), they are 687 news articles in total. Data was accessed from www.aljazeera.net two times a year. It was accessed 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019. Since it was my first time studying Al Jazeera, I wanted to make sure that data online was archived, not altered and not deleted. That is why I accessed often for four years. Every time there is access to www.aljazeera.net home page, one can find the search bottom to the left side beside another search bottom that is called LIVE Sending (El-Bath AlHay) at the very top of the website with a red color. See Image 1 underneath.


Data collected in this study was retrieved continuously by clicking on the search bottom called (Ebhath) in Arabic. This bottom takes you further to advanced search (Bahth Mutaqdem) which is a database for online articles published for years. I write the word (ElYemen) everytime I look for news articles for analysis. In Arabic the term (El) is to indicate the start of the word and is used to define the word. By using ElYemen, instead of only using Yemen, I secure that most of online news articles are included in the study during the search as you can see in image(2).
After writing ElYemen as the main word for finding articles to analysis, advanced search appear. Options found in advanced research used in this thesis are: 1- From date. 2- To date. 3- Categories. The category chosen is news (Al-Akhbar) in Arabic because this is the main source for data collection. Subsequently, news appearing online start with the latest date. Thus, I choose to click on the above box that has two options. From latest to oldest, and from oldest to latest. I choose the latter to have a chronological frame timeline for news as I demonstrate in image (3).
After collecting primary sources as in news articles from Al Jazeera website, I collect secondary data. They are seven main articles of the collected samples from different news tones. I also choose 16 opinion polls published in the period of 2010-2015.

### 3.6 Selection of Texts and Sampling

In this study, I have chosen to perform a purposive sampling process, which means it is “intended to obtain a particular group of study on the specific characteristic they possess” (Hay, 2016, p.453). The aim of this sampling method is “to uncover information-rich phenoma/ participants that can shed light on issues of central importance to the study” (Hay, 2016, p.453). The reason I choose this specific time is to study digital articles published before the war on Yemen, during the war and during the conflict between Qatar and Saudi Arabia. In doing so, I would be able to find data to answer the question if media coverage of Al Jazeera channel has changed with time and if there has been a mediatization degree in this change. The reason that I choose February 2015, is to analyze data just one month before the start of the war in Yemen. This will allow me to compare data to February 2017, which is during war in Yemen after almost two years to reduce the possibility of the “rally around the flag” concept and thus bias as discussed in chapter two. The third set of data is February 2019, almost two years after the diplomatic conflict between Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Emirates. The interval between the years had been two years at each time with odd numbers. This means that online news articles published on February 2015, February 2017 and February 2019 are...
analyzed. All together, Online news articles were 687 news articles. The reason that I didn't choose 2016 as year for analysis is because the conflict between coalition partners in the Gulf didn't take place at that time. Another reason for not choosing 2018 for analysis is to allow for change and reduce bias only one year after the conflict between the coalition partners started in 2017. Articles published in February 2015, which is the period before the war, were 310 news articles. In February 2017, number of articles was 214. This year of 2019, 163 articles were published in the month of February.

### 3.7 Categories in Al Jazeera News Articles

Since content analysis is a quantitative method, one needs to develop categories that can be assigned to numbers. In here, two main categories are developed to answer the following question: Has Al Jazeera changed its media coverage on the war on Yemen with time Yes/no, and can this change be explained by mediatization of politics? In order to find answers two main categories were developed: A. Time. B- Tone. Time as a category is divided into the following: 1- Before the war (February 2015). 2- During the war (February 2017). 3- During conflict between Coalition partners: Saudi Arabia, UAE and Qatar, (February 2019). The reason that there is no post war period is because the conflict in Yemen is still current and has not reached an end. However, in order to compare between different periods of time, one need to assign another category which is referred to as Tone. Tone of news articles is the second category. By article tone I mean content, subject and substance of the news. Article tones are divided into the following: 1. Positive. 2. Neutral. 3. Negative. 4- Other and 5.None I Use some news articles headlines as examples to demonstrate in which bases I decided to code the data accordingly.

Within this context, a **positive tone** means that 75% or more of the substance in the article is pro war. It is not easy to translate what pro war is directly. However, one can assume that news articles that include only one side of the story which is usually elite representation is positive. An example can be news that report of President Hadi, who currently lives in Riyadh, capital of Saudi Arabia, officials from Gulf countries such as military personnel, foreign ministries from Saudi Arabia and Emirates are considered with a positive tone. Such
examples of headlines news can be: “Saudi Arabia Considers Houthi Statement a Coup” article published in 09.02.2015. Another Example is: “A Gulf project in Security council to Condemn Coup in Yemen”, dated 12.02.2015. A third example of a headline can be: “Hadi explores in Riyadh the Yemeni development”, dated 06.02.2017. Another content that can be translated as positive is shedding a positive light on one group more than the other by using positive terms as liberating, resistance and legitimate. While other sides of the conflict receive terms such as dominating, militias, coup. One cannot help but notice that there is a tendency in polarizing the conflict between local parties in Yemen (South and North) and regional parties (Gulf and Iran). Example:“ National Coalition in Aden Rejects Houthi and holds to Hadi”, dated 15.02.2015. Another example “ Battles In Baydah and Emirates Protest Arming Houthis by Iran”, dated 02.02.2017. A third example is: “ Significance of Hadi transforming Yemeni Parliament to Aden”, dated 02.02.2017. A fourth article is “Al-Gubier calls to resist Iran's involvement in the region”, dated 03.02.2017. Al-Gubier was the Saudi Foreign minister in 2017.

Neutral tone in an online news article means that 75% or more of the body of the article is not pro nor against the coalition. There is some representation of different parties involved in the conflict. An example of a headline news can be:“ Houthi suggestions in Yemen and Hadi requires their withdrawal from Sanaa”, dated 01.02.2015. Another headline is:“ Attacks on Baydiah’s security and death of a Houthi leader in Ibb”, dated 01.02.2015. A third example is: “ Ben Omar Resumes political negotiations in Yemen today”, dated 09.02.2015. Ben Omar was the official UN envoy to Yemen in 2015. A last example is: “Houthis calls in the Parliament for meeting and Gaouf Tribes threatens them”, dated 13.02.2015.

A negative tone means that 75% or more of analyzed news articles has some forms of critique to the coalition war on Yemen or the political process prior. Other sides are interviewed in the articles that are opponent to the gulf coalition. There is direct or indirect criticism to the coalition including Saudi Arabia and UAE. There is some degree of covering war consequences of war, reasons and critique to the main coalition partners UAE and Saudi Arabia. News that include weapons export as well as considered with a negative tone. Here is some examples for headlines with their dates: E.g1: “Houthis give political powers three days to reach an agreement”, dated 01.02.2015. E.g 2:“Houthis declare that Riyadh is targeted by a ballistic missile”, dated 06.02.2017. E.g3: “A five-year account of Hadi’s rule in Yemen”, dated 23.02.2017. Another headline is: “Daily Beast: US investigators partok UAE nationals

Other is referred to news articles published on the humanitarian situation in Yemen, femin, health, diseases, economy, diplomacy, human rights, free press, literature, education and displacement. The body of the news is 75% or more with such themes. An example for refugees is: “Yemenis stranded in Malaysia .. Between poverty and nostalgia for their homeland”, dated 13.02.2019. Two example articles tackles the humanitarian situation in Yemen e.g: “UN: 24 million Yemenis need help or protection”, dated 14.02.2019. E.g 2: “Due to malnutrition, a generation of Yemeni children is threatened with loss”, dated 15.02.2019. This coming example is for health and diseases related issues. E.g: “Cancer patients in Yemen suffer lack of medication”, dated 13.02.2017. Other is also referred to news with food shortage and help, e.g: “Restaurants in Sana'a offer free meals to the poor”, dated 13.02.2017. Education is also a topic that is found in the Other tone as a category. E.g: “An academic year without books in Yemen”. 13.02.2017. Diplomacy and economy is also involved. E.g: “Yemenis in Europe take initiative solve their country's crisis”, dated 06.02.2015. E.g 2: “The Economic Implications of the Armed Conflict in Yemen”, dated 15.02.2015. One last thing to mention in this part, is that Other as a variable includes articles about Al Qaeda in Yemen. E.g: “4 dead from Al-Qaeda in Yemen with an American drone”.

Finally, None is a variable used to describe tone of news articles where 75% or more substance does not include the Yemeni war at all. When searching online for data, writing the word (ElYemen), other topics that are not necessarily involved with Yemen or the conflict appeared. This is to make the thesis exhaustive. An article about the cultivation of ear to a child from his rib in Britain was published in 02.02.2015. This article has appeared in the search and therefore taken into account. News about Mullah Krikar speaking to Al jazeera.net: State of the Caliphate demand of Muslims was published in 04.02.2015. Four examples are mentioned as follows. E.g 1: “Israeli writer: The Trump initiative confuses papers in the region”, dated 27.02.2017. E.g 2: “Trump renews his criticism of the American judiciary”, dated 11.02.2017. E.g 3: “Who did the UAE spy on in America?”, dated

Put simply, two main categories are analyzed: Time and Tone. Time is divided into three periods: 1. Before war, 2. During war, 3. During conflict between coalition partners. Tone is divided into five main variables where 75% or more of the body of news articles are either: 1. Positive, 2. Neutral, 3. Negative, 4. Other and 5. None.

**Sampling Procedure and Bias**

Early in the research process, after drafting research questions, the choice of three different periods of coverage in Al Jazeera news channel seemed as a natural choice as they possess the comparison characteristics to the periods Im studying that are before the war, during the war, and during the conflict between the Gulf states. This is to find out if there has been a change of news articles tones in Al Jazeera net. As I started gathering data, I obtained a huge set of news articles on Al Jazeera website that was around 9500 news articles. Thus, it seemed logical for me to reduce the data by choosing February as the main month because it gives a comparative possibility to the periods of before the war starting in March 2015, and during the war in February 2017. The third period was a bit hard to decide on because the conflict between Qatar and Gulf neighbors started in 2017. That is why I decided to gather news articles from this year 2019 to allow for more information to come forward and maybe a variety of news attitudes. To gather appropriate data, I decided to focus only on *news* data in the website as a category. As I continued with gathering data I realized that many news articles, even though categorized as news in Yemen, didn't have much to do with Yemen culturally, socially or politically for that matter. To overcome this challenge, I decided to add the category *none* and this showed very interesting and revealing results as I will explain later. During sampling data, I also realized that to in order to answer the second question of how can mediatization theory relate to the coverage of the Yemeni war through Al Jazeera channel, I had to not only obtain quantitative data but rather qualitative data as well. I then decided to randomly choose news articles from the first purposive chosen data to analyze deeper using qualitative text analysis. Further, I decided to look at opinion polls published on Al Jazeera net to gather more data to help me find answers to my research questions. It was important for me to spend time on this because “the more focused our research interest becomes and the more comprehensive our background information and understanding, the
more confident we are about who we want to involve in our research and why” (Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016, p.123). All in all, I conducted content analysis on 687 news articles, qualitative text analysis on seven news articles and 16 opinion polls, all published on Al Jazeera net. In order to minimize bias, two main tests is performed on news articles. The first one is Cronbach's alpha test and the second is Intraclass Correlation Coefficient. Both tests are performed using SPSS only on 687 news article.

### 3.7 Internal Consistency and Reliability

Internal consistency has been measured using first Cronbach's alpha test. The results of measuring reliability for news article tones in 2015-2017-2019 ranged from 0.899 to 0.903, table 1. This gives a scale of 89.9% reliability, 10.1% is not reliable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reliability Statistics</th>
<th>Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items</th>
<th>N of Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cronbach's Alpha</td>
<td>.899</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items</td>
<td>.903</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Item-analysis output from SPSS for Tone of news articles on Al Jazeera

Although Cronbach’s alpha is easy to use and calculate and is one of the most used tool in measuring multiple items in a conceptual study, it is also the most commonly misunderstood Statistic as noted by Cronbach’s himself. He explains that under any conditions that violate the assumptions or prerequisites of reliability coefficient, this might lead to substantively deflated reliability score which in turn, might potentially entail misinformed inferences, such as discarding a test due to its seemingly low reliability (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011, p.53-55). However, this is not the case in this study. The result of the reliability measure was very good: $\alpha=0.899$ in my study and it was concluded that all items in my news articles were internally consistent and reliable to assess the tone in news articles published on www.aljazeera.net. The second test was conducted using Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC) test
in SPSS, average measures score .825 for intra coder Intraclass interrater reliability test (Table 2-3-4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Statistics</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2015</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>1.273</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2017</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>.938</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2017</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>1.127</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Mean and std. Deviation for news articles on Al jazeera Arabic*

**Inter-Item Correlation Matrix:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-Item Correlation Matrix</th>
<th>Tone 2015</th>
<th>Tone 2017</th>
<th>Tone 2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2015</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.589</td>
<td>.905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2017</td>
<td>.589</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2019</td>
<td>.905</td>
<td>.775</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3: Inter Item Correlation Matrix in news articles on www.aljazeera.net*

**Summary Item Statistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Variance</th>
<th>N of Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item means</td>
<td>3.975</td>
<td>3.458</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.458</td>
<td>4.521</td>
<td>1.062</td>
<td>1.307</td>
<td>.283</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Inter-Item Correlations in news articles in www.aljazeera.net

| Inter-Item Correlations | .756 | .589 | .905 | .316 | 1.537 | .020 | 3 |

The intercoder reliability test was conducted on all Al-Jazeera news articles online on the Yemeni conflict during three different periods from 2015-2019. The lowest intercoder reliability for the relevant variables was, 589 between the tones in periods 2015-2017. The second lowest was between 2017-2019 with a score of, 775. The highest was, 905 between 2019-2015. This indicates that values have strong similarities from the same group. This confirms that internal consistency, intercoder reliability is in good constituency since results scored very good in both Cronbach's alpha test and ICC test. This reduces bias in the quantitative study.

