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## **The Internal Conflict of Syria in The Construction of Al-Jazeera**

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### **Abstract**

This study aims to analyze Al-Jazeera's contribution to the dynamics of the internal conflict in Syria. The method used in this study is the qualitative descriptive method with Nicholas Onuf's constructivism approach. Researchers collected primary data by interviewing several relevant informants and secondary data through documentation studies, archival, document-based, and internet-based research. This study found that the media not only functions as a monitor but can also be used as a driving force by state actors. In addition, it was found that al-Jazeera took actions as an agent and information service provider, which encouraged the Syrian people to move and ultimately stimulated the internal conflict between the Syrian regime and the Syrian people. This study has extensive limitations regarding the dynamics of the conflict in the Middle East, which also provides settings for the internal conflict in Syria. However, this study can contribute to developing the repertoire of International Relations Studies, especially in understanding the contribution of global media to the socio-political dynamics of a country.

**Keywords:** Al-Jazeera, Constructivism, Internal Conflict, Media, Syria.

### **Introduction**

The conflict in Syria is not an event that happened by itself. This conflict was part of a phenomenon known as the Arab Spring. Arab Spring is a phenomenological phenomenon because similar symptoms occur in its categorization. The Arab Spring is a phenomenon of political upheaval that occurs in North African and Middle East countries. This political turmoil occurred in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Syria, where the people demanded political rights, human rights, and other freedoms such as freedom of opinion, expression, and economy.

The turmoil in Arab society nine years ago is evidence of the changing phenomena and trends that help us understand contemporary conflicts. The waves of turmoil in Arab society are evidence of the influence of the development of information technology on the current conflict landscape. The factor distinguishing the Arab Spring phenomenon from other phenomena is the involvement of media such as Al-Jazeera and Wikileaks and the use of other media such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube (Goldstein, 2011). The incident that started in Tunisia through the Bouazizi phenomenon could impact the fall of a strong

leadership figure such as Husni Mubarak in Egypt (Yuli, 2011). After the fall of leaders such as Ben Ali and Mubarak in early 2011, the governments of Middle Eastern countries responded to the revolutionary waves in their countries in various ways. Syria is one of the countries that has responded harshly. However, there are similarities in factors among the countries affected by the Arab Spring, especially in the cases of Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria.

First, these three countries have leaders of authoritarian regimes that have been in power for a long time. Second, only one party in the political system limits people's aspirations. Third, these countries have had several human rights violations and strict press restrictions. Fourth, these countries are experiencing bad economic situations and high levels of unemployment. Sahide et al. (2015) also stated that these fluctuations were caused by two other factors: the increase in activism among intellectuals and the role of media.

### **Literature Review**

Several previous studies on media studies and international relations have been conducted. Researchers such as Gilboa (2009), Robinson (2002), and Livingston (2011) have conducted several discussions about media in international relations. They emphasized that the media have a role in influencing the dynamics of international politics. Three of them stated that the media can influence a country's policies, known as the *CNN Effect*. Although all of them found the influence of the media in the dynamics of international relations, they still underlined that there are factors that can inhibit, reduce, and negate the *CNN Effect*.

Studies on the relationship between media and intrastate and interstate conflict itself have been conducted by Kinali & Nerso (2013), Chutel (2014), Kenshanahan (2018). In their research, they found that media plays a role in a conflict by opening space for the debate of the conflict and providing awareness of the problems that occur for the people. If the public is aware of the problems, the community will encourage the Government to make a policy that the community desires. However, this process may not be as simple as we think. In addition, the media can also play a role as one of the causes of the escalation of a conflict. Some previous research found that the media is also associated with conflict resolution. Choi & James (2007), Gilboa (2009), and Olfefeld (2010) show that the media can be one of the factors that reduce conflict and encourage the creation of conflict resolution. The changing characteristics and influence of the media are some of the impacts of changes and developments in information and communication technology. However, the role of media in creating conflict resolution is still a topic that gets little attention from practitioners and scholars. Media can also be an inhibitor tool in conflict resolution. Previous research has also proven that the media has a relationship with other non-state actors, as shown by Myhre & Berg-Nordlie (2016) and Duck et al. (2003). Their research shows that media can influence people's perceptions more positively and protectively. As stated above, previous studies contributed to this research conceptually and practically. However, research on the construction of Al-Jazeera as a global media outlet for internal conflicts, especially in Syria, is still limited. Therefore, this research tries to fill in the gaps of the previous research about media's contribution to an internal conflict in a country.