### 3.8 Testing validity

In order to validate this master’s thesis, one needs “to study the degree to which a test measures what it claims, or purports, to be measuring” (Brown, 1996, p. 231). I focus on construct validity with citation as sub-validity. Construct validity in this thesis is connecting questions from the theory to the operation of data collection in order to legitimize the use of inferences through finding correlations. I ask the question of how Al Jazeera have covered the Yemeni war in three different periods in 2015, 2017, 2019. I assigned categories to be able to study the degree of attitude and tones used in the news. I then analyze content and the body of news articles accordingly. In this study, I correlate different measures of tones with different time periods using Pearson’s and Spearman’s test. From the pattern of correlations appeared, it seems that Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. (Tabel 5 a,b).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sig.(2-tailed)</th>
<th>.000</th>
<th>.000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Article Tone 2017</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.788**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig.(2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article Tone 2019</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.905**</td>
<td>.775**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig.(2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**: Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5a: Correlations using Pearson’s test

**Nonparametric Correlations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spearman’s rho</th>
<th>Article Tone 2015 Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>1,000</th>
<th>.843**</th>
<th>.914**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig.(2-tailed)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article Tone 2017</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.843**</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>.758**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to assess external validity, I have presented a full report of all content analysis procedure and its relation to my study. I would argue that the sample of the study is related to research questions and hypothesis as they are “True to life”. (Neuendorf, 2002, p.1) In this master thesis, validity is also about logic connection between the research design and the findings of the research (Tjora, 2017, p.231). The validity can be ensured by making sure to use appropriate theories and comparing your research to other relevant research that have used similar methodological approaches (Tjora 2017, p 231). In this master thesis, I have been conscious and aware to how the research is conducted every step of the way. I have reasoned and explained the methodological choices and quantitative data obtained through different tests: Cronbach's Alpha, ICC and Pearson's test. I have given the reader the chance to critically evaluate my work. The research is anchored in finding answers to research questions and I have been aware of the way I have used theories and empirical data.

**Generalizing** is linked to how much this master thesis can be generalized to other studies and its timing (Neuendorf 2002, s115). A pragmatic approach to assessing generalizability studies is to adopt same criteria for validity. According to Finfgeld- Connett D. (2010) that is, use of systematic sampling, triangulation and constant comparison, proper audit and documentation, and multi-dimensional theory. However, some researchers prefer the approach of analytical generalization such as Brinkman and Park (2009). In this thesis, I have had the goal to finding answers to how Al Jazeera Arabic has covered the war in Yemen with time and if

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sig.(2tailed)</th>
<th>.000</th>
<th>.</th>
<th>.000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tabel 5 b: Nonparametric Correlations using Spearman's rho.
mediatization theory can explain its media coverage. Through analysis of quantitative data, I can help get a better understanding of current media changes in the Arab world and its relation to the mediatization theory of politics. My study can’t provide a universal system or conclusion about the phenomenon of mediatization of politics in Al Jazeera coverage of war in Yemen, but on an analytical level the study can help in explaining similar or different situations elsewhere. It is not possible to generalize results obtained in this master’s thesis since it is subjective but I have been working throughout this master's thesis to try and reduce bias through data selection by giving its sampling and data analysis extreme consideration to connecting it to answering the research questions. I have also chosen samples that have different time lines to secure that the information analyzed is not only from one period but many in order to acquire comparative details. This is to have a complete and general picture about the tones of news covering the war in Yemen.

3.9 Coding News Articles on Al Jazeera Arabic

In order to answer the question if Al-Jazeera changed its coverage of the war in Yemen with time and if mediatization can explain this change, I need to code data separately within their different timelines. This is to be able to draw comparison to article tones as discussed earlier in this chapter. The sample (N) is divided into three periods. First Sample (N) is for online news articles before the war , period February 2015. Number of sample (N) is 310 news. Time has five major tones that are assigned numbers. Tone: 1- Positive. 2- Neutral. 3- Negative. 4. Other. 5.None (Data image1).
The Second Sample (N) is for online news articles during war in February 2017. Number of sample is 214 online news articles. N=214 (Data image 2).
The third sample is for online news articles during diplomatic tensions between Qatar and its neighbors. The period is February 2019. Number of sample is 163 online news articles. N=163 (Data image 3).
Taken together, around 687 news articles on www.aljazeera.net were analyzed and coded. In the following chapter, discussion and analysis follows.
Chapter 4
Discussion and Results

In chapter four, an analysis and discussion of results is conducted. In the first part, I analyze and discuss the results from the quantitative analysis to answer the question if Al Jazeera's media coverage has changed while reporting on the war in Yemen. I also present my findings in this master thesis within. I further discuss and analyze results with dimensions of the mediatization theory of politics. In the second part, I analyze and discuss results obtained from secondary data and analysis by qualitative text analysis to answer the question if mediatization of politics can explain this change in media coverage. I start with discussing results from the first period in 2015 with its findings of different article tones. Then I move on to news articles in 2017-2019. The discussion links the findings to the theory of mediatization of politics and its different features. I then discuss the analysis of news articles with different tones and content. I finally, present my discussion and findings of the opinion polls obtained from Aljazeera.net. In the first part I use examples from headlines only to give a sense and idea about the content of article and what the body with mostly be constituted of. Positive, Neutral, Negative, other or none tone. In the second part, I analyze seven articles more in depth and use the context of randomly selected articles to analyze more. I choose five articles to represent each category.

4.1 First period Discussion and Analysis
2015

Positive Tone news articles in 2015

In examining whether Al Jazeera Arabic website has changed its media coverage over time. I use content analysis to examine what I call tone of article. I focus on news because of its relevance to the theory of mediatization of politics. Studies have shown that the idea of news media as an institution is crucial as it confirms its independence from political institutions.
Esser (2013) notes that: “This notion of the news media as a single institution is important, as it highlights the relative autonomy and differentiation of the news media from political institutions and as the idea of increasing media importance and influence presumes that the news media are not subordinate to other institutions”. (P.247). Results have revealed that news articles on AlJazeera.net with a positive tone was 135 news articles which is 43.55% (see figure 1). In here, Al Jazeera.net has reported on the political situation in Yemen with 75% or more attribution to one side more than the other. In 2015, most of the news were categorized in the beginning of the month by being polarized within the internal conflict. There is reporting of tribes in the southern side of Yemen and tribes from the North. News articles with titles such as: Is Aden going to become the Yemeni capital? Where the teachers union is interviewed and call on moving the capital from Sanaa to Aden because Sanna is an “occupied” state by “Armed Houthis”. 02.02.2015. Another articles headline is “Iran informs Houthis to avoid Bab-Al-Mandab and the Saudi border” 03.02.2015, have dominated the month. In the positive tones in 2015 in this period, there is a tendency to polarize the conflict between the south and the north, Iran and Saudi, Houthis and Hadi. News articles by the end of the month had headlines as: “Saudi and Qatari ambassadors in Yemen resume work from Aden”, dated 26.02.2015- “Gulf Embassies in Aden..Support for Hadi’s legitimacy” 28.02.2015. Even though the reporting has been polarized, it is easy to find that most of news articles were represented by political elites as in President Hadi, who currently lives, in Riyadh. In the start of the month the Houthi oppositional party was referred to as the Houthi Group (Gamaat Al Houthi), by the end of the month another term was used and they were referred to as (Militias of Houthi). Another interesting aspect I noticed was that Houthis don't usually have interviews but I argue that because of Al Jazeera's role as a media institution to report the conflict, they conveyed their voice and adopted to media rules by participating in the the very making of news by interviews and sending their political statements to news channels. Even though Al Houthis have established their own media channel known as Al Masirah (The March), they understood the importance of reaching out to other regional news in situations such as Al Jazeera. Another interesting aspect is that even though Al Arabiya news channel is also considered as one of the biggest regional news channel, funded by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Houthis voice is not represented there at all. I don't know if they have tried to communicate to Al Arabia before, but screening Al Arabiya online website www.alarabiya.net, I could not find Houthis speaking as the other side involved in the conflict at this time rather than demonizing them in a polarized theme. This can be because Al Arabiya is working in a different editorial line that Al Jazeera. One can see that the media has
affected Houthis political behavior and before the war broke, there has been some media participation from their side in Al Jazeera to convey their political messages. However, this change as the political escalation arises through the war in 2017 as data will show later. This leads to the second highest tone which is Neutral in 2015.

Neutral Tone News Articles in 2015

Number of neutral news articles published online before the war was 85 news articles. This constitutes 27.4% of the data analyzed (Data image2). This result has been the highest level of neutrality of all periods. Neutral tone means that 75% or more of the body of the article is not pro nor against the coalition. There is some representation of different parties involved in the conflict. Elite representation, oppositional parties, UN initiatives and different tribes activities in both South and North. The reason can be because there was still a political process happening and no declaration of war yet. However, neutrality decreases later in 2017, 2019. An example: “Saleh's party refuses to transfer dialogue, Hadi receives increased support”, 27.02.2015. This tone is categorized by having different sides of political parties, different scenarios that doesn't include only elites speaking but others involved as well. This also includes reporting of different attacks happening in different parts in Yemen. “Death of four soldiers and a police officer in attacks in southern Yemen”, dated 26.02.2015.

Negative News Articles Tone in 2015

The third tone is negative. Number of articles with a negative tone is 14 which is 4.5%. This is the lowest result of all articles in 2015. This means that 75% or more of analyzed news articles has some forms of critique to the political process in 2015. There are different sides in the news but mostly the representation is more from oppositional parties such as Houthi opposition, previous president regime Saleh and tribes from the North than the other. Example: “Houthis give political powers three days to reach an agreement” 01.02.2015- “A Houthi official: Closing down embassies is not necessary”, dated 12.02.2015.

Other News Articles Tone in 2015

The fourth tone is other with 32 news articles, 10.32%. In here, 75% of the body of the article is not directly related to the Saudi coalition on Yemen or the policy process taking place in 2015. But rather tackles topics such as literature in Yemen, diplomacy , economy, Al Qaeda
in Yemen. An example: “Al-Qaeda controls a military camp in southern Yemen” 12.02.2015. Another is: “Egypt closes its embassy for security reasons”, 23.02.2015. Most of the category “other” has covered articles about Al-Qaeda in Yemen and the closure of embassies in the capital Sanaa. It has also news articles about Yemen's economy and oil: “Yemeni oil revenues fall by $1 billion in 2014”, 22.02.2015.

None Tone in News Articles 2015

An interesting result has appeared in all periods which I have referred to as None. While searching for articles about Yemen. Many other articles appeared as well that is not necessarily involved directly with Yemen. Even though it doesn't tackle the Yemeni political situation or the Saudi led coalition at all, it is in the search engine. Number of online news articles that has none was 32 news articles, 14,19%. Topics like medical advances in England, literature in Morocco, Guantanamo, Islamophobia, Saudi Iranian relationship, diplomacy, politics in Iraq, Syria and USA were present. This can be a result of web content research where the code word (ElYemen) has been used. Example: “Turkish airlines cancels 370 trips due to snowstorm”. 19.02.2015. One last example is: “France: Increase in hostile anti Muslim activities”. 28.02.2015. All in all, In this part I conclude that results have shown various tones in the first period of 2015. There has been Positive, Neutral, Negative, Other and None tones in news articles. However, this leads to the question if there has been a process of mediatization of politics during this period.

Is there mediatization of politics in 2015?

After the analysis of the substance of news, I ask the question if news article has been governed by media logic or political logic and if they have been mediatized at all. The results have been a mix of both. As discussed earlier in chapter two, Stromback (2008) argues that mediatization of politics is a process with four dimensions that dominate. The first is the degree to which media constitutes the most important source of information about politics, which Al Jazeera does as discussed earlier in chapter three. The second is independence and differentiation from political institutions, which Al Jazeera is considered to be as a media institution. (see chapter three). In here, I will discuss the third dimension which is, media coverage governed by media logic or political logic. And the fourth dimension where political institutions guided either by media logic or political logic. In the positive tone, one cannot help but argue that political logic dominates in news articles. Al Jazeera reporting has been
governed by political logic because most of the news consists of both a policy dimension and a process dimension. There is a tendency to repeating what officials from the Gulf countries, especially Saudi Arabia and Emirates says. There is some official representation from the UN about their efforts to finding solutions to help Yemen and stopping the crisis from evolving. There is also a tendency to gain official acceptance for the choice of action. This agrees with what (Mayer 2002, p.12) writes about political logic.

Having said that, the three main dimensions in political logic are apparent in here. There is a clear polity in which it appears to be gulf countries led by S.A. The results show policy in defining the problem as Yemen being in a crisis and in need of its neighboring military assistance and finally politics. Which is the process of gaining support from other arab countries and the UN to take action and initiate Decisive Storm. Media logic has three main dimensions. Professionalism (professional practice and norms), commercialism (commercially driven, news production, news selection), Technology (production, reproduction, finding, reshaping news to fit formats of different media). Even Though, there has been a degree of structural professionalism in news articles because one can find headlines, images, sub images and so on, the body of the article was most of the time biased by the choice of words to one side more than the other and it seemed as the news did more mediation than mediatization in the first period of the conflict in the positive tone. Within this context, findings reveal that political logic has overcome media logic in third and fourth dimension in positive tone in 2015.

Although never absolutely definitive, I would argue that Negative, Neutral and Other as tones in 2015 has been mediatized because it is not only driven by political logic, but also media logic. Results have shown that different political institutions seemed to adapt to the media logic and that is because political logic has appeared to be replaced by media logic. There was a tendency to addressing media early in the morning (Fager) to be relevant to the news making and their structural system. Officials spoke in a pragmatic, organized and a media oriented way. However, not all political institutions within a single system are equally prone to being mediatized- only those where opportunity structures allow for the political logic to be complemented, overlaid, or replaced by media logic.
All in all, in the first period results show some degree of mediatization of politics in Neutral, Negative and Other tones, while the Positive tone was more mediated than mediatized. While None has not covered Yemen or the political process at all.

4.2 Second period Discussion and Results of 2017

This period is discussing news published in February 2017, which is one year and nine months within Decisive Storm as in the Saudi led coalition war on Yemen. The reason I choose this sample and this period is because I want to find answers to how Al Jazeera has covered the war in Yemen during the war itself. In order to avoid bias in reporting the war while it is on fire, or heat. I waited for almost two years so I can get a better understanding of the coverage rather than only reporting on war.

Positive, Neutral and Negative Tones in 2017

Results show that number of articles analyzed is 214 and those with a positive tone are 73 articles. This constitutes 34.11% of all tones see data image(2). Negative tones scored lowest with 1.40%. Neutral 3.74%. During this period, positive articles play out in specific news items where reporting covers the war without much existence of interviews or statements from the “other” parties that is involved in the conflict. As I read news articles, I noticed a strong shift towards favoring the government of Hadi and referring to them as the only “legitimate” government of Yemen. News articles refers to the Yemeni army as the National Yemeni army as the resistance army (which constitutes of Southern tribes, Islah Party army and Hadi supporters). In here, it seems as the logic of news has shifted toward Hadi with the Saudi led coalition as being the righteous ones taking back what is theirs. This is evident in using words such as “liberating, collaborations, and resistance. Further, terms such as the “Militias” and “Iran's hands”, “occupation”, “coup”, “sanctions”, terrorist groups and “attacks” were mostly used describing other parties in the conflict. News during this period is strongly polarized between two main parties, the Saudi led coalition on the one hand, and the Houthis with Saleh regime on the other. It is evident that not much media logic was used in this period with this tone. An example: “The Yemeni government complains Iran to the UN, dated 19.02.2017. In this news articles, the Yemeni government is the one living in Riyadh, where they asked they UN to classify Houthis as a terrorist group. In another article: “Houthi
Coup forced a million Yemeni to displacement” 19.02.2017. The articles clearly takes side to the Saudi led coalition by blaming Houthis and the Saleh regime for the internal displacement caused by the war. One cannot help but notice that negative tone has been largely reduced and there has not been much representation of other sides of the conflict rather than a few times. Neutrality scored low but was present as you can see in the results (Data image2). The results show a shift not on the positive tone, but on the fact that the negative and neutral tone were much less than the previous period. Other scored 12,62%. None scored the highest with 48,13%. In here, the category None is not discussed because it is not directly related to the research question even though it appears to have the largest percentage. This can be explained by Al Jazeera playing a diplomacy role as discussed earlier in chapter two. Most news were about Trump's travel ban that affected seven Arab countries.

The original orderxiii issued in January 2017 banned people from seven majority-Muslim countries - Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan and Libya - from entering the US for 90 days. This has dominated the none category topics.

Is there Mediatization of Politics in 2017?

In the positive, neutral and negative tones, one cannot help but argue that political logic dominates in 2017. Al Jazeera's reporting has been governed by political logic. The reason is that most of the news consists of reporting of military actions, troops on the ground, internal conflict, and casualties from the Yemeni side. The number of neutral and negative tones had been largely reduced when compared to previous period in 2015. Representation from different sides was not easy to find though present. Variances might occur across time and may also be dependent on the current political situation. For example, in times of war, there is a strong tendency for the media to “rally around the flag” and accept the precedence of politics over the media. There might also be differences across countries, depending partly on whether they belong to the liberal, the democratic corporatist, or the polarized pluralist model of media and politics (Strömbäck, 2008, p.235). This is directly touched during this period of 2017 from al Jazeera Arabic news website and therefore results show that news coverage has changed during this period and political logic dominated, which means that aspects of mediatization of politics may not apply. Having said that, an interesting category which is “Other” raises the question if some media logic to some extent is used. In here, topics such as how doctors without borders have treated 55 thousand Yemeni wounded (15.02.2017), how
cancer patients in Yemen lack medication (13.02.2017) clearly followed the dimension of media logic. Another news article for example of how (Al Jazeera visited a Yemeni city that had an American operation), dated 06.02.2017 applied media logic. Al Jazeera differentiated itself as a media institution with a number of professional practices; Al Jazeera is commercially driven and has adopted its news to adopt to fit social media platforms as in Twitter and Facebook. It might be that since results show that the tone other has used some media logic to an extent, that mediatization of politics may apply to a degree. However, this is not definitive in the results that I obtained. One can study the other category further and analyze it deeper to see what topics that dominate and to what extent does the mediatization of politics theory apply.

In conclusion, new articles in Al Jazeera net covering the war in Yemen has shifted in 2017. News articles have been mediated more than mediatized in 2017 and this can be explained because of the war and the “rally around the flag” concept. While tones as Neutral and Other may have been mediatized, results obtained in this study can’t show that clearly and further analysis and research needs to be done in order to conclude how these tones can relate to the degree of mediatization of politics.

4.3 Analysis and Discussion from 2019

This period is discussing news published in February 2019, which is one year and seven months within the deterioration of diplomatic relations between the Saudis, Emirates on one side and Qatar on the other. Number of articles are 163 but there was 18 news articles repeated online. Those are not included in the analysis and the sample was reduced to 144 news articles. There are, however, significant changes in news article tones in 2019. Results show that the highest score in 2019 is the Negative tone scoring 32.6%, this is the highest of all periods. Positive tone scored 2.1% which is the lowest of all periods. Neutral tone scored 6.9%, Other with 11.1%. Results show a drastic shift in news article tones by having the Negative tone as the dominating result. During the period of February 2019, None has also topped the results with 47.2%. Most of these articles were reporting on the murder of the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi at the Saudi embassy in Turkey. Jamal Khashoggi was a well-known journalist and critic of the Saudi Crown prince Mohammed Bin Salman and his policies. But such content cannot tell us if Al Jazeera has changed its media coverage on the
war on Yemen and if mediatization of politics can explain this change. Therefore, I choose to look at the second biggest result because it is related to Yemen and my research question.

**Negative and Positive Tones News Articles in 2019**

Results show that the tone Negative has scored high with 32.6 % (Data image3). In here, news have reported on how the coalition have used international weapons for example on the war on Yemen. Ex: (German investigative team: The coalition has used German weapons on the war on Yemen), dated 27.02.2019. Another news dated 26.02.2019 tackles how international nonprofit organizations are worried about the huge amount of money donations from Saudi Arabia and Emirates to Yemen to support their “vicious” military campaign). A third one can be quoting one side, which is the Houthi oppositional group in this case: “We control sites inside Saudi Arabia”, 17.02.2019. This shift in tone can be explained by either because of the political and diplomatic tensions between Saudi Arabia, Emirates and Qatar. Or by the fact that international and national public opinion has opposed the war and it has become clearer with time that there is not much support for the Saudi led Coalition both regionally and internationally. However, it can be a combination of both. Morocco has suspended its participation in the Saudi-led military coalition in 2019 and Al Jazeera reported that. One can assume that the political and diplomatic relations had worsened between Qatar and its neighbors since they were not a part of the coalition in 2019.

As a result, both political and media logic has been altered accordingly. Words to describe the coalition and its activities have included: “Massacres, vicious, torture, criminal wars, Emirati Militias, and ending coalition activities and wars”. Results show that positive tone scored 2.1% which is the **lowest** of all periods. There wasn't many articles reporting elites from the gulf or political actors in this period of 2019. There were two articles, one which had the headline: “Saudi Arabia and Emirates call on the U.N to pressure Houthis”. Dated 01.02.2019.

**Other and Neutral Tone News Articles in 2019**
Other scored 11.1% in the results. It covers diplomacy, famine, diseases and insecurity. A couple of headlines can reveal the use of words in other: “Arabic countries most dangerous for children”. 15.02.2019 and another article about how Malaysia has shifted its policies to being more sympathetic towards the Yemenis: “Malaysia reveals its new position towards Yemen”. 23.02.2019. Results show that the tone other has not changed much compared to the period of 2017. However, its topics have varied and I recommend that future studies analyze them deeper to find out more about their direction. On the other hand, neutrality has scored 6.9%, which is higher than the period of war in 2017 and this can be explained by shifting policies in the region. There are news articles interviewing people in the streets and reporting it: “Views of the common Yemeni people 8 years after the revolution”. 12.02.2019.

Are there features of mediatization of politics in 2019?

To underline the point that the media coverage has been governed either by political logic or media logic, I argue that the media logic dominates. In the positive, neutral, other and negative tones, one can see that the reporting of Al Jazeera has changed by bringing in more international reports and adding more views from the “common” people. There is not much elite representation in this period or the military personnel about their daily activities or their political processes in Yemen. There is no process dimension, neither a process discussion. The news, even though mostly negative towards the Saudi government or others, wasn’t mediated by emotions or high ranking officials. It was mostly international reports from recognized news websites, institutions, civil organizations, Al Jazeera itself or international media institutions such as the Daily Beast, CNN, Intercept, New York Times and many others. This degree clearly shows a shift in the domain. There was also news articles where other sides of the conflict were back in the news and interviewed by the channel. In here, results show that Al Jazeera as a media institution has shifted from political logic in 2015, to media logic in 2019 in these tones. Important to note that mediatization along each of the dimensions is a matter of degree. Esser (2013) notes that media can, for example, be more or less independent from political institution, and media content as well as political institutions, organizations and actors can be more or less guided by media logic as opposed to political logic. Their might consequently be variations across different media and different political institutions, organization and actors, both within and across countries. (p.247). What can be observed in 2019 is that the media tone has changed and there is strong presence for some
feature mediatization of politics as the media institution has shifted from political logic to media logic. This table (6) sums up my findings regarding the tone of Al Jazeera’s articles covering the war in Yemen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>43,55</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>27,4</td>
<td>10,32</td>
<td>14,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>34,11</td>
<td>1,40</td>
<td>3,74</td>
<td>12,62</td>
<td>48,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>32,6</td>
<td>6,9</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>47,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Summary of results of quantitative data on Al Jazeera net

As the table shows, the change of Al Jazeera`$s$ tone on the reporting about the war in Yemen have changed significantly from 2015 to 2019. The change of the tone and angle of the online articles coincides with the change of political relation between Qatar and Saudi Arabia. The change of tone also coincides with Qatar’s withdrawal in the war and military operations in Yemen. This alignment is a possible indication of that the views of the Qatari state who owns and funds Al Jazeera, also is reflected in the coverage, tone and angles of Al Jazeera`s articles. In the light of this, it can be argued that a process of mediatization have taken place.