Researchers use a constructivist perspective to examine cases of the Syrian conflict. The assumption of constructivism is based on the argument that human life practices are constructions made by humans. In the constructivist approach, the relationship between humans is primarily a cultural thing, not a material phenomenon. Constructivism also argues that the existing structure regulates behavior and constructs identities and interests. Therefore, to analyze a phenomenon, it must begin with an analysis of the power and interests. Constructivism shows that identity and interests are socially constructed and can create the possibility of change. Therefore, constructivism has two essential principles: 1) Structures of human association are determined from common ideas rather than determined

by material power, and 2) The identity and interest of the actors concerned are constructed from the ideas that come from nature (Wendt, 2003). To concretize constructivism, it is necessary to define the actors (analysis unit) and the structures (level). The understanding of the agent and the structure is based on two critical agreements in most social studies, namely: 1) humans and human-formed organizations are actors with the goal that both actions will change the society in which they are in; 2) society is formed from social relation that will form interactions between humans and organizations that have a purpose. Therefore, structures and agents can be interdependent and influence each other. Approaches in social research that see humans as interpretive (subject directed at goals) will look at the agent's goals, beliefs, and self-understanding. Then, when discussing humans as complex organisms that process stimuli, such as the behaviorism approach, we will explain the structure as limiting the agents' choices. This conceptualized structural system will be understood as a structure that produces or describes the agent.

Media plays a vital role in the construction of reality in humans. The media can shape narratives and oppose narratives. According to the constructivist approach, human behavior is shaped by ideas, values, and norms in humans themselves. Knowledge is a construction of what humans have understood so far, and this knowledge cannot be separated from statements and symbols. Symbols and statements produce language, which later produces materialistic things. The construction of media reality cannot be avoided because the relationship between the world and the media itself is constructive. Media will form the social reality of an individual. The individual will have social categorizations such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and others through the sources he receives from the media. This categorization will eventually shape reality. Thus, the construction carried out by the media is significant.

### **Research method**

The research method used in this research is qualitative because the research object is complex and relatively unstructured. A qualitative approach can be an approach that is entirely appropriate to describe the communication construction carried out by al-Jazeera as a major media in the Middle East regarding the internal conflicts in Syria. The constructivist perspective puts aside things that are natural and rejects objective reality. The constructivism approach is also inseparable from the subjectivity constructed from the values possessed by the researcher. Qualitative methods are used because this research aims to describe the construction carried out by al-Jazeera on the Syrian people, which can lead to conflict. Researchers will specifically use a process tracing strategy. Al-Jazeera's preaching in the context of researchers is the coverage of al-Jazeera in the news about the Arab Spring in the Middle East. The report that will also be observed is the preaching of Al-Jazeera, which was conducted in 2011. The historical method is essential in this research because, through this method, researchers will critically search, test, and analyze records and legacies of the past.

Researchers will look for sources related to the onset of the Arab Spring, Al-Jazeera, and the conflict that occurred in Syria. This research uses 2 data sources, namely primary and secondary data. The variety of the data sources used aims to provide research accuracy and credibility. This research used secondary data collection techniques. The secondary data used in this research was taken from various articles, scientific journals, dissertations, theses, books, and available text sources. First, data from various forms and sources that already exist are collected. Then, the data will be categorized based on the themes covered in the research, such as data on the Arab Spring, the Syrian conflict, and the al-Jazeera reporting. The data is then sorted and will be reduced. This research tries to analyze the data by testing it using a theory that is presumed to describe the relationship between al-Jazeera and the Arab

Spring that occurred in Syria. Constructivism theory, with its derivative concept, namely the Speech Act, is the initial foundation for seeing whether there is an element of communication construction carried out by al-Jazeera that caused the turmoil of the Arab Spring in Syria.