In conclusion, quantitative results show shifts in news articles tones in different periods in Al Jazeera net. The coverage of online news has shifted while covering the war in Yemen. In 2015 there has been times where the political logic overtook media logic but in some tones, media logic dominated. In 2017, however, political logic dominated and news were more mediated than mediatized. This can be explained by the “rally around the flag” concept. Further, news article tones changed in 2019 and there have been features of mediatization of politics since Al Jazeera adapted to the political logic and the political logic adopted to Al Jazeera as a media institution.

4.4 Qualitative Text Analysis
In this section, I look closer at eight news articles published on www.AlJazeera.net for qualitative text analysis. The news articles tones I study closer are positive, negative, neutral and other tones. The reason I'm doing this is to find out an answer to the question of how mediatization of politics theory can explain the change of news coverage in Al Jazeera about Yemen. I look at the article’s structure, angel, sources and analysis in connection to the mediatization theory. I discuss results and findings within the news articles.

**Article 1: “Hadi rejects the Houthi coup and sticks to the political process”**

**Article’s Structure:** News article: “Hadi rejects the Houthi coup and sticks to the political process” is written by Al Jazeera net without a journalist name. It was published online 22.02.2015. Two videos are attached in the article, one in the very beginning at the top of the news with 2:49 minutes and another video in the middle of the article with 2:02 minutes, most of it contains pictures of Hadi and military personnel. The source of the Article has been Al Jazeera self at the very bottom of the page following the word Source: Al Jazeera. There are social media links at the top of the article to the left: Twitter, Facebook, Email, Print, Sound and Font size. Number of words in the article is 433.

**Article’s Angel:** This article is about the political process taking place in Yemen after the National Dialogue between its various partners in 2015.

**Article Sources:** Resigned President Hadi and his government's official speaker Rajeh Badi. Houthi official speaker, Al Jazeera’s journalist. Islah Party and Communist Nasserist party.

**Article Analysis:** The reason I focus on online news articles is to seek information about the change in the media and political order. Most gratification studies focused on the use of a particular type of medium for certain unique gratifications. For example, newspapers were found to be the best for instrumental purposes such as seeking information and integrating into the socio-political order, while television was mainly for escapism and entertainment as (Katz et al, 1973) mentions. In the body of the article, the news start with quotes from Hadi to
an exclusive statement to Al Jazeera channel where he says that the Houthi statement is “Void and illegitimate” and that he holds on to the Gulf initiative to get Yemen out of its current political crisis. The use of the term “statement” in the news article can be anything. It doesn't imply an interview with Al Jazeera journalist. It doesn't say either it was a face to face interview. In the news articles, the word “exclusive statement” is used again to quote Hadi. Hadi continues to say that the National Dialogue authority should be convened to Aden or Ta'izz until the “militias” are out of Sanaa, referring to Al-Houthis. Before this quote is used by Al Jazeera news, the term “statement” is used for a third time. This time, I tried to find the original statement published by the president since I understood later on that is not an interview conducted by a journalist rather than a political statement issued by Hadi. And I did find it as a link attached in the article in one of its words referred to as (Bayan) in Arabic which translated directly to “statement”. I opened the link and I found a political statement issued by Hadi in which the news article was based on. Thus the conclusion is that there has not been an interview conducted by Al Jazeera rather than reporting on what the political statement had said (see appendix 2 for the political statement). In other words, if the media permeate and are intertwined with basically all social, cultural and political processes, and if media content cannot be conceived of as isolated from media formats and grammar, the logic of separating dependent from independent variables is challenged, and the established media effect theories are insufficient for an understanding of the full extent of the media’s influence (Lundby, 2009, p. 211). I would argue that in this news article, media activities has merged and mingled in a non-media activity, which the political presses release. Thus becoming an integral part of the news article and making it difficult to separate the media from the political issued statement. This makes information gained from Al Jazeera's news article merged with information gained through the political issued statement.

The article continues by quoting Hadi as giving compliments to the GCC as what he described as positive attitudes in the GCC, the League of Arab States, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the United Nations Security Council. Hadi called on these organizations to take the “necessary measures” to protect Yemen's political process and its clear political support. And he asks for their quick and serious stand to support Yemen economically, and "to reject the coup and not to legalize it in any way". Further, two main videos in the news article show mostly pictures and videos of Hadi speaking to the public. So far in this article, the only source in the news has been president Hadi with his issued political statement as the main source.
This part of the news article elaborates on the collective political partners involved in the Yemeni political transition process where there is a power allocation dimension, a partisan dimension, a policy dimension, a deliberation dimension, an implementation dimension and an accountability dimension. At the heart of any conceptualization of political logic lies the fact that politics ultimately is about collective and authoritative decision making as well as the implementation of political decision (Lundby, 2009, p213). Some scholars argue that power is the ultimate goal, and policy programs and promises are the means to reach this goal, while others say that the ability to exercise power according to the system's own values and ideology is the ultimate goal (Sjøblom 1968). Hadi, being the relevant political actor, located within the Yemeni political institution, backed by the Gulf institution, needed to take Al Jazeera into consideration within this political process. Al Jazeera as a media institution might intervene, not directly to him since this is not a direct interview but by bringing in other voices that do not agree on his statement. The article continues by stating that Al Jazeera reporter in Sanaa has confirmed that there has been a meeting between Houthi and political sides with the international envoy Bin Omar. Again, there is no name for the journalist or source. What is interesting is that even though the article has been categorized as with a positive tone, one can find that the other part of the conflict is present in the news article content. In here, the news article starts again with a subtitle named: “Stands”. The political activist of the Houthi group, Hussein Al-Bukhaiti, “commented” on the statement by describing Hadi as the former president. He said he no longer had any authority and that he had lost power and legitimacy since his resignation. Again, I wanted to understand what does “comment” mean in this news article. Has he been interviewed or is it something that was broadcasted before and been reused in the news channel? Was it a comment on the phone, what does exactly “comment” mean. I could not find an answer to this part since it was not clear and it could have been by any possible means. The article continues saying that in a “talk to Al Jazeera” he denied that Hadi had been imposed house arrest, adding that Hadi’s wish to move things to Aden would confuse the political scene. Al-Bukhaiti added that all the decisions taken were based on “revolutionary legitimacy”. Al Jazeera has allowed for the “other” side of the conflict to state their opinion but gave them around 100 words in total, which is around 24% of total. The article continues by quoting the Islamist party by congratulating president Hadi to arriving safely to Aden, communist Nasari party, and the Hadi governments by being supportive to Hadi and calling on facing the Houthi coup. There is no clear communication of how they have commented rather than using terms as “in a talk”
and “from their side”. The article ends with: “From another side”, no reference to how this source of information has been obtained, the Yemeni nonviolent Youth council calls on Hadi to confront the coup of the Houthis. Accordingly, one can assume by the end of the article that most political parties disapprove of the Houthi coup without any validation to this source rather than using the term “From another side”. As discussed earlier in chapter two, mediatization of politics is a multidimensional concept where four stages can be identified (Stromback, 2008). The first dimension is concerned with the extent to which the media constitute the most important source of information and channel of communication. Al Jazeera does that because Hadi, as the head of the political elite, sent his statement to Al Jazeera to publish it even though it had not been interviewed by them. The interest might be here to reach as many people as possible through the news channel. However, this leads to the second dimension which is concerned with the media's independence from other institutions. Again, one can argue that Al Jazeera as a news channel is since it has brought in other opinions and other sides of the story in the news article and not only the Gulf side. Thirdly is the dimension concerned with media content most importantly news and which logic it has been governed with, media or political logic. In here, results reveal that political logic reveals more than media logic. Sources were not clear and it was not easy to differentiate between what was media content and political content. Most of the article was basically based on a “political statement”. Even though there has been some degree of representation of the other involved in the conflict, the article ends with a clear bias towards favoring Hadi without any clear source. It was not easy to understand that when one screen the news article fast that is why the public may not differentiate between the media logic or the political logic in this news articles. However, the fourth dimension focuses on political actors and the degree to which they are governed by media logic or political logic. It might be that Hadi understands the importance of news media and has adopted to Al Jazeera’s standards of “newsworthiness” by making sure that his political statement is accessible online and being sent to Al Jazeera net. Politicians act on their perception of media influence on the public. This does not however, qualify that the political logic is governed by media logic since there is no other indication than this statement. The breakdown of the concept of mediatization of politics has helped investigate empirical findings in this news article and relate it to how media interventionism along each of the dimensions shapes and reshapes politics and contributes to the mediatization of politics. (Lundby, 2009, p.215).
Results show that even though the first two dimensions were in place, the third and fourth dimensions were questionable and did not qualify for the standards of making this news article more mediatized than mediated at this time. (Cohen, 1963, p.13) famously formulated the idea of agenda setting research by stating that the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.

Article 2: “Walad Al-Sheikh: clashes in western Yemen exacerbate the humanitarian situation”

Article’s Structure: News article “Walad Al- Sheikh: clashes in western Yemen exacerbate the humanitarian situation” is written by Al Jazeera net in 17.02.2017 without a journalist name. There is one image at the very beginning of the article of the UN envoy with a caption and the source of the image is Al Jazeera. The caption of the image translated as follows: “Walad Sheikh Ahmed erges to end all hostilities to reach a lasting solution in Yemen”. The source of the Article has been Al Jazeera at the very bottom of the page with “agencies”. There is no mention of which ones. There are social media links at the top of the article to the left: Twitter, Facebook, Email, Print, Sound and Font size. There is also a Twitter link in the middle of the article. Number of words in the article is 214.

Article’s Angel: This is an interview with the UN Special Envoy to Yemen Sheikh Ahmed where he says that the ongoing clashes on the Red Sea coast in western Yemen have exacerbated the tragic humanitarian situation in the country.

Article Sources: Three UN officials, Sheikh Ahmed, Stephen o’brien and Jemy Mcgoldrick.

Article Analysis: In this article, UN officials speak on behalf of the people of Yemen and comment on the ongoing conflict from a humanitarian perspective. The article starts with: The UN envoy “said” the ongoing clashes on the Red Sea coast in western Yemen have
exacerbated the tragic humanitarian situation in the country. There is no clear understanding if this has been an interview conducted by Al Jazeera or not. The article continues by saying that: He “added” that military activities in the region threaten to block the import of commercial and humanitarian supplies. The UN envoy “said” in a “statement” that this could have a terrible impact on the food security of large parts of the population in the country. In here, It is clear by now that it is an issued statement by U.N official. However, one can see at the top of the news article that the image taken was sourced by Al Jazeera and thus an assumption might follow that this article was also conducted by Al Jazeera. The news article doesn't mention if this “statement” was sent to Al Jazeera directly or it was obtained from another source. The news article continues by saying that Shaikh urged all parties to the conflict in Yemen to ensure the movement of “commercial and humanitarian supplies” and stressed the need for an end of hostilities to achieve a long lasting solution through a comprehensive political process. The news article then quotes the UN humanitarian coordinator Jimmy McGoldrick for what he said on Thursday that the war tactics of the parties to the conflict in Yemen are taking a course that is causing harm to civilians. «The Yemeni people have suffered long enough, and there is no peace other than to end the suffering,” he “said”, calling on all parties in the country to return to the negotiations table. This might refer to the agency that Al Jazeera has quoted the news with but there is no specific news agency referred to.