## **Discussion**

### **Constructivism in the Analysis of the Syrian Internal Conflict**

Researchers first describe the basic assumptions of constructivism related to the media. One of the arguments of the constructivist approach is that people form society, and society shapes people. This goes both ways and continuously. A third element exists between people and society, namely *rules*. A rule is a statement that tells people "What to do." Rules in the context of this research are linked to illegal rules. In line with what Onuf explained, rules can also be interpreted as unwritten rules resulting from the preaching of al-Jazeera. The rules allow participants to act against these rules, including breaking or obeying the rules, making, changing, and even eliminating the rules. Rules can tell participants who are active in the community.

According to the constructivist approach, these participants are called *agents*. Agents can act for themselves, others, or other groups. The actions of *agents* depend on the prevailing social conditions. Agents act for society and become part of it. The goals this agent wishes to achieve reflect the needs and desires of people regarding their material circumstances. Every society has rules that tell the agent which goals are appropriate. Agents do not have to be human. Agencies can act in other forms of social construction, such as family institutions, government agencies, and the state. An example of this agent not necessary to be as a human is when a president speaks at the United Nations. In this case, the president does not represent himself, but he represents his country. In this context, the state is also speaking. Therefore, countries, multinational companies, and international government organizations are agents of international community order (Kubalkova et al., 1998). The agent referred by Onuf that will be discussed in this study is al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera appears as an agent who will form and strive for the formation of an unwritten rule that will later stimulate the conflict in Syria.

A *speech act* is a concept derived from security studies. The speech act is a process of securitization. Securitization is the formation of the reality of a threat by the elite of a country. Securitization can occur in several economic, social, and environmental sectors. Securitization of such matters as refugees and terrorism can occur through a speech about the importance of security in this regard. These words were repeated over and over until the community finally believed and supported the political policies carried out by this matter (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). Therefore, a speech act can be used by certain parties to form a reality that ultimately results in certain behaviors desired by the speech act actors. In this research, researchers use speech to act as an approach to how parties with interests can shape a reality that produces a specific behavior. In Nicholas Onuf's concept, there are the terms rules and agents. Rules allow agents to act in their world and vice versa. Society forms rules, and rules shape society. Agents can spread the word and get people to respond by discussing the rules. The act of speaking to make others act is called a speech act. In short, the act of speaking the words could cause the agent to act in a way that is consistent with what the speaker intends. The act of speaking must have the following objectives: affirm something, demand something, and promise something.

When the speech act repeats continually and produces the same effect, the repetition of the speech act becomes significant. Then, when the speech act is repeated repeatedly, people would believe the words. People's belief in the speech of acts is called *convention*; people believe that the state given by the speech of acts is actual and is not formed by the agent or the person constructing reality. Therefore, language (which is incarnated in words in

a rule) and the speech act process are the initial foundation in the perspective of constructivism to construct the world before later forming rules, institutions, and practices in international political reality (Kubalkova et al., 1998). The concept of speech act will be used in the following discussion to see how al-Jazeera preaching is carried out to change rules and shape reality that ultimately encourages certain behaviors or actions.

### **Al-Jazeera in Qatar as the Agents of Change in Syria**

The appearance of Agents results from a system that has occurred before. Al-Jazeera emerged due to the development of globalization, democracy, and capitalism. More specifically, al-Jazeera emerged as a part of a strict censorship system and robust government control of the media in the Middle East. Al-Jazeera has also emerged as a diplomatic tool of the modern world for Qatar due to the development of diplomatic practices currently.

Al-Jazeera, both al-Jazeera English and al-Jazeera Arabic, have differences in matters of internal guidance. It is important to remember that this internal guidance will influence the editorial and news process. Al-Jazeera English has and continues to develop internal guides and instructions on what to say and not to say about recurring controversial incidents and sensitive languages. Normative languages are commonly used in Al-Jazeera English's internal guidelines, and imperative language structures and expressions of obligation dominate these guidelines. Besides, descriptive languages also characterize other sectors of internal guidance.

Researchers say the absence of internal guidance opens the door for Qatari officials close to al-Jazeera officials. It cannot be denied that the establishment of al-Jazeera will open a new dimension to the politics of the Qatari state. Qatar and al-Jazeera emerge as agents in the international system in the Middle East. Al-Jazeera establishes policies that allow journalists to set political agendas by allowing them to make programs that often trigger friction with other Arab countries (Boyce, 2013). The existence of this freer draft regulation frees journalists who sometimes have minimal areas of movement in the Middle East.

Similar to the concept of economic liberalization—when we cut the regulations, economic activity will grow to the maximum—researchers saw that the existence of the internal regulations and guidelines from Al-Jazeera opens an opportunity for journalists to maximize their journalism activities. For example, a team from Al-Jazeera dares to create a program that broadcasts incompetence and corruption cases in the Middle East region. Al-Jazeera also dared to voice taboo comments about Israel. Al-Jazeera has also drawn much controversy. One of the conversions carried out by al-Jazeera was the coverage and broadcasting of al-Jazeera about the invasion of Iraq. Al-Jazeera is considered a mouthpiece for terrorists and is considered biased, so at that time, the US government demanded Al-Jazeera to close its office. The emir of Qatar is willing to shut down al-Jazeera if the United States agrees to shut down Fox News, too. In this case, the media and the state have a reciprocal relationship.

Despite this, Al-Jazeera's relationship with Qatar is still a matter of debate: 1) whether Qatar can use Al-Jazeera as a direct instrument of its foreign policy or not; 2) whether Al-Jazeera journalists know the direction of Qatar's foreign policy 3) to what extent similar action between the journalists and Qatari policies can be taken. On several occasions, Qatar's emir and prime minister have felt disturbed if al-Jazeera moved beyond the borders.

Researchers have found several opportunities for al-Jazeera to appear profitable and aligned with Qatar's foreign policy. With a widely connected network, al-Jazeera was successful in helping Qatar to get the contacts of actors involved in the conflict, which were eventually used to mediate the conflicts. One of the evident successes was when Qatar succeeded in mediating the conflict in Lebanon in 2008. The actions taken by Qatar were

very solutive, almost solving all the main problems except for one problem, which is regarding the Hizbollah weaponry. Qatar also succeeded by mediating between the Sudanese Government and the rebel groups in Sudan. The peace agreement was then made in Doha in March 2010.

Qatar and Al-Jazeera's relationship can be expressed as mutually beneficial. With Al-Jazeera's help, Qatar managed to mediate the conflict and gain political popularity and influence in the region. On the other hand, with the stability created by Qatar, Al-Jazeera will get more consumer market opportunities.

Under the leadership of Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa, Qatar's policies led to the policies that were opportunist, pragmatic, and personal (Boyce, 2013). Change and reforms in the Middle East were unprecedented because the people were too apathetic to stand up to their governments. The Qatari Government was clever to see the roots of the revolution that occurred in Tunisia, which has the potential to trigger new resistance in the Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, Qatar and Al-Jazeera took the initiative to join the wave of change.

Syria was one of Qatar's priority countries during the revolutionary wave in the Middle East. Before the revolution, a personal relationship existed between Bashar and Asma al Assad and the Emir and Sheikha Mozah. When the root problem of the friendly approach began to appear, it was hoped that the Syrian Government would implement long-term reforms to avoid the revolution that has occurred in the countries of North Africa. Boyce (2013) shows that the civil war that occurred in Syria is not something that cannot be avoided. Assad initially wanted stability in his country. However, to his surprise, Assad lied to his people as well as to the Qatari and Saudi governments. It certainly made the Emir of Qatar express his support for removing Assad from the leadership.