The news article ends by quoting what Stephen O'Brien warned in January under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Of a famine in Yemen this year, noting that 14 million people there needed food assistance. More than 2 million people have been displaced in Yemen because of the war, and 1,400 children have been killed since the start of the conflict nearly two years ago, O'Brien said, calling for unhindered access to aid. There was not a clear political message in the news article rather than UN officials speaking of how important it is to cease fire and to end the war. What it is interesting to note in this news articles that even though in the period of 2017, results show that most news have had a positive tone towards the Saudi led coalition war in Yemen, some news article such as this one has focused more on the humanitarian situation in Yemen than politics. Results obtained from earlier quantitative analysis show that the neutrality orientation and tone was the lowest during 2017 with 3.74%. When I look closer at the four dimensions that constitute mediatization of politics I find that the first dimension is concerned with the extent to which the media constitute the most important source of information and channel of communication. Al Jazeera does that
along with the use of other news agencies as it referred to in its news articles. The second dimension which is concerned with the media's independence from other institutions. One can argue that Al Jazeera as a news channel is independent since the news articles covers the humanitarian statement of many UN officials which completely differs from the first news articles where it was mostly politically oriented. Thirdly is the dimension concerned with media content most importantly news and which logic it has been governed with, media or political logic. In here, results reveal that media logic overrules, Even though, news reports of mostly UN officials as elites, there is no process dimension neither a political aspect or message. Most of the article was basically based on quoting somehow a “neutral” side to the conflict where they urge for humanitarian aid, help and considerations to the Yemeni civilians. They didn't name any specific parties involved inside Yemen within the conflict neither outside. The fourth dimension focuses on political actors and the degree to which they are governed by media logic or political logic. If we consider UN officials as political actors, then one can assume that in order for their message to be heard, they had to adapt to both media logic in Al Jazeera and the political logic in the Arab region. One can assume that the UN officials may not have named specific partners involved in the conflict because they wanted to keep their neutrality as mediators involved in the conflict as much as possible. However, in order for their message to be heard and shared by the media, they had to adapt to the media logic by reaching to the public in a specific way. Their message has not been focusing on the political aspects of the conflict rather than the people themselves who are caught in the middle of this conflict. For such a point of view to be reported in a news article in Al Jazeera itself, even though its state has been one of the reasons for this humanitarian crisis cause shown that media logic may have overcome political logic in this aspect. UN officials have also tweeted their statements on the internet. In appendix 2, I attach Twitter reporting and the political statement published by the U.N.

In here, reporting on the “Neutral” side of the conflict through speaking to the UN officials by Al Jazeera, taking their own picture to post on the website and quoting them from other media sources can characterize Al Jazeera as a media institution acquiring its own status. The mediatization theory is both the intensified and changing importance of the media in culture and society. According to Hjarvard, this process is characterized by a duality, in that the media have become integrated into the operations of other social institutions and cultural spheres, while also acquiring the status of social institutions in their own right (Hjarvard, 2013, p.17). As a consequence, Al Jazeera has had a social interaction within itself as a social
institution, between different media institutions (Agencies and internet through social media platforms) and in society in large through its established connection with the UN that has taken its place in the news article via the media. The logic of the media influences the social forms of interaction and communication, such as how this news article as categorized as being “neutral” has been reported by the media. There is not a direct answer to why this news article was published at that time. It can be because of its “newsworthiness” or because that the shift towards a more balanced and humanitarian aspect of the conflict has dominated other media institutions and therefore, it was also reported by Al Jazeera itself. However, the fact that the political logic has been somehow replaced by media logic, can show a dynamic process happening within the media institution itself. It could be that Al Jazeera is reporting from a global perspective to be relevant to the current media relevance at that time.

Article 3: “The Daily Beast: US investigators participated with UAE nationals in torturing Yemeni prisoners”

Article’s Structure: News article “The Daily Beast: US investigators participated with UAE nationals in torturing Yemeni prisoners” is written by Al Jazeera net in 01.02.2019 without a journalist name. There is one image at the very beginning of the article of Yemeni prisoners that have been tortured with written panners about their current situation. There is an image caption that states: “Detainees of the Emirates' Bur-Ahmed prison in Aden have repeatedly exercised hunger strike to protest against torture». The source of the image is referred to as: “Activists”. There are two videos in the article. The first video is a report from Al Jazeera Journalist with his name on about the Yemeni prisoners that lasts 2:09 minutes. Another video is also found with another journalist from Al Jazeera reporting on the families of the prisoners asking about their relative. The video lasts 3:08 minutes. The source of the Article has been Al Jazeera at the very bottom of the page. There are social media links at the top of the article to the left: Twitter, Facebook, Email, Print, Sound and Font size. Number of words in the article is 363.
Article’s Angel: The news article cited the Daily Beast about its revelations of American forces involved with the Emirates forces in torturing Yemeni prisoners in Aden. The news goes on reporting on what international organizations have documented about this case along relevant social media campaigns.

Article Sources: Al Jazeera, The Daily Beast, Amnesty international and Rights Radar for human rights in the Arab world.

Article Analysis: The news article starts with a clear use of the Arabic verb (Nasher) which means “publish”. The news articles says that the Daily Beast newspapers “published” an extensive report “investigating” the role of US interrogators in committing “torture” along with their UAE counterparts in Yemeni jails. The website quoted the testimony of two former detainees, one who fought Houthis was arrested by Emiratis, confirming that at least one American interrogator was present during their brutal torture, that included “beatings”, “electric shocks”, “rape” and the use of “vicious dogs”. He pointed out that some of these investigators were wearing US military uniforms, and they were whispering to the UAE investigators who were carrying out these acts of “torture”.

The news article keep on elaborating by quoting the article: The website quoted human rights activist Jennifer Gibson as saying that the accounts of these detainees underscored the importance of questions about the US involvement in “torture” operations run by allies of Washington. The report pointed to the refusal of the US Central Command and the US Embassy in the UAE, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency, to answer questions on this issue. At this point, to confirm and document what Al Jazeera published about this report, I searched the original report online and found it published on the website of the Daily Beat newspapers see appendix. What is interesting in this body of the article is that the language used, even though it was quotes from another report, categorized itself as a strong critique to the coalition activities in Yemen in details. There are interviewed witness about the torture where they describe in details how torture took place and who was present at the time. This bring echoes from the Iraqi Abu Ghraib torture and prisoner abuse scandal. However, the American involvement in here might have seemed to be more administrative than the actual abuse since Emirati soldiers were the ones performing this torture but it is not clear in the news article. Witnesses describe the soldiers presence with their American uniforms and use terms in the news article as “whisper”. The news article explains in details this and elaborates
more by bringing in human rights organization in another paragraph that starts with this subtitle: "Gross violations". Above this subtitle, one can find a video that last 2:09 minutes that is reporting on the Yemenis detainees’ situation in Yemen. It is a report with a journalist name with Al Jazeera’s logo. It is not clear if this video report is exclusively made for the Al Jazeera net or if it is a video report used for the broadcasting news and programs. It can be both. The news article keeps on reporting that in January this year, Human Rights Watch in the Arab World “appealed” on the United Nations to take urgent action to save the lives of detainees in the prisons of the UAE forces in Yemen’s “temporarily” capital Aden.

The organization urged UN Special Envoy to Yemen Martin Griffith to include the issue of the detainees of Aden in an “urgent” and “persistent” matter in his current moves to end the suffering of dozens of detainees in the prison of Bir Ahmed, which is run by security forces backed by the UAE. The Amsterdam-based non-governmental organization “said” the detainees at the Bir Ahmad prison in Aden, in particular, were forced to go on hunger strike to draw the world’s attention to their “forgotten” case after facing the most severe “torture” and “abuse” by their jailers. According to the organization, the inmates of the prison of Bir Ahmed are subjected to severe psychological and physical “abuse”, and subjected to sessions of interrogation for long harsh hours. They did not have any trials, and most of them weren’t addressed with charges. Results show that Al Jazeera has quoted the human rights organization using their strong terms in describing the situation of the detained without censorship. A video follows this paragraph of families protesting with their children to their relatives whereabouts and that they have been forcibly kidnapped and disappeared. The video attached is a report done by Al Jazeera itself and used in their broadcasting program that is called (AlHesad). There is an Al Jazeera journalist reporting and speaking in the video with her name. The video is 3:08 minutes. The paragraph following this video starts with: Since last year, the prisoners of Bir Ahmed have occasionally carried out an open hunger strike to protest against the failure of the prosecution's orders to release them immediately. The prison is run by the security forces loyal to the UAE, but recently the Yemeni Prison Service began to supervise them as within the framework of collaborations between the Yemeni Ministry of Interior affairs and the UAE. The new article ends with: In July, Amnesty International documented "blatant, systematic, unaccountable violations amounting to war crimes” in the secret prisons run by Abu Dhabi in southern Yemen. The organization said it has monitored dozens of arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances and torture by forces loyal to Abu Dhabi, considering that these practices can amount to “war crimes”. Results obtained from earlier
quantitative content analysis reveal that this tone of the news article is negative toward the Saudi led coalition war in Yemen. Negative tones were the highest, with 32.6 %, after excluding none as discussed earlier (image3). In here, results show a drastic shift in Al Jazeera’s reporting towards the Saudi led coalition in Yemen in which the tone shifted from Positive to Negative orientation towards the coalition. As to discussing dimensions of mediatization of politics. For a number of reasons, one can argue that this news articles has shown some degree of mediatization. The number one reason is that mediatization is described as a dynamic process where changes are considered. One can touch the direct change in the news articles angel in here because the reporting has not only included internal resources by Al Jazeera selv (Video, journalists and text), but also by quoting other media institutions to report this news and international organizations. As a consequence, the tone of the news article has shifted from mostly positive to the Saudi led coalition war in Yemen in the previous periods in 2015, 2017 to mostly negative to the coalition in 2019. One must also consider the neutral news articles within. If I use the institutional perspective to describing mediatization of politics as Hjarvard (2013) argues. I consider the changing relationship between politics and media. In 2019, Even though Al Jazeera’s editorial is separate from the state of Qatar as discussed in chapter two, results show that its reporting has changed when the state of Qatar is not a part of the Saudi led coalition anymore and while it is with its diplomatic quarrel with its neighboring Gulf countries. Results show use of strong terms and words to describe the coalition that haven’t been used before ( torture, rape, abuse, violations, vicious, crimes) It might be that the state of Qatar is gradually becoming dependent on the media and its logic as in Al Jazeera and other media institutions , in this case, (The Daily Beast). In order to influence the media’s management of this vital resource, other institutions- in particular politics, but also industry and any other interest groups seeking to achieve political influence- must accommodate the logic of the media. By the media’s logic we understand their technological, aesthetical and institutional modus operandi by which they allocate material and symbolic resources, and work through formal and informal rules. Hjarvard, 2013, p43-44). But this needs further studies and I cannot conclude that this is the case in this one news article. What I can conclude though is that dimensions of mediatization of politics in this news article is not easy to define. As discussed earlier in chapter two, mediatization of politics has four dimensions. The first dimension is concerned with the extent to which the media constitutes the most important source of information and channel of communication. Assuming that Al Jazeera does that along with the second dimension of its independence as a media institution. The third and fourth dimension relates to media logic and
political logic. In the third dimension, within the analysis of the news article, one can not see a policy dimension or process dimension conveyed by political actors. Political elites have not been interviewed at all in this news article rather than humanitarian organizations and Yemeni witnesses. The news article mentions that according to the original report published in the Daily Beast, The US Central Command and the US Embassy in the UAE, as well as the CIA, refused to answer questions on this issue. So, in here it seems that the other side of the article were given the chance to comment but refused to do so. So one can understand from the content of the news article that some degree of media logic has been applied. Interestingly enough, the fourth dimension focuses on political actors and the degree to which they are governed by media logic or political logic. In this news article, the political actor has not commented at all and it might be because it is part of their media policy to not comment on these issues or it could be a part of their political policy. However, it is hard to make an assumption that is not researched based. Subsequently, even though, three of the four dimensions meet in the mediatization of politics, the fourth dimension was not clear and did not prevail. I attach the original article from the Daily Beast in Appendix 2.

Article Four: “Sanaa Restaurants offer free meals to the poor”.

Article’s Structure: News article “Sanaa Restaurants offer free meals to the poor” published 13.02.2017 by Al Jazeera.net. There are three images with sources underneath them with (Al Jazeera). The first image is at the top of the article with the caption: “«Share Your Food” initiative launched to help the poor and the needy. The second image is in the middle of the news article with a caption: “Workers and staff at Falafel Mualimen restaurant in Sana'a”. The last image is at the bottom of the news article with the caption: “A number of restaurants were involved in the "Share Your Food" campaign”. Number of words in the article is 484.

Article’s Angel: The article is about famine in Yemen and how people can't afford their own food. Yet, some restaurant owners offer free food to the poor after an online campaign promoting that.
Article Sources: There are named sources in the article of restaurant owners who help the poor and activists who campaigned. There is also a source of the top of the article referred to as: “Al Jazeera net”.