### **Al-Jazeera's *Speech Act* on Political Transformation Efforts in Syria**

Speech Acts are one way to create, change, and implement rules that make people move within a specific range of behaviors. However, it is necessary to know that the impact of Speech Acts will vary depending on the agents that carry out these actions. Al-Jazeera has a Chairman Council that deals directly with the political leadership. This Chairman Council will carry out editorial directives. When the revolution happened in Syria, Al-Jazeera was silent for several weeks. There are instructions from the top company circle to wait and see. However, after that, al-Jazeera suddenly became very focused on Syria. According to Hajjawi, the Head of the Quality Unit of Al-Jazeera Arabic, the following coverage was partial to a side supporting the revolution and hostility against the Syrian Government. Nazar Daw, a former producer of al-Jazeera English and al-Jazeera Arabic, stated that while covering the war in Syria, al-Jazeera mostly ignores the principles of freedom and objectivity. According to him, Al-Jazeera has crossed the line by often depending on the only source of information on activists.

In such conditions, al-Jazeera supports activists with sophisticated equipment that turns these activists into reporters. Al-Jazeera's immense dependence on these activists has put it in a difficult situation. According to Hajjawi, activist intermediaries during the Syrian war opened a door for activists to smooth their agendas. Al-Jazeera finds the position of the company is in the same line because the political circles concerned consist of people who are against the regime in Syria (Barkho, 2019).

The involvement of neighboring countries such as Jordan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar will influence the conflict dynamics. However, the effect of the Qatari state on Syria will be different due to the al-Jazeera actor. With the broad coverage of Al-Jazeera's broadcast to the international public, al-Jazeera can lift the Syrian news into something meaningful and noteworthy. With these conditions, al-Jazeera can relegate the Government of Bashar al-Assad. Because satellite TV also played a role in increasing the heat of the

conflict, the Syrian Government has therefore banned Al-Jazeera and Orient News, which are marked as opposing media from the Syrian Government, from broadcasting nationally. The Syrian Government holds enormous control over the internet, as in the moments of national exams, the Government turns off the internet in order to avoid fraudulent behavior. The researcher emphasizes that for things classified as not a risk, such as the national exam, the Government will turn off internet access, even more for the bigger things, such as peaceful demonstrations, which are feared to impact regime change.

It is also essential to review the validity of Al-Jazeera's coverage of Syria, given the absence of correspondence from Al-Jazeera, which is directly assigned to Syria. This absence of journalists in the field is caused by the Syrian government policy that requires reporters to leave Syria. Although it does not have official correspondence in Syria, al-Jazeera continues to provide coverage from activists and social media tweets from Twitter. It will necessarily cause a significant reduction in the credibility of the information to be reported. Researchers found several points that make the source of the information used by Al-Jazeera in its coverage of Syria cannot be trusted completely.

First, suppose Al-Jazeera sources came from unofficial people. In that case, it must be doubted: who the person is, whether he understands the understanding of journalistic principles and has specific alignments, and just as importantly, whether Al-Jazeera can guarantee the truth of the words from these people. Second, the tweets of people on Twitter that Al-Jazeera sources could contain lies because they could be from people who are not even in Syria. With the development of highly advanced technology today, it is not impossible to change the location where these opinions are developed. However, despite a lot of gray areas in Al-Jazeera's coverage in Syria, researchers argue that al-Jazeera will remain the Middle Eastern people's choice in coverage due to the golden traces they have made on other major incidents such as the coverage of the Intifada, the Invasion of Afghanistan and the Invasion of Iraq (Sultan, 2013).

In the coverage of previous events, Al-Jazeera is believed to have carried out coverages based on the actual events in the field, reflecting its motto "*Al-Jazeera fi Mawqi Al Hadath*," which means "Al-Jazeera at the event occurring point" (Rinnawi, 2010). Researchers believe that Al-Jazeera has reached "consumers," or as Samei (2010) said, 'Winning the War of Hearts and Minds in the Middle East' by trying to present coverage as accurate as it happened.

For the reasons above, even though there is no direct correspondence of al-Jazeera in Syria, the public trusts Al-Jazeera's coverage of Syria. It implicitly illustrates that al-Jazeera is a media that can be trusted in other coverage and even become the primary source in other cases. Hence, al-Jazeera, as an Agent, is seen as an actor who has an impact through the actions of the Speech Act due to its good history regarding coverage of conflicts in the world.

### **Al-Jazeera's Construction in Driving the Syrian Conflict**

After new rules are formed, actors in the system will naturally respond in various ways. One of the actors in the system in Syria is the Syrian people. Before getting a broadcast ban in Syria, al-Jazeera had motivational effects that could trigger a revolution to occur in Syria. The close relationship between the Government of Qatar and Syria before the revolution allowed al-Jazeera to disseminate information and take place in Syria. When strong figures in the Middle East, such as Husni Mubarak, Ben Ali, and Muammar Gadafi, stepped down from their power, other governments in Middle Eastern countries became worried about their positions, including Syria. Thus, in the early phases of the conflict, the Syrian Government responded very violently to public demonstrations in order to avoid the same effect that had happened in neighboring countries.

Al-Jazeera's coverage of the revolution in Egypt and Tunisia was sufficient to motivate the Syrian people in the early days of the revolution. This psychological effect encourages the community to act to get what is promised by the rules made by Al-Jazeera. The fall of Husni Mubarak as a well-known, strong, and dominant figure has motivated communities in the Middle East to make changes to the status-quo Government. Middle Eastern people think that "if even the most powerful and influential Mubarak in the Middle East can be overthrown, why cannot other leaders who are less powerful and have no influence be overthrown?". Hearing the news that neighboring countries had carried out a revolution, the Syrian people seemed to get fresh air. They became motivated to realize a better life in Syria regarding freedom of expression, opinion, and politics.

However, the Syrian people have had to suffer very fatal consequences with the protracted conflict. Now, everyone is tired of living life in conflict situations from all groups, be it academics, religious leaders, or even grassroots groups, because this very long and massive conflict has affected every individual in Syria as a whole. All Syrians, after the outbreak of the conflict, have a family that is the victim of the conflict, either close or distant relatives, or even the conflict has injured the individual itself directly.

Before the massive demonstrations in Dara'a, some activists were agents in setting the agenda. They are people who were inspired and driven by the events that occurred in Egypt (Ozgul, 2020). They emphasized that stories, pictures, and videos of people fighting the Government in Tunisia and Egypt powerfully influenced people to do the same thing in Syria. It proves the impact of the commissive al-Jazeera speech act. In disseminating information, the mainstream media and the mobilizing community will face a pro-government organization engaged in digital intelligence. This group is called the Syrian Electronic Army (SEA) or Syrian Electronic Forces.

The capacity of this group is quite significant because it can hijack and attack major websites such as the New York Times, Washington Post, AFP, 60 Minutes, CBS News, National Public Radio, Associated Press, Al-Jazeera English, and the BBC. SEA can attack large-scale websites and small-scale sites like those developed by Syrian rebels (CBC News, 2014). Activists in Syria are different from activists in Tunisia and Egypt. Tunisian and Egyptian activists could show faces, take pictures, and post them on Facebook pages, but Syrian activists cannot do this.

The Assad regime uses the Syrian Information Organization (SIO) to determine what topics, websites, and content the internet users in Syria can access. Private service providers are forced to agree to their services to comply with regulations from the SIO, which will restrict internet users' access to media such as al-Arabiya and al-Jazeera and several other media that show a position against the Syrian Government. However, under these conditions, many Syrian people use virtual private networking (VPN) tools that allow internet users in Syria to reach various sites blocked by the central Government (Whittaker, 2013).