Article Analysis

This news article was published in 2017, where quantitative results in this research show that most orientation in the news scored positive to the Saudi led coalition in the war in Yemen. However, news article like this one scored “Other”. Other has the results with 12.62% in 2017 (Data image2). In the very beginning of the news article there a big picture of a restaurant. The news article starts by introducing the marginalized child, Bilal (14), who asks for a "falafel sandwich" and receives it to without payment. The child is used to coming back to the restaurant that serves free food for people who can't afford it, in a gesture from the restaurant owner, a Syrian national, residing in the Yemeni “capital” Sana’a. The Yemeni Ahmed Jalla, the owner's nephew, “said” those two months ago, they started this charity gesture. Anyone who does not have the value of "one sandwich" for 175 riyals can get it free of charge. The restaurant supervisor “indicates” that they are collaborating with charitable associations and organizations that work to deliver meals to needy families in a number of Sanaa neighborhoods. So far in this news article, even though there is not a journalist name, the news uses description of what it is like to be in the restaurant and bring in an actual and real situation that has happened. The news also quotes directly restaurant owners who have taken the initiative to feed the poor. Another interesting thing I noticed is that the Yemeni capital in this year of 2017 is Sanaa, contracting the news article published in 2019, where Aden is referred to as a “temporary” capital for Yemen. This indicates how fast the political environment changes in Yemen due to the war and as a consequent news articles. The news continues by quoting a worker in the restaurant with his full name, saying that this charity initiative came into place to feed the hungry and needy. The worker said that the local council of the Capital Municipality praised this gesture and expressed its readiness to provide support and assistance to continue working on providing free meals to the poor and needy. One of the characteristics in this news articles is that for the first time, there is a news article reporting from the ground about the Yemeni people and not the political elite. From the description above, one can assume that Al Jazeera journalist was in the restaurant, interviewing owner, workers and guests. The news starts again with a subtitle “Guster”. Under this subtitle, Ali Yahya, one of the restaurant's customers, praised the charity initiative and stressed that doing good and feeding the needy is now a must for every potential person, especially in the
difficult circumstances currently facing the Yemeni society. He “called” for the expansion of these charitable works targeting the poor who are suffering from “hunger” and do not have a livelihood, especially in light of the interruption of salaries five months ago, the spread of unemployment and increased number of “displaced persons, orphans and widows». Not only is Falafel a popular restaurant in Sana'a offering daily meals to the needy, many others support the initiative by activists in the "Share your Food" campaign, which distributes ready meals and food items to poor families in several neighborhoods within the capital. This part of the article is linked to Twitter and is highlighted and ready to be shared in Al Jazeera news article. It can be because of this online campaign on Twitter, Al Jazeera sent its journalist to the restaurant to cover the story and get an inside report. It is not directly mentioned but this news article contains more tweets than the previous ones. There are two links to twitter in Aljazeera news article that are integrated within the words itself. There is a picture of the campaign online next to the word “activist” in the campaign “share your food”. The article continues by ending this paragraph by writing that: Activists have recently launched a volunteer charity, “ Share your food”, a voluntary charitable initiative that helps poor people, especially families with no support to distribute food and ready-made meals, free of charge, in Sana'a, designed to meet the needs of families suffering from hunger and destitution. About seven restaurants and a bakery are participating in the "Share your food" initiative, at a time when hunger is becoming a nightmare for thousands of Yemeni families. Another subtitle is introduced in the news that states: “Death by Hunger”.

Under the sub title, the news article presents facts based on the UN meetings and appeals. In the news article it describes a statement published by the UN: “ Last week, the United Nations launched an appeal to raise $ 2.1 billion to provide food and other essential assistance needed by 12 million people in Yemen facing the threat of famine after two years of war”. “The situation is catastrophic and rapidly deteriorating,” said UN humanitarian coordinator in Yemen Jimmy McGoldrick. The news article quotes UNICEF representative in Yemen Mercilie Relano with : "About 3.3 million people, including 2.1 million children, are suffering from acute malnutrition." confirming that 10 million Yemenis need humanitarian assistance, including 3 million displaced people, and 60% of the population live on less than $ 2 a day. The news article continues by bringing in more facts from international organizations such as : The Norwegian Refugee Council. The council warned on Wednesday at the start of a donor conference for Yemen that two years after the escalation of the conflict left more than 17 million Yemenis hungry and with no food. "If the bombs do not kill you in
Yemen, the risk of slow and painful death from hunger is increasing," said the Secretary-General of the Norwegian Refugee Council, Jan Egeland. The article quotes him directly and it continues as in: "This means that we will see more horrific scenes of despair as famine spreads all over the country". This news article appeared could be categorized as neutral earlier in my quantitative analysis because it doesn’t have much political logic in it and it appears as if there has been more degree of media logic. This could be mediatized because “The process whereby culture and society to an increasing degree become dependent on the media and their logic” as (Hjarvard, 2013, p.17) describes. Hjarvard (2013) argues that the mediatization process is characterized by a duality, in that the media have become integrated into different aspects of life like social and cultural atmosphere. On the other hand, the media acquires the status of social institution in their own. I would argue that this article has maybe somehow been mediatized.

**Article 5: “The export of German arms to Saudi Arabia depends on the situation in Yemen”**

**Article structure:**

The article is built up around quotes given by the German foreign minister at a press conference. The main message of the article is that Germany might stop exporting arms to Saudi Arabia in the future, depending on how the peace process is going in Yemen. The article quotes the German foreign minister Heiko Maas, during a press conference given with the British Foreign Minister, Jeremy Hunt. The text also conveys the differences in the stances between Germany and Britain, regarding arms exports to Saudi Arabia. The article ends with facts and statistics telling that the German arms export to Saudi Arabia is in total 2 percent of international weapons sold to Saudi Arabia. The picture only picture of the article is located below the title. It features a portrait of the German foreign minister in a formal setting, on a stage with the German black, yellow and red flag in the background. There is one picture in the beginning of the article with the German foreign minister with the source (agencies). News article was published in 21.02.2019.
Article sources:
Heiko Maas, German foreign minister and unnamed press agencies.

Article Angels:
The article’s angle is revolving around that Germany will stop future weapons sales, if the peace process in Yemen is not going as planned. The backdrop for the already halt of export, is Germany's protest to the killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Kashoggi.

Article Analysis:
The sources quoted can arguably be said falls into the category of elite representation. The article is based around an elite representative, Germany's foreign minister, and Germany's new policy regarding weapons sales to the Saudi kingdom. This is media reporting on a policy process and future political stances regarding this topic. It can thus be derived that this article follows a political logic, more than media logic. It can also be noted that the quotes are taken from a press conference, which can be viewed as politicians moving into the sphere of media logic. The general tone of the article is critical towards Saudi Arabia, as it mentions the politically motivated assassination of the prominent Saudi journalist Jamal Kashoggi. It is also worth noting that the article makes it clear that if Germany permanently halts is export; this will affect the arms sales to Saudi Arabia significantly. Germany's two percentage of international export to Saudi Arabia, makes “only a fraction” of Great Britain and the USA’s export. The tone of the article can be seen to problematize the international weapons sales. The wording “only a fraction” can also prime the readers to reflect upon the scale of a possible problematic arms export to Saudi Arabia.

Article six: “Before heading to Abu Dhabi - Pope calls for respect for the truce of Yemen”

Article structure:
This article is published 02.03.2019 by Al Jazeera net. The fundament of this news article is statements of the Pope, urging the warring parties to upkeep the cease fire. The statement
comes just before the Pope travels to Emirates and meets the head of state. In addition, the article quotes Human Rights Watch. The NGO is vocally critical towards the Emirates participation in the war in Yemen, and list several human rights violations. The article features one picture, which is located below the main title. It shows a smiling pope Francis who waves his hand, while disembarking an airplane.

**Article sources**
The article is based on statements from pope Francis, in addition to reports and statements from Human Rights Watch.

**Article Angels**
The angle of the article is that an international elite representative of the world’s biggest religious institution argues for peace and respect of the truce. This happens just at the Pope will meet one of the most important policy makers in the Saudi-led coalition. The Popes quotes are not directly critical towards The Emirates and their policy makers. The addition of the critique of Emirates by Human Rights Watch, leaves no doubt that the article has a negative tone and angel towards the war and the what Emirates is doing in Yemen. The focus of the article and papal quotes are the situation for the civilians, especially Yemeni children who are deprived of food and vital necessities.

**Article Analysis**
This article interviews an elite representative about to meet another fellow elite representative. The latter have direct influence on the policy making and decision making regarding the war in Yemen. In light of this, one can argue that this text leans towards a political logic. It is worth noting that in the heading of the article, it is referred to “violations” done by the Emirates. This clearly indicates a negative and critical tone toward the war in Yemen, but also the policies of the Emirates. When the phrasing “stop its violations” is followed by several Human Rights Watch quotes and reports on the same note, this article solidly falls on the negative tone-side. Quotes from pope Francis is also mentioning “cries of children” that “rise to the presence of God”. One can argue that such language laden with images can follow a certain media logic, as such quotes often gets reported by media, as such wording has the potential to stir emotions in a broad audience. It is also worth noting this paragraph of the article: “The UAE has played a prominent role in the military operations of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen. Since March 2015, coalition forces have indiscriminately shelled homes,
markets and schools, hindered access to humanitarian aid, and used cluster munitions widely used locally”. Those claims are not from a Human Rights Watch Report, but facts presented by Al Jazeera itself. This wording and presenting of facts adds to the strong critical tone of the article and negative focus towards Emiraty policy and military actions in Yemen. It is also worth noticing that there exist several Human Rights Watch reports regarding the human rights situation in Qatar, but those reports are not mentioned. If it is so that such reports are a hot topic on countries Qatar have strained diplomatic relations towards, and in a significant lesser degree towards the situation in Qatar, one can raise the question if policy making is impacting journalistic reporting in Al Jazeera. However, this is a question that can be further researched. The clear negative tone of this article is coinciding with the strained political and diplomatic relations between the Gulf neighbors. Several such coinciding articles might raise the question of political logic and influence over Al Jazeera. In the same time, it can be argued that given the critical situation of Qatar and attempts to blockade the country for instance, Al Jazeera is interested in Qatar’s independence and survival, in order to preserve is own survival and independence. In such a scenario, the coinciding of reporting with policy making might not necessarily be sign of political influence over Al Jazeera. It can also be shared with mutual interests. Hjarvad explains by saying that there might be “considerable variations among individual countries regarding the degree of mediatization along each other four dimensions” (Hjarvard, 2013, p.45).

Article Seven: “Due to malnutrition, a generation of Yemeni children is threatened with loss”

Article structure
This article is published on 02.15.2019 and features a picture of a health personnel giving aid to an obviously starving and malnutrition child sitting on a woman's lap.

Article sources: The article is based on a United Nations Office for humanitarian affairs/World Food Program report on Yemen. In addition unnamed “agencies” and Al Jazeera is quoted as sources.
Article angel

The angle is on the humanitarian situation in Yemen and that the UN organizations terms Yemen the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. The article links this crisis directly to the war and simply writes of causality of the famine: “because of military operations”. The war torn city of Hodeidah is used as an example of where the expert sources mention children will suffer hardly from disease and malnutrition. Again in the middle part of the article, the war is named as causal factor of the hunger: “UN has repeatedly warned of widespread famine in the difficulty of access to food to the population as a result of the war”.

Article analysis: The article quotes several expert sources who can be placed in the category of elite representatives. The representatives quoted in the article do not have a great deal of influence on the policy making in and surrounding Yemen. The sources quoted are calling for the hostilities to end, so the humanitarian situation can be addressed. It can be argued that the representatives quoted are hoping for the appeals in media outlets to influence the policy makers. Thus one can argue that this article follows media logic, to a greater extent than a political logic. Appeals in the in media organizations are done in order to influence the political sphere and agenda. Famine, children falling ill and passing away, directly linked to the war leaves little doubt that this article has a very negative tone and angle towards the war.

In this section, from the discussion above and analysis, I would argue that even though articles have showed different tones in different periods during the coverage of the war in Yemen. Some of them show some degree of mediatization and some of them doesn’t. One needs to put the political atmosphere into the very understanding of mediatization of politics and its dimensions.

4.5 Analysis and Discussion of opinion polls published on Al Jazeera

4.5 Analysis and Discussion of Opinion polls in Al Jazeera Net
A key outcome of the mediatization of politics is the establishment of the media as an opinion industry according to Hjarvard (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 51). Al-Jazeera started in January 4, 2010 producing questioners about the situation in Yemen to involve public opinion. Those questionnaires and opinion polls have notably increased during the Saudi led coalition war to assess the opinion of the public. The institution didn’t have those opinion polls before because in Al Jazeera's archives online the first production of opinion polls appears in 2010. Even though opinion polls can be suggestive, it doesn't capture the dynamics Al Jazeera sets up in their full complexity. Rather basically, by recognizing that Al Jazeera has established this phenomenon in the last decade, one could argue that it could refer to mediatization. By this I mean that Al Jazeera's contribution to the formation of “public opinion becomes institutionalized as a permanent feature of modern politics, and the media no longer solely reflect politics but intimately involved in the very production of politics”. (Hjarvard, 2013, P.52). In the following figure, you will see some opinion polls published by the news channel in the year 2010. This translates in Arabic as follows:

1- Do you believe that an American intervention in Yemen contributes to stopping Al-Qaeda?
2- Do you see that foreign intervention takes Yemen out of its crisis?
3- Do you see that An American intervention in Yemen can stop Al-Qaeda activity?.
4- Do you expect An American military intervention in Yemen by the excuse of fighting Al-Qaeda?.