Although the Government maintains strict control and surveillance of its people, the success of the people in Tunisia and Egypt has encouraged the Syrian people to make changes. The spread of the revolution's success in Tunisia and Egypt has disclosed opportunities for Syrian youths to revolution in their country. This atmosphere of change is not only felt by young people in Syria. Abbas, a 37-year-old doctor, wanted to change Syria because he heard the news that revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia had occurred (Ozgul, 2020).

News containing stories, pictures, and videos of the people of Tunisia and Egypt is straightforward to spread in society due to the development of information technology. Therefore, the internet and social media are some of the engines driving the Syrian people to make changes. In ancient times, it took humans weeks or even months to be able to transfer news from one place to another. However, now, news from Tunisia can easily pass through the distance barrier thanks to internet technology. It is not easy for the Syrian people to carry



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out a movement for change because of the trauma of the past that continues to overshadow the community. In 2004, protests and demonstrations took place in the Kurdish region. Hearing this incident, the Syrian Government gave a strong response.

The Syrian people, who are restricted by political space and have a stringent opinion by the Government, have now become motivated to do the same thing when a massive revolution took place in Syria. Therefore, the researcher sees that media coverage of the revolution at one point in Syria can stimulate the movement of demonstrations at different places and times in Syria.

At first, Assad saw his leadership as immune from the effects of the Arab Spring. He believed that his public propaganda would be successful. This propaganda described Assad as a pan-Arab figure, anti-Israel, and opposed to imperialism. However, in March 2011, revolutionary waves began to emerge, prompting the Assad regime to lift or abolish the 1962 emergency law to quell demonstrators and grant citizenship status to Kurds in Syria numbered around 300,000. In July, 400,000 people flocked to the center of Hama city as the security forces withdrew. In October 2011, government groups had taken control of Daraa, but anti-government sentiment was still strong in the city.

When demonstrations in several cities in Syria took place on March 18, 2011, the internet was completely inaccessible in the East districts, Daraa and Homs. A week later, Google reported a flat traffic statistic in Syria. In the first eight months, the revolutionary phase began, and demonstrators did not respond to the Government's harshness with violence. The Syrian people responded peacefully by distributing text messages and texts on social media. Syrians also tell the events on the field to satellite TV channels such as al-Jazeera and al-Arabiya. With a solid response from the Government, the Syrian people tried to use a new strategy to improve the flow of communication and mass organization. Syrians used the mosque as a gathering place on Friday during the obligatory ritual of Friday prayers for the majority of the Sunni community in Syria. They also used specific codes in their messages. When the demonstrations took place on Fridays, the government camp began to realize that they had to hold a guard every Friday afternoon to prevent further demonstrations. It is where the shift began from peaceful demonstrations to armed struggle. The phase shifted gradually following the responses of the Syrian Government, which were getting stronger daily.

The Syrian war is a continuous battle involving the participation of organized armed forces to face effective resistance (both sides are organized for violent conflict and ready to withstand attacks). In the end, the dissemination of information by al-Jazeera could lead to an interstate war that began with a speech act. After the dissemination of ideas and discourses, the people were influenced to demonstrate. However, the revolution did not happen to realize and ended in prolonged internal conflict.

### **Conclusion**

Researchers found that al-Jazeera was one of the factors driving the emergence of the revolutionary movement in Syria. The stages of construction carried out by al-Jazeera in Syria include the emergence of al-Jazeera as an agent in the Middle East regional system and getting the public's attention in the Middle East. In the case of Syria, although there is no official correspondent, readers of al-Jazeera media trust the coverage reported by al-Jazeera. Furthermore, al-Jazeera reported information containing promises and evidence of success from the revolutionary movements in Tunisia and Egypt that encouraged the Syrian people to move towards a revolutionary movement that was expected to have a similar outcome. This information was reported repeatedly before and after the outbreak of the conflict, so it is categorized as a speech act. After that, when the speech act formed rules, there was a change

in the agents' behavior, which made them act based on rules that had been constructed and disseminated. The result of the change in the behavior of the Syrian people confirmed the contribution of al-Jazeera as the agent who carried out the speech act in Syria.

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