Opinion Poll 1. Aljazeera’s first opinion poll about Yemen. 4.1.2010.
Looking closely at opinion poll 1, the second question proposes if you agree on a “Foreign” military intervention in Yemen with its date on (31.1.2010). The way the question was asked and the language used might imply that “Foreign” refers to a western intervention, mainly American, since this happened previously in other countries like Iraq. The third question may confirm the implication by asking if you think that the American military intervention could stop Al-Qaeda’s activity, dated (7.01.2010).

Opinion Poll 2: Aljazeera’s opinion polls about Yemen, before and after the war, 2015.

The second figure of the opinion polls has a different set of questions. The year is 2015 from January to April. There are twelve questions in Figure 2 above. I will translate some selected questions that are number three and six. The third question translates as: “Do you support sending Arabic ground troops to Yemen?”, dated (5.4.2015). The sixth question asks if you support the Arab military intervention as to answering Yemeni president Hadi request to that, dated (29.3.2015). In here, one could argue that Al-Jazeera may have concluded that their active readers can support an Arab military intervention in Yemen but not an American one. This suggestion could be drawn from the set of questions asked by the opinion polls and the timing of it. Thus, one might raise the question if politicians may have known that as well and have had access to these opinion polls since they are in the public domain today. One can
raise another question about if the reader’s contribution to answering opinion polls may have helped in Al Jazeera's narrative of the conflict. However, this is not the discussion in this master thesis. We are not looking at the reasons behind the conflict and if media has played a role in initiating the conflict. What we are looking at in here is if some features of the mediatization of politics such as establishment of opinion polls are relevant. This confirms what (Hjarvard 2013, p.52) considers some features for the mediatization of politics. One of which is the rise of the media as a “semi-independent” institution and its influence on the agenda- setting and framing of political issues. Ultimately, one could argue that the mediatization of Al Jazeera as an institution can be reflected by the establishment of opinion polls on the Yemeni conflict in the period before and during the conflict 2010-2016. The second feature is the restructuring of the political communication features. Hjarvard argues that the interactive media today doesn’t only rely on the information produced by traditional media, but they very often also strive for public recognition via the mass media. Thus, using social media networks as means of publishing “recognizable” and “trustworthy” news doesn’t necessarily affect the greater public agenda before the traditional media such as television or radio takes it up. The rise of the new media has allowed political actors to enter the field of media production and distribution. But in order to make their messages influential beyond their circle of immediate supporters, they need the news media to report them and thereby bestow them with public recognition of both factual validity and societal importance” (Hjarvard, 2013,p.61). Al-Asiri received a lot of international attention in his job as a spokesman for the Arab military coalition in Yemen. He regularly appeared in the media to defend Saudi Arabia's warfare in the neighboring country. Looking closely at the reporting of the brigadier General Ahmed Al-Asiri, there is a sense of acceptance and a factual validity coming from a media insinuation such as Al-Jazeera. That is because he is allowed to speak and represent the facts about the interventions as the main mediator. However, there are no questions asked to him directly from the journalists convening the event live or not. Moreover, Al-Asiri has his own Facebook page where he produces and distributes his own messages to the public. During a recent visit to Oslo, Norway in Mars 2017, Al-Asiri was surprised by the way the Norwegian public received him with demonstrations led by the international organizations such as Amnesty. A group of activists were protesting the war on Yemen outside the Literature House in Oslo. As Al-Asiri held his lecture, Norwegian journalists asked him direct questions about the killings of civilians in Yemen and showed him pictures of Yemeni children attacked. This was new to him but the way the interaction happened, shows how interactive media can affect the political communication with a simple
Another feature to look at when analyzing mediatization of politics is the personalization and conversationalization of politics (Hjarvard, 2013, p.61). We can see that indirect mediatization was evident in accommodating to the news criteria and deadlines of the news, and also the communication in particular forms, morning press release for example in order to get access to the agenda of the news media (Hjarvard, 2013,p.62). Throughout the war, there was a strong sense of personalization of the conflict and the actors participating in it. We can see clearly in the way the General Asiri was leading the coalition in which he was mixing between his personal and political life. Al-Asiri spoke French to a reporter in Al-Arabiya channel and this event was clearly showing that his language abilities are to be put into consideration when approaching the Lebanese reporter and audience the news channel Al-Hadath. In YouTube, this small video where military and political details on the war in Yemen was the main topic, caught the attention of around 400,000 viewers in youtube because he adopted to the channels logic and culture which was speaking French. (2). In here, one could argue that it was a direct mediatization where Al-Asiri as a representation to the political and military institution had to adapt to the media and its logic. In addition, the military commander gave a face to the war, being as calm, deceive and reflective. One can argue that this resamples the name of the military action the (Decisive Storm). This kind of inter-personalizing has not happened before in the Arab region since it is the first time that a military action on this scale is led by an Arabic country itself being Saudi Arabia and not the Americans such they did in the Gulf war back in the 1990s to Iraq. The operation then was called (Desert Storm). One can argue that there has been some similarities when reporting the
war on Yemen and one can hear echoes of the Iraq war in Yemen. In 2003, it was the pentagon doing the briefing. These days, it comes out of Riyadh. Back then, it was the picture of Saddam and Al Qaeda in Iraq blown up by the media, today it is Houthi oppositional party led by Iran and Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Back then, it was Fox news and the New York Times among others, setting aside their journalism in favour of stenagonsy, these times, regional media outlets are doing the same such Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabia channels. It must be emphasized that media and politics have become more entangled but there is no consensus about the implications of this development with the development of technology and social media. Some authors fear that the “colonization” of politics by the media democracy will cause citizens to see politics only as an aesthetic phenomenon. Their idea is that the theatricality, personification, and suggestive power of image distracts from is/ought questions and that market logic replaces knowledge with entertainment (Meyer and Hinchman 2002. However, Asiri offers politics of personal style and this could open up much more for platforms for engagement, activity, and participation and maybe able to limit the authoritarian governance by “lowering the political hero to the level of the common citizen”. In the Yemeni conflict case, when the military personnel lower themselves to the level of the ordinary citizen hero is in order to influence public opinion as Al-Asiri did in public T.V and social media as I explained earlier when he approached different news channels and programs in different languages and different attitudes.

The fourth feature of mediatized politics is the development and dissemination of various forms of political commentary in the media (Hjarvard, 2013,p.72). This is clearly evident in Al Jazeera where there are political commentators, politicians and journalists taking parts in their video and online debates. Strombak and Esser (2014) refer to the debates between McCain and Obama and the media role as the “expectation game”. They argue that the media did not transmit the debates neutrally. Instead, for several days before the debates, the media speculated about the debates and their importance, thus shaping people’s expectations (Lundby, 2009, p. 206). Some would argue that Al Jazeera had added its own speculations since the political interest and logic supports that. Qatar is a major partner in the military actions. Regardless of whether the media was driving the expectation game, the media put their independent mark on the war in Yemen by their own speculations and bringing in commentators, political researchers and experts to talk about it. In a news program called The Arabic Reality, an episode was televised in May 2015, three main speakers and experts from three different locations (Istanbul, Doha and Ohaio) were interviewed by Al Jazeera reporter
about how Houthis use civilians as human shields. Even though there has been presence of law experts, there is no presence of Houthi side at all. However, this was televised during the war and one can argue that in times of war, narratives change and become more biased. Before the war in 2015, Houthis as a political party had some presence in the media even though they prefer not to. As a political party they had no option but to participate in the debates to put forward their point of view since the debates are televised. We can see that through the involvement of the other parties in the war in Yemen which is Al-Houthi side in media debates, mediatization can be touched to a degree. Before the war, Al-Houthi was not much interested in showing in media channels such as Al-Jazeera but as the conflict escalated, they had no option but to participate in some of Al-Jazeera programs and debates to convey their messages. The Houthis might not agree on Al-Jazeera's narrative, but they had to adapt to the media logic and the Houthis as a political institution had accepted that they need to participate in the very production of media. In a program called Today's Meeting televised in Al jazeera channel in October 2014, a Houthi spokesman explains that they took control of Sanaa, capital of Yemen in coordination with officials and embassies. Put simply, Mazzoleni and Schultz (1999) summarizes the main effects of mediatization of politics: first, their agenda-setting capacity; second, that the media in general and television and the “Tabloid press” in particular makes politics spectacular and personalized. The third effect is the fragmentation of politics; the fourth, the selection of political elites through the imposition of media-driven mechanisms on the political communication. The mediatization of politics is usually discussed on a theoretical basis (Lundby, 2013, p.6) Nonetheless, due to limited time and resources, I cannot study the effects of mediatization of politics on the public sphere or on politicians themselves as to understand more about their relation to Al Jazeera in specific and mass media communication in general. But it would be interesting to take this further by future research. My very specific focus has been analyzing features of the mediatization theory described by Hjarvard (2013) that are establishment of the media as an opinion industry, personalization, conversational of politics, development of political commentary and development or dissemination of various forms of political commentary in the media.

As the research shows, the use of opinion polls regarding the war in Yemen was frequent from 2010 to 2015. The motivation for Al Jazeera to use opinion polls can be several. When launching opinion polls, Al Jazeera will receive information and indication about what the readers and viewers think about the topics in question. In light of the Agenda- setting theory, the news outlet can get indications regarding if their articles have impact in shaping people's
views on the topics in question. This could help contribute to indication if Al Jazeera and their reporting have impact in having an impact in what the readers think. Another possible function of the opinion polls is to analyze the degree of people participating in the polls. If the readers have opinions about the topic and if the questions are engaging. The number of participants can also indicate to what degree and extent the readers are concerned with the topics. Low participation can possible be an indication that the topic is not on the audience’s agenda. This can also be useful when evaluating the reporting and how the stories are presented. In other words, if the readers have an opinion about the topic In light of this, the opinion polls could be relevant in several ways, in the scope of the theory of Agenda Setting.

The polls and their results are open to the public. Because of this, it can also be that the policy makers take note of the results of the polls. In Arabic countries the usage of opinion polls are less common than in Europe and USA. Thus is it also less information available for the policy makers about the popularity and support of their policies. In many countries that Al Jazeera Arabic are red and viewed, the classical democratic institutions are not there or largely developed. This is mechanism that allow for voters, organizations and labor/employer forces to have a saying on the policies made. The combination of less prevalence of opinion polls done by professional agencies and less developed democratic institutions, allows for a possible gap of information regarding the support of the policies made by the policy makers. In light of this, Al Jazeera’s opinion polls might also serve as a feedback on the policymaker’s actions and also to assess if a possible action might garner popular support. It is also worth noting that the opinion polls done by Al Jazeera have challenges regarding how representative the views expressed are. The polls are not likely to give a reliable and solid indication of the opinions of the general public, due to several reasons. It might be that an amount of Al Jazeera’s readers have an opinion about a given topic, but do not respond to the poll. It can be that the readers who have a very strong opinion will reply to the polls. In the light of this, such polls are not likely to give as reliable an valid results, as for instance a randomized selection of people asked. However, the results of the polls might serve as an indication only to the news organization and the policy makers.

4.6 The Process of mediatization of Politics during Saudi led coalition war in Yemen
As mentioned earlier in chapter two, Strömbäck (2008) puts forward a model that contains four stages to explain in depth more about the process of mediatization of politics. This model assumes that the mediatization of politics is a dynamic process where changes are allowed and possible during the assessment. The first aspect of the mediatization of politics is the degree to which the media constitute the most important or dominant source of information on politics and society. A second aspect is the degree to which the media are independent from political institutions in terms of how the media are governed. A third aspect is the degree to which the media content is governed by a political logic or by media logic. A fourth aspect, finally, is the degree to which political actors are governed by a political logic or by media logic (Strömbäck, 2008, p.234). Strömbäck further notes that the four dimensions are highly inter-correlated, but it is helpful to breakdown of the concept of the mediatization of politics into separate dimensions because this might help clarify the concept in assessments of the degree to which politics in a particular setting is mediatized. The first dimension reflects that the beginning toward the mediatization of politics is the mediation of politics. The model suggests that the media is the primary source of political information and thus its role to mediate is important as a first phase. In this master thesis, I would argue that Al Jazeera as a news channel has transmitted messages through its different outlets, including its website www.aljazeera.net, about different political and military processes in Yemen. Al Jazeera has acted as a mediator between the Arab audience on the one hand, and the Arab political institutions on the other. "Al Jazeera distinguished itself by its attempts to reach out to a large Arab audience, discussing issues that are pressing in the Arab and Muslim world, in general, and the conflict ridden Middle East, in particular" (Zayani, 2005, p.6.) In a study done by Robert, O Keohane and Nye (1998), they claim that because Al Jazeera is considered one of the biggest successes for Qatar in term of publicity and political communication. Today, it claims a central place among the Gulf states. More than any other Arab state, Qatar has arguably developed the potential to impose on Arab viewers a particular reading of world events.

In the second phase, the media become more independent of political institutions, and journalists can somehow choose the news themselves and according to their line of work. Looking at Al Jazeera Arabic, I have argued that it was the primary source of information during the coalition and it has played a major role in mediation. In the second phase, I can not directly claim that journalists were able to choose news themselves because I was not with them or at their field at the time. However, one can see in the news and in Al Jazeera's
televised programs that journalists were able to comment and ask questions to different sides when interviewed in other political programs in the channel but never in LIVE sending.

Some would argue that the politics of Al Jazeera might be a way for “diplomacy” for Doha because Qatar is not known for its democratic system or does it have a long history of free press.

“When the kingdom of Saudi Arabia among other countries complains about some programs or news sending about the BBC for example to the British ministry of foreign affairs, the answer is that Her majesty can't interfere with the editorial independence of the channel since its editorial is immune by law. A similar scenario seems to occur in the case of Qatar and Al Jazeera: each time a government complains about a particular program on Al Jazeera, Qatar consistently maintains it can not interfere because of the editorial independence of the channel”. (Zayani, 2005, p.49).

Figenschou (2010) argues in her book that it serves the strategic interests of the Qatari authorities to downplay its involvement in the satellite network because Al-Jazeera only serves Qatar as long as it maintains its editorial independence, or at least is perceived to be editorially independent by the outside world. (Figenschou, According to Al Jazeera officials Al Jazeera is an independent public institution. Both government and Al-Jazeera officials maintain that the network is independent and that its only connection to Qatari authorities is through its funding. This process continues in the third phase, but here the political institutions begin to accommodate to the demands of the news media, for instance, by communicating politics in accordance with news criteria or journalistic deadlines (Hjarvard, 2013, P. 45). This can be touched through the press releases that the Saudi government for example produced concerning the Yemeni crisis and the way official spokesmen had to adapt to Al Jazeera's criteria deadlines. For example, there was a tendency of addressing the public and the media in the mornings. Al-Asiri, showed videos on targets destroyed and the news narrative are formed in a way that accommodates media environment. In this sense, one can argue that the political institution has adapted to the environment of the media in order to be relevant to the very production of the news. Since the main research question asks if media coverage of Al Jazeera news has changed covering the war in Yemen and if mediatization of politics can explain this change, this dimension is one of the main cores of the mediatization research since it touches upon two important terms in mediatization studies which is media logic and political logic. This can only be answered by empirical studies of concrete cases.
And I will be doing that later in chapter three where I analyze news coverage on the war on Yemen throughout different time periods and different content in news articles in Al Jazeera arabic website www.al jazeera.net.

In the final phase, political institutions not only accommodate the logic of the media, but also internalize the media logic to such an instance that media considerations become part and parcel of everyday political thinking and action, including the development of political ideas and priorities (Hjarvard, 2013, P. 45). This raises the question if political actors mainly are governed by media logic in the Yemeni conflict. As I mentioned earlier, Asiri was in Oslo to hold a lecture about the significance of the Saudi led coalition after being publicly criticized by national and international media and civil organizations for their civilian casualties. As a representative for the political institution, he had to adapt to the logics of media and its governing to convey his message and that include travelling around the world to hold lectures and give interviews. However, his encounter with Norwegian press was not as he expected and he had to adapt to its rules and reply accordingly. Assiri was sacked as the head of intelligence by the Saudi king Bin Salman in 2018 after the murder of the Saudi journalist in Istanbul Jamal Khashoggi. Taken together, there are four process of mediatization of politics. First is the media (Al Jazeera) as the most important source of information in the Arab region. Second is Al Jazeera’s independence mainly as a media institution even though it is funded by the Qatari state. Third is media content governed by media logic as in Al Jazeera’s structural and ethical guidelines and finally political actors mainly governed by media logic as the media landscape is changing? Strömbäck notes that the model is based on a logical priority and that different political systems might influence the model and its order as it does within the case of Al Jazeera’s coverage of the Saudi led coalition war in Yemen. As (Silverstone, 2007, p.5) uses another term and metaphor to describing these changes. He said “the media are becoming environmentally… We have become dependent on the media for the conduct of everyday life. They have become the sine qua non of the quotidian”.
5. Conclusion

In this last chapter I take a broad look at the main research question of this study: *Has Al Jazeera media coverage changed with time and can mediatization as a theory explain this change?*. I start by summing up and reflecting upon the main findings of my study. I conclude with some suggestions for future research.

One of the main goals in this research has been to find out if Al Jazeera has changed its media coverage of the war in Yemen with time and if any of this change can be explained by the theory of mediatization. To answer the question, I use quantitative content analysis for 687 news articles online on www.aljazeera.net. I then broke down the definition of the mediatization of politics and its features defined by different scholars Esser (2013), Hajrvar (2013) and Stromback (2008) to connect it to the results obtained by the analysis. This is to compare and see if there are similarities or differences. This has been a challenging process but has but opened up opportunities to have more diverse discussions to the mediatization in politics in other systems in the world with other media institutions such as in the Arab region. Results show that in the first period of 2015, which is before the initiation of war in Yemen, news article tones are mostly characterized by a positive content towards the Gulf initiative and its local partners in Yemen. However, other tones such as Neutral, Negative, Other and None have also appeared to be in the content of news articles. I argue that even though the positive tone reveals, some degree of mediatization of politics was found because of the existence of media logic in some news articles. In the second period in 2017, which is during the war in Yemen, news coverage has been characterized by having mostly positive tones as well yet different. However, during this period tones like Neutral has largely been reduced. I argue that most of this period, coverage of the news by Al Jazeera was mostly mediated and not mediatized because of the dominance of political logic in news articles within the positive tone. Yet still, the presence of other tones in other news articles has raised the question if some degree of media logic has been applied and thus some degree of mediatization has been found. Nevertheless, the period of 2017 can be explained by the “rally around the flag” concept by Stromback (2008) where media and politics become one in times of war. In the third period, which is during the conflict between Gulf countries, Negative tone
scored the highest in Al Jazeera's news articles online when covering the Saudi led coalition war in Yemen. It seems as if the news channels policy has changed to become as for the enemy of my enemy is my friend. This confirms that Al Jazeera has changed its media coverage on the war in Yemen with time. As I analyzed data closely, I found it necessary to study some random selected news articles to break down the mediatization theory and find if there has been some degree of mediatization of politics in them. I analyze article’s structure, angel, sources and text. In the first article analyzed by qualitative text analysis, I argue that even though two dimensions in the mediatization of politics were in place which is Al Jazeera as the main source for the news and Al Jazeera as a semi-independent media institution. It didn't qualify on the third and fourth dimension with media logic. It was mostly political logic that dominated these two latter dimensions. Subsequently, mediatization of politics dimensions in the second article has been difficult to grasp because the news article tone was Neutral. But the fact that Neutral news articles were present in times of war in 2017, raises the question if political logic has been somehow replaced by media logic and thus confirming that this news article has been rather mediatized during this period. Within this context, the third article in qualitative text analysis has shown to be with a negative tone in 2019. In here, Al Jazeera mostly quotes other media institutions and other organizations to convey the torture happening to Yemeni detainees in Aden. What can be observed in this news article is that when the political situation has worsened between the Gulf countries, Al Jazeera’s reporting towards the Saudi led coalition has included more facts using external news media organizations and human rights organizations. Which raises a question if media logic has been applied more than political logic because of a political change? However, I argue that even though I find some degree of mediatization in the news article, I can't conclude with it being mediatized. In the fourth news article, I didn't find dominance of any political logic but rather a news article that could be published as a feature article instead. However, this news article has shown that Al Jazeera as a media institution of its own has acted upon an internet campaign and used its own resources to follow it up. The news article I would argue has been mediatized culturally because the society has become dependent on the media and its logic and vice versa. In article five and six, tones were negative toward the Saudi led coalition but I argue that it is because Qatar is not friends with Saudi Arabia any more. In the last article, seven, Even though it is categorized as other and comes from a human perspective, it is not enough to conclude that is mediatized. Opinion polls showed some degree of mediatization but that is only an indication to the features I discussed in chapter four.
As I have worked on this thesis, I realized that news articles that include political aspects are harder to classify and analyzed because of the internal and external forces shaping both the media and the public. I have also understood that political institutions have sometimes accommodated to the media logic to get their message through and to be heard. Sometimes, by sending their political statement directly to the news channel, and sometimes by not commenting at all. I also realized that it might be easier to classify mediatization within the cultural and society aspect rather than the political one. The evidence is far from clear cut. However, my findings as shown in the following table, show that the tone of Al Jazeera’s articles covering the war has changed significantly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>43,55</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>27,4</td>
<td>10,32</td>
<td>14,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>34,11</td>
<td>1,40</td>
<td>3,74</td>
<td>12,62</td>
<td>48,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>32,6</td>
<td>6,9</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>47,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My research finds that the change of tone and angle coincides with Saudi Arabia showing hostilities and blockading its former ally, Qatar. I also point out that the change of the political relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar is a possible causal factor to the change of Al Jazeera’s coverage. This is also a question of possible future research.

The significance of this study is that it contributes to understanding role of regional media institutions such as Al Jazeera Arabic media in the Arab world and its connection to the mediatization theory. I argue that this study is unique because it provides data and insight within the role of Al Jazeera as a media institution, in connection with the political process before in Yemen that has manifested itself into war today in 2019. It also provides insights of how political environment in the Arab Gulf can affect media coverage and Al Jazeera's news articles, while media itself has affected some political actor’s way of communication.

5.1 Recommendations for future research
First of all, it is important to know more about changes, happening or not, in Al Jazeera’s news coverage in the Arab region because it is the biggest news channel in the region. The Arab region has 22 countries with over 400 million speaking Arabic. Not to mention those who live abroad and have access to Al Jazeera through internet or broadcasting. I believe that in order to understand media's influence and its relation to conflict, quantitative and qualitative studies should be contacted not only within the channel itself, but also with its working staff from journalists, reporters, presenters and researchers. Secondly, the war in Yemen poses an interesting aspect because it is the first time that ten Arab countries form a military coalition to fight another Arab country. This kind of militarization is new in the Arab region because the gulf has recently developed its military institution especially after the Arab spring.

This study could have been more comprehensive by including interviews with Al Jazeera journalists who covered the war in Yemen, editors and photographers since most of the images obtained in this study, shows that pictures were taken by Al Jazeera net. This study could also have also been better with interviews with political actors to understand their way of communication with mass media and what they think. Further, obtaining resource quantitatively from Al Jazeera news website for its published news articles could have contributed more to understanding the process of how and why the news tones have changed. This study is not meant to represent all media and political aspects in the Arab world but by analyzing the biggest Arabic speaking news media institution Al Jazeera Arabic, I would argue that it might help researchers get a better understanding of the media environment in the Arab region. As a consequence, Al Jazeera’s relation to the Yemeni war as both within the political and media logic. In other words, some of the scholarly research in mediatization of politics lacks perspective in the pluralist model and this research can help fill in this gap. During this process of working with the master thesis, I have learned that media coverage in news institutions can vary across time and political systems. However, I have learned that there is not only one answer to how media influences the process of change and how both society and media institution have an interdependent relationship with each other. Media and politics complement each other. Influence theories in general and in specific mediatization is a complex issue, with no easy or straightforward formula. As such, I would agree with what Lundby (2009) has concluded in his book of mediatization: “If we take mediatization as a topic, a research question or a perspective rather than a specific theory, then we can benefit
from this wide range of conceptual associations among the work of these and other scholars and avoid the need to debate the details.
Reference List:


Finfgeld-Connett D. (2010). *Generalizability and transferability of meta-synthesis research findings*. Retrieved from:


**Appendix 2**
نـس بيان الرئيس اليمني عبد ربه منصور هادي
Appendix 1 Articles on Al Jazeera net.
For more info about The Yemeni National Dialogue, I recommend the paper done by: Kim SALMUTTER. “Why did the transition process in Yemen fail?”.

See AJ English in depth information about Saleh Who is Saleh?


Online Article on Gulf News: Boycott Qatar.

What is Qatar’s role in Yemen tell about the Gulf crisis. An Article published by Arab News in 2017.

An Article published online on Middle East Monitor in 2018: Qatar Aids Yemen with 20 million dollars.


Author’s Translation in all Headlines News Articles from Arabic to English.

Author’s Translation.

Author’s Translation.

You can find the orginal order in the White house wesite: https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states/

Author’s Translation